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Silenced Realities

Exclusion of Guarani and Kaiowa perspectives in majority
press discourse in Mato Grosso do Sul, Brazil

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Silenced Realities: exclusion of
Guarani and Kaiowa perspectives
in majority press discourse

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Abstract

Indigenous peoples in Brazil have fought for the devolution and demarcation of parts of their traditional territories over the last decades. Indigenous rights are recognized in the Federal Constitution of 1988. In practice, many indigenous groups are still prevented from accessing their rights to land and such basic rights as health and education. The south of the Brazilian state *Mato Grosso do Sul*, on the border with Paraguay, was historically established by the confinement of native people and occupation of the land by the new settlers. Nowadays, indigenous people struggle for the demarcation of their lands. The areas are currently significantly transformed by the farms of the agribusiness and many of the lands are in judicial dispute. Confrontations between landowners and indigenous people are frequent. This paper proposes a critical discourse analysis of the texts published in the largest newspaper in *Mato Grosso do Sul* concerning a specific confrontation that happened in August 2015. The analysis employs a post-colonial perspective, and is aware of continuing marks of coloniality and dehumanization.

Keywords: Indigenous journalism; *Guarani and Kaiowa*; Brazil

Abstrákta

Brasilia álgoálbmogat leat rahčan sirdit válldi ja ráddjet osiin sin árbevirolaš eatnamiin dáid maŋemuš moaddelogi jagi. Álgoálbmogiid vuoigatvuođat ja rievttit leat dohkkehuvvon 1988 federála vuodđolágas. Duohtavuodas de váilot ain máŋgga álgoálbmot čearddas iežaset eananvuoigatvuođat ja rievttit, eai ge sis leat vuodđovuigatvuođat numo dearvvašvuhtii ja ohppui. Brasilia stáhta Mato Grosso do Sul lulábealde, Paraguaya rájis, lea historjjálaččat ceggejuvvon caggan dihte álgoálbmogiid ja eatnanvuolasteapmi dain ođđa sisafárrejeddjiin. Dálá áiggis, álgoálbmogat ain rahčēt suddjet eatnamiiddiset. Sin duovdagat leat rievdamē eanandoallo-guovlun, ja ollu eananáššit leat riektedikkiin. Riiddut gaskkal eanandolliid ja álgoálbmogiid leat ollu. Dát dutkkus evttoha kritihkalaš diskursaanalysa teavsttain almmuhuvvon Mato Grosso do Sul stuorámuš aviissas ovtta spesifihkka guoskevaš deaivideapmái mii dáhpáhuvai borgemánu 2015. Dát analysa atná maŋjekolonisttálaš perspektiivvaid, ja dieđus maddái geahčastagain movt kolonijja válldis jotket loavkašuhhtimin ja fámoahuhtimin olmmoščearddaid.

Resumo

Nas últimas décadas, povos indígenas lutam pela devolução e demarcação de partes de seus territórios tradicionais no Brasil. Os direitos indígenas são reconhecidos pela Constituição Federal de 1988, porém, na prática, muitas comunidades indígenas ainda são impedidas de acessar seus direitos territoriais têm negados direitos básicos como saúde e educação. O sul de Mato Grosso do Sul, na fronteira com o Paraguai foi historicamente estabelecido pelo confinamento dos povos indígenas. Atualmente, indígenas resistem pela demarcação de seus territórios. As áreas estão significativamente transformadas por fazendas do agronegócio e muitas delas estão em disputa judicial. Confrontos entre fazendeiros e indígenas são frequentes. O presente trabalho propõe uma análise crítica do discurso dos textos publicados pelo maior jornal de Mato Grosso do Sul sobre um confronto específico que ocorreu em agosto de 2015. A análise emprega uma perspectiva pós-colonial e atenta a marcas contínuas de colonialidade e desumanização.

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Ko'aga rupi, tetanguéra Ava/Te'ýi añeha'ã ojevy jey ha oñeme'ètee ha'gua hekohakuéra añete brasilpe. Pe tekokatu oñemoañete pe Constituição Federalpe ary 1988pe, upeichavérõ, pe oñemoañete ha'gua, heta tekoha ava ha Te'ýi mba'e ojejoko oiketee pe tekokatu ha'éva tesãi ha ñemoarandúre. Ko kuarahy reikeha gotyo Mato Grosso do Sulpe, paraguai rembe'y're ymaiteguive oñemomichĩmba Ava/Te'ýi rekohakuéra. Agaite, Ava/Te'yikuéra oñemohatã oñedemarca ha'gua hekohakuerate. Ko'ã yvy pehẽ oikopa chugui tuicháva agronegócio ha heta umi yvy oĩme ñorairõme judicialpe. Ñorairõ karai ijyvy hetáva ha Ava/Te'ýi kuérandi py'ýi oiko. Ko tembiapo ohechukáta jesarekotee umi ñe'ẽ ojehaiva'ekue ha oñemosambi va'ekue tuichavéva kuatiahai Mato Grosso do Sulgua pe ñorairõ oikova'ekue jasyoapype mokõisu papo jave. Ko jesareko ohechauka peteĩ mba'e ñemoaranuduha hérava pos colonial ha ohechakuaa opa ivaíva ha ojapo'íva umi Ava/Te'yikuérare.

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List of Abbreviations

Governmental Bodies

FUNAI – National Indian Foundation – is the official indigenist organ in Brazil created in 1967. It is a federal organ connected to the Ministry of Justice that has the duty to coordinate and execute the Federal Government’s indigenist policies. Its mission is to protect and promote indigenous peoples rights and it is the body responsible for the demarcation of indigenous lands. (In Portuguese *Fundação Nacional do Índio*).Website: <http://www.funai.gov.br/>

SPI – Indians Protection Service – was the official indigenist organ in Brazil from 1910 to 1967 (when it was substituted by FUNAI). It was connected to different Ministries during its history and as the executive of the Government’s indigenist policies at the time it operated within the assimilationist paradigm.

Judicial

MPF – Federal Public Ministry – created in 1988 with the promulgation of the current Constitution. It integrates the Brazilian public Ministry and has as one of the attributions the protection of minority rights, including indigenous peoples. In this sense the Public Prosecutor’s Office plays a role in the protection of indigenous rights (In Portuguese *Ministério Público Federal*). Website: <http://www.mpf.mp.br/>

STF – Federal Supreme Court – is the highest Court in Brazil. (In Portuguese *Supremo Tribunal Federal*)

Defence

DOF – Border Department Operation - is the department of the Military Police from *Mato Grosso do Sul* that has the main duty to police the borders with Paraguay and Bolivia. (In Portuguese *Departamento de Operações de Fronteira*).

Non-governmental

CIMI – Indigenist Missionary Council - is a non-governmental indigenist organization linked to the Catholic Church. (In Portuguese *Conselho Indigenista Missionário*).Website: <http://www.cimi.org.br/site/en/>

FAMASUL – Agriculture and Livestock Federation of Mato Grosso do Sul - is a ruralists’ association that congregates sixty nine municipal rural unions from the state of *Mato Grosso do Sul*. (In Portuguese *Federação da Agricultura e Pecuária de Mato Grosso do Sul*). Website: <http://famasul.com.br/>

Other abbreviations

ABI – Brazilian Press Association

CAND – National Agricultural Colony of Dourados

CPI – Parliamentary Inquiry Commission

DEM – Democratas (political party)

DOU – Union’s Official Diary

EPP – Paraguayan People’s Army

FENAJ – Journalist’s National Federation

ILO – International Labour Organization

IWGIA – International Work Group for Indigenous Affairs

IDH or HDI – Human Development Index

IBGE – Brazilian Institute of Geography and Statistics

MS – *Mato Grosso do Sul*

MT – *Mato Grosso*

NGO – Non Governmental Organization

PIB – Gross Domestic Product

PMDB – Brazilian Democratic Movement’s Party (political party)

PT – Workers’ Party (political party)

UCDB – *Universidade Católica Dom Bosco* (Dom Bosco Catholic University)

UDN – National Democratic Union (former political party)

UEMS – *Universidade Estadual de Mato Grosso do Sul* (State University of Mato Grosso do Sul)

UFGD – *Universidade Federal da Grande Dourados* (Federal University of Dourados)

UFMS – *Universidade Federal de Mato Grosso do Sul* (Federal University of Mato Grosso do Sul)

UN – United Nations

UNESCO - United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization

Table of Contents

Abstract	III
Acknowledgements	V
Abbreviations list	VI
Table of Contents	VIII
1 Introduction	1
1.1 Theme and subject	4
1.2 Research approach	7
1.3 Guarani and Kaiowa	10
1.4 Structure of the thesis	13
2 Socio-historical perspectives	14
2.1 The beginning	15
2.2 Territoriality	18
2.3 The settlement of the south of Mato Grosso	20
2.4 A country called Brazil	23
2.5 Colonial territoriality and contemporary identities	28
3 Theoretical Framework	30
3.1 Setting a paradigm: The social construction of reality	30
3.2 Racialization and the role of media	32
3.3 Journalism principles and practices	34
3.4 Earlier research about indigenous peoples and media in Brazil	38
4 Approach, material and methods	40
4.1 Approach	40
4.2 Empirical material	44
4.3 Methods	46
5 Analysis	49
5.1 Part I: Voices	49
5.1.1 Muting indigenous voices	50
5.1.2 Attempts to dialogue	61
5.1.3 An account of silence	64
5.2 Part II – Lexicon choices	68
5.2.1 People	69
5.2.2 Territory	76

5.2.3	Action	80
5.3	Part III – Coloniality and dehumanization	85
6	Conclusion	89
	References	94
	Appendices	99

“Genocindian

(children clap by the gate)

have you got old bread?

No, child

there is the bread that the devil kneaded

there is indian’s blood on the streets

and when it is night

the moon afflicted groans

for her dead children

have you got old bread?

No, child

we have plenty of food on our tables

blessed by linen clothes, cutlery

we have servant women, fridges

cars, stove

but we do not have bread

have you got old bread?

No, child

we have asphalt, piped water

super markets, buildings

we have motherland, pinga, prisons

weapons and occupations

but we do not have bread

have you got old bread?

No, child

there is your hunger dressed in rags

on the sidewalks

that bring your little feet
of starving fragile angel
asking for old bread through life
we have soulless lights on the avenue
we have suicidal indian women
but we do not have old bread

have you got old bread?

No, child
we have missiles, satellites
computers, radars
we have trucks, ships, nuclear plants
but we do not have bread

have you got old bread?

there is the bread that the devil kneaded
there is indian's blood on the streets
and when it is night
the moon afflicted groans
for her dead children"¹

¹ Free translation of the poem 'Genocídio' by Emmanuel Marinho. Source:
<http://www.emmanuelmarinho.com.br/poemas/titulo-principal>

1 Introduction

This is not the kind of theme that you come across reading books, attending lectures or watching the news. This is not the kind of theme that you come across. Conversely, it falls on top of our heads. It fell on top of mine when I was a student in the Bachelor of Journalism at the Federal University of *Mato Grosso do Sul*² in *Campo Grande*, capital of the state *Mato Grosso do Sul*, in Brazil, where I was born and grew up. *Mato Grosso do Sul* has the second largest indigenous population currently living in Brazil.

However, for twenty years living in the same area as all these diverse peoples, I hardly knew anything about them; barely knew the names of some ethnic groups. At school, I never received any kind of notion of any of those languages during my whole education. In the same way, I had never heard their languages on television or radio: had never heard their myths of creation, had never seen their languages in newspapers or books, and had never known their singular versions of our shared regional history. And most importantly: for twenty years I did not miss it.

Nevertheless, how could I have missed it? Living in the urban capital, in a middle-class neighbourhood, attending private schools, reading books, magazines and newspapers, watching television, I had never met an indigenous person (or at least a self-declared indigenous). By ‘never met’ I mean I had ‘never talked’ to an indigenous. We were in the same area, but not the same places. In a “big city” indigenous peoples are most of the time marginalized. They were at the markets or on the streets selling corn, *pequi*, manioc and handicrafts. Or on the streets asking for money, pressing the house bells to ask for old bread. Partly invisible, or made invisible by our historical processes and social dynamics.

The *sul-mato-grossense poet* Emmanuel Marinho wrote about the unremarkable routine of indigenous children asking for food in the city. The poem, written in Portuguese, is from 1994. I made a “free translation to English”, which is in the beginning of this thesis. This poem is significant not only to illustrate the context in the area where I grew up, but because it is also indicative of my position in relation to indigenosity during the biggest part of my life. In other words, if indigenous were asking for food by the gate (and many times they were), I was inside the gate.

² Universidade Federal de Mato Grosso do Sul (UFMS)

However, when I was a bachelor student I started to attend an extra-curricular audio-visual course in a project where, for the first time, I had some indigenous as colleagues: five *Kaiowa* and one *Terena*. We had intensive modules one week per month, when inevitably knowledge exchanges and friendship bonds were developed. I finally heard and “read” the Guarani language, (that some non-indigenous people deride so much), and understood their difficulty with Portuguese. I heard some of their songs, and got to know a bit about their communities through their films.

On that semester at the Journalism bachelor course my class was responsible for the university’s newspaper. We decided to make a special edition: the whole publication would be about indigenous issues. However, some of my classmates and I shared the impression that the presence of indigenous people in the local press was mainly negative. Indigenous were news almost exclusively regarding land conflicts, internal violence, suicide or infant deaths related to malnutrition. Therefore, we decided that our publication should necessarily cover both negative and positive stories: half each. I chose to publish on the positive side.

My story would be about two of the *Kaiowa* that were attending the audio-visual course with me. They lived in two different indigenous villages 350 and 500 kilometres distant from *Campo Grande* and they were considered very skilled with the cameras. Some experienced movie directors that were teaching us used to complement them and when we were divided to do group work they were many times the most wanted cameramen for the tasks. I interviewed them for the story while they were in town and then they went back to their villages after the module. I sent some remaining questions to one of them, who replied a couple of days later. And some days after I received his response I got to know that he had been murdered.

Ademir’s head was cut off with a blow from a machete on his neck during a fight in a party in his village – *Tekoha Jaguapiré*, in the municipality of *Tacuru*, right in the border with Paraguay. His murderer was murdered in the next moments, the same way, just some meters away from him. It was not only a fight. It was a tragedy. For me, if those encounters with indigenous colleagues represented the first times I met (met meaning dialoguing) indigenous peoples, stories, ontologies and epistemologies; they also represented the first time I had a colleague murdered. And the first time I had to deal with such a big journalistic dilemma – from a positive agenda to a murder story. It was the end of the world.

But naturally not the end of all worlds. When I read the biggest mainstream newspaper the following morning, there was a small text about it. Four lines. His village's name spelled incorrectly, just two more (drunk) young indigenous that killed each other. Not the student of bachelor in Mathematics that wanted to be a teacher and a filmmaker. Not the Kaiowa cameraman of the short movie "*Jaguapiré fighting*"³, made collectively by his community about their expulsion of their traditional lands and re-occupation. There is an enormous gap between the realities of those who live inside the gates in the city and those who live (or survive) in indigenous communities marked with the sign that asserts "area in judicial litigation".

If I bring this painful memory, which is personal but also professional, it is in an effort to make both you and myself, really aware about my position in relation to the subject. It is also to be clear about my personal ethics. Although the euro-descendent scientific tradition has cut the emotional sensible body off from the rational mind; and I acknowledge the huge importance of this kind of science, it is notable that many authors in the cultural studies, or transcultural studies have been trying to open space for other systems of knowledge. These attempts can be understood as de-colonizing epistemologies (Gauthier, 2012). Thus, I clarify my consciousness about the emotions that inform my ethics and that make me try to not separate the object from subject. I acknowledge here that when I talk about de-colonization of knowledge, of press, I am above all talking about and to myself. Genetically: hybrid with my indigenous ancestry forgotten in the history of my family. Socially: completely euro-descendent in the Brazilian context.

During the following years, I met again indigenous issues from a journalistic (or communication) perspective. First in an internship at the Federal Public Ministry (MPF), a governmental body assigned to supervise the accomplishment of what we call "diffuse and collective rights", including indigenous rights; and afterwards in the communication sector of a centre of indigenous projects at the Catholic University of Dom Bosco (UCDB). As a professional, I saw the story being repeated over and over. Indigenous peoples misrepresented in the media, difficult relationships between mainstream journalists and indigenous sources, indigenous identities generally invisible to the non-indigenous population.

³ Originally in Portuguese: "*Jaguapiré na luta*".

In recent years, this delicate relation between media and indigenous people in *Mato Grosso do Sul*, as well as in other areas of Brazil, was investigated by communication researchers. Some examples are Foscaches (2012), who examined the representation of indigenous people during a year in the agenda of three different mainstream newspapers and Maldonado (2014) who made a comparative analysis of mainstream journalistic website texts and the texts published by *Aty Guasu* (a *Guarani* and *Kaiowa* organisation) on Facebook.

The relation between mainstream media and indigenous peoples has also been touched upon by researchers of other social sciences; as in the dissertations of the historian Cavalcante (2013) and the anthropologist Benites (2014), who examined the territorial trajectory of the *Kaiowa* and their contemporary process of trying to get back to their lands. Their research will be discussed in Chapter 3, yet it is necessary to mention that they point out the tendency of relating indigenous issues with negative themes such as suicide and violence (Benites, 2014); the majority of national and regional press have an editorial line against indigenous territorial demands (Cavalcante, 2013) and that the newspaper's discourses are determined by anthropological and historical superficiality (Foscaches, 2012).

1.1 Theme and subject

Indigenous peoples in Brazil have fought for the devolution and demarcation of parts of their territories over the last decades. It is possible to consider that Brazil has a high advanced position in the recognition of indigenous rights in terms of legislation that was strengthened by the Federal Constitution of 1988 that was promulgated after the re-democratization of the country. However, in practice, many indigenous groups are still prevented from accessing their rights to land and such basic rights as health and education.

The Brazilian state *Mato Grosso do Sul*, on the border with Paraguay, was historically established by the confinement of native people and the occupation of their land by the new settlers. Nowadays, indigenous people struggle for the demarcation of their lands, but the areas are currently significantly transformed by the farms of the agribusiness. Many of the lands are in judicial dispute and conflicts between indigenous and landowners are frequent. Cases of violence leading to severe injury or death are persistent.

The land controversy between indigenous and non-indigenous exceeds territorial disputes. It is a more complex process in which different notions of territoriality, history, reality and

world views are in contradiction. Therefore discourses are as well in dispute. In this context the media plays a central role because it mediates social interactions, debates and decisions. Extensive literature (for ex. Cottle 2000; Hall 1997) show that, when representing difference (ethnic, cultural, gender, sexual), the media plays a crucial role in the definition of who are “them” and who are “us” which is fundamental in the delimitation of people’s positions in certain contexts; and to the construction of power relations.

In August 2015, a big land confrontation happened in *Mato Grosso do Sul* and a *Kaiowa* leader was murdered. The area *Ñande Ru Marangatu* (in Guarani Language “Our Sacred Father”), located in *Antônio João* municipality, has been in judicial dispute for fifteen years. The land of 9.317 hectares was considered traditionally indigenous. The identification and delimitation report was published in the Union’s Official Diary (DOU) in 2001. In 2005, the area was homologated⁴ by the president (at the time Lula). Nonetheless the decision was suspended in the same year. The case still waits for a definitive decision of the Federal Supreme Court (STF).

On August 22 2015, hundreds of *Guarani and Kaiowa* occupied part of the area doing what they call “auto-demarcation”. Seven days later, a group of roughly fifty non-indigenous farmers tried to expel the *Guarani and Kaiowa* from the area, and the leader Simeão Vilhalva was murdered during the confrontation. The daily newspaper with the biggest circulation in *Mato Grosso do Sul*, *Correio do Estado*, extensively covered the case. Their August 31st headline “*Farmers accuse Paraguayan guerrillas of training ingenuous*” caught my attention.

⁴ The process of demarcation of indigenous lands in Brazil consists of seven steps: 1) Identification studies; 2) FUNAI’s approval; 3) Objections; 4) Declarations of limits; 5) Material demarcation; 6) **Homologation**; 7) Registration

Fazendeiros acusam guerrilheiros paraguaios de treinar indígenas



TENSÃO. Encapuzados, índios reagiram à desocupação de duas propriedades no sábado por fazendeiros



CONFLITO. Equipes do Departamento de Operações de Fronteira estão na região para garantir a segurança

ANTÔNIO JOÃO. Integrantes do Exército do Povo Paraguaio (EPP) teriam ensinado táticas de guerra aos índios que ocupam fazendas

Os índios que invadiram fazendas no município de Antônio João nos últimos dez dias receberam treinamento dos guerrilheiros do Exército do Povo Paraguaio (EPP), conforme acusam os proprietários de terra da região e também suspeitam integrantes da Força Nacional de Se-

gurança Pública. Para eles, os índios brasileiros estariam recebendo táticas de guerra e sendo insuflados a invadir as fazendas. Ruraisistas e índios entraram em conflito ontem em ação de retomada das fazendas Barra e Fronteira. Um indígena morreu. **PÁGINA 12**

Figure 1: The cover of *Correio do Estado* in August 31 2015, two days after the confrontation.

The headline in form of an accusation, the clear usage of the metaphor of war and the construction of the *Guarani and Kaiowa* as being non-autonomous and possibly manipulated by the enemies illustrates how the mismatch between indigenous peoples' perspectives and local mainstream media coverage can be exacerbated, especially in relation to land controversies. Considering that indigenous struggle for land also includes a dispute of discourses, access to the media and the role of Journalism is critical to the positioning of indigenous peoples in relation to claiming their rights in Brazil.

Journalism is a product of and at the same time produces common-sense knowledge. Journalistic activity is regulated by routines of production that include gathering information, hearing sources, double checking, editing. Media texts are symbolic cultural commodities, produced in what is effectively a cultural industry, which circulate for profit within a market. As a cultural event, journalism produces discourses that are socially and historically situated, in a dialectical relationship with other social phenomena. This dialectical dynamic between language and society means that discourse is socially shaped, but is socially shaping at the same time (Fairclough, 1995).

This master thesis focuses on a critical discourse analysis of the stories published by the newspaper *Correio do Estado* about the land confrontation. The analysis is focused on marks

of coloniality and discursive racism. Understanding journalism as a socio-cultural activity and language as a means of social construction, my preliminary questions are:

:does this newspaper reproduce colonial discourses by dehumanizing (or questioning the humanity of) the *Guarani and Kaiowa*?

:if yes, what are the historical processes and socio-political dynamics that enables these types of discourses?

Based on initial examination of the data my primary hypothesis was that indeed colonial and dehumanizing discourses were reproduced. However, my analysis departs from what is said to why and how it is said. Thus my main objectives are:

:reflect upon how the *Guarani and Kaiowa*'s perspectives were articulated in the journalistic discourse;

:discuss how the non-indigenous newspaper has sustained the representation of the *Guarani and Kaiowa* in this specific case; and in this way contributed to the construction of the realities of indigenous and non-indigenous in *Mato Grosso do Sul*.

1.2 Research approach

Van Dijk (2001) asserts that critical discourse analysis is not a school, method or direction – it is an approach to text research which is issue-oriented rather than paradigm-oriented. Therefore, it is an applicable approach to examine social problems, power abuse and inequality. The main goal of critical discourse analysis is to better understand pressing social issues and ultimately resist social inequality. In this sense, it is valid to clarify that the confrontation in *Ñande Ru Marangatu* is not understood here as simply a land conflict, but as a case of social power abuse.

Fairclough (1995) (quoting Bordieu, 1977) asserts that calling the approach “critical” is an acknowledgement that our social practices, including language use, are tied up with causes and effects that we may not be conscious of under usual conditions. Likewise, Van Dijk (2001) states that an explicit awareness of the researcher’s social role is crucial; there is no possibility of “value-free” science. This requires an acceptance that discourse analysis is also

socio-politically situated and, eventually, it implies a propensity to conduct the analysis in solidarity with groups that Van Dijk calls “dominated”.

In this case my analysis points out the exclusion of indigenous perspectives in the texts evincing two main aspects that demonstrate this exclusion: 1) scarcity of indigenous voices; 2) usage of a lexicon that refers exclusively to non-indigenous common sense knowledge, suppressing the *Guarani and Kaiowa* views. Ultimately I problematize this exclusion. My argument is that journalism is an important social activity that plays a central role in democracy and therefore a discourse that excludes indigenous voices is problematic because it can place indigenous peoples not only as outsiders in the sense of “us non-indigenous” “them indigenous”, but also excluded from “us democratic society” and “us subjects of human rights”. My point is that the discursive exclusion of the *Guarani and Kaiowa* in the regional press may contribute to the legitimation and naturalization of the persistent violence against indigenous peoples in the state.

Aty Guasu - measure and counterpoint

One of the conditions to develop an analysis addressing *Guarani and Kaiowa* perspectives was to collect narratives that show their own discursive constructions about the case. In this sense, the posts shared by “*Aty Guasu*” on Facebook are a significant counterpoint to the “mass media” texts. The crucial role of this organization was perceptible when I worked with indigenous peoples in *Mato Grosso do Sul* and is also indicated in most of the recent literature in various research fields about the *Guarani and Kaiowa*. Below I briefly describe what is *Aty Guasu* and discuss its prominence in the process of resistance mobilization of the *Guarani and Kaiowa* to regain access to their traditional lands (tekoha).

Aty Guasu means “Great Assembly” or “Great Intercommunity Assembly” in Guarani language (*aty* means meeting or gathering, and *guasu* means big). These assemblies have been organised by the *Guarani and Kaiowa* for more than three decades. They gather political and spiritual leaders from different communities, extensive families and also representatives of non-indigenous institutions such as MPF and FUNAI. The activities include political discussions and festive and spiritual rituals. There are approximately around three or four *Aty Guasu* each year (Benites, 2014).

Benites (2014) states that *Aty Guasu* is a place of knowledge transmission where the young leaders learn from the elderly’s experiences. He emphasizes that one of the most repeated and

relevant practices during the meetings is to talk about the leaders who were murdered while fighting for the devolution of their traditional lands (*tekoha*). The gatherings are also festive occasions when families, including single people, meet and it is frequent that new relationships, marriages and thus new alliances “begin” during these events. The *Aty Guasu* is also an opportunity when people with health problems can be assisted by the most experienced spiritual leaders (*ñandesy and ñanderu*).

The issue of communication between the indigenous communities and outsiders gained importance in recent years’ assemblies. *Aty Guasu* members started to problematize the way their movement for land rights was represented in “big media”. Therefore they decided to make a commission to share the indigenous’ perspectives on social media. In 2011 they created a profile on Facebook. According to Klein (2013), *Aty Guasu*’s notes on Facebook are essential to explain facts in detail and also to translate for the non-indigenous the meaning of suicide for example.

For me this profile on social media is a strong example of resistance against a considerably hegemonic “big media” and thus a powerful case of what Klein (2013, p.17) calls “*form chosen by an indigenous collective to perform culture in media platforms*”. The eloquence of their discourses when contesting the “big media”, asserting their autonomy, humanity and land rights was provocative and inspirational to my analysis. The post shared on 28 September 2015 is a compelling illustration:

“By this public note we reassure that we indigenous Guarani and Kaiowa that re-occupy our traditional lands tekoha are not a group of dolls, puppets and we are not robots to be manipulated and guided by the non-indigenous. By principle, we are human beings, with all human capacities, we think, plan, act, re-act, die and resist as human beings. We are responsible subjects and conscious of our acts and we take consequences of our actions. (...) In the current context, as any other human being, we have learned to read, dominate the internet, we speak two languages (...). It is known that during the formation of the current country Brazil the ‘indians’ were considered as not human beings (...) In 2015 these violent old discourses are frequently shared by farmers and anti-indigenous politicians in state and federal chambers as well as in the big media (...)” (Aty Guasu, 28 September 2015).

Thus, my emphasis on *Aty Guasu* as a source of acceptable terms and versions for the *Guarani and Kaiowa* has to do with the priority of the assemblies as spaces of meetings, discussions, cultural practices and collective decisions. One of these decisions was to use social media as a platform to share information with outsiders and contest their alleged negative representation on “big media”. *Aty Guasu*’s profile on Facebook has currently

roughly 13,000 friends. Thus in this thesis I shall explore *Aty Guasu* as a strategically chosen counterpoint to the reportage of *Correio do Estado*.

1.3 Guarani and Kaiowa

As I mentioned before, *Mato Grosso do Sul* is the Brazilian state that has the second highest population of indigenous people: approximately 77,000 people from seven ethnic groups: (*Guarani*) *Kaiowa*, *Guarani (Ñandeva)*, *Terena*, *Kadiwéu*, *Kinikinau*, *Guató* and *Ofayé*. The *Guarani* and *Kaiowa* are the most numerous people with roughly 50,000 people.

The classification of groups as Guarani is complex. A branch of tribes that were contacted since 1505 on the coast of current Brazil had different names, but presented a similar cultural profile. Afterwards, they all received the name Guarani (Meliá, 2009). The “Guarani” people inhabited areas in Brazil, Paraguay, Argentina and Bolivia. The Guarani are one of the indigenous populations of biggest territorial presence in South America. They are approximately 100,000 people that live in 500 villages or communities in these countries. Currently they still live in some of the areas that they have inhabited for more than two thousand years despite the big pressure, threats and deaths (Grünberg, 2008).

Although the Guarani are considered a people because they are very similar in the fundamental aspects of their culture and organization, they also differ in their way of speaking the Guarani language, and their culture practices. They are divided into four groups speaking different varieties of the language that are not always understandable between each other, and also different from the modern Paraguayan Guarani. The Guarani language belongs to the Tupi-Guarani linguistic family (Grünberg, 2008).⁵

The FUNAI consider that three Guarani groups live in contemporary Brazil: *Guarani Mbya* (in the coastal areas); *Guarani Kaiowa* and *Guarani Ñandeva* (in the south of the state *Mato Grosso do Sul*, border with Paraguay). The so called “*Guarani Ñandeva*” by FUNAI actually self-identify as *Guarani*, while the group formally called “*Guarani Kaiowa*” refers to themselves as simply *Kaiowa*. They recognize themselves as two distinct groups, but participants of the same history, sharing common challenges and political processes.

⁵ A “common” Guarani language was standardized in Paraguay during the colonial period and this language is currently spoken by six millions of Paraguayans.

In their anthropological and historical report about the area *Ñande Ru Marangatu*, Oliveira & Pereira (2009), described these terminologies. They asserted that those who self-identify as *Kaiowa* do not appreciate to be called *Guarani*, neither the *Guarani* like to be called *Kaiowa*. Therefore, “*Guarani and Kaiowa*” stands for their collective self-identification. These terms are widely used in scholarly research and are also the terms used by “*Aty Guasu*”, which is their collective political organisation.

Current context – rights violation and violence

In 1988, with the re-democratization of the country after a military regime, a new Constitution was promulgated. This was a shift for indigenous rights because it represented a big change in the indigenous policies paradigm. It was the first time indigenous in Brazil had their rights for land, language and culture recognized. In his master’s thesis, Amado (2014), lawyer and indigenous from the *Terena* people, made a detailed historical retrospective analysis of indigenous rights in Brazil and its development since 1500 to current days. He states that:

“If before the policy was to integrate the national community, now the Constitution of 1988 recognizes the right to be different. The indigenous has the right to be indigenous in the way he wants, either in the village or town. He has the right to preserve his culture, language and maintain his beliefs and traditions. To sum up, he does not need to cease to be indigenous to be integrated into the national society [...].” (Amado 2014, p. 35)⁶

The constitutional text established the right for indigenous people to live according to their own worldviews and to have their traditional lands demarcated. Nevertheless, 26 years after the promulgation of the Constitution, the demarcations were never completed. Many areas in *Mato Grosso do Sul* are currently in judicial dispute between indigenous people and non-indigenous landowners.

The category “traditionally occupied land” was recognized by the constitutional text of 1988 and has been the object locus of resistance and struggle of the indigenous people in Mato Grosso do Sul, especially the peoples Terena, Guarani, Kaiowa and Kadiwéu. If it is object of fights, it means that there is difficulty in the formal-juridical recognition of this category that results from a territorialisation process. (Amado 2014, p. 65)⁷

⁶ Original in Portuguese: “Se antes a política era integrar a comunhão nacional, agora a Constituição de 1988 reconhece o direito de ser diferente. O índio tem o direito de ser índio do jeito que o quiser, seja na aldeia ou na cidade. Ele tem o direito de preservar sua cultura, sua língua e manter suas crenças e tradições. Em síntese, ele não precisa deixar de ser índio para ser integrado a sociedade nacional, visto que ele já tem sua própria sociedade com organização própria.”

⁷ Original in Portuguese: “A categoria “terra tradicionalmente ocupada” foi reconhecida pelo texto constitucional de 1988 e vem sendo objeto de luta dos povos indígenas de Mato Grosso do Sul, especialmente o povo Terena, Guarani, Kaiowá e Kadiwéu. Sendo objeto de luta significa que há dificuldade no reconhecimento jurídico-formal dessa categoria resultado de processo de territorialização”

Concerning international declarations and conventions for indigenous rights, Brazil has signed the UN Declaration of Human Rights, the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights, ILO Convention 169 and the UN Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples.

A report published by the UN in September 2016 asserts that indigenous peoples in Brazil are more threatened nowadays than in the 1980s. The document was produced by the Special Rapporteur on the rights of indigenous peoples, Victoria Tauli-Corpuz, on her mission to Brazil from 7 to 17 March 2016. The document states that serious challenges to indigenous peoples arise in the current context of Brazil with problems like increasing discrimination; stalled demarcation processes; violence, racism, killings, threats. According to the report, the Special Rapporteur is particularly concerned at the level of racially based violence against indigenous peoples in the states of *Mato Grosso do Sul*, *Para*, *Bahia*, *Maranhão*, *Rio Grande do Sul*, *Santa Catarina* and *Paraná*.⁸ On November 24 2016 the European Parliament also approved a resolution condemning the violence perpetrated against the *Guarani and Kaiowa* in MS and deploring the poverty and human rights situation of this group.⁹

Compared to other Brazilian states, *Mato Grosso do Sul* is the area where most indigenous are killed for more than a decade. The report “Violence against indigenous people in Brazil” developed annually by the Indigenous Missionary Council (CIMI) reports that this situation repeated in 2015. According to the document 137 indigenous homicides occurred during 2015, 36 of them in *Mato Grosso do Sul*. The report shows that MS also had the highest notifications of murder attempts: twelve from 31 in the whole country; and the highest number of negligent homicides: five run overs from eighteen negligent homicide cases in Brazil. Suicide is another big problem: 45 indigenous suicides were registered in MS from a total of 87 in Brazil in 2015.¹⁰

It is relevant to point out that the authors of the report indicate that the data do not enable a deep analysis because there is no detailed information about the occurrences. However, these

⁸ The visit of the Special Rapporteur was contested by ruralists. For example in the text “Deputy questions impartiality of UN’s Rapporteur’s visit to the state”, published on the website of AL/MS. Source:

<http://www.al.ms.gov.br/Default.aspx?Tabid=477&ItemID=45575>

⁹ Source: <http://www.europarl.europa.eu/news/en/news-room/20161117IPR51558/human-rights-guarani-kaiow%C3%A1-people-mr-gui-in-china-and-mr-dadin-in-russia>

¹⁰ Proportions: *Mato Grosso do Sul* has approximately 77,000 indigenous people. The total in Brazil is roughly 817,900 indigenous people.

numbers evince the violent and tense situation of indigenous peoples in MS. These statistics speak of the cumulative psychological trauma experienced by members of the indigenous populations of Brazil; and specifically of *Mato Grosso do Sul*.

In this regard the situation of the indigenous population of MS show similarities with those of other indigenous peoples who have been subjected to banishment from their ancestral lands, and who have suffered racialized marginalisation and exploitation. Coulthard (2014) draws upon the work of Fanon in his works *Black Skin White Masks* (1952) and *The Wretched of the Earth* (1961) to develop a poignant account to the trauma suffered by the indigenous peoples of Canada and outlines a strategic resistance to their dispossession. Similarly, the situation of the Aboriginal populations of Australia is marked by high incidence of self-abuse, violence and cultural trauma. Tatz (2001), for example, has detailed the specific complexity of the determining forces of Aboriginal suicide; and Blagg (2016) provides a telling critique of the relationship of Aboriginal peoples to the repressive forces of the criminal justice system.

The structural situation of the indigenous peoples of the *Mato Grosso do Sul* place them in a multitude of imbalanced intersections with the dominant land owners, where their interests and perspectives are seen as being alien to the hegemonic order. As Blagg states:

“I have already argued that intersections (‘frontiers’) provide the focal point for conflict, violence and hyper-marginalisation. It is precisely at these points where Aboriginal people are constantly being dispossessed, discriminated against, alienated, impoverished, traumatised, sold drugs: where they have to deal with the consequences of living in an asymmetrical relationship with a powerful alien culture, where labels are applied, where stigma is inscribed.” (Blagg 2016, p. 153)

As this account is cumulatively demonstrating the current circumstances of the indigenous peoples of the *Mato Grosso do Sul* is characterised by deeply rooted conflicts of interest that are embedded in a structural situation of profound inequalities of respect and resources.

1.4 Structure of the thesis

Considering that discourses are historically situated and socially shaped, chapter two is focused on socio-historical information that helps us to understand the particular context of Brazil and *Mato Grosso do Sul*: histories about the construction of the country, colonization and current race relations. Chapter three provides a useful theoretical framework for the thesis: sets the paradigm of the construction of reality, discusses how media constructs reality,

the role of media in racialization and the ethics of journalism. Chapter four presents the empirical approach, definitions and methods for the analysis. In chapter five the analysis of the story is developed. Chapter six is a discussion about the implications linked to the analysis' findings.

About the direct quotes originally written in Portuguese and Spanish they were all translated by me. The names of places in Portuguese (as *Mato Grosso do Sul* and *Campo Grande*) are in italics. About the terms originally in Guarani language I opted to write the name of the groups as *Guarani and Kaiowa* and the name of the area as *Ñande Ru Marangatu*. However, spelling variations (as *Guarani Kaiowá; guarani-caiová; guarani-caiuá; Ñanderu Marangatu and Nhanderu Marangatu*) were observed in the data and maintained in direct quotes.

2 Socio-historical perspectives

The decision to outline social-historical perspectives about a specific place entails the acknowledgement that there are histories – necessarily in plural. Thus, to summon the history of the *Guarani and Kaiowa* areas in *Mato Grosso do Sul/Brazil*, what could be the beginning? At primary school the first lesson about the history of Brazil starts when the Portuguese explorer Pedro Álvares Cabral finally sees a tropical paradisiac beach from the prow of his caravel. Brazil is there - with its diverse colours, nature and peoples - ready to be “discovered”.

Historian Bessa Freire states¹¹ that to recognize Amerindian perspectives, knowledge and rights, we must face the challenge of coming down from the caravel to look at history from the other way around. I believe that both starts are legitimate and that picking any one of them can be considered a statement choice (conscious or not). However, aiming to try to reach an indigenous perspective, I choose to avoid beginning by watching a potential Brazil from the “prow”, or to assume that a country can be “discovered” rather than constructed. Therefore, I decided to start the chapter with some *Kaiowa* descriptions of their ontology and epistemology written by two *Kaiowa* researches: Eliel Benites and Tónico Benites. Following this I discuss the land controversies and process of settlement of the south of *Mato Grosso*,

¹¹ Stated during the seminar “Documentação Indígena e Etnohistória”, that happened at Dom Bosco Catholic University in *Campo Grande*, on May 28 2013.

which later became *Mato Grosso do Sul*; and lastly, I reflect upon the formation of Brazil and the history of race relations in the country.

2.1 The beginning

To explain who are the *Guarani and Kaiowa*, Eliel Benites (2014) delineates traditional concepts brought from interviews with the elders. The first quote is from the spiritual leader Nailton Aquino, who asserts that the *Kaiowa and Guarani* are people descended from their God called *Ñanderu* (our father). He states that *Ñanderu* is the father of *Pa'i Kuara* (Sun) and *Jasy* (Moon), central characters of the narrative of the myth *Iñepyrũmby* (The beginning), which explains the origins of the world and of human beings. The centrum or navel of the world is named *Yvy pyru'ã*, the place where the *Guarani and Kaiowa* emerged – considered today to be their traditional territory: *ñane retã*.

“This view shows how the Guarani and Kaiowa understand the world and explain its emergence from the intrinsic relationship with spirituality. They elaborate a cultural significance to explain the origin of the world from the experience of the generations linked to the territory where they established themselves.” (Benites 2014, p. 34)¹²

He also points out that from their point of view, humans, plants and animals interact in the same world, differentiating themselves only by their appearance and language. To the *Guarani and Kaiowa*, science is not to comprehend the world from a mechanist, physical and reductionist analysis, but to understand the representations of nature as the visible part that integrates an extended invisible world. It is to say that the indigenous subject explores and inhabits his transit between these two worlds. Effectively, only the *ñanderu* (spiritual leader) really transit between the physical and spiritual worlds. The chants are ways to visualise the *tape rendy* (light way) - moments of trance when it is possible to live the past, the spiritual world within the present world, seeking to build the future. Therefore, the *Guarani and Kaiowa* religiosity is a source of knowledge from the revelations and relations with the environment.

Still about the myth of the beginning, Eliel Benites (2014) quotes the leader Anselmo Barrios, from the indigenous community *Pa'i Tavyterã* in Paraguay, who explains the emergence of the Earth:

¹² Original in Portuguese: «Esta visão mostra como os Kaiowá e Guarani compreendem o mundo e explicam o seu surgimento, a partir da relação intrínseca com a espiritualidade. Elaboram um significado cultural para explicar a origem do mundo a partir da experiência das gerações ligadas ao território onde se estabelecem.»

Our father made the original earth, as well as all existing things upon the earth: the animals, living beings. At the beginning came the earth. He started singing and the earth began to sprout and grow. When he was singing, he ordered the earth and in this way the earth is always expanding, this land that exists at this time. Thus, in the beginning the earth started to exist under this heaven. (Benites 2014, p. 35)¹³

According to Eliel Benites (2014), when the elders assert that the Earth¹⁴ is always expanding, they refer to their own traditional mobility, which some authors call “*oguata*”¹⁵ (to walk, to move). These are ways to occupy the space not producing fixture at the same place, “a condition that was given from God”. The emergence of the Earth from the singing and dancing of *Ñanderu* shows to *Kaiowa and Guarani* their proper manner of territorial occupation. This is an aspect described by many authors (for ex. Brand 1997; Meliá 2004), which includes the act of moving around the territory when certain conditions made the permanence on a specific part of the area undesirable.

Eliel Benites (2014) highlights the importance of the cosmological meanings of the land to the *Kaiowa and Guarani*. He points out that the leaders’ narrations show how the emergence of the land depends on the definition of the *Guarani and Kaiowa* way of being and at the same time how they depend on territoriality to produce their identities. He explains that epistemologically, the *Kaiowa and Guarani* believe that the knowledge they have has its own structure designated by the term *arandu rupa* (knowledge nest).

To talk about the knowledge or the science from the Kaiowa and Guarani perspective, I use the term arandu (ara is time, day; ndu comes from the term ohendu, that means to listen, to hear, to contemplate). Thus, translating this term we can say that arandu is to listen to time, to live, to know from life experience in the intrinsic relationship with the environment. (Benites 2014, p. 36)¹⁶

The *Kaiowa* name their own ‘system’ as *Ñande reko*. In his master thesis, Tónico Benites (2009) described the social organization of the *Kaiowa*, rooted in the relations of the extensive family (*te’yí*). Considering that the indigenous traditions always operate in a specific

¹³ Original in Portuguese: “Nosso pai fez a terra originária, também todas coisas existentes em cima da terra, os animais, os seres vivos, no início veio a terra. Começou a cantar e a terra começou a brotar e expandir. Quando estava cantando, ordenou a terra, desta maneira sempre está ampliando a terra, esta terra que existe neste tempo. Assim, começou a existir a terra embaixo deste céu”

¹⁴ In Portuguese we usually use the same word for Earth and land: “*terra*”

¹⁵ Benites’ thesis has the term “*oguata*” in the title: “*Oguata pyahu* (a new walk in the process of de-construction and construction of indigenous school education at the Te’yikue Indigenous Reservation”

¹⁶ Original in Portuguese: “Para falar sobre o conhecimento ou a ciência na perspectiva kaiowá e guarani, utilizo o termo arandu (ara é tempo, dia; ndu vem do termo ohendu, que significa ouvir escutar, contemplar). Assim, traduzindo este termo, podemos dizer que arandu é ouvir o tempo, vivenciar, conhecer com a experiência de vida, na relação intrínseca com o ambiente.»

historical situation (Benites 2009 quoting Oliveira 1988), which is characterized by different kinds of domination legitimated by the Brazilian Nation-State, Tonico Benites (2009) underlines the dynamic aspect of the *Kaiowa*'s multiple ways of being, that although it is in continued modification is still “*Ñande reko*”.

Therefore, Benites (2009) asserts that, although indigenous people come across power interferences produced by colonialist ideologies when removed to the reservations; the *Guarani and Kaiowa* groups did not abandon their worldviews, religious knowledge, beliefs, values and ways to interpret their lives and deaths.

In this historical situation, the extensive Kaiowa families, instead of disintegrating, improved strategies easing its organization (Mura, 2003), each producing a peculiar way of being (teko laja kuera), building up a contemporary reality characterized by multiple of sets “ways of being” (teko reta). However, the teko reta remains “our way of being” (Ñande reko), always opposed to the (karai Kuera reko) “way of being” of the non-Indian. (Benites 2009, p. 20)¹⁷

Language and the value of words

The Guarani Language belongs to the “Tupi-guarani” linguistic family and it is a language spoken in America before the arrival of Europeans. According to Homero (2011) there are more than 80,000 Guarani speakers in Brazil and 10 million in whole South America. There are a lot of variants of the language, not understandable between each other.

Melia & Grunberg (2008) as well as Homero (2011) point out to the cosmological relation of language use to the *Guarani peoples*. Melia & Grunberg (2008) explain that the Guarani lives are structured on the “soul-word” that each one receives: the name is a soul-word that places the individuals in the world. In this sense the authors point out that for the Guarani it was weird that the Catholic priests would ask the parents what would be the child’s name, since for them it is the spiritual leader that should find this name. In this way, the name is considered to be part of the person.

Homero (2011) quotes Chamorro (2008) who writes that the Guarani peoples’ religion is based in the terms ñe’e, ayvu and ã – generally translated as “word” but that can also mean voice, talk, language, soul, name, life or personality. Brand (1997) named his doctoral thesis

¹⁷ Original in Portuguese: «Nesta situação histórica as famílias extensas kaiowa, em lugar de se desintegrar, aperfeiçoaram estratégias, flexibilizando sua organização (Mura, 2003), cada uma delas produzindo um modo de ser peculiar (teko laja kuera), conformando uma realidade contemporânea como sendo caracterizada pelo (teko reta) o modo de ser múltiplo de conjuntos dessas famílias indígenas Kaiowá . O teko reta continua sendo, no entanto, um (ñande reko), um “nosso modo de ser”, sempre contraposto ao (karai kuera reko) modo de ser do não-índio.»

“The impact of land loss upon the kaiowá/ guarani: the difficult paths of the word”. *Kaiowa* spiritual leaders related the increasing outbreaks of suicide with the words that do not arrive.

2.2 Territoriality

Due to the close connection between territory and identity, much of the academic knowledge about the *Guarani* and *Kaiowa* is concerned with their forms of territorialisation. Therefore, it is important to highlight the concept of *tekoha*. According to Oliveira and Pereira (2009), *tekoha* is a native category of the *Kaiowa* and *Guarani* and it is fundamental to the comprehension of their social organization and territorial locations. They state that the researchers that develop academic studies about these ethnic groups are unanimous in recognizing that it is only possible to understand their spatial organization starting from the notion of *tekoha*. Likewise, Benites (2014) states that:

Tekoha is essential for our physical survival and, in particular, also cultural, since tekoha means space or place (ha) as possible [would necessary be an acceptable alternative to possible] to the way of being and living (teko). The very word brings together two fundamental concepts: life (teko) and place (ha). (Benites 2014, p. 36)¹⁸

Oliveira & Pereira (2009) indicate that the comprehension of this word, largely used by the *Guarani* and *Kaiowa*, clarifies their efforts to claim specific areas or parts of their traditional territories. This is because each community considers that a specific area gathers the necessary conditions to the reproduction of their culture. These conditions are environmental resources (classified in the Western culture as material resources), but that for the *Kaiowa* they represent also religious (immaterial) resources.

Therefore, in a way that it is entirely consistent with Clifford's (2013) account of indigenous understandings of space, place and history, *tekoha* is not just any territory. It is a specific area that represents a reference to the historical memory of each community. Fundamentally it is the place where their ancestors lived and were buried. This is to say that the area is base and condition to their social memory. The authors underline that the recent usage of the term *tekoha* highlights the land, the physical space:

The history of Kaiowa communities in recent decades has led most of its current political leaders to emphasize the territorial dimension of the term tekoha. This is because they are

¹⁸ Original in Portuguese: «Tekoha é imprescindível para nossa sobrevivência física e, de modo especial, também cultural, dado que tekoha significa espaço ou lugar (ha) possível para o modo de ser e de viver (teko). A mesma palavra aglutina dois conceitos fundamentais: vida (teko) e lugar (ha).»

*convinced, based on critical reading of historical processes experienced in recent decades, that the absence of a territorial base is now the main obstacle to the physical and cultural reproduction of their communities. (Oliveira & Pereira 2009, p. 51)*¹⁹

Oliveira and Pereira (2009) in their assigned report expertise about *Ñanderu Marangatu*, emphasize that *tekoha* is a native category of the *Kaiowa* and for this reason, it is a term used by scholars when they describe *Kaiowa*'s conception and experience of their culture and social organization. The authors clarify that *tekoha* is not a category invented by non-indigenous activists to legitimate property invasions, but a category that as any linguistic expression, can be used in the political discussions about land disputes: and it is a term with deep cultural resonance.

Territorial controversies

According to Meliá (2004) the colonial history continuing after the political independencies of the countries in the region – Paraguay, Brazil, Argentina and Bolivia – did not take into account the differences and spaces where the *Guarani* lived. Since the end of the 19th century, they were contacted casually and eventually when the respective States advanced the occupation of the border lands “discovering” them again, colonizing them again and confining them little by little in reduced land areas. Mainly during the whole 20th century, the National States – each one with a different rhythm and procedures, made their national borders effective. Meliá (2004) points out that this situation influences the answers from the *Guarani* about their “moving identity”. He asserts that each of the National States transfers their own social problems to the *Guarani* society while they try to open their path through “a jungle of national symbols”. In his words the National States:

*“(…) built walls that in a few years contributed to the fragmentation of even Guarani of the same ethnic group, forcing definitions on them that have little or nothing to do with their own ways of being. In simple terms, we can say that we started to have Guarani from Paraguay, from Brazil, from Argentina, that sub-divided each ethnic group. All the Guarani have currently their Berlin wall, that separate and divide, fragment and turn them into foreigners and strangers for themselves” (Meliá 2004, p.154)*²⁰

¹⁹ Original in Portuguese: «A história das comunidades Kaiowa nas últimas décadas tem levado a maior parte de seus atuais líderes políticos a enfatizarem a dimensão territorial do termo *tekoha*. Isto porque estão convencidos, a partir da leitura crítica que fazem dos processos históricos vividos nas últimas décadas, que a ausência de uma base territorial constitui hoje o principal entrave para a reprodução física e cultural de suas comunidades.»

²⁰ Original in Spanish: “(…) levantaron muros que en pocos años tienden a la fragmentación incluso de los Guaraní de una misma etnia, obligándolos a definiciones, que poco o nada tienen que ver con su propio modo de ser. En términos simples podemos decir que empezamos a tener Guaraní del Paraguay, del Brasil, de Argentina, que a su vez subdividen cada etnia. Todos los Guaraní tienen en la actualidad su muro de Berlín, que los separa y divide, los fragmenta y separa, volviéndolos extranjeros y extraños para sí mismos.

The history of contact between the *Guarani Kaiowa* and non-indigenous is fundamentally a history of expropriation of indigenous lands by the settlers. The historian Brand (1997) describes extensively the history of the territorial loss in the area of *Mato Grosso do Sul*. In his dissertation, he defined the term “territorial confinement”. This concept is used by most of the recent researchers of *Guarani and Kaiowa’s* recent history. Pereira (2010) asserts that recent studies make clear that the seizure of indigenous lands was more intense between 1930 and 1950. Brand, Pereira and other researchers consider the situation of confinement as the main cause of social problems such as internal and external violence, malnutrition and frequent outbreaks of suicide.²¹

The next section delineates a historical background of the colonization of the south of *Mato Grosso* describing the process of *Guarani and Kaiowa* land expropriation.

2.3 The settlement of the south of Mato Grosso

In 1822, the same year that Brazil gained its independence from Portugal, the Province of *Mato Grosso*²² was established. The settlement of non-indigenous in the region started in 1830. Nevertheless, until the Paraguayan War the area remained almost empty (Brand 1997 quoting Campestrini & Guimarães 1991). According to Meliá (2004), the Paraguayan War (1864-1870), although having nothing to do directly with the *Guarani* themselves, was a historical event that deeply marked and influenced the destiny of these peoples. Fought between Paraguay and the Triple Alliance of Argentina, Brazil and Uruguay, this was the biggest conflict in the history of South America and the event configured new borders and settlements that in time, in some cases slowly, would make these “almost forgotten” *Guarani* territories new objects of exploitation.

After the war, in 1880, the herb extraction company *Companhia Matte Larangeira*²³ was installed in the region that is currently the south of *Mato Grosso do Sul*. Brand (2004) asserts that this company did not take the land occupied by the *Guarani and Kaiowa*, neither did they expel their communities. However, it is evident that the company was responsible for the dislocation of families to work in the herb fields. This company’s extraction area varied during the years, but their extension got to 1 million hectares in certain periods.

²¹ Brand (1997); UN Report 2015.

²² “Mato Grosso” means “thick jungle”

²³ Brand (1997) wrote his doctoral dissertation about the impact of land loss upon the Kaiowa’s way of life focusing on the high suicide rates

Between 1915 and 1928, the Federal Government demarcated eight small pieces of land for the *Guarani and Kaiowa* (18 124 ha in total), in order to confine the various scattered settlements in this vast territory. These reserves, registered under the guidance of the Indian Protection Service (SPI), were an important governmental strategy of land release for colonization, and subsequent submission of the indigenous population to the occupation projects and exploitation of natural resources by non-indigenous interests. During the implementation of these indigenous reserves, native patterns of relationship with the territory and its natural resources and, especially, their social organisation were ignored (Brand 2004). Andrade (2015) quoting Corrêa (1995) highlights that in the 1920s, the south of *Mato Grosso* received a decisive influence from the state of São Paulo with the construction of the railway. Within the economy, cattle raising was the main activity and attracted people from many other regions. The author mentions the slavery in the farms, sugar mills and herbals of *Mato Grosso*. There are registers of this kind of slavery of “blacks”, “indians” and “whites” until 1931.

In 1943, the president Getúlio Vargas created the National Agricultural Colony of Dourados (CAND) with the goal of providing land for non-indigenous coming from other regions of the country. According to Brand (2004), this caused immediate problems, because the creation of this Agricultural Colony imposed the transfer of indigenous to other areas. This also increased deforestation and the destruction of indigenous settlements, which meant an aggravation of confinement inside the reservations. Brand (1997) highlights the term “*sarambi*” in *Guarani* language (“spread” or “sputter”). “*Sarambi*” was used by many of his sources to describe the process of fragmentation of their communities. The new territorial configuration made impossible the traditional *Kaiowa* phenomenon called “*oguata*” (described before). Brand (2004) asserts that *oguata* seems to have been an important *Guarani and Kaiowa* strategy to surpass internal conflicts and tensions. He considers the hypothesis that the impossibility of this cultural practice in the current context may be one of the factors that contributes to the high rates of violence inside the reservations.

From 1970, the introduction of the plantations of soy beans and the mechanization of the agricultural practices also decreased the importance of the indigenous labour force and disarticulated the indigenous settlements in the ‘back’ of the big farms, where the *Guarani and Kaiowa* used to reside. Therefore, this process of territorial loss and confinement in small spaces with a population much higher than the historical standard brought new challenges to

the indigenous' economy, social organization and religiosity. In addition, the process represented a fast transition of varied alternatives for subsistence (agriculture, fishing and hunting) to a not varied agriculture and most recently to wage labour in the sugar cane industries (Brand 2004).

Mato Grosso do Sul

In 1977, during the 'high point' of the military dictatorship (1964-1985), the State of *Mato Grosso do Sul* was created after a big separatist process led by the big rural landowners from the south of *Mato Grosso* (Andrade 2015 quoting Bittar 2009). *Mato Grosso do Sul* is in the middle-west region of Brazil, making borders with the countries Paraguay and Bolivia and the Brazilian states *Mato Grosso*, *Paraná*, *São Paulo*, *Minas Gerais* and *Goiás*. The capital is *Campo Grande* and there are another 77 municipalities, 44 of them on the national borders. *Mato Grosso do Sul* occupies 357.124,962 square kilometres (similar to Germany's size). The population is roughly 2,5 million. There are big rural areas and the economy is based on cattle raising, agriculture and agroindustry, where the sugar cane industry has a central role. The Human Development Index (HDI) is 0,75 (8° in the country); illiteracy is around 6 per cent (the national average is around 13 per cent) and the life expectation of 76 years old.

Thus, in the sections above we have seen the relation of territory to the foundational stories of indigenous identity and the continuing pervasive relevance of land to collective identity and cultural integrity. Through the processes of colonisation we have seen the unique identities of indigenous peoples denied and merged into a politically loaded term of Indian; where the subordinated status of indigenous peoples in their relation to their land is paralleled in the usurpation of their capacity to control their own worth and identity.

The development of the non-indigenous exploitation of the traditional lands of the *Guarani* and *Kaiowa* has seen the political and physical power of the non-indigenous interests exercised in the progressive marginalisation of the indigenous populations and their increasing expulsion from their lands. The potency of this hegemonic scenario has been concretely revealed in the failure of the 1988 Constitutional recognition of indigenous rights to be realised in practice. It is in this context that the current violence against indigenous persons striving to claim their rights continues today.

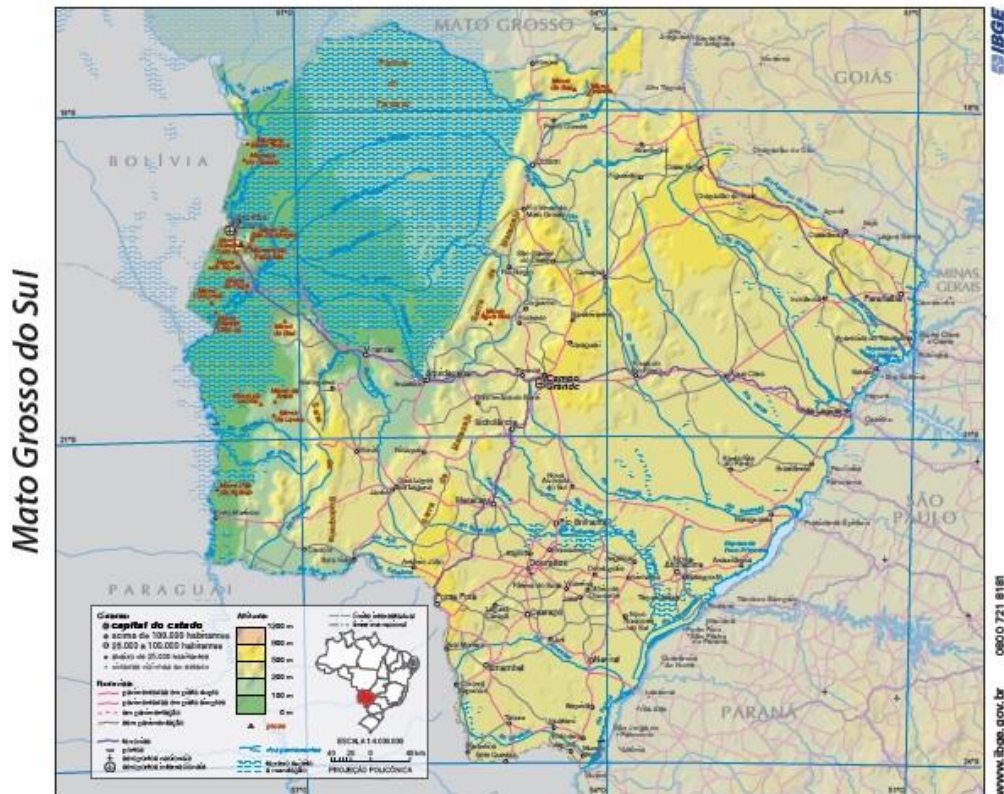


Figure 2: Map of Mato Grosso do Sul. Source: IBGE

In order to understand how this situation could be possible it is necessary that we pause to delve further into the historical determination of national identity in Brazil and the narratives which underpin it: including racial ideologies and the promotion of the notion of “racelessness” in Brazil’s self- understanding.

2.4 A country called Brazil

Brazil is the largest country in the Latin American area (8 515 767,049 square kilometres, equivalent to 47 per cent of the South American territory). It is the only Portuguese speaking country in the Americas and the largest Portuguese speaking country in the world. Brazil has the world’s fifth largest area and population. It has borders with almost all the other countries of South America, except Ecuador and Chile. Brazil is a Federal Republic and the current constitution was formulated in 1988. The Federation consists of 26 states and the Federal

District (where the Federal Government headquarters are) and includes 5,570 municipalities. The population is roughly 205 million.²⁴

Pedro Álvares Cabral arrived with three caravels in Brazil on the 22nd of April 1500. The explorer claimed the area for the Portuguese Empire. Previous agreements between Portugal and Spain, mediated by the Pope, had already divided the “new world” in two. The agreements known as “*Bula Inter Coetera*” and the “Treaty of Tordesillas” traced an imaginary line after The Azores and established that the lands on the east of the line would belong to Portugal while the lands on the west would belong to Spain. The monopoly of the exploration of the new continent by Portugal and Spain was challenged later, in the 16th century, when settlers and traders from France, the Netherlands and England started their maritime expansion attempts.

From 1500 until 1808, Brazil was a Portuguese Colony. The independence of Brazil was declared in 1822 by Dom Pedro I, first emperor of Brazil, son of Dom João VI of Portugal. In 1889 the republic was proclaimed by a military movement. After that, different forms of authoritarian government were intercalated by periods of (almost) democracy. From 1964 to 1985 Brazil lived under the longest continuing military dictatorship that culminated in human rights violations restriction of freedoms, exiles, tortures and murders. In 1989 direct presidential elections re-inaugurated democracy in the country.

Race relations in Brazil

When approaching race relations in Brazil, it is impossible to neglect the controversial hypothesis or myth of “racial democracy”. In a nutshell, this is the idea that racism was not prevalent in Brazil.²⁵ This notion is rooted in the historical reality of miscegenation (Ribeiro, 1995). Indeed, racial segregation was never official in Brazil and inter-ethnic relationships were usual. However, most of the current literature about the theme clarify that the mixture of components in the construction of Brazilian society does not reveal the absence of racism.

²⁴ Instituto Brasileiro de Geografia e Estatística (2016). *Projeção da População do Brasil*. [online] Available from <http://www.ibge.gov.br/apps/populacao/projecao/index.html> [Accessed on: 2 March 2016]

²⁵ [Maio stated, “the belief in Brazil as an exemplar in race relations dated back to the nineteenth century, when reports from travelers, scientists, journalists, and politicians from Europe and the United States registered surprise at the peaceful coexistence in Brazil among whites, blacks, and natives.” Specifically, from the 1920s to the 1940s a more positive view of a “racial paradise” emerged and “relations between blacks and whites in Brazil came to be perceived instead as an indicator of tolerance and harmony” and the idea of a Brazilian racial democracy became “an ideological cornerstone of racial integration.” Due to this reputation, UNESCO and fellow scholars looked to Brazil as an example of racial democracy and desired to emulate it through understanding the history of Brazilian race relations.] (sic. Pattillo 2013, p. 18)

Rather, it establishes a distinctive context in the construction of racism. It is possible to assert that “racial democracy” and the idealized view of Brazil as a “racial paradise” are now redundant concepts in Academy, although the miscegenation factor (that to some extent people can understand as a sort of “racial democracy”) is a central aspect of the discourses about Brazilian identity.

Gilberto Freyre (1933) argues that continued miscegenation between the three races (Amerindians, Africans, and white Europeans) would lead to a “meta-race”, a “post-racial race” or a “race beyond race(s)”. According to the author, the lack of white women established “confraternization” spaces between the winners and losers, masters and slaves. The relations between white men and coloured women understood respectively as “superior” and “inferior” - in most of the cases abusive masters and submissive slaves were lightened with the settlers’ need of building families in these circumstances. The great miscegenation thus corrected the social distance that in other ways would have remained big between the “big-house” and the tropical forest, between the big-house and the *senzala*.²⁶

Freyre states that in the “tropical America” the established society was structurally agrarian, with enslavement as a central process in the technique of economic exploitation; and with consequent hybridity with “Indians” – later also with “blacks” – in the emergent composition of the population: a society that would develop being less defensive about race consciousness, because racism was almost absent amongst the “cosmopolitan and plastic Portuguese”. Buarque de Holanda (1936) endorses this notion of the Portuguese “social plasticity” that made life seem smoother, more welcoming of social, racial and moral dissonances. He states that: *“Our colonizers were, before it all, men that knew to repeat what was already done or what the routine had taught them. (...) another very typical aspect of their extraordinary social plasticity: the complete absence, or practically complete, race pride among them.”* (2004, p. 53).

The socio-historical context of “black and white” relations in the country is a complex theme and scholars have been making comparisons with other former European colonies as the United States and South Africa²⁷. For our case, we will focus on the indigenous component of race relations.

²⁶ “Senzala” was the place where the slaves slept in the structure of the houses from slavery times.

²⁷ See Sansone (2003)

Indigenoussness versus Brazilianness

When we talk about relations between indigenous (here used as a generic term) and colonizers in Brazil, the discussion necessarily touches a sex/gender aspect as well. Naturally, the idea of miscegenation, so strong in the sense of “Brazilianness” is connected to inter-ethnic sex relations as a historical factor. It is an ambiguous and contradictory theme. Authors such as Freyre and Buarque de Holanda in a way claimed this miscegenation as a symbol of the “plasticity” or the “absence of race pride” of the Portuguese colonizers. These affirmations are exacerbated when compared to other processes of colonization. Freyre (1933) for instance argues that *“the puritan English wanted to remain immaculate from sexual and social contact with peoples that they found repugnant because of differences of colour and manners”*. In opposition, *“hybrid since the beginning, Brazilian society is from all of America, the one that constituted itself most harmonically when it comes to race relations”* (p.157).

Although these ideas may seem absurd now, I believe that the exposition of this myth can help to clarify that in most of Brazilian discourses about ethnicity and race these categories are not much connected to genetics. Freyre (1933) asserts that *“the environment in which Brazilian life beginning was of almost sexual intoxication”* (p.161). He argues that this created an environment near to cultural reciprocity, where the values of the “delayed” peoples were appropriated by the “advanced”. The Portuguese and indigenous miscegenation process consisted roughly from relations between male colonizers and female “indians”, thus the society was organized as Christian in the superstructure, with the indigenous woman, newly baptized, as wife and mother of the family; and using in her economy and domestic life autochthonous traditions, experiences and instruments. Describing the shock between the European and Amerindian cultures from the social formation of Brazilian families, the author asserts that the European and catholic moral predominated. He asserts that for the indigenous peoples the contact was solvent - a natural dissolution that always happens when an “advanced” culture is put together with a “delayed” one.

It is important to consider that the books of Freyre and Buarque de Holanda, so positive towards miscegenation in Brazil, were written during the 1930s and therefore relate not only to Brazilian reality, but to an extremely strict and intolerant global context on race relations. However, it is also relevant to point out that these ideas of a sort of “racial democracy” that results in a sort of “ethnic unity” survived up until the 90s.

Darcy Ribeiro (1995) describes the formation of the Brazilian people as the result of the clash and welding between the Portuguese invader, “indians” and black slaves. He asserts that from the confluence of these peoples originated a new one, which emerges as a “national ethnicity”, differentiated from the forming patterns and strongly “mestiza” (mixed). This process could have resulted in a multi-ethnic society parted in oppositional different components, but Ribeiro argues that what happened was integration. Therefore, he understands Brazil as an uni-ethnic State in which *“the only exception are the multiple micro-ethnicities that are so small that they cannot affect the macro-ethnicity and the country’s destiny”* (p22.). Nevertheless, if the belief in an alleged equality between races influenced many generations, social inequalities were too big to be denied. According to the author:

“On this conditions, the social distance between the dominant and subordinated classes is exacerbated, and between these and the oppressed, aggravating the oppositions to accumulate, under the ethnic-cultural uniformity and the national unity, dissociative tensions of traumatic character. Consequently, the ruling elites, first Portuguese, then Portuguese-Brazilian and at last Brazilian, always and still live under the panic of the uprising of the oppressed classes.” (Ribeiro 1995, p.23)²⁸

These notions are being systematically questioned in the last decades. A national law approved in 2008 establishes that indigenous and afro-Brazilian cultures and histories should be taught at schools. Mussi & Sousa (2013) analysed the discursive propositions of history and literature school books about indigenous peoples. They assert that in general indigenous people are disqualified as human beings, seen as animals with no soul, barbarians, devils. The authors reveal that the first observations and discourses about indigenous peoples came from reports of explorers and Jesuits. In this context they had many questions about those newly discovered peoples such as *“do they belong to Humanity? If they are so wild, do they have souls?”*

In this sense the “discursive otherness” was constructed from zoological metaphors and absences *“peoples with no moral, no religion, no law, no State, no writing, no science, no consciousness, no goals, no art, no past, no future”* (Mussi and Sousa 2013, p.115). The authors point out that the main problem is that these constructions denied a minimal

²⁸ Original in Portuguese: “Nessas condições, exacerba-se o distanciamento social entre as classes dominantes e as subordinadas, e entre estas e as oprimidas, agravando as oposições para acumular, debaixo da uniformidade étnico-cultural e da unidade nacional, tensões dissociativas de caráter traumático. Em consequência, as elites dirigentes, primeiro lusitanas, depois lusobrasileiras e, afinal, brasileiras, viveram sempre e vivem ainda sob o pavor pânico do alçamento das classes oprimidas.”

autonomy for the “other” to talk about himself. Therefore, it was easier to accept stereotypes than to try to understand different types of social organisation.

To understand the complex discursive environment that frames ethnic relations in Brazil, it is important to note that whilst this discursive denigration of indigenous people was being constructed and consolidated in Brazilian popular culture, so too was the contradictory myth of Brazil as a society that had transcended race becoming normative. As Goldberg (2002) has noted, this belief in the “racelessness” of Brazilian social relations has powerful hegemonic properties. He argues that *“Racelessness in Brazil has fixed racial effects in place, rendering its material conditions seemingly inevitable and their historical causes largely invisible and virtually causeless”* (p.215).

The potent presence of the myth of melting-pot racelessness in Brazil frames the *de facto* negotiation of racialized identities in a penumbra of national innocence that makes the brute reality of the continuing racialization of everyday life hard to identify. Sansone (2003) in his ethnographically based analysis of “Constructing Race in Brazil” gives a nuanced insight into the complex realities of identity formation within a nation where “we are all mixed”. Thus as we explore the construction of indigenous identities we need to keep in mind this contradictory discursive environment.

2.5 Colonial territoriality and contemporary identities

The process of colonization of Brazil was a cultural clash in many aspects, fundamentally between diverse forms of territorialisation and the imposition of a specific form of territoriality by the colonizers. An official report by the Brazilian Government in 1920²⁹ describes the development of the agricultural economy in Brazil. The text asserts that in Brazil, in contrast to many other countries, the social structure developed with big properties as its base. The long colonial period was rooted on the “splendour and glory” of the great property. Only the big property would dominate the plot of Brazilian history. The opposition between indigenous’ and colonizer’s understanding of territoriality is described by Freyre (1933) as the antagonism of European capitalism and indigenous communism. This contrast would bring instability and feelings of insecurity.

²⁹ Censo 1920

“It is natural that the notion of property as other values, moral and material, including the human life, are in Brazil still a conflict between the most violent antagonisms. When it comes to the property to focus on this point, between the Amerindian communism and the European private property notion. Between the descendent of the communist ‘indian’, with almost no notion of individual possession and the descendant of the particularistic Portuguese that until the 19th century has lived among the alarm of thieves (...)”³⁰ (Freyre 1933, p.)

The concrete presence of indigenous peoples in the land mass of Brazil has constituted an ongoing challenge to the production of a coherent national narrative of Brazilian identity. As we have seen the pervasive historical reality of miscegenation created a demography, and familial ties, that did not sit easily with explicit and rigid racial ideologies of non-negotiable difference. At the same time, structurally and normatively, there were, and are, real differences in life chances and dignity of individuals depending upon their location within a hierarchy of colour. The continuing denial of the indigenous population their rights, and the explicitly brutal treatment that they receive destabilises the myth of racelessness and makes it pragmatically necessary to emotionally and discursively fence off the indigenous from the inclusive cradle of mestizo racelessness. They stand out as being virulently incapable of absorption into the national mixedness. Thus, their claim to the centrality of their historical distinctiveness, which is central to their positioning themselves as a “national indigenous minority” (cf Kymlicka, 1995) perversely serves to position them within the hegemonic discourse as a primitive, pre-modern anomaly in the body of Brazilian cohesion.

This powerful association of land with spiritual and social identity is clearly also present in other indigenous peoples’ epistemologies and marks a potent source of the politicisation of space in the relation between indigenous peoples and settler societies. Thus, again we see how the cultural integrity of the *Guarani and Kaiowa* is locked into a non-negotiable identification with their homeland: an identification which puts them into direct conflict with the interests of landowners and their hegemonic historic bloc.

³⁰ Original in Portuguese: “É natural que na noção de propriedade como na de outros valores, morais e materiais, inclusive o da vida humana, seja ainda o Brasil um campo de conflito entre antagonismos os mais violentos. No tocante à propriedade para nos fixarmos nesse ponto, entre o comunismo do ameríndio e a noção de propriedade privada do europeu. Entre o descendente do índio comunista, quase sem noção de posse individual e o descendente do português particularista que até princípios do século XIX viveu, entre alarmes de corsários e ladrões”

3 Theoretical Framework

3.1 Setting a paradigm: The social construction of reality

Berger and Luckmann (1966) wrote a treatise on the sociology of knowledge, entitled “*The Social Construction of Reality*”. The authors, in considering both objective and subjective reality, describe the dialectical dynamics between society as a human construct and men (and women) as socially constructed. Berger and Luckmann admit the existence of diverse realities. However, among the multiple realities, the one that presents itself as the reality *per excellence* is the reality of everyday life. This kind of reality displays itself as an intersubjective shared world and is taken for granted as reality “*it does not require additional verification over and beyond its simple presence. It is simply there, as self-evident and compelling facticity*” (p.37).

Berger and Luckmann (1966) point to sociability as a necessary condition to human environments. “Man’s specific humanity and his sociality are inextricably intertwined. *Homo sapiens* is always, and in the same measure, *homo socius*” (p.69). Concerning sociability, the reality of everyday life involves processes of what the authors call typification: a categorization of others and their actions. Social structure is the sum of all these typifications and interaction models. In this context, language is also a crucial factor in the reality of everyday life. Language derives from the human capacity of objectivation. “*As a sign system, language has the quality of objectivity. I encounter language as a facticity external to myself and it is coercive in its effect on me. Language forces me into its patterns*” (p. 53).

Society as a normatively objective reality is organized as an objective world, where institutions are crystalized; and therefore the social formations can be transmitted to other generations. Nevertheless, Berger and Luckmann (1966) emphasize that “*it is important to keep in mind that the objectivity of the institutional world, however massive it may appear to the individual, is a humanly produced, constructed objectivity*” (p. 78). This institutionalized world requires legitimation to be explained and language is again decisive to this process “*language provides fundamental superimposition of logic on the objectivated social world. The edifice of legitimations is built upon language and uses language as its principal instrumentality*” (p. 82).

Mass media and the social construction of reality

Media mediates social interactions, debates, decisions. Journalism is a product and at the same time producer of common-sense knowledge. Common-sense, in Berger and Luckmann words is *“the knowledge that I share with others in the normal, self-evident routines of everyday life”* (p.37). In daily newspapers, journalistic production is rooted on what journalists, editors and readers share as a common-sense. Using the sociological paradigm of the construction of reality and applying ethnography sociologist Gaye Tuchman researched the productive routines of journalists in New York from 1966 to 1976. In the book *“Making news: a study in the construction of reality”* (1978) she examines how media can contribute to the social construction of reality and how the productive routines frame the construction of news.

Tuchman underlines that news can have a dramatic impact in the construction of reality, particularly through its manipulations of symbols. She also highlights the potential of newswriters to construct social reality. *“Some social actors thus have a greater ability to create, impose, and reproduce social meanings – to construct social reality. Newswriters are one group with more power than most to construct social reality”* (p. 208). About journalistic practices, she noticed that objectified typifications can be seductive for journalists especially because they constantly have to predict and plan their routines.

“Following Schutz (1962, 1964, 1966, 1967), Berger and Luckmann (1967) tell us that knowledge may be objectified by institutions. Instead of existing formulations subject to continual revisions and reconstitution, objectified ideas may elicit set ways of dealing with the world. As the product of the intertwining of news time and the news net, the news typifications have become part of the reporter’s professional stock of knowledge-at-hand” (Tuchman, p. 58)

Therefore, journalists also tend to seek for appropriate sources. “Unimpeachable sources” are embedded in socially structured perceptions of the everyday world and its institutions. Tuchman notes that a challenge to these legitimized sources that centralize information, would dismantle the news net. Therefore, news relies on institutional structures and at the same time reproduces it. When news organizations and newswriters classify sources of information as legitimated social institutions, they commit themselves to specific bureaus.

“Through naïve empiricism, that information is transformed into objective facts – facts as a normal, natural, taken-for-granted description and constitution of a state of affairs. And through the sources identified with facts, newswriters create and control controversy; they contain dissent.” (Tuchman 1978, p. 205)

Tuchman also analysed the news coverage about the feminist movement in New York and interviewed reporters and activists. About the mismatches between social movements and the press, one of the problems is the tempo of newswork which drags the focus to events and not issues. *“The discrepancy between the approaches of newswriters and members of social movements is a conflict between craft as consciousness and the more analytical consciousness of the social movement”* (p. 135). The consequences of these processes of news production have been revealed in numerous empirical studies of the partisan nature of media representation of social issues (e.g Philo, 1999, Downing and Husband, 2005).

3.2 Racialization and the role of media

Downing and Husband (2005) analysed the role of media in the hegemonic racialization and in the politics of ethnicity. They strongly assert that racism is a poisonous ideology and a destructive practice, a social evil and politically divisive ideology. On the other hand, ethnicity is considered a positive way of human categorization, fundamental to the recognition of difference. The concept of “race” became a conspicuous aspect of human identity, despite the lack scientific validity. In other words, race is a social construct through categorization. About this process of constructing a racialized world view, literature reveals that the elements engaged are not necessarily logic, but psychologically coherent. The concept of “race” is very much connected to stereotypes. Racial significances are dynamic - always part of specific historical contexts and processes (Downing and Husband, 2005).

Downing and Husband (2005) use Winant’s (1994) argument to explain that the concept of “race” is fundamentally a metaphor for institutionalized social relationships that include exploitation / domination and struggles over identity. In the case of media, the practice of using “human races” as an authentic concept - in other words, as legitimate categories of our social constructed realities and shared knowledge – is a reproduction of “race” thinking. In their analysis, the authors examine discrimination through institutional prism, which means that the focus is on the routine practices of the organizations and their normalization of work culture.

Van Dijk (2005) notes that institutional racism is a more “macro” approach of racism. Van Dijk developed research on discourse racism and the media during the last decades. He highlights the significant role of the elites in the (re)production of racism as a result of their

control over access to social resources. They make most fundamental decisions and regulate access to the news, as well as the portrayal of minorities. Therefore:

“If such portrayals are negative, this is not merely a passive reflection of widespread prejudices of the population at large, but the result of explicit discursive practices of the media elites, usually in collusion with the political, corporate, and social elites.” (Van Dijk 1999, p. 308)

He also found that news texts are systematically connected to the possible “mental models” of the readers. These “preferred” individual models are the basis of socially shared knowledge. However, it is pertinent to highlight that prejudices or racist beliefs are not personal, they are part of a social system of dominance. Racist beliefs are predominantly transmitted via discourse. In mass media stereotypes and racist ideologies appear frequently, sometimes more openly and at other times in a subtler form.

Racism and discourse in Brazil

In the book *Racism and Discourse in Spain and Latin America* (2005), Van Dijk states that the issue in Latin America has usually the aspect of European (“white”) racism, however with much more complex ethnic and social bases (as I briefly explained in chapter II). He sees racism in Latin America as a system of domination and power abuse in which “racial”, “ethnic” and “class” dimensions come together in many forms of inequality. About discursive racism in Brazil, Van Dijk acknowledges the complexity of race relations and centuries of miscegenation. However, he notes that the central direction of ethnic power relations in Brazil is the same as elsewhere in the continent: white (“European”) people oppress (dominate) the other groups.

This is reproduced in media; in television (for example in the many *telenovelas*³¹), newspapers and magazines, where you see mostly white faces and blond hair. Because an elite controls media in Brazil this means that people from African descent, and especially also indigenous people are rare in leadership positions of media production (Van Dijk, 2005). The author emphasizes another aspect of racism in Brazil that is also shared with the rest of Latin America and Europe: its denial. Many whites and even black Brazilians consider that social problems are based on class and not race. Nonetheless, the vast differences in wealth and power are also rooted in racial inequality.

Indigenous case

³¹ Tv soaps

In his research on racism and discourse in Brazil, Van Dijk (2005) observed that the portrayal of indigenous peoples in media is marginal and stereotypical, representing them as backward, primitive and exclusively associated with, for example, specific cultural customs and dress. In their book *Representing Race*, Downing and Husband (2005) wrote a whole chapter on “*the distinctive challenge of indigeneity*”. It is crucial to understand indigenous people’s experience – the historical colonial relations that included usurpation of indigenous rights and lands, as well as imposed “*alien definitions of identity upon them*” (p. 122).

“History is always relevant to contemporary understandings of the location of indigenous communities within modern nation states. Their exclusion from the official history of the ‘nation’ always creates fissures in the current laboured discourse of national identity. Historical practices of the physical exclusion of indigenous peoples to the territorial peripheries and genocidal ambitions of obliteration have failed to eradicate indigenous peoples.” (p. 122)

The stereotyped portrayal of indigenous peoples recalls that, historically, descriptions of native groups were made by colonial explorers, settlers and scientists. The emphasis of these descriptions was often on the primitiveness of indigenous people. The current relation between indigenous people and mass media is permeated by problems of misrepresentation – a common problem of relationships of other minorities and mass media. Still, in the indigenous case Downing and Husband (2005) observed echoes of the Rousseauesque “*Noble Savage*” as the historical continuity of indigenous peoples’ relation to the land. They emphasize that the claims of indigenous peoples for self- government rights over their traditional territories clash with majority interests and become a dominant issue in media coverage.

3.3 Journalism principles and practices

Journalism as a professional activity is rooted in values, procedures and specific ethics. Some of the main values that guide journalism ethics are connected to the notions of social responsibility, public interest, autonomy and objectivity. The concept of objectivity is probably the most central in media theory, particularly to news information. This concept has been the subject of extensive discussions, considerations and controversies.

“In general, media audiences appear to understand the principle of objective performance well enough, and its practice helps to increase public credence and trust both in the information and also in the opinions that media offer. The media themselves find that

objectivity gives their own news product a higher and wider market value.” (McQuail 2010, p.201)

The idea of objectivity applied to journalism practices relates to considerations of equality – opposed interests in society having approximately the same media access opportunities. *“The link with equality is also strong: objectivity requires a fair and non-discriminatory attitude to sources and to objects of news reporting, all of which should be treated on equal terms.”* (ibid p.201) Another important principle related to quality of information is the idea of diversity which claims that media should give voice to various social and cultural minorities. *“The principal of diversity (also identified as a major benefit of freedom and linked with the concepts of access and equality) is especially important because it underpins the normal processes of progressive change in society.”* (ibid p.197)³²

Although objectivity and the other standards related to the quality of information are central principles in journalism discourses, it is important to emphasize that objectivity is not universally considered necessary or even possible to achieve (McQuail 2010, Waisbord, 2013). In addition, these standards bring another difficult discussion: it has been suggested that the norms of objectivity lead to new forms of bias because it favours the voices of well-organized and well-financed sources. Other problems listed by McQuail (2010) are connected to the maintenance of the *status quo*. He points out that challenges also appear about how far the media can go in their support for opposition or what can be seen as potential subversion.

“Critical theory has usually interpreted mass media as agents of a dominant, controlling class of power holders who seek to impose their own definitions of situations and their values and to marginalize or delegitimize opposition.” (McQuail 2010, p.204)

However, we would be naïve and wrong to see any such dominant controlling group as necessarily homogeneous; and media research has fruitfully employed the Gramscian concept of *hegemony*, so richly developed by Stuart Hall, in order to provide a more complex and nuanced understanding of media influence. A theoretical alertness to the relevance of hegemony in the operation and impact of journalism is complemented by the forensic empirical analyses of a political economy approach to the media.

The media operate within an economic context where the political economy of their existence and modes of operation have been shown to have a significant impact upon news production

³² Despite the virtuous aspirations of this claim to diversity media research is replete with the cumulative evidence of the marginalisation of the voices and perspectives of , for example indigenous peoples

and content (Wasko, 2014, Golding and Williamson, 2014). As Fairclough (1995) has noted the economics of an institution determines its practices: media texts are symbolic, cultural commodities produced in a culture industry, which circulate for profit within a market and thus are open to the effects of commercial pressures.

In this sense Waisbord (2013) brings a rich discussion about the complicated relation between journalism and media patrimonialism³³ in new democracies. He states that journalism faces repeated challenges to assert boundaries in new democracies, where there is also the persistence of media patrimonialism. For him the main difficulty is that employers seldom offer working environments to practice critical work: *“the walls between newsrooms and business and political calculations are too porous to foster the kind of public-oriented reporting exalted in the canon of professionalism”* (p.152). He states that the lack of clear regulations offers ripe conditions for deceptive behaviours and argues that *“democracy has not penetrated, let alone spearheaded major transformations in, traditional media patronage relations”* (p.160).

Ethics and codes of practice

Around the world journalists have developed codes of ethics to regulate their professional activity. Although these codes are not necessarily used by journalists in their routine practice, they are a sum of the ethical principles that should guide journalistic practices. On the website of FENAJ (Journalists' National Federation in Brazil) it is possible to find the *“Code of Ethics of Brazilian Journalists”* and on the website of ABI (Brazilian Press Association) the *“International Principles of Professional Ethics in Journalism”*. The *“International Principles of Professional Ethics in Journalism”* were approved in 1983, after four years of consultative meetings supervised by UNESCO, which gathered 400.000 working journalists from many parts of the world. The text points out principles of professional journalism ethics that are an international common ground and should be a source of inspiration to the development of national and regional codes of ethics.

The principles are: I) People's Right to True Information; II) The Journalist's Dedication to Objective Reality; III) The Journalist's Social Responsibility; IV) The Journalist's Professional Integrity; V) Public Access and Participation; VI) Respect for Privacy and

³³ According to Waisbord (2013): “Certainly, patrimonialism doesn't only affect journalism. As a substantial literature focused on the challenges for democratic governance in new democracies has shown, it is intrinsic to democracies with significant institutional deficits, namely weak rule of law and strong personalism (Keefer and Vlaicu 2008)”

Human Dignity; VII) Respect for Public Interest; VIII) Respect for Universal Values and Diversity of Cultures; IX) Elimination of War and Other Great Evils Confronting Humanity; X) Promotion of a New World Information and Communication Order. The three last principles are especially interesting to my subject.

The VIIIth principle claims that *“a true journalist should stand for the values of humanism, peace, democracy, human rights, social progress and national liberation, while respecting the distinctive character, value and dignity of each culture, as well as the right of each people freely to choose and develop its political, social economic and cultural systems”*.

The IXth principle asserts that *“The ethical commitment to the universal values of humanism calls for the journalist to abstain from any justification for, or incitement to, wars of aggression and the arms race, especially in nuclear weapons, and all other forms of violence, hatred or discrimination, especially racialism and apartheid, oppression by tyrannical regimes, colonialism and neo-colonialism (...)”*.

The Xth principle encourages journalists to work in the framework of a movement towards new international relations in general and a new information order in particular. *“This new order, understood as an integral part of the new international economic order, is aimed at the decolonization and democratization (...)”*.

The Code of Ethics of Brazilian Journalists (2007) was approved by the National Congress of Professional Journalists. The text *“based on the citizens’ fundamental right to information”* sets norms to regulate journalists’ practices and relations between the community, sources and other journalists. The text highlights the idealistic thought that journalistic ethics should be independent from political and economic influence from media organisations. However, the existence of codes of practice and the rehearsal of their existence as a statement of the credibility and autonomy of the journalistic profession is not without its critics. A robust challenge to the realistic relevance of codes of practice to routine journalistic practice is provided by Downing and Husband (2005, p148):

“A not too cynical interpretation of very many of these codes and guidelines is that they constitute a gestural rhetoric of ‘professional standards’ that represent sincere aspirations for the collectively imaginable, rather than an executive order for the regulation of the collectively attainable. As such, they are of course entirely consistent with the logics of professional bodies and the ideology of professionalism itself. A core function of all professional bodies is to define the terrain of their activity, to provide a self-evident

legitimacy for their members' exclusive occupation of this terrain and to seek to guarantee self-regulation of their performance within this terrain (...) The ideology of professionalism provides a binding coherence to the relevance and meaning of such codes. However, we need only to look at the law, medicine, the church or academia to sustain a justifiable scepticism about the adequacy of self-regulation of the professions."

The current crisis in British journalism following the publication of the Leveson Inquiry, and Parliamentary uproar that followed it, is but one, particularly detailed instance, of the problematic status of media codes of practice and the trustworthiness of their self-regulation.

Thus, following the review presented above, the approach to the analysis of the news reportage that is the focus of this study places news as a representation of the social world into a complex of critical considerations of the political economy of its production, and of the hegemonic forces shaping the contestation of realities that are in play in this context and at this time. Additionally, as we have seen, this contemporary context can only be adequately conceptualized through a careful appreciation of the impact of the historical circumstances that continue to have contemporary relevance.

3.4 Earlier research about indigenous peoples and media in Brazil

The relations of mainstream media and indigenous peoples increasingly receive attention by academics in Brazil. Although there is still little production in the field, researchers in different areas, such as History and Anthropology, include media analysis in their investigations. Below I present some academic papers recently developed and that are pertinent to the development of my research.

Benites (2014) described and analysed the processes of reoccupation in four *tekohas*³⁴ located in the south of *Mato Grosso do Sul*. Although his focus is not on media discourse, the last chapter is entitled "*The symbolic disputes about Aty Guasu: disrespect and racism in the media versus autonomy and empowerment on social media*". Using examples of news items and opinion articles published in different mainstream media outlets, the author pointed out the tendency of relating indigenous issues with negative themes such as violence and suicide; the preference for landowners' perspectives and the image of the indigenous as drunk, violent beings who attack each other and the farmers.

³⁴ Guarani and Kaiowa traditional lands. See definition in page 18

Silva (2007) analysed the representations of the *Guarani and Kaiowa* in the newspaper “*O Progresso*”³⁵ (The Progress) during the 1980s. He concluded that the editorial posture of the newspaper in that decade was compromised with the propagation of the ideals that guided the formation of the *sul-mato-grossense* identity,³⁶ emphasizing the muting (silence) of the native indigenous peoples underlined in the governmental projects. Cavalcante (2013) examined the continuities and ruptures in the *Guarani and Kaiowa* territoriality from the sixteenth century to the present. A section of his research brings items published by regional and local newspapers and a national magazine that illustrate mainstream media’s role in constructing a public opinion that is contrary to supporting indigenous land rights.

Foscaches (2010) analysed marks of racism against the *Guarani and Kaiowa* in the news stories published by “*Correio do Estado*”, “*O Estado MS*” and “*Folha do Povo*” (the three biggest mainstream newspapers in *Campo Grande/MS*) in the period 2008 – 2009. Her quantitative and qualitative analysis showed that the symbolic discourses are “*determined by anthropological and historical superficiality that relates to the ambiguous objectives of informing and making profit in accordance with the hegemonic ideology and interests*” (p.70)³⁷.

Tavares (2013) wrote about what she names “*ciber-informações nativas*”³⁸ (native cyber-information). She analysed two indigenous cyber-medias: the blog “*Ajindo*”, edited in the city of *Dourados, Mato Grosso do Sul* and the portal “*Índios Online*”, founded in the state of *Bahia*. Although her frame was in the indigenous texts, she also examined the content of the websites “*Correio do Estado*” (MS) and “*Correio 24h*” (BA). Considering her mainstream coverage of indigenous issues data, she noticed three main limitations: lack of diversity of sources; lack of indigenous perspectives and the simplification of indigenous reality. Maldonado (2014) analysed the speeches posted by *Aty Guasu*³⁹ on Facebook in four different land conflict situations. In each conflict case she compares the posts with the discourses of

³⁵ Newspaper published in *Dourados* city, in the south of *Mato Grosso do Sul* – the second largest city in population

³⁶ Mato Grosso do Sul was separated from Mato Grosso in 1977. The construction of a *sul-mato-grossense* identity and its affirmation in the national Brazilian context is relevant to our paper, I will develop this better using the authors Hildebrando Campestrini, José de Melo e Silva and Gisele Aparecida.

³⁷ Original in Spanish: “*determinada por la superficialidad antropológica e histórica que se relaciona con la ambigüedad frente a los objetivos de informar y obtener lucro, de acuerdo con la ideología y los intereses hegemónicos*”

³⁸ In a nutshell, Tavares (2013) asserts that this kind of pieces of information, although have many similarities to journalistic items, differs from journalism because they do not claim professionalism and neutrality.

³⁹ “*Big Kaiowa and Guarani Assembly*”, see page 8.

one of these mainstream websites: “*Campo Grande News*” and “*Correio do Estado*” (MS) and “*BBC Brasil*” and “*Veja*” (national). She observed that the discourses about the territoriality of the *Guarani and Kaiowa* operate in a tension between what is institutionalized (the hegemonic ruralist model of property) and propositions of subversion.

The prior research reviewed above reveals a consistent picture of the routine denigration of indigenous peoples in the dominant media; and a frequent normalisation of the interests of the landowners in the depiction of specific instances of conflict of interest between the landowners and indigenous peoples. This demonstrated discursive violence to the interests of the indigenous populations stands in stark contrast to the popular myth of the benign nature of the raceless Brazilian society; and the ubiquity of this negative representation further suggests that de facto the indigenous are seen as being beyond the inclusive span of this mythical oneness. In the mediated public sphere they are socially and morally outcast, despite the legislative recognition of their rights.

4 Approach, material and methods

4.1 Approach

This master thesis presents a critical analysis focused on the discursive representation of the *Guarani and Kaiowa* in the texts published by the newspaper *Correio do Estado* regarding the confrontation that happened in *Ñande Ru Marangatu* – south of *Mato Grosso do Sul* – in August 2015. The analysis is concerned with the reproduction of colonial and dehumanizing discourses. The main objective is to reflect upon how the *Guarani and Kaiowa*'s perspectives were articulated in the news texts. The text approach was strongly informed by Van Dijk's (1993, 2001) and Fairclough's (1992, 1995) work and their understanding about the dynamics between discourse and power. Thus in this analysis I developed my analytic tools following their approach and after immersing myself in both the published text and in alternative accounts of the events that are at the core of this account.

Discourse and power

A primary assumption pointed out by Fairclough (1995) is the notion that texts do not mirror realities, but constitute versions of reality. These constructions are made through choices and therefore the analysis of the representational process in a text is the examination of the

choices that were made – what is included/excluded, explicit/implicit, foregrounded/backgrounded, what categories are drawn upon to represent events and so on. Critical discourse analysis is an approach to text research which is explicitly normative and political (Luke, 2002) and that aims to disclose how social power abuse is enacted, reproduced and resisted by text (Van Dijk, 2001). Therefore the concepts of discourse and power are crucial points of the analysis.

The notion of discourse that I propose here is connected to the idea of language use as a form of social practice. In the words of Fairclough “*discourse is a practice not just of representing the world, but signifying the world, constituting and constructing the world in meaning*” (1992, p. 64). This position emphasizes the dialectical relationship between discourse and social structure. This dialectical dynamic between language and society means that discourse is socially shaped, but is socially shaping at the same time (Fairclough, 1995).

In this sense, the relations between discourse and power are crucial interests to critical discourse analysis. Such analysis should disclose how power abuse is reproduced or legitimized by the texts of dominant groups. Van Dijk (2001) defines the social power exercised by groups or institutions in terms of control. It is possible to say if a group has more or less power when we examine how much they can control the minds and acts of other groups, a capacity which demands a power base of social resources such as money, status, fame, knowledge and numerous kinds of public discourse. Diverse types of power are exercised in accordance to the resources utilized.

Dominant groups may assimilate their power in norms, habits, laws and thus reach a relatively general consensus. This is what Gramsci called “hegemony”. In other words, hegemony is domination by a ruling interest group upon the whole society through consent. Fairclough (1992) points out that hegemony involves making alliances and integrating rather than simply dominating – it is to win consent through concessions or ideological means. An interesting aspect of hegemonic power is that it is temporary and unstable, although at the same time, transitorily secure. Class domination, sexism and racism are examples of hegemony and power abuse.

In the analysis that follows, the account provided above about the historical construction of a specific Brazilian construction of racism and an ideology of ‘racelessness’ is critical to understanding both the historical oppression of the indigenous peoples of Brazil; and their

current marginalisation and abuse. Current events of contestation over land have both a long history and a very specific current context. Additionally, the dehumanisation and denial of rights to the indigenous population need to be placed into the context of the currently hugely polarized and inequitable social reality in which the population of the *favelas* endure levels of poverty, deprivation and violence within sight of the wealthy residents of affluent Brazil.

The dehumanisation and abuse of the *Guarani and Kaiowa* must thus been seen within the context of a national zeitgeist in which corruption has become normative and gross inequity between different segments of society has been normalised. Thus, as is typical, the hegemony represented in the text of *Correio do Estado* reflects the complex interests of a specific historic bloc rather than any ‘ruling class’ simply understood. It is the particularity of the construction of indigenous difference that has been outlined above and will be tracked in the analysis that is to follow.

Indigenous Methodologies

When developing academic research connected with indigenous issues, it is necessary to be explicitly aware of the historic power relations between different knowledge systems. In the book “Indigenous Knowledge and the Integration of Knowledge Systems”, Hoppers (2002) highlights that: “*the exclusivity that accompanied the rational and linear frameworks of Western knowledge has, in practice, meant that cosmologies that did not fit into that framework were dismissed and ridiculed*” (p.13). The author notes that an emerging sense of disaffection expressed by scholars is increasingly being heard and, hence, a multiplicity of worlds and forms of life are being affirmed.

Hoppers (2002) points to the “*epistemological dimension of emancipation, especially on the task of enlarging epistemic cognition, not only for previously subjugated groups, but for all*” (p.20). Therefore she proposes a dialogue in which integration goes beyond an ahistorical dialogue between two knowledge systems, but includes power critique and analysis of hegemony. Likewise, in the book “Indigenous Research Methodologies”, Chilisa (2011) asserts that social science needs emancipation and, thus, encourages scholars to conduct research without perpetuating constructs of Western ways of knowing as superior. In this sense, one of the main questions when developing research should be “whose reality counts?” Chilisa asserts that indigenous research should not exclusively use western constructs and terminologies, but can be integrative.

Chilisa (2011) delineates indigenous research methodologies along a continuum scale: least indigenized; integrative; predominantly indigenous; third space. I would situate my thesis in the “integrative” position. My research was informed by both non-indigenous and indigenous epistemologies and ontologies while concerned with the asymmetry between the representations of these two different realities in the news. This can be related with the metaphor of research as a prism described by Saukko in her book *“Doing Research in Cultural Studies”* (2009). She writes that the prismatic notion is tied to considering multiple realities and part of this research project *“has been to give voice to silenced or subordinated knowledges or realities”* (p.26).

I also situate my analysis in the transformative/ emancipatory paradigm which recognizes the existence of multiple realities that are shaped by such variables as the social, political, cultural, ethnic, and gendered determination of realities. Thus, I assume that social reality is historically constructed. In this sense the axiology of this thesis is informed by the need of social transformation towards social justice and in the question: how can research contribute to social justice and humanization?

My position

In positioning yourself as the means of levering open the explicit and implicit meanings in these selected texts it is important to be aware that the researcher brings a particular perspective to the task. In my case, as revealed in the introduction above, this includes an explicit rejection of the racist exclusion and violence that has been visited upon the Indigenous peoples of *Mato Grosso do Sul*. Thus, there is no claim of ‘objectivity’ or ‘neutrality’; and the critical reading of these texts must of necessity start from a self-conscious sensitivity to the many modes of expression of this hegemonic ideology of oppression.

This sensitivity is itself a product of the cumulative work of my past critical reading that has informed and is expressed in the chapters above. The data sketched above will provide a basis for an analysis of *Correio do Estado* that aspires to be credible. The data acts as a mediator between the method and my partisan perspective. Whilst others may casually challenge my perspective, in order to challenge my argument they must seek to systematically challenge my data.

The processes of selection, collection and organization of data are decisive parts of the analysis. In the following sections I make explicit how and why I chose the material, how I organized it and subsequently broke down the texts into categories to facilitate the analysis.

4.2 Empirical material

Considering the constraints of space and time, I chose to examine the coverage of the case by one specific media organisation for a range of time of three months. This range of time allowed me to collect a significant amount of texts; examine different types/genres of news items (for example, some of the texts are more factual while others are more interpretative); follow the development of the story and accounts.

Although online journalism nowadays plays a big role in distributing information, the newspapers still have a big part in endorsing political debates and decisions, as well as documenting ‘facts’. Hence I chose the stories published by *Correio do Estado* - the most popular and oldest newspaper in *Mato Grosso do Sul* – as the source of my empirical material.

According to Silva (2013), an investigation made by Fernandes (2011) pointed out the existence of 126 “small” newspapers in MS, that circulate between 1 to 5 municipalities. The publications *Correio do Estado* and *O Estado MS*, produced in the capital, circulate in the whole state. Therefore, they would be regarded as leading newspapers, although strictly speaking there are no mass newspapers in MS. The distribution of *Correio do Estado* is 18.000 copies and it circulates every day in 75 of the 78 municipalities of MS (Silva, 2013). Approximately 465.000 people “like” *Correio do Estado*’s page on Facebook.

Newspaper Correio do Estado

Correio do Estado was established in 1954, thus before the division of the former state *Mato Grosso* in 1977. Nowadays the newspaper belongs to the “Communication Group *Correio do Estado*” that also owns two radio channels “*Rádio Cultura AM*” and “*Rádio Canarinho FM*”, the television broadcaster “*TV Campo Grande*”, the portal *Correio do Estado*, a video company and the “Barbosa Rodrigues Foundation”.

Andrade (2015) compared the coverage of the newspapers *Correio do Estado* and *O Estado de Mato Grosso*, from the city of *Cuiabá*, during the creation of the State of *Mato Grosso do Sul* in 1977. She highlights that in its foundation in 1954, the newspaper *Correio do Estado*

was strongly political. The newspaper was founded by a group connected to the political party UDN⁴⁰ (National Democratic Union) with the aim of sharing the party's ideas. For some years, the paper was only edited by people directly connected to the party.

Schwengber (2010) analysed the historical aspects of the newspaper *Correio do Estado*. About UDN, she asserts that it was the main right wing party at that time, with conservative ideas and defending traditional liberalism. It was mostly supported by big landowners and also by what she calls the urban bourgeoisie – ‘industrials’, bankers and big traders. The political partisan roots of a newspaper were usual at that time and therefore *Correio do Estado* did not hide its political links. However, their first editorial declared that they did not aim to be strictly partisan, and that they would also engage on social causes, echoing the claims of “*our working classes, middle and productive classes*” (p. 3).

In 1957, the journalist José Barbosa Rodrigues was hired to work as an editor at the newspaper. In 1960, after the governor Fernando Corrêa da Costa (UDN) was elected for a second term, the political group that sponsored *Correio do Estado* decided to stop financing it. The editor Barbosa Rodrigues and the shareholder José Inácio chose to keep publishing it. After some years, Barbosa Rodrigues bought José Inácio's part and became the only owner of the newspaper. Currently, Barbosa Rodrigues' son Antônio João is the majority shareholder, while the newspaper's president-director is his ex-wife Ester Gameiro and the administrative director is Barbosa Rodrigues' grandson Marcos Rodrigues (Schwengber, 2010).

Although the focus of the newspaper is regional, they also take a position on national matters. Schwengber (2010) cites that in 1964, following the trend of many newspapers at that time, *Correio do Estado* was in favour of the military coup. Their good relations with the military government provided him the concession to create the “Middle-West Radio and Television Network”, making the newspaper *Correio do Estado* part of a “multimedia group”. During the last decades the newspaper invested in modernization and professionalization. In 1999 *Correio do Estado* was the first newspaper to print all its pages in colour in Brazil.

⁴⁰ UDN was founded in 1945 in opposition of president Getúlio Vargas. The party supported the Military Coup in 1964 and, as all the other parties at the time, was closed down in 1965 by the Military Regime. The military established a bipartisan system and created ARENA (National Renewal Alliance) that supported the regime and MDB (Brazilian Democratic Movement) which represented a sort of controlled opposition. Most of former UDN politicians went to ARENA (National Renewal Alliance).

In her research Schwengber (2010) stresses that an important aspect of *Correio do Estado* is its claim of autonomy. She noticed that the newspaper affirms in its own editorial pages that no announcer, company or commercial consideration interferes on its editorial independence. During interviews conducted by Schwengber, the directors asserted that *Correio do Estado* was partisan only during the years of its foundation, when most of the newspapers were originated the same way. Yet, Schwengber (2010) considers that the difference is that when it was still linked with UDN, *Correio do Estado* was explicit about its politics and partisan connections. When the newspaper became private, and although it was professionalized, it did not abandon the right wing conservative perspective.

The current pattern of ownership and the consequent editorial positions taken by the paper are key features of the determining political economy of *Correio do Estado*, and will be taken into consideration when examining the outcome of the critical discourse analysis.

4.3 Methods

The confrontation in *Ñande Ru Marangatu* occurred in August 2015. I established a time period of three months and examined every edition of the newspaper *Correio do Estado* from August to October 2015⁴¹. In this period they published twenty-six times about indigenous issues - nineteen of them specifically about this case. These nineteen journalistic pieces were the analysed data.

On the other hand, I examined *Aty Guasu*'s texts posted on Facebook about the situation. Considering these texts as *Guarani and Kaiowa* collective discursive constructions about the case, they are a significant counterpoint to the newspaper's texts. Based on these posts and on *Guarani and Kaiowa* literature, I determined key terms in the representation of the case that might be crucial to acknowledge or exclude their perspectives. It is important to clarify that my analysis does not have the pretension to "find the real truth" concerning the facts of the story. Rather, I am dealing with discursive constructions and the social construction of reality. Therefore, my eventual positive or negative critique to the texts must not be interpreted in relation to their veracity, but in terms of discursive exclusion and abuse of power.

To identify discourses, I established key terms divided in categories and used a method that also combined content analysis and close reading. Although my method does not include

⁴¹ These pdf editions are available on the website: <http://www.correiadoestado.com.br/>

observation and interviews, it is relevant to mention that I have been in *Mato Grosso do Sul* during July 2016. Another confrontation and murder of a *Kaiowa* had happened in June, this time in the municipality of Caarapó. Thus, it was a period when I had the opportunity of attending three open lectures about indigenous land rights (at UFMS and at UFGD) and I also could talk about my research with indigenous researchers. These discussions made me reflect and change my analytic tool. For instance, I had previously thought about some of the terms as “neutral”, however, the discussions and observations made me realize that “neutral” is not a possible classification in this context – it most likely favours hegemonic power.

I divided the terms in three categories: 1- **People** described as “Guarani and Kaiowá”, “Guarani”, “Indigenous” or “Indian”; 2- **Territoriality** described as “Tekoha”, “Ñanderu Marangatu”, “Farm” or “Property”; 3- **Performed action** described as “(auto) demarcation”, “occupation” or “invasion”.

	People	Territoriality	Action
+ Acknowledges	Guarani and Kaiowa Guarani	Tekoha Ñanderu Marangatu	Demarcation
- Excludes	Indigenous Indian	Farm Property	Occupation Invasion

Figure 3: Table of lexicon choices

Organizing the data

To catalogue and organize these pieces I used a content table that would facilitate an overview of two crucial aspects on the journalistic pieces: quoted sources and used lexicon.

Date	Title	Page	Picture
23/08/2015	“Indians take hostages in farms”	13 (Cities)	[1] by DOF
Sources		Terms	
[3] non-indigenous	[0] indigenous	People	
1) DOF (Border Department Operation)		Guarani Kaiowa [1]	
2) “People that live in the area”		Guarani [1]	
3) Civil Police		Indigenous [2]	
		Indian [4]	
		Territory	
		Tekoha [0]	
		Ñande Ru Marangatu [0]	
		Farm/Property [4]	

<i>Action</i>
Demarcation [2]
Occupation [1]
Invasion [0]

Figure 4: Example of table of news content

Although the proposed analysis is essentially qualitative, the quantitative features displayed on the content tables help to interpret the presence or lack of indigenous voices and the acknowledgement or omission of terms that addresses indigenous perspectives.

Research questions

Before presenting the analysis it is appropriate to restate the main questions that guided my research:

:did this newspaper reproduce colonial discourses by dehumanizing (or questioning the humanity of) the *Guarani and Kaiowa*?

: if yes, what are the historical processes and socio-political dynamics that enables these types of discourses?

: what are the consequences of these processes for the social construction of reality in shaping understandings of indigenous / non-indigenous relations in *Mato Grosso do Sul*.

As the chosen approach suggests, I do not aim to answer this questions with ‘fixed’ or positivist answers. At the same time, considering the violent and oppressive context faced by indigenous peoples in *Mato Grosso do Sul*, I cannot step away from recognizing that coloniality and dehumanization are aspects of a concrete situation of abuse of power that is systematically produced and reproduced in that context. Hence, my ultimate objective is not to prove dehumanization or discuss the newspapers’ bias, but to reflect how the non-indigenous newspaper has sustained the representation of the *Guarani and Kaiowa* in this specific case; and in this way contributed to the construction of the realities of indigenous and non-indigenous in *Mato Grosso do Sul*.

In this sense my main purpose is to observe central aspects concerning the representation of the story; outline discursive constructions that excluded *Guarani and Kaiowa* perspectives and relate these constructions with the macro-contexts. In other words, juxtapose analysis of the texts and social field. The outcomes of the analysis will be presented on the following chapter.

5 Analysis

This chapter presents an analysis of the data generated in this research. It is divided into three parts: the first part is a discussion about the voices in the articles - I expose which sources and quotes are included or excluded, and reflect about how these choices affect the framing of the texts. The second part is about lexical choices where I show which terms were used to represent the case and what are the implications of these choices. The third part is an interpretation of the analysis; a reflection about the ideological constructions of these news events employing the concepts of coloniality and dehumanization. Each section starts by presenting quantitative outcomes for the pre-established variables and follows with providing a selection of excerpts of the texts. These fragments were selected as interesting cases of close reading which epitomize the prevailing discursive constructions found in the journalistic articles published by *Correio do Estado*. Parts of *Aty Guasu*'s posts on Facebook are also presented as a counterpoint.

The study shows that the representation of the *Guarani and Kaiowa* in the newspaper tends to the omission of their perspectives. Hence, a big part of the analysis is a reflection of what is not there – a study of absence and silence. If *Guarani and Kaiowa* perspectives are absent in the newspaper they are present and articulated in their own discursive constructions shared in alternative media. The proposed analysis requires a clear acknowledgment of those perspectives too.

The newspaper's pages (in Portuguese) are attached with the respective content tabs (in English) in the end of this thesis. The whole texts used in "Part I: Voices" were translated to facilitate an overview of how these quotes were embedded in the whole story. These translations can also be found in the Appendix section.

5.1 Part I: Voices

This section discloses how voices and sources were articulated in the texts. Silva (2013) states that journalistic texts and discourses are sustained by a triadic support: the author (journalist), the reader and the source of information – all of them "*owners of the word*". Journalists borrow the "*word of those*" (the sources) processes it and makes it available to the reader. Thus, the sources contribute to the journalistic discourses direct or indirectly and are indispensable to journalism practice.

Concerning the sources in the nineteen examined journalistic texts I could identify five different situations: (10) texts with exclusively non-indigenous voices; (5) with more non-indigenous voices; (1) with equal amount of indigenous and non-indigenous voices; (1) text with more indigenous voices; (1) text with exclusively indigenous voices; (1) text with no direct sources quoted/referred to.

Voices	
Exclusively non-indigenous	10
More non-indigenous	5
Equal	1
More indigenous	1
Exclusively indigenous	1
No sources quoted	1
Total	19

Figure 5: Table of voices in the texts.

Thus, the quantitative findings show a prevalence of texts without indigenous voices. Bellow I present nine examples that illustrate how usage of sources framed the texts. This section is divided in three parts. The first part presents the texts considered most negative in relation to the exclusion of indigenous voices: the texts published by the newspaper in August. These texts are very significant because they are the first texts of the data, published during the week of the confrontation. For that matter it makes sense to present them chronologically. The second part examines the texts considered most positive regarding the aspect of indigenous voices quoted. The third brings the last item of the data, the text published in October 22 and a reflection about silence.

The newspaper’s texts fragments are in presented in italics and my comments in normal letter.

5.1.1 Muting indigenous voices

August 23 2015

The cover announced “*Indians invade farm and take family as hostages*” and page 13 brings the text with the heading: “*Indians take hostages at farm*” - thus the case was construct as ‘action’, opposed to an ‘event’. The action (of invading and making hostages) was performed by the so called “indians”. Yet, they do not have a voice in the text. Two sources are quoted in

the story: 1) the Border Department Operation (DOF)⁴²; 2) undefined source described as “*people that live in the region*”.

1) DOF seems to be the main source of information for the text and also provided the published picture. The Department is directly quoted in the beginning of the second paragraph: “*According to DOF, during the occupation three people from the same family were rendered and ‘agredidas’ (from aggression)*” and in the last paragraph “*The police department also informed that they will continue making rounds at the place to avoid confrontations and safeguard the physical integrity of the producers (farmers) and indigenous.*”

2) The second source, undefined, is quoted on the third paragraph: “*according to people that live in the region, part of the indians that invaded the farm is not from local indigenous villages*”. People that live in the region are not the “indians”. This assertion was highlighted under the picture with the caption “*GUARANI. Indigenous would not be from villages near the property.*”

The use of the DOF as a source of information favours the understanding of the facts as a “police case” and the assertion that the indigenous are not local help to frame the fact as an “invasion”. In this respect the happenings are treated as an occurrence isolated from a socio-historical context, no historical background is mentioned.

In contrast, in August 22 Aty Guasu had shared a post justifying their action with the recent history of territorial controversy in the area:

“(…) The indigenous land tekoha Ñanderu Marangatu was already demarcated and homologated by the president of Republic of Brazil in 2005, but the possession of the land is blocked by the Federal Supreme Court (STF). The Guarani and Kaiowa communities were evicted in 15/12/2005. It is the biggest injustice and violence committed against the Guarani and Kaiowa. In 24/12/2005 the leader Dorvalino Rocha was murdered by farmers tekoha Ñanderu Marangatu. The leader Marçal Tupã’i was murdered by farmers in 25 November 1983. The communities declare the following: “today after waiting more than 18 years to possess the tekoha we re-occupy definitively, here we re-occupy our land will not leave our land Marangatu” (…)”.

August 27 2015

⁴² In Portuguese “Departamento de Operação de Fronteira (DOF)”. It is the department of the Military Police from Mato Grosso do Sul that has the main duty to police the borders with Paraguay and Bolivia.

The cover stated that *“Indians invade farms and provoke tension in MS”*. The story is also framed as an ‘action’ with the “indians” as the agents who invade and provoke tension. Already on the cover, DOF is directly quoted. The subheading is *“ANTÔNIO JOÃO. Indians of guarani ethnicity invaded nine farms and, according to DOF, there was a threat of putting the municipality on fire”*.

The text at page 15 has the heading *“Indigenous invade nine farms and threaten to occupy more properties”*. The “indigenous” are constructed as the ones who perform the main actions (to invade and to threaten). The usage of “threaten” can give the impression that indigenous were heard, however their voice is not present. The text has five sources: 1) non-quoted “according to comments”; 2) Luana Ruiz, “lawyer and daughter of one of the farms’ owners”; 3) DOF; 4) unspecified “rural producers”; 5) Roseli Maria Ruiz, president of the Rural Syndicate of Antônio João; 6) FAMASUL⁴³.

1) The first paragraph (lead) brings the first voices, which are unspecified: *“The climate, that was already of tension last weekend, intensifies each day. According to comments the indigenous threaten to enter more properties in the municipalities of Amambai and Nioaque.”* The sentences have no specific declared authorship and endorse discourses of generalized tension and fear.

2) The second source is direct and personal: Luana Ruiz Silva, lawyer and daughter of landowners. She asserts that the indigenous call themselves owners of the land because of anthropological studies that would have confirmed the presence of indigenous ancestors in the region. Her words between quotation marks justify the farmers action of blocking the roads *“we don’t have access to the farms, the producers locked the roads so the indians do not enter the city and the indians blocked the access to the district”*. She is referred to one more time on the fourth paragraph when the economic aspect is approached: *“According to the lawyer it is not known if the agricultural production of the area was compromised but “from far” it is possible to see smoke and fire spots”*.

3) The third source is DOF, which brings the information about the ‘indians’ threat to start fires. *“According to DOF there was a threat that the indigenous would put Antônio João city on fire and because of that the access between highways MS-164 and MS-384 was blocked by*

⁴³ In Portuguese “Federação da Agricultura e Pecuária de Mato Grosso do Sul (FAMASUL)”. It congregates 69 rural unions from MS and integrates the national system “Confederação da Agricultura e Pecuária do Brasil – CNA (Agricultural Confederation of Brazil).

farmer's pick-ups and vehicles". The picture made by DOF shows the ruralist's pick-ups and blocking the road. The caption says "*FEARFUL. Fearing that the 'indians' would invade Antônio João and put it on fire, farmers blocked the road*".

4) The next assertion is also from an unspecified source: "*Rural producers assert that CIMI⁴⁴ is the head of the invasions*". This quote with non-declared voice de-legitimizes, criminalizes and denies the autonomy of the *Guarani and Kaiowa*.

5) The same paragraph brings the voice of the president of the Rural Syndicate Roseli Maria Ruiz that describes the situation as a chaos and states that "*I have no idea of what to do to guarantee the order*". It is a peculiar quote that evokes the idea of the challenge to the maintenance of order. "Order and progress" is the slogan of the Brazilian flag and the big landowners historically controlled such big and "remote" areas as the south of Mato Grosso do Sul.

6) The last source is FAMASUL: "*According to Famasul it was demanded that the National Force that is in Amambai goes to Antônio João*". The demand has the effect of underlining the perceived seriousness of the threat that demands such external intervention to protect the landowners' interests. The next three paragraphs describe that these group of rural producers and indigenous representatives would have a meeting with the Minister of Justice in Brasilia, but neither the Minister nor the representatives showed up according to FAMASUL's press office. The last paragraph states that "*The group, however, talked to the president of FUNAI⁴⁵ who promised to intercede so that men from the National Force who are already in Amambai go also to Antônio João*".

The preference for DOF's and ruralists' voices evoke discourses of threats, fear, economic losses, the need for maintenance of the order and Police reinforcement. On the other hand, the notes published by Aty Guasu problematize DOF's actions at the local level denouncing the fact that DOF officials escort armed landowners and gunmen: "*(...) The farmers' gunmen supported by DOF attack and threaten with collective death the indigenous (...)*".

⁴⁴ "Conselho Indigenista Missionário - CIMI in Portuguese (Indigenist Missionary Council), linked to the Catholic Church, aims to support indigenous peoples in the struggle for their rights.

⁴⁵ In Portuguese "Fundação Nacional do Índio – FUNAI (National Indian Foundation). It is a federal organ connected to the Ministry of Justice that has the duty to coordinate and execute the Federal Government's indigenist policies. Its mission is to protect and promote indigenous peoples rights and it is the body responsible for the demarcation of indigenous lands.

August 28 2015

The headline on the cover was “*Tension increases and number of invaded farms gets to 95*”. Followed by: “*CONFLICT. With last weekend’s invasions in Antônio João the total of invaded farms by indians in Mato Grosso do Sul got to 95; landowners accuse the federal government of omission*”. Therefore, the “landowners” have a voice right on the cover. The text published at page 14 has the heading “*Mato Grosso do Sul has 95 farms invaded by indians*” has three sources. 1) Flávio Machado, coordinator of CIMI; 2) Maurício Saito, president of FAMASUL; 3) President of FUNAI.

1) The first quote is from the coordinator of CIMI that denies “*the prelude of an attack*” (journalist’s words). The coordinator asserts that “*this is a rumour to promote prejudice and racism, and to criminalize the indians*”. The choice of including this quote has two different implications: one is the denial of the threat rumours and on the other hand could be seen to endorse the discourse that CIMI is behind the *Guarani and Kaiowa*’s actions; given their critique of the pro-landowners discourse.

2) The second source is president of FAMASUL Mauricio Saito who went to Brasilia in August 26 and reports how the meetings with federal authorities went. He demanded the presence of Federal Police. Saito asserted that the “invasions” in the area were intensified from 1998 and related the crises in the whole country to the recent “invasions”. In this instance an historic context is offered; but it is one in which the indigenous are presented as having a history of ‘invasion’. He also presents the economic aspect asserting that last year the “misappropriation” of farms generated a loss of 26 per cent of *Mato Grosso do Sul*’s PIB (gross domestic product). Thus, the impact of the Indigenous actions is shifted from solely affecting the immediate interests of the landowners themselves; but is additionally widened to include the general economic welfare of *Mato Grosso do Sul*. This then situates the actions of the Indigenous as a threat to the common good; and positions them as recalcitrant outsiders.

3) The last paragraph informs the reader that “*The president of FUNAI positioned himself against the invasions and said he would ‘fight’ to open a constructive dialogue with both parts*”. It is not clear if this assertion was made by the president of FUNAI himself or if it is information brought by FAMASUL’s president that went to Brasilia. By any means the presence of FUNAI’s and CIMI’s voices versus the lack of *Guarani and Kaiowa*’s own statements can mean a denial of *Guarani and Kaiowa*’s agency. They even seemingly require an outside body, CIMI, to present a defence of their case.

August 29 2015

The headline on the cover was “*Antônio João experiences war atmosphere*” with the subheading “*CONFLICT. Paraguayan indians would have been recruited to reinforce invasion, producers vigil and block roads in the region*”.

There are two texts at the page 12, the first one with the heading “*Municipality of Antônio João lives war climate with invasions*”. Five sources are quoted, all connected to agribusiness: 1) the general term “ruralists from Antônio João”; 2) the Rural Producers Syndicate; 3) Antônio César Pereira Flores “Baby”, ruralist and vice-mayor; 4) Roseli Ruiz; 5) Pio Queiroz, “*owner of a patrimony of R\$ 25 million including one of the occupied farms*”.

1) The first two quotes are from non-specified voices. The text begins with “*Ruralists from Antônio João, city where six farm invasions occurred a week ago, said yesterday that Indians would have being recruited from the Paraguayan territory as a way to strengthen and even double the land takeover movement, captained by at least 1.5 thousand Guaraní-Caiuíá Indians, Brazilians, who inhabit villages in the region*”. The second paragraph starts “*The farmers fear that three more areas will be invaded on the next days*”. Both assertions are connected to notions of border issues and invasions; and whilst the source is not specified it provides a means of citing the concerns of ‘the ruralists’ and introduces the theme of the indigenous being involved in cross-border collaboration. The second paragraph then builds the image of threat as not being confined to the current situation; but rather presents it as a situation that will get worse in the future.

2) The second source is the Rural Producer’s Syndicate quoted in the fourth paragraph: “*For the Rural Producers’ Syndicate of the city, the invasions have been maneuvered by the command of the Indigenous Missionary Council, organization linked to the catholic church, and indians that would be public servants, mainly teachers*”. Here again we see a voice linked to the agri-business suggesting that the *Guarani and Kaiowa* are not capable of being self-determining in defining their struggle; but as being the dupes of non-indigenous forces.

3) The third voice is from the landowner and also vice-mayor of the city: “*The battle that pushes indians and farmers to opposite sides, said the vice-mayor, lasts at least two decades and the federal government “does little” or does nothing*.” The next paragraph states that “*The intrigue even affected the city’s politics*” explaining that the vice-mayor has broken up

with the mayor from PT (labour) party.⁴⁶ These assertions are connected to a national political crisis, and echoes the input of FAMASUL from the previous day in giving a historical context to this struggle. It is a context that is linked to the lack of national intervention; as a possible implicit assertion of the consequent necessity of local action.

4) “Roseli Ruiz, president of the Syndicate, said she would not give interviews, but authorized those who want to talk with press”. In a similar way as observed on August 27, the president of the Syndicate’s voice is represented as an authority.

5) There is a very interesting quote next, from Pio Queiroz - a big landowner described as “owner of a patrimony of R\$ 25 million including one of the occupied farms”. He states that “Our country turned an old land, full of rats. This government, playing the idealist, only likes the indians, social movements, mensalões⁴⁷, petrolões and to take away money from Petrobras⁴⁸. We have to take away this government, these communists that are in the power (...)”. This excerpt also illustrates a discourse connected to the big national political crises in Brazil; and underlines again the disconnection between national government and the concerns of the local landowners.

The text, of almost an entire page, brings a justification concerning the lack of *Guarani and Kaiowa*’s voices on the story. The third subtitle “NO DIALOGUE” states that the: “The reportage (team), that since yesterday follows the mobilization of Indians and farms, was not authorized to enter in Farm Primavera, where the Indians that command the incursions are”.

The second text has the heading “The indians were my friends, but sent me away”, which brings three personal voices: 1) Isidora Alves Vareiro, non-indigenous; 2) Alisson Morales described as “guarani”; 3) José, described as “guarani-caiúá”. Therefore this is one of the cases in which indigenous sources outnumber non-indigenous in the text. However, the title already evinces the non-indigenous perspective.

1) The first quote is from Isidora Alves Vareiro who tells that she was expelled from her house by the “guarani-caiúá”. The quote is: “They (indians) were good to me, asked for me to leave soon so that there would be no confusion”. In the next paragraph, she states that “My house is the biggest from the village, I had a store there, and the indians were my friends.

⁴⁶ This political crisis is briefly summed at page 88.

⁴⁷ “Mensalão” and “Petrolão” are the names of corruption scandals that happened recently in Brazil involving many federal politicians. The schemes are still under investigation.

⁴⁸ Petrobras is a semi-public Brazilian multinational corporation in the petroleum industry.

Now they sent me away. We spent all the money to renovate. I don't understand this, think it is not something of the indians from here".

2) Alisson Morales is quoted next. He said that the land was always from the indians and *"The whites were the ones that invaded"*, concluded the subject and asked the team to look for the indigenous leaders to talk about the case"

3) José (Alisson's father-in-law) had no directed quotes. It is written that *"he stated that he has nothing against 'dona' Isidora and one of his sons is her Godchild. However, when questioned about the eviction he said that the journalist should talk to the "leaders"".*

In this text we see the non-indigenous voice presenting itself as a friend of the 'indians' who seeks to make sense of their behaviour by assuming that they must be under the influence of external forces: whilst Vareiro presents the narrative in personal terms it is important to note that Morales presents the situation in historical and intergroup terms. The fellow Guarani, José, again prefers to stay within an interpersonal perspective and avoids joining a collective stance on the conflict by deflecting the journalists to speak to 'leaders'.

Another notable aspect is the marginalisation of indigenous leaders: when *Guarani and Kaiowa* sources state that the journalists should talk to the leaders this is constructed as an obstacle in the text, as non-authorized - an impossible dialogue. In contrast, the non-indigenous leaders and institutions are constantly being interviewed and quoted.

August 30 2015

The article published on August 30 is central to the case. It is about the confrontation. The headline on the cover is: *"Owner retakes farm and indian dies in confrontation"*. There are two actions and two agents: the 'owner', linked to the action of retaking the farm and the 'indian' agent of dying. The text at page 13 has the heading *"Producers retake invaded farm and one indigenous dies"*. And the subheading: *"Neither the police, producers nor indians explained how the confrontation at Barra Farm ended in death"*. A non-quote. The article has five quoted sources: 1) generic 'rural producers'; 2) DOF; 3) Felisberto Corrêa Vilhalba described as "indian"; 4) Aty Guasu; 5) driver João Paulo Gonçalves Maciel.

The text describes the confrontation and states that *Correio do Estado's* team was stopped from entering the farm. Therefore the first quoted sources confirm the death:

1 and 2) The fourth paragraph asserts that *“In the evening the death of one indigenous was confirmed by rural producers that were leaving the property and by DOF.”* The authority and legitimacy to confirm the death of a Kaiowa is attributed to ruralists and DOF, which also allows the ruralists to make assertions about the death. The next paragraph reports that *“Producers that left the farm yesterday afternoon said that the victim was already dead when they got there and none of the police forces informed how the indian would have died”*.

3) The next quote is from a Kaiowa who was injured: *“One injured indian, Felisberto Corrêa Vilhalba, 28, who was treated at the Municipal Hospital of the city, told that he was battered on the head and Simeão died with a shot to the forehead. However, he did not tell the circumstances of Simeão’s death. Felisberto, who talked little, told also that after being hit he was almost ran over by a ruralist.”*

4) The fourth quote is from *Aty Guasu*: *“Page of guarani indians on social media, Aty Guasu, informed that the surname of Simeão would also be Vilhalva and that he would be an indigenous leader. The injured indian that talked to the team did not comment if he is a relative of the dead indian.”* All the other information shared by the *Guarani and Kaiowa* page is omitted.

5) The fifth quote is on the last paragraph with the subheading *“POPULATION”*. The text states that *“The atmosphere inside the town is of pure terror. Inhabitants say they are terrorized and unsafe.”* As an example they quote the driver Paulo Gonçalves Maciel who says he is scared: *“We are all nervous because nobody knows what is happening in fact. There were other conflicts here, but Justice always came to make peace and then went away. But now nobody knows what can happen”*. This last paragraph frames the murder in a context of the wider terror of the non-indigenous who are terrorized and unsafe. Thus, displacing the centrality of the murder of an indigenous leader by a concern for the anxieties of the townspeople.

Although the text brings indigenous voices two times, the confrontation is mainly narrated in non-indigenous terms. DOF and ruralists are considered legitimate enough to confirm that someone “died” while *Aty Guasu*’s version of the “murder” is suppressed.

August 31 2015

In August 31, the newspaper headline was: *“Farmers accuse Paraguayan guerrillas of training indigenous”*. The internal page 12 is divided in two texts. The first has the heading

“(According) to ruralists, guerrillas from Paraguay train the indians”. Therefore, the headline and title already brings the ruralist’s voice. Six sources are quoted: 1) the collective non-specified “farmers”; 2) the landowner Marcos Almirão; 3) the vice-mayor of the municipality and landowner Antônio Cesar Pereira Flores (Baby); 4) an anonymous police officer from the National Force; 5) DOF; 6) Governor of MS Reinaldo Azambuja.

1) The first quote is presented as a rumour among the collective “farmers”: *“The suspicion that the EPP would be arming the indians is recurrent information among farmers, however, when it is officially approached, few agree to comment.”*

2) The second voice is from landowner Marcos Almirão: *“I came to know it by reliable source, the EPP is arming the indians, financing the indians, that is most likely ” said the landowner Marco Almirão, owner of a farm nearby Antônio João.”* The next paragraph starts with another quote from Almirão: *“The right to property here is in check”. Besides the EPP, Almirão attacked also Funai and CIMI, an organization that looks after the interests of indigenous peoples. “They (CIMI) came here (Antônio João) and determined the exchange of caciques (indigenous leaders), who ordered the invasions “he said (...) Almirão also informed that eventual war trainings led by the EPP would be happening in the territory of Paraguay, about 10 km away from Marangatu village, near from where the conflict occurred. This village is 7.5 hectares away from central Antônio João. The area, supposedly dominated by the EPP, and that would be attracting indians to learn fighting is Paraguayan territory and is in a dense forest with rare car traffic.”*

3) The third quoted source is landowner and vice-mayor of the municipality: *“Antônio Cesar Pereira Flores, known as Baby, vice-mayor of Antônio João, landowner in the region, said he also received the information that EPP would have connections with the guarani indians. “I got to know and think this would have to be investigated”, Baby said.”*

4) The fourth voice is from an anonymous police officer: *“Police officer of the National Police Force, which operates in policing farms agreed to comment the matter, as long as his name is not published. “Look, we do not have this information (EPP action) but one thing is certain: they (indians) have been acting differently, we realize it now here, in Antônio João” said the policeman, used to accomplish tasks involving conflicts between indians and farmers. The “different” cited by the member of the Force, according to him has to do with the*

organization of the indians in situations of combat. "They position themselves much more organized than before", said".

5) The fifth source is DOF command, which contradicts the information provided by the anonymous officer: *"But the DOF command, via advising office, informed that "as far as investigated", the information (EPP instructing indian) is unfounded".*

6) The sixth source is the governor of MS: *"The governor Reinaldo Azambuja did not defend any side, indians or landowners. He said that the output would be the Federal government compensate farmers. "If they officially gave to farmers lands belonging to indigenous, it is up to who to compensate? The Union needs to acquire the lands, indemnify and solve the dead-lock," he said. Azambuja also defended the presence of the Army in the conflict area."*

The second text has the title *"Deputy says that indigenous would have died before the conflict"*. Two sources are quoted: 1) Federal deputy and doctor Luiz Henrique Mandetta; 2) sergeant of DOF Julio Cesar Arguelho.

1) The first quote is from deputy and doctor Mandetta that asserts that Vilhalva was already dead before the confrontation: *"Deputy Luiz Henrique Mandetta, of DEM (party), who also attended the resumption of Farm Fronteira, the day before yesterday, in Antônio João, said via Facebook that the indian allegedly killed in conflict with the farmers would already have died before the arrival of the landowners convoy. "A shot was heard in the woods 800 meters far and ten minutes later the indians brought a body that was said to have been targeted. I presented myself as doctor and went to the location. The corpse of a man already in rigor mortis was thrown on the road".*

2) The second quote is from sergeant of DOF Arguelho and contradicts the deputy's assertion: *"The federal deputy's argument, however, was rejected by Julius Cesar Arguelho, Sergeant Press adviser of the Department of the Border Operations, the DOF. "This story rigor mortis is not true. I have been there, I touched the dead body of the indian shot on the face, "said the Sergeant."*

The text is essentially an accusation in the format of news, in the sense that it largely employs the voices of the accusers and excludes the accused's voices. Echoing the account of 28th of August this report again suggests that the actions of the *Guarani and Kaiowa* have been

directed by the influence of external forces. The accusations in a way attempt to legitimize the violent confrontation that happened two days before.

Considerations

In the first instance, I have focused upon the significance of the stories published in August. These texts are revealing in many aspects, and decisive to the formulation of the main frames and perspectives of the newspaper's coverage of the case. In respect to voices, we noticed that no indigenous were quoted in the stories published in August 23, 27, 28 and 31. It is a problematic situation, especially considering that their titles explicitly construct the *Guarani and Kaiowa* as the main performers of actions that were represented as illegal and threatening.

It is relevant to indicate that the three first texts were written in the capital *Campo Grande*, almost 300 kilometres away from Antônio João municipality. In that sense the journalists seemed to have relied on information provided by "official" bodies. The pictures published during these days were photos provided by DOF and also a map produced by FAMASUL. On the other hand, the texts published in August 29, 30 and 31 have the journalists' signature and the information "sent specially to Antônio João", which indicates that these texts were produced *in loco*. The presence of journalists favoured the inclusion of indigenous quotes in August in 29 and 30; nevertheless, the inclusion of indigenous voices was not framed as a legitimate counterpoint to the ruralist's view.

In this sense we should additionally note the hegemonic legitimacy that bodies such as DOF, FAMASUL and FUNAI have for the assumed readership of *Correio do Estado*. There is a circularity of legitimacy in that these bodies already will have a normative credibility with large sections of the readership of *Correio do Estado*; whilst their deployment as significant authoritative sources in these areas of conflict will serve to sustain their perceived importance.

5.1.2 Attempts to dialogue

September 6 2015

There are no headlines of this text on the cover. The text at page 11 has the heading "*Indians live in miserable conditions in Antônio João*". It occupies the whole page and has four sources all personal and indigenous: 1) Tomásia Areco Jara; 2) coordinator of the school Isaias Sanches; 3) Zélia da Silva; 4) cacique Orestino Fernandes. The text describes the

indigenous village *Ñhanderu Marangatu*, its life conditions and inhabitants: *“Always receptive with shy smiles, it is possible to talk, even in some cases not understanding correctly the Portuguese pronunciation. They adopt loyally the official language of the village: Guarani.”*

1) The first quote is from Tomásia Areco Jara: *“The lack of resources here is complicated, it seems that they forgot about us, the lack of structure and resources in the village are very big, what saves many families are the subsidies paid by the federal government, otherwise it would be much worse”.*

2) The second voice is from the school coordinator: *“To the coordinator of the Indigenous School Mboeroy Tupã Arandu Reñoi, Isaias Sanches, 28 years, what the community produces is subsistence agriculture, but in many cases they do not manage to harvest because of lack of structure to take care of the land. “The lack of resources to the majority of the families is a serious problem here in the village and in the town. My luck is to work coordinating the school so I can live with a bit more dignity””*

3) The third quote illustrates the poor life conditions of a young mother in the village: *“The case of indigenous Zélia da Silva, 23 years and mother of three kids is the one that most illustrates the life conditions in the village Ñhanderu Marangatu and Capestre. She lives with her children and husband with an income of R\$ 200 that she receives from the Federal Government. The husband, she says, sometimes get informal jobs and this improves the family’s income that lives in a small house. “We have to live with this amount that the government sends, we do everything so we do not lack anything until the end of the month, when my husband finds a ‘roçado’ thing improve a bit””*

4) The last quote is from the leader (cacique) Fernandes: *“In cacique Orestino Fernandes’ opinion if the situation of the demarcated land was solved, fastly the misery of his people would be less complicated “The government had to solve soon, it would be good for everyone and in addition would take my people out of misery””.*

This is an interesting text that is fundamentally different from all the other journalistic pieces from the data. The journalist’s statement that *“it is possible to talk”* is a remarkable sentence and in a way reveals the implicit assumption that if the author writes that *“it is possible to talk”* in a news piece, he might presume that most of his readers find this dialogue impossible. It serves to underline the assumed ‘otherness’ of the *Guarani and Kaiowa*.

October 21 2015

The text is not present on the cover. The headline at page is: *“Military, civilians and indigenous are in standby in conflict area”*. Four sources are quoted: 1) residents; 2) Ramão Martins; 3) Antônio Pereira; 4) Lene Aquino.

1) The first voice is unspecified ‘residents’ – probably meaning the non-indigenous residents of the town: *“According to residents that were heard, since yesterday’s morning the military mobilization is intense”*.

2) The second quote is about the *Guarani and Kaiowa’s* decision of resisting a possible eviction attempt: *“The indians that are there state that even in front of the Police Force they should resist the measure. It is what Ramão Martins, 45 years old, said. In the indigenous village Marangatu he said to Correio do Estado that “will resist and if they want to kill indians even indian’s dogs will be killed, because everyone will resist”*.

3) The third quote endorses the resistance plan: *“Antônio Pereira, 52 years old, also guarani-caiuá, confirmed that “we prefer to die than leave”*.

4) The fourth quote from a *Guarani and Kaiowa* leader points out other possible outcomes which the journalist interprets as putting in doubt the resistance decision: *“However, despite the bravery, the (reportage) team noted that the indigenous are in fact cautious. Lene Aquino, one of the local leaders, asserts that she is positive about a contrary decision of Justice that turns down the preliminary injunction that guarantees the repossession to the rural producers. “The MPF (Public Federal Ministry) appealed to the STF (Supreme Court) and we’re waiting a decision until midnight [of yesterday]”. For her, resistance is only one of the alternatives, since they also bet on dialogue or in case of eviction “going to the side of the highway”*.

The text uses mostly indigenous voices, with two main implications: in a way these voices are used to frame the text as a “police case”, because resistance is constructed in opposition to the Police Force; on the other hand the frame of “indigenous rights case” is also recognizable in the quote of the indigenous leader; and the quotes represent a means of reporting the strong feelings of the *Guarani and Kaiowa*.

Considerations

In my interpretation, the two texts presented in this section were not written in the format of news. The text published in September 6 is a reflective/ interpretative piece about the economically miserable situation of life conditions in the indigenous village *Nhanduru Marangatu*. The text published in October 21 brings an account about a possible land repossession that must be performed by the Army evicting the *Guarani and Kaiowa* from the area. Both were produced by journalists *in loco*. This kind of format that allows more reflection seems to favour the inclusion of indigenous voices.

It is also pertinent to consider the time when these texts were produced. September 6 is exactly seven days after the confrontation. October 21 is almost two months after. The text informs the readers that two international broadcasters are also in the area. It is possible that the presence of two international outlets reporting about the case have positively influenced in the inclusion of *Guarani and Kaiowa* voices.

The pictures published in these days also differ significantly from the other photos of the coverage. Most of the pictures of the whole data were taken from far away and can be connected to tension, conflict and war. Differently, the pictures published in September 6 and October 21 show *Guarani and Kaiowa* people from closer and looking to the camera, which also can be interpreted as an illustration of dialogue.

5.1.3 An account of silence

The last text from the data, published in October 22 has no headline on the cover. The headline published at page 9 is “*Supreme cancels reintegration but does not solve conflict*” and the subheading “*Indians came to block the highway in the city, but released it upon learning of the decision; producers silenced themselves (silenciaram-se)*”. The text brings five sources: 1) Coordinator of FUNAI Élder Paulo Ribas da Silva; 2) President of the Rural Syndicate of Antônio João; 3) collective term “farmers”; 4) collective term “Kaiowas”; 5) teacher Leia Aquino (Kaiowa).

The text informs the reader about the Supreme Court’s decision of not evicting the Guarani and Kaiowa group from the area. The piece was not written as an “objective” news piece, it is interpretative and opinative. It starts with a negative critique about the decision. The first quote, placed in the fourth paragraph, is from FUNAI’s coordinator in Ponta Porã:

1) The first quote is from the local coordinator of FUNAI, Silva, who aims to explain the minister's decision: *"She [minister] suspended the injunction because, if fulfilled, there was the risk of a social upheaval. The Fronteira farm, for example, would become a stage of war. The Indians were willing to resist, even with the presence of the police force,"* said Elder Paulo Ribas da Silva, coordinator of the National Foundation of the Indian (Funai) in Ponta Porã. The Funai and the Federal Public Ministry (MPF) have moved the appeals against the expulsion of the Indians. He is quoted again in the seventh paragraph: *"FUNAI's coordinator said he believed that the suspension of the injunction should accelerate the process in the STF. He also favours farmers to be compensated for the land"*.

2) The second quote is an interesting construction about the negative of the president of the Rural Syndicate for an interview. Under the subheading "SILENCE" it is written that: *"Representatives of the municipality's Rural Syndicate adopted silence all day. The president of the entity, Roseli Ruiz, said she would not say anything. In a tone of irritation with the STF's decision, she informed that the reportage (team) could find another member of the union or farmer who wanted to comment on the matter, but they were also reticent."*

3) The third quote is from the collective "farmers": *"Without authorizing the publication of names, some farmers have assured that, from now on, the class should promote a wave of protests throughout the region. "We will repeat road blockades, do demonstrations in the Legislative Assembly; wait, surprises will come around" said one of the ruralists, who called the STF minister's decision "an act of communism"*".

The second text has the title: *"Guaranis Kaiowas get happy and stay in the farms"*.

4) The fourth quote is from the collective "Guarani and Kaiowa": *"With pieces of branches and tree trunks, the Guarani Kaiowá stopped traffic on the highway from 4am to 8am. Armed with bows and arrows, they said they "knew" about the decision, but were there to be "sure" that they would not be expelled from the area"*.

5) The last voice is from the indigenous leader Aquino: *"The teacher Leia Aquino, one of the leaders of the Indians, said she now awaits a final STF decision. "We've waited for ten years, ten years! I hope the government will soon indemnify the farmers and let us live in peace now,"* said the Guarani teacher, graduated from the State University of Mato Grosso do Sul (UEMS)".

The text, also published almost two months after the confrontation, makes room for indigenous voices and even recognizes a “Guarani” teacher graduated at the university. This can endorse the discourse of recognition of difference rather than the assimilationist discourse that actually was more predominant in the data. I believe that similarly to the case of the text published the day before (October 21), the inclusion of indigenous voices and the “recognition of difference” discourse were favoured by the rage of time after the confrontation and the presence of international journalists.

Nevertheless, I want to observe another aspect of the text that can add a valuable reflection: the distinct way that the ruralists’ silence was constructed. The subheading already brings an interesting construction “*the producers silenced themselves*”. Thus, it is an active silence – they are performing the silence, not being muted. The text asserts that representatives “*adopted silence all day*”. This is not a usual construction in Portuguese, but a significant assertion of the meaning of this silence – it is an active silence that is constructed as capable of dialogue. Hence, the issue of “who talks” is extremely important, but this excerpt demonstrates that even the silence can be constructed as voice; at least when this silence is considered important enough to be heard.

General Reflections

The examples above show how the articulation of voices in the newspaper’s texts were important in the framing of the texts. In the first days (23, 27, 28) – a crucial period to the development of the story – the *Guarani and Kaiowa* were silenced. However, the next texts (published on 29, 30 and 31) show that quoting *Guarani and Kaiowa* voices in a utterly non-indigenous frame diminishes the recognition of their perspectives. Lack of a minimum socio-historical contextualization is a challenge to the legitimization of their voices. Thus during these days the newspaper established a perspective that was explicit in being both non-indigenous and anti-indigenous.

The suppression of indigenous voices is a strong evidence of the discursive construction of the *Guarani and Kaiowa* as negligible, illegitimate, manipulable and not agents of their own actions. Some of the outcomes are the framing of the stories as “police cases” which facilitates discourses of generalized threat and fear. There is also a prominent argument of the danger of economic loss and discourses that relate the *Guarani and Kaiowa* actions with national political crisis moment in Brazil. Against this backdrop the concerns of the ‘responsible’ local interests are given a particular legitimacy.

In the book “Media and Ethnic Minorities”, Alia & Bull (2005) problematize the cultures of silence. They state that “*too often, the messages of minority peoples fall on deaf ears*” (p.75). They use some concepts of social psychology to explain the culture of silence in the media. One of them is related to what is named ‘bystander effect’, used to designate how crime witnesses dissociate themselves and thus defer intervention. A condition for this to occur is the lack of identification with the victim. The authors relate this to media: “*(...) it is unlikely that media professionals see themselves as inhabiting the same moral universe as ethnic minority peoples. Thus, the media does not extend any helping behaviour and passively neutralises alternative accounts*” (p. 84).

On the other hand, the examples of September 6 and October 21 represent efforts to acknowledge indigenous voices – their living conditions, their ‘otherness’ and their strong feelings. The text published in September 6 is a significant example that “*it is possible to talk*” even if this ‘possible dialogue’ will most likely be constrained by many challenges. And indeed the predominance of texts without indigenous voices in the data reveals the complexity of those challenges.

Homero (2011) wrote about linguistic rights of minorities in court analysing an episode when the federal judge did not authorize the indigenous to testify in *Guarani* language. Many of the *Guarani and Kaiowa* living in the south of *Mato Grosso do Sul* have Portuguese as a second language and some of the implications: the strong *Guarani* accent; limitation of vocabulary and challenges on the grammatical, sociolinguistic, discursive and interactional competences. One of the difficulties is that in most cases they have a non-linear discourse and long silences before approaching a ‘delicate’ issue are usual (Homero 2011).

Homero (2011) also emphasizes the corporal aspects: in contrast to majority Brazilian habits, the *Guarani and Kaiowa* do not have the habit to gesticulate a lot while talking; usually do not have the habit of looking directly in the eyes; do not have the habit of physic contact or proximity while talking and have the habit of talking soft (low volume). He quotes an interview made by Fuhrmann (2010) with *Guarani and Kaiowa* interpreter and researcher Tónico Benites that states that for them the conversation is an encounter between two souls and if you talk too loud, you scare the other’s soul. These accounts relate the value of “words” to the cosmological aspect of the ontology of the *Guarani and Kaiowa* discussed in chapter 2.

Although Homero’s account is about the judicial sphere, it is possible to imagine that similar challenges constraint dialogues between non-indigenous journalists and indigenous people. These difficulties might be exacerbated in situations of violent confrontations when the journalists are required to produce items in the format of hard news. Multiculturalism and ethnic pluralism are not largely discussed in Brazil and cultural sensitivity does not seem to be the most valuable competence in newswork. Most likely, journalistic interviews are primarily “dialogues in majority terms” and most of the Guarani words (in the sense of language, culture and worldviews) are lost in translation.

Finally it is crucial to note that silencing can be a symptom of dehumanization. Freire (2005) states that human existence cannot be silent and human beings are not constructed in silence. Thus dialogue is an existential necessity: *“Dialogue is the encounter between men, mediated by the world, in order to name the world. Hence, dialogue cannot occur between those who want to name the world and those who do not wish this naming”* (p.87).

These insights about inequality of indigenous and non-indigenous voices in the news text and therefore who is entitled to “name the world” in mass media allow us to continue the analysis examining the issue of lexicon choices.

5.2 Part II – Lexicon choices

Languages are ‘systems of representation’, that signify and in this way do not have any clear meaning in themselves, they rather produce meanings and transmit it (Hall, 1997). In this section I discuss the lexicon choices in the news texts and possible implications to the representation of the *Guarani and Kaiowa* in the stories. The results are divided in three sections that correspond to the categories: people; territory and action. The division favours the analysis, although we will notice that these variables in fact overlap themselves. To facilitate visualization I repeat the table that shows the variables and key words:

	People	Territoriality	Action
+ Acknowledges	Guarani and Kaiowa Guarani	Tekoha Ñanderu Marangatu	Demarcation
- Excludes	Indigenous Indian	Farm Property	Occupation Invasion

Figure 6: Table of lexicon choices

To discuss the results concerning this frame I will firstly present quantitative results, discuss the terms and close with reflections about fragments of the text

5.2.1 People

Considering the category People the word “indian” was largely the most used term – it was repeated (259) times. “Indigenous” was used (84) times; while “guarani kaiowá” and the variant “guarani caiuíá” appeared (39) times; the term “guarani” alone was repeated (24) times.

People	
Indian	259
Indigenous	84
Guarani kaiowa/ guarani-caiua	39
Guarani	24

Figure 7: Table showing lexicon choices for ‘people’

The reflection that follows reveals that “indian” was and still is an important word for indigenous movements in demanding their collective rights. It is important to clarify that my critique does not point to a total rejection of the term. However, it is crucial to understand that this is a strong term that allows opposed readings - which may facilitate either empowerment or discursive racism and abuse of power.

The word

Discussions about the term “indian” often consider the remarkable origin of the word. Gersem dos Santos, indigenous from the Baniwa people, wrote that this denomination is the result of a nautical mistake during Colombo’s trip. After a big storm, when Colombo’s ship reached a continent, he believed that it was India. Dos Santos (2006) states that the “indian” denomination has a pejorative meaning for “some whites” that relate the term with prejudiced views. For them, the indian is someone without culture, civilization, incapable, savage, lazy. For others, the indian is romanticized: the protector of forests, symbol of purity.

In spite of that, Dos Santos also explains that the indigenous social movements organized since 1970 concluded that it was important to keep, accept and promote the generic denomination of “indian” or “indigenous” as an identity that gathers, articulates and

empowers all the native peoples in Brazilian territory. From then on, the negative connotation of “indian” had a shift to a positive one.

“The process of reaffirmation of ethnic identities articulated on the pan-indigenous strategic plan by the acceptance of the generic denomination Indians or indigenous resulted in the recovery of the self-esteem of indigenous peoples that was lost during centuries of domination and colonial slavery. Today’s indian is an indian that is proud to be native, to be original, to carry their own civilization and to belong to a particular ancestry” (Dos Santos 2006, p. 33)⁴⁹

In this way Dos Santos is arguing that this usage constitutes a form of *strategic essentialism* (Archer, 2007) that facilitates a sense of shared membership in a large and strong identity group that is better able to contest the hegemonic powers of their oppressor. Dos Santos (2006) states that “indian” can be interpreted in three different ways: 1) as romanticized, naïve and incapable of understanding the non-indigenous world; 2) as a barbarian, cannibal and wild animal; 3) as subjects of rights, citizens. Thus this is a term that is open to opposed readings; dependent upon the source, context and audience.

“Indian” in the context of news

In the context of majority news, one of the negative implications of the usage of “indian” (especially in headlines and not complemented with the ethnicity) is the construction of “indians” as a stereotyped homogeneous group. This homogenizing construction can be a mechanism of de-legitimation of indigenous claims for land rights. The text published in August 28 is a good example of this dynamic.

The headline on the cover was *“Tension increases and number of invaded farms gets to 95”*. Followed by: *“CONFLICT. With last weekend’s invasions in Antônio João the total of invaded farms by indians in Mato Grosso do Sul got to 95; landowners accuse the federal government of omission”*. The text at page 14 has the heading *“Mato Grosso do Sul has 95 farms invaded by indians”* brings a map produced by Agricultural and Livestock Federation of Mato Grosso do Sul (FAMASUL) with the caption *“Rural properties invaded by indians in MS”*.

⁴⁹ Original in Portuguese: “O processo de reafirmação das identidades étnicas, articulado no plano estratégico pan-indígena por meio da aceitação da denominação genérica de índios ou indígenas, resultou na recuperação da auto-estima dos povos indígenas perdida ao longo dos séculos de dominação e escravidão colonial. O índio de hoje é um índio que se orgulha de ser nativo, de ser originário, de ser portador de civilização própria e de pertencer a uma ancestralidade particular.”

The map, which was repeatedly published in August 30, neglects that the “indians” are actually several diverse peoples that speak different languages, have diverse habits, worldviews; and have had specific experiences of colonization and contact with the majority society. It also disregards that MS occupies a big area and therefore the lands in question are diverse in natural resources and conditions. To sum up, the discursive construction “*Mato Grosso do Sul has 95 farms invaded by indians*” is only possible from a non-indigenous perspective that sees all the seven different indigenous peoples as simply “indians” and mixtures their claims for demarcation of their sacred traditional lands interpreting it as a (one) threat.

This kind of usage of the term “indian” can be related to the argument repeated many times by the ones who are against indigenous land rights: all “indians” should be moved to Amazonia forest where they can live like “indians”, while the lands in MS should be “productive” farms. Well, Amazonia and *Mato Grosso do Sul* are fairly distant and different. Evidently this kind of thought disfigures the crucial aspect of umbilical relation with the territory in the notion of indigenusness. In this regard the relation between indigenous and traditional territories is perverted to a relation of indian and nature (as long as they are not on the way of “progress”) which is in line with the “indian” frozen in time and savage.

Savage image and integrationist discourse

One of the interesting illustrations of the representation of the *Guarani and Kaiowa* as savage indians is the description of them carrying arrows and wood sticks, as in the pictures published in August 31.



TENSÃO. Encapuzados, índios reagiram a desocupação de duas propriedades no sábado por fazendeiros

Caption: “*TENSION. Wearing hoodies, indians reacted to the eviction of two properties by farmers on Saturday*”.



ESTRATÉGICOS. Índios armados de flechas ficaram próximos a estrada que conduz a fazenda que havia sido ocupada; para os fazendeiros, eles usam também armamentos obtidos da força revolucionária

Caption: “*STRATEGIC. Indians armed with arrows stood close to the road that leads to the occupied farm; to farmers, they also use weaponry obtained from revolutionary force*”.

The usage of arrows was also emphasized in the text published on September 19 in the text “*Judicial decision is not fulfilled and farms remain invaded*”. Paragraph 10: “*Holding arrows and apprehensive, the indians that talked about the reintegration did not want to identify in Portuguese (...)*”.

And in the text published on September 21 “*Farmers and indians are isolated after confrontation*”. Last paragraph: “*Youngsters, children and elderly, walking, riding motorcycle or cycling in the village, always take arrows with them.*”

I clarify that my argument here is not that the newspaper was wrong in mentioning the arrows. Rather I want to provide insights into how this endorses a discourse of the Guarani and Kaiowa as savages; and ultimately allows discourses of them being manipulated by enemies. This then provides an apparent legitimate basis for the integrationist discourses that argues for the necessity of “*integrating the indigenous in Brazilian society*”.

Identity and diversity

About identity the Kaiowa researcher Eliel Benites (2014) quoting Hall (2008) states that ‘race’ is a discursive category; thus, the notion of indigenous was constructed based on the relation with the majority society via discursive processes. Benites (2014) also quotes Bhabha

about the colonial discourse's dependency on 'fixity'. He states that these colonial arguments construct and identify the different ones as transgressors, foreigners, corrupt, savage.

In September 22, the newspaper published the text "*Fight of farmers and indians involves CPI (Parliamentary Inquiry Commission), church and government*" about the opening of a Parliamentary Inquiry that accuses CIMI (Indigenous Missionary Council) of financing the "invasions" with money from international NGO's.

"The war is installed in rural areas in name of an "absurd ideology", reflected Mara. "We understand that there is an action of weakening the producers' class, the productive sector of the Country, besides another intention, appropriating of the natural resources that we have. I was mayor of Eldorado (municipality), I know well our indigenous villages, always had the concern with the indigenous issue and re-integrate them as Brazilian citizens with rights and duties", analysed the ex-mayor".

This fragment is a typical example of the embodied view of indigenous as inferior and allows the paternalistic concern of the ex-mayor who 'knows *our* indigenous villages well' and is concerned to *reintegrate* them. From that perspective indigenous peoples and lands are condemned to exploration and exploitation if not by Brazilians, by foreigners who want to appropriate their natural resources. The only solution, thus, would be to transform the "indians" into Brazilian citizens: and as we have noted in earlier chapters, to be a good Brazilian citizen may mean taking on board a hegemonic ideology which leads you to accept your marginalisation.

Indigenous as the right to be different

Considering the juridical sphere, Amado (2014) explains that the Indian Statute (Estatuto do Índio)⁵⁰ from 1973 declares that the "indian" or indigenous communities were considered incapable and had to be assisted by their tutor (FUNAI). Amado states that the indigenous elders commonly talk about the times when even to travel they needed FUNAI's authorization. The "indian" alone could not sign any kind of contract. In other words, being indigenous was considered something transitory. This is explicit in the document's division of three classes of "indians": isolated; in process of integration and integrated. This notion was challenged in 1988 when indigenous were considered citizens for the first time in Brazilian history:

⁵⁰ This Statute is still in vogue; however it should be interpreted according to the Constitution of 1988 which is the 'magnum letter' of the country (Amado, 2014)

“The Constitution of 1988 establishes the right of difference putting out this integrationist politics. It also recognizes the right of own social organization of each indigenous communities and/or peoples. They should decide their future and elect their priorities” (Amado 2014, p.36)⁵¹

It is also pertinent to remember that besides the establishing the right of difference in the Constitution, Brazil has also ratified Convention ILO 169, an international legal document. According to Thornberry (2002): *“Ratification of 169 commits the States to move beyond recognition of groups to positive action and respect for the indigenous world”* (p.367). The understanding of indigenous rights in a global context is permeated by the acknowledgement of indigeneity rooted essentially in a non-definition, which enables us to see indigenous peoples as very diverse peoples across the world.

Thus, it is clear that the recognition of indigenous as citizens that do not have to cease to be who they are is necessarily rooted on the recognition of difference. This comprehension reaches the acknowledgement of indigenous as a diversity of peoples with different characteristics, languages, habits and views. Vieira (2013) writes that ethnologist Curt Nimuendaju estimated that before European colonization there were around 1.400 indigenous groups in the territory that corresponds to Brazil. Demographically the indigenous population in the area in 1500 is estimated from five to six million people. However, as pointed out in Chapter II, depopulation and displacement were the main features of Brazilian colonization.

Nowadays this diversity of indigenous peoples in Brazil is expressed in the presence of 283 distinct indigenous peoples that totalize a population of 817,900 people. In the state of *Mato Grosso do Sul* there are nine diverse indigenous peoples: *Kaiowá, Guarani (Ñandeva), Terena, Kadiwéu, Guató, Ofaié, Kinikinau, Atikum* and *Camba* with a population of around 77,000 and census data points to increase of indigenous population in MS (Vieira, 2013). In this context, recognition of land rights is the main issue for many indigenous groups in the country. Indigenous lands in Brazil consist on separated lands that together would be roughly 12% of the national territory. However, 98,6% of this total area is in the region of Legal

⁵¹ Original in Portuguese: “A Constituição de 1988 consagra o direito à diferença, acabando com essa política integracionista. Reconhece ainda o direito a organização social própria de cada povo e/ou comunidade indígena. São eles próprios que devem decidir o seu futuro e eleger quais são suas prioridades.”

Amazonia while *Mato Grosso do Sul's* indigenous lands consist in 0,6% of the “total indigenous area” of the country.⁵²

General Reflections

“Indian” is a controversial term that may generate different interpretations. As asserted before, the usage of this word in Brazil is not necessarily considered offensive. However, indigenous of different regions of Brazil have persistently claimed the usage of the name of their ethnic group in attempts to avoid homogenization and stereotyping. Writer Daniel Munduruku indigenous from *Munduruku* people called national attention in 2013 during a literary event asserting that he was not an indian and that there are no indians in Brazil.⁵³ The word “indian” is still connected to images from colonial times – naked and painted bodies with feathers and arrows. This is strongly related to stereotyping.

According to Hall (1997), stereotyping is a central signifying practice to the representation of racial difference. It is a kind of typification that consists in diminishing people to limited characteristics that appear to be natural and fixed. Stereotyping is part of the maintenance of the *status quo* because it assists in drawing the symbolic border between Us and Them. Hall recalls Derrida’s argument that, between binary oppositions (as in Us and Them) there is a violent hierarchy and this is often connected with inequality: “*stereotyping tends to occur where there are gross inequalities of power*” (Hall 1997, p. 258).

Stereotypes facilitate the image of the “indian” as a creature frozen in time. This can be related to the centuries long assimilationist policies that intended to “integrate the ‘indians’ in the national communion” – a paradigm informed by an evolutionist perspective that was only shifted in 1988 with the promulgation of the recent Constitution. Goldberg (2002) states that the modern state is nothing less than a racial state and discloses that the modern state organizes itself not only by exclusions, but with the internalization of these exclusion. It is not unexpected thus, that integrationist views are still pretty alive among politicians and journalists.

The analysis shows that the distribution of terms with a large prevalence of the word “indian” - combined with the discursive constructions that evoke the image of the stereotyped

⁵² Consult maps on: <http://www.funai.gov.br/index.php/indios-no-brasil/terras-indigenas>; <http://indigenas.ibge.gov.br/>; <https://www.socioambiental.org/pt-br>

⁵³ Source: News published by G1 (‘There are no indians in Brazil’, says writer during seminar opening) <http://g1.globo.com/mg/sul-de-minas/noticia/2013/05/nao-existem-indios-no-brasil-disse-indigena-em-abertura-de-congresso.html>

homogeneous savage “indian”; underlines just how resistant the journalists are to recognizing the diversity with the Indigenous population; and hence they fail to be in touch with the specificity of community identities, histories and current concerns.

5.2.2 Territory

Another variable is the designation of the territory in dispute. As already asserted before, the dispute is not only over the land itself, but also over the concept of territoriality. The category of ‘territoriality’ is closely related to ‘people’. Non-indigenous conceptions of forms of territorialisation include the concepts of cities, states (or provinces), countries and borders neighbourhoods, farms. On the other hand, the *Guarani and Kaiowa* form of territorialisation is based on the idea of *tekoha*, as explained in chapter II.

For the content analysis, I have considered the words: “*tekoha*” which is the term that has been used by the *Guarani and Kaiowa* to designate their sacred lands, and which was largely used on *Aty Guasu*’s posts and not at all in the news items. At the same time “*Ñanderu Marangatu*”, the indigenous name of that specific area, appears in only three of the news items, whilst “*farm*”, or “*property*” is largely used in the newspaper (175 times). The terms “*indigenous land*” or “*indigenous territory*” were also verified, but they appeared only eleven (11) times.

Considering that “*tekoha*” is completely absent on the newspaper coverage and “*Ñanderu Marangatu*” is scarcely used, this section is essentially about absences. In this way I consider that a graphic with quantitative results is unnecessary and I will structure our discussion about territory pointing out three important aspects found on the newspaper’s discourses: 1) lack of historical background; 2) absence of acknowledgement of indigenous relation to the land; 3) construction of the border issue as a threat to Brazilian territory.

Lack of historical background

As discussed in chapter III, the history of colonization of *Mato Grosso do Sul* is fundamentally a history of displacement and confinement (Brand 1997) of indigenous peoples. Brand explains that this confinement was endorsed by official policies: the official body, which was concerned about the integration of the *Guarani and Kaiowa* on the regional economy, and considered as fundamental the overcoming of their traditional way of life (*ñande reko*) via their confinement. These policies were informed by the “indians” and their

ways of life (in the case of *Guarani and Kaiowa* “*ñande reko*”) as transitory. In this sense there was no concern over choosing lands that were traditionally occupied or that were big enough for the future of the community, since the goal was assimilation. In this specific integrationist discourse, indigenous land rights are opposed to development or progress.

In contrast, the shift from the assimilationist paradigm and the recognition of indigenous peoples’ rights inevitably includes the recognition of their land rights. In practical terms the Constitution of 1988 determined that indigenous lands should be demarcated by FUNAI within five years. The demarcation processes however are very complex and confounded by judicial processes. In many cases even after the conclusion of the demarcation administrative areas the indigenous are prevented from getting the lands, which creates what Cavalcante (2013) designates “lands of paper” – areas that are recognized as indigenous by the Executive but remain in possession of non-indigenous for years.

The suppression of historical background upholds the discourse of the integrationist paradigm. It also enables blatant repetitions of the discourse that frames indigenous claims for land rights as detrimental to *Mato Grosso do Sul*’s economy – a construction that endorses an illegitimate antagonism between indigenous and development.

Land versus tekoha

In chapter II we already discussed the umbilical relation of the *Guarani and Kaiowa* with the land and the concept of *tekoha*, which is a term in the Guarani language that has to do simultaneously with social group, geographic space and cultural system. In Guarani language *teko* means way of being and living; *ha* means place (Benites, 2014). As geographic space it represents the area that has environmental conditions to develop the cultural system that defines their ways of life: material resources and also spiritual elements (Oliveira & Pereira, 2009).

For this section, it is relevant to recall that *tekoha* is not a random area and, accordingly, the struggle of the *Guarani and Kaiowa* is not a random claim for land, but a specific claim for part of their *tekoha*. About the case of *Ñande Ru Marangatu* the expert report made by Oliveira & Pereira (2009) reveals that the community was invited repeatedly to move to Dourados Indigenous Reservation, which they refused, and many of them preferred to keep living in the margins of the big farms that were occupying their territory.

The absence of historical background is combined with absence of reflections about landedness or the power of place as one of the enduring constraints of indigeneity (Clifford, 2013). According to him, the relation between indigenous and land is:

*“This is the indigenous *longue dureé*, the precolonial that tends to be lost in postcolonial projections. Thus indigenous claims always transcend colonial disruptions (including the posts and neos): we were here before all that; we are still here; we will make a future here”* (Clifford 2013, p.64)

The absence of this kind of perspective allows framing the texts simply as a *“dispute of land domain”* (as in the subtitle of the text published on September 6) rather than a complex dispute about the meaning of land. This could be considered a subtle detail, but this framing reveals a strongly colonized understanding of territory; and, thus, a great impossibility of acknowledging the repeated assertion of the *Guarani and Kaiowa* community shared by *Aty Guasu*: *“we will not leave our land neither alive nor dead”*.

Historically, *Mato Grosso do Sul* was considered a ‘vacuum’ - the vast territory was for indigenous peoples sacred lands (what has specific meanings for each one of these peoples); while for the settlers the area was simply empty and that should be transformed into productive farms. Likewise, when neglecting indigenous forms of territorialisation, the journalists look to the territory and see either properties/farms or emptiness.

My argument in favour of the significance of the inclusion of the word *tekoha* in this kind of text is a difficult one because it is a term in the *Guarani* language, which is not the language *Correio do Estado* proposes to use. However, the word has no translation to Portuguese and acknowledges a possible reality that was also recognized by the Brazilian State when the land was considered indigenous. The process is still at the Supreme Court, which means that the area could be either a farm or a *tekoha*. However, as the analysis above reveals the reportage very predominantly employs a non-indigenous lexicon; which serves to normalise the agri-business construal of the nature and likely ownership of the land.

Border issue

In this context, the emphasis on the border issue is also pre-eminent. The border issue was approached in many of the stories published. The usual description of the area is *“municipality of Antônio João, in the border with Paraguay”*. The mention of the proximity of the border was also many times combined with the use of the word *“war”*.

In August 29 the main headline was: “*CONFLICT. Paraguayan Indians would have been recruited to reinforce invasions; producers watch and block roads in the region*”. The text published on the same day highlights that the Paraguayan area is in walking distance. Third paragraph: “*The distance of the sulmatogrossense municipality, with around 8,6 thousand inhabitants according to the Brazilian Institute of Geography and Statistics (IBGE), to the Paraguayan territory is around four kilometres.*”

August 30 cover’s picture caption states: “*WAR IN THE BORDER. Indians made barricade, but did not avoid farmers’ entrance in the area; in detail one of the injured*”.

August 31’s edition brings the text “*Farmers accuse Paraguayan guerrillas of training indigenous*” undoubtedly is a notable case of how the border issue can be constructed as a threat to the national territory.

The ‘border defence’ perspective can be noticed by the large usage of the word “*border*” combined with the choice of the Border Department Police (DOF) as a crucial source of information and pictures. Borders by their nature provide a site of engagement between differences. Much discussed in post-modern analyses in relation to the concept of liminality, the border is a zone of interaction, ambiguity and potential change. For those with a rigid understanding of the certainty of their perspective and their interests, borders also can become the site of heightened ingroup identification, with a related move to self-stereotyping; and of a complementary strong intergroup conflict (Brewer and Hewstone, 2004). Thus the defence of the border perspective invokes a powerful intergroup dynamic which renders an objective, disinterested, appraisal of the situation difficult to sustain (Turner et al, 1987).

This notion is especially challenging as in this area there is no natural or artificial physical border. This kind of discourse that constructs the *Guarani and Kaiowa* as Paraguayans has direct negative implications upon the representation of them as Brazilian citizens, which also affects the discourses about the legitimacy of their claims for the civil, collective and land rights recognized in the Constitution. This kind of discourse neglects that indigenous peoples precede the creation of National States. *Aty Guasu* responded to this border issue on August 29:

“The anti-indigenous farmers and politicians always classify us as “Paraguayans”, “indians from Paraguay”. We explain to all, us Guarani and Kaiowa are not “Paraguayans”, however

we are indigenous peoples Guarani and Kaiowa, we already lived in this land before the creation of the country Brazil and Paraguay.”

They also try to subvert the border defence discourse that builds them in as a threat; asserting their Brazilianness and national rights:

“Today we are more than 46 thousand Guarani and Kaiowa, we are (the) first Brazilians and we are here in the border area, our land is from Brazil, for that reason we ask for the Minister of Army and Armed Force to protect and defend our land in accordance with our national rights.”

Images of War

The usage of the metaphor of war is noteworthy. A close reading of the development of the coverage reveals a specific trajectory as the texts depart from the usage of the word “*tension*”, shifts to “*conflict*” and then announces a “*war*” one day before the confrontation. In some of the texts published in September and October this shifts to “*supposed confrontation*” or “*supposed conflict*”, which has to do with the dispute over the murder.

Tension it might be argued leaves open a reading of the situation as one involving an opposition of interests. Conflict moves this on to make it unambiguous that there is a very real contestation between entrenched positions: where escalation in feelings and action may be regarded as not only likely; but potentially legitimate on the part of one of the interest groups. ‘War’, however, takes this situation into a very different imaginary space. War is a place of excess, of necessary violence and of victor and vanquished: not of deliberation and reconciliation. Thus the changing framing of the situation also represents a powerful reconfiguring of the possible actions to be expected, and their legitimacy.

Considering the discourses about the killing of the *Kaiowa* leader, it was constructed as a murder in *Aty Guasu*’s narratives, but as a death in the news stories. In August 30 the newspaper main headline was “*Owner retakes farm and indian dies in confrontation*”. In this sentence the *Kaiowa* that was murdered, Simeão Vilhalva, is put as the agent of the proposition. As already mentioned in the first part of the analysis, the ruralists claimed that Vilhalva was dead before the confrontation. In most of the newspapers texts Vilhalva is referred to using his collective identity of “*indian*”, “*indigenous*” or “*guarani kaiowá*”. This deindividuation can also be related to a dehumanization process.

5.2.3 Action

The third pre-established variable was ‘action’ – regarding the words that were used to represent the *Guarani and Kaiowa*’s action of entering the land. The *Guarani and Kaiowa* call this an “auto-demarcation”, while for the landowners this is an “invasion”. Another term that was used to designate this action is “occupation”. “Invasion” was the most used term in the coverage (97) times, followed by occupation (57). “Auto-demarcation” was not used. The term “demarcation” was repeated only (14) times and not to describe the *Guarani and Kaiowa*’s action, but to bring information about the official governmental process of demarcating indigenous lands. Thus the framing of the *Guarani and Kaiowa* action of entering the land as an invasion was strongly prevalent.

Action	
Invasion	97
Occupation	57
Demarcation (regarding governmental process)	14

Figure 8: Table showing lexicon choices for ‘action’

Action and perspective

It is possible to relate the choice of representing the *Guarani and Kaiowa* with the issue of socio-historical context. When the newspaper’s texts bring some kind of historical context this regards to 1998 or 2005. The analysis shows that most of the newspapers’ text framed as a clear case of invasion. Conversely, the *Guarani and Kaiowa* understand that they are auto-demarcating the land. However, the acknowledgement of this perspective requires a historical comprehension that dates back much before 1998.

For example, the text published on August 28 asserts that:

“Saito also stressed that the invasions in Mato Grosso do Sul began in 1998 and believes that the entire crisis faced by the country, currently, was an incentive for the invasions of last week.”

And the text published in August 29:

“OLD FIGHT

The dispute involving Indians and farmers in Antônio João intensified a decade ago, in 2005, the year in which former president Lula signed a decree that considered nine indigenous farms in the region as indigenous land, six of which were occupied since a week.”

Correspondingly, the landowners' attempt to evict the Guarani and Kaiowa from the area is framed in most of the texts as a re-occupation or resumption. The text published in August 30 for example begins with:

*“During the **resumption of invaded property by guarani kaiowa indians** in Antônio João, 280 kilometres south from Campo Grande, rural owners confronted with indigenous, which ended with one dead and at least 10 injured. All of them indians.”*

In *Aty Guasu's* posts it is possible to notice the priority to problematize and reject the framing of their action as an “invasion”. The text posted in August 29 vehemently refuted this term:

*“In the conception of anti-indigenous farmers and politicians the indigenous peoples **Guarani and Kaiowa are considered as extra-terrestrial creatures (OVNI) from other planets, not belonging to planet Earth. More than three decades share on their media “these indians invade the land”, “these indians are not from this land” (...). The verb “to invade” to the farmers justifies the genocide and massacre of indigenous peoples (...)** we repudiate repeatedly this word “invader indians” shared by anti-indigenous farmers and politicians. We explain for everyone, many times, that us Guarani and Kaiowa are not extra-terrestrial beings or OVNI from other planet, **but we belong to our big land**, because of that today we return to the little piece of our land. We explain to all, **this tiny cell of our land tekoha Ñanderu Marangatu was already demarcated and homologated by the President of the Republic, LULA(...)**”*

This excerpt is a powerful discursive construction that sums up the complexity of the issue of land rights of the *Guarani and Kaiowa* in *Mato Grosso do Sul*. Their actions are most of the times represented as “invasions” in majority media, which implicates the representations of them as invaders. However, they are recognized as indigenous peoples – in historical continuity with pre-colonial and pre-settlers. They claim, thus, that when anti-indigenous say that the *Guarani and Kaiowa* are not from this land, these anti-indigenous must consider that they came from space. This construction also evinces the dispute about the meaning of territory, note that the claim is constructed as “*we belong to the land*”, which essentially clashes with the idea of property.

Demarcation process

The resistance in *Correio do Estado* to employ the term demarcation is profoundly political precisely because that term is embedded in a legal framework of state recognition of the legitimate territorial claims of the *Guarani and Kaiowa*. Indeed not only a notional principle of recognition, but beyond that a deliberate decision of the state to recognise that right and grant land tenure to the *Kaiowa* as laid out in the Constitution of 1988. This as we have seen above has been blocked by a legalistic filibuster led by the agri-business interests. It is this

context that a failure to routinely employ the term demarcation carries out a real hegemonic function.

The demarcation process consists of: identification and delimitation; approval of FUNAI; contestation; declaration of limits by the Ministry of Justice, physical demarcation; presidential homologation⁵⁴; registration and non-intrusion. The Constitution established that indigenous lands belong to the Federal Union (Brazil), but are in permanent possession of indigenous peoples (Amado, 2013). Therefore, FUNAI is currently the only body directly responsible for promoting the land rights of indigenous peoples.

According to IWGIA the institution is being slowly run down with cuts to its budget. It received R\$ 174 million in 2013 and it has fallen to 154 million in 2014. Recently the government proposed another drastic cut of the budget to 2017: it would be R\$ 110 million, the worst budget in ten years. It concerns to a general, big and complex economic and political crisis that takes place in Brazil (to be briefly pointed out in the next section). Indigenous peoples demonstrated several times this year against the big cuts on FUNAI budget. Concerns about this were also reported by United Nations Special Rapporteur Victoria Tauli-Corpuz after her visit to Brazil:

“(...) the capacity and Local presence of FUNAI were being debilitated to the point where the Foundation may soon no longer be able to fulfil its mandate. Concerns were raised regarding the political, rather than technical basis of the nomination of the President of FUNAI and the implications for the autonomy and ability of the Foundation to fulfil its mandate.” (United Nations 2016, p.8)

The ruralist caucus at the National Congress has made a Proposed Amendment to the Constitution (PEC 215) aiming to transfer the power for approving Indigenous Lands from the Ministry of Justice (Executive) to the National Congress. This would transform land rights recognition from a technical to a political process and legislation, which is strongly opposed by indigenous movements.

Critique to Federal Government

In many of the analysed news texts it was possible to notice an explicit criticism to the Federal Government and federal bodies. For example, the text published on September 21 states that:

⁵⁴ The process of Nãnde Ru Marangatu was stuck in this step.

“Believing the presidential decree signed in 2005, which declared the area as indigenous territory, the approximately 1,500 Guarani Kaiowa Indians of Antônio João want for them the land currently occupied by nine farmers.”

The text published in October 22, asserts:

“The cancellation of the injunction that yesterday suspended the withdrawal of the Indians from three occupied farms, since last July, confirms the idea that the Federal Supreme Court (STF), the Brazilian maximum court, has its cote of guilt for the constant threats of conflicts, with history of deaths, involving the guaranis kaiowás and the ruralists, in Antônio João, city of Mato Grosso do Sul, in the region of border with Paraguay.”

These critiques are connected to a complex and extremely tormented political moment in Brazil. Workers’ party (PT) was in the presidency from 2002, with Luis Inácio Lula da Silva for two terms (2003-2007 and 2007-2011) followed by Dilma Rousef.

President Rousef was re-elected in 2014, but she won with a very small margin and the context was very polarized. Brazil is facing a big economic crisis combined with scandals of corruption. During the year of 2015 huge demonstrations supported a process to impeach her. The vice-president Michel Temer from PMDB party deserted the alliance with Dilma Rousef. The impeachment happened in August 2016 and Temer is now in the presidency. His mandate is also facing huge demonstrations against his proposals of comprising privatisations, pension reform and the abolition of constitutionally mandated expenditures on health and education. If Rousef’s government was considered very negative regarding indigenous rights, the prospects of indigenist policies during Temer’s government are catastrophic. Concerns were also expressed by UN Special Rapporteur:

“The political situation in Brazil changed significantly following the Special Rapporteur’s visit, with the appointment of an interim Government and the implementation of a number of institutional changes. The Special Rapporteur is concerned that the political and economic crisis is serving to render indigenous peoples’ rights and issues invisible and less significant in the eyes of politicians and the public, to the detriment of addressing structural discrimination and imbalances in power in a manner beneficial to them.” (United Nations 2006, p.17)

Another recurrent discourse found in the news is the impasse about the payment of indenisations to the landowners. It is clear that, in most of the data, the issue of indigenous land rights in *Mato Grosso do Sul* is represented as a tension between three key players: indigenous people, landowners and federal government. Concerning the dynamics between landowners and the federal powers this relation is plainly represented as an opposition.

However, Cavalcante (2013) quotes the reportage book *“Land party: how politicians have conquered Brazilian territory”*⁵⁵ published by Alceu Luís Castilho (2012), which based on the patrimonial declarations presented to the Electoral Justice in 2006, 2008 and 2010, discloses that the elected politicians own together at least 4,4 million hectares (except the municipal politicians who were not in the research). Another relevant aspect is electoral campaign financing. The book shows that in 2010 candidates received around R\$ 50 million from companies linked to agribusiness. According to Cavalcante (2013) the context of a political system based in private donations makes improbable that political forces are balanced. In his words *“Currently, the Brazilian political-partisan-electoral system is configured to maintain the coloniality of power”*⁵⁶ (p.311).

On the other hand, there are no indigenous representatives in the federal government.⁵⁷ My point is that the discourses that simplify the land controversy in Mato Grosso do Sul as a case of contradiction between federal government recognition of rights and ruralists neglects that Brazil was historically constructed and still is essentially governed by a landowners’ elite.

5.3 Part III – Coloniality and dehumanization

The analysis above has opened up to scrutiny something of the ideological construction of news events in *Correio do Estado*. We have already provided an analytic framework which enables us to see these findings as not an entirely surprising expression of historically embedded ideologies and current vested interests. Having laid out these findings we can now move on to provide additional and complementary insights into their determination and likely impact.

Coloniality of power

The analysis reveals dynamics can be related to the concept of coloniality of power, developed by Quijano (2000) as the model of power that originates from the constitution of America and colonial/modern Eurocentered capitalism as a new global power: still the globally hegemonic model of power today. In the process (processes) of colonization of America, the conquered people were, as we have seen above, categorized via racial

⁵⁵ Original in Portuguese: “Partido da Terra: como os políticos conquistaram o território brasileiro”

⁵⁶ Original in Portuguese: “Atualmente, o sistema político-partidário-eleitoral brasileiro está configurado para a manutenção da colonialidade do poder.”

⁵⁷ In the whole history of Brazil there has been only one indigenous in the Parliament, Mario Juruna, from the Xavante people who was federal deputy from 1982-1986.

classification. Therefore, this classification mechanism dispossessed them of their own singular identities and histories.

“To start with, in the moment that the Iberians conquered, named, and colonized America (whose northern region, North America, would be colonized by the British a century later), they found a great number of different peoples, each with its own history, language, discoveries and cultural products, memory and identity. (...) Three hundred years later, all of them had become merged into a single identity: Indians. This new identity was racial, colonial, and negative.” (Quijano 2000, p. 551)

Considering the contributions of Quijano, Maldonado-Torres (2007) suggests that coloniality can be understood as a radicalization and naturalization of the non-ethics of war. *“This non-ethics included the practices of eliminating and enslaving certain subjects – e.g. indigenous and black – as part of the enterprise of the colonization”* (p. 247). He underlines the fundamental question that originated this model of power. *“How did the coloniality of power emerge? Quijano locates it in discussions about whether the Indians had soul or not”* (Maldonado-Torres 2007, p. 244).

The comfortable and normative marginalisation of the voice of the *Guarani and Kaiowa* is consistent with the enduring power of a hegemonic taken for granted typification of reality in which indigenous voices are ‘naturally’ marginalised. Similarly the continuing prevalence of the use of the concept of Indian in the analysed reportage above shows the persistence of a colonial historicized understanding of the language of identity that is available: and the hierarchy of worth that is inherent in their deployment. Given that this zeitgeist was achieved through a historical, and recent, brutal suppression of Brazil’s indigenous peoples then it is hardly surprising that the trope of a conflict of interests, extending as far as ‘war’, between them and the hegemonic bloc should have a natural seeming resonance for the readers of *Correio do Estado*.

Rooted in the definitions of coloniality of power and internal colonialism, Cavalcante (2013) considers Brazil as a colonialist State and traces a parallel with the ruralist ideology. He argues that in the current moment, ruralism as an ideology, is the biggest expression of the conservative defence of the privileges of the dominant classes in Brazil, that are characterized by an extensive domain and concentration of land property. Therefore, he understands ruralism as an ideology that aids the maintenance of the status quo of the national land distribution. The concept of property and farm in the construction of the coverage of the struggle of indigenous land tenure sits comfortably within this framework.

Dehumanization, exclusion and de-legitimation

Current social psychology provides a further means of understanding the means whereby the account offered above may be understood through showing how the marginalisation, and indeed dehumanisation of indigenous peoples has powerful social psychological, as well as historical/ political underpinnings.

According to Tileaga (2007), constructing particular ethnic groups as out-of-place, as abject, as repulsive, functions as symbolic resources to reproduce their delegitimation, depersonalization and ultimately their dehumanization. These are “*complex discursive accomplishments dependent on a range of constructive processes*” (p. 27). Dehumanization can be framed in terms of majority/minority dichotomy, social influence, social cognition and representational processes. This involves two important psychological accounts: moral exclusion and delegitimation. Moral exclusion is when individuals or groups are placed outside the boundary of moral values, rules and considerations of fairness. Delegitimation is an extreme case of stereotyping. Haslam (2006) writes that: “*Delegitimizing beliefs are theorized as products of interethnic conflict that serve several functions: explaining the conflict, justifying the ingroup’s aggression, and providing it with a sense of superiority*” (Haslam, p. 254)

Ontologization is a concept that indicates the representation of certain minorities outside the realm of ‘humanity’. The logic of ontologization suggests that prejudice against others is not only evaluative (as in ‘discrimination’) but also semantic-anthropological (‘ontologization’). According to this logic, out-groups can be evaluated in terms of animal (natural) and not human (cultural) aspects. Dehumanization requires that a group is removed from the domain of moral acceptability (Tileaga, 2007).

Haslam (2006) theorizes two different forms of humanness, one of them rooted on the uniquely human (UH) characteristics that separate humans from other animals; and another one based on human nature which divides humans from machines. He points out that essentialist thinking seems to be essential for animalistic dehumanization:

“To summarize, animalistic dehumanization involves the denial of UH attributes, typically to essentialized outgroups in the context of a communal representation of the ingroup. It is often accompanied by emotions of contempt and disgust that reflect an implicit vertical comparison and by a tendency to explain others’ behaviour in terms of desires and wants rather than cognitive states.”(Haslam (2006), p. 262)

Evidence of animalistic dehumanization and ontologization was found in the data. In summary the data presented in this chapter reveals the ways in which the representation of the Guarnai and Kaiowa in the reportage of *Correio do Estado* provides a hegemonic social construction of reality in which the rights, and indeed the humanity, of these indigenous peoples are denied, and their voice is effectively silenced. It has been argued that these facts can be only understood by placing them within a historical understanding of the colonisation of South America and the construction of the Brazilian national narrative of 'racelessness'. The power of this media reportage is further amplified by the operation of intergroup dynamics, as revealed by the recent insights of social psychology. The final considerations will be approached in the next chapter.

6 Conclusion

This master's thesis offered a critical discourse analysis of the stories published by the newspaper *Correio do Estado* about a case of confrontation in *Mato Grosso do Sul*, Brazil. The analysis was rooted in the notion of language as a means of social construction and the understanding of journalism as a social activity that produces discourses that are socially and historically situated, in a dialectical relationship with other social phenomena. The main purposes were to disclose possible marks of coloniality, discursive racism and mechanisms of dehumanization in the texts; reflect upon how the *Guarani and Kaiowa's* perspectives were articulated in the journalistic discourse and finally discuss how the non-indigenous newspaper has sustained the representation of the *Guarani and Kaiowa* in this specific case; and in this way contributed to the construction of the realities of indigenous and non-indigenous in *Mato Grosso do Sul*.

Situating discourses

Before examining the data it was necessary to present a brief account of the complex socio-historical context of race relations in Brazil – a territorially big country of big inequalities that was constructed upon the myth of “raceleness” or “racial democracy”, and the specific case of the Brazilian state of *Mato Grosso do Sul*, which occupies also a big area that was the subject of late settlement. In this context until the 1970s the official policy on indigeneity was assimilationist: indigenous peoples from many different areas were confined in reservations with the formal aim of gradually being educated and socially integrated as Brazilian citizens, while their lands were cleared up to be transformed into profitable farms.

The Constitution of 1988, promulgated when the country was leaving a military dictatorship, represented a great shift in the paradigm of the State relations with indigenous peoples. It was the first time that indigenous rights were recognized. This recognition included the issue of land rights, which established that indigenous lands should be demarcated. The processes of demarcation of many areas in Brazil have been stopped by judicial disputes. In *Mato Grosso do Sul* indigenous peoples struggle to achieve their land rights and live in an extremely problematic context of persistent violence, discrimination and poverty.

Indigenous perspectives

To develop the analysis addressing the *Guarani and Kaiowa* perspective it was essential to delve into literature about their ontology, cosmology, epistemology, cultural practices and

history of relation with majority society. It was also crucial to collect narratives that show their own discursive constructions about the specific case – in this way the posts shared by *Aty Guasu* (Big *Guarani and Kaiowa* Assembly) represented an important counterpoint to the stories published by the majority newspaper.

The analysis demonstrates that the land controversy between indigenous and non-indigenous exceeds territorial disputes. It is a rather complex process in which different notions and meanings of territoriality, history and realities are in contradiction.

Outlining discourses

The results show powerful evidence of discursive exclusion of indigenous perspectives and strong marks of coloniality. This discourse of exclusion is expressed in the lack of *Guarani and Kaiowa* voices; and in the predominant employment of lexical choices that endorse assimilationist discourses and hinders the acknowledgement of indigenous meanings. The most used word to describe the *Guarani and Kaiowa* was “indian” rather than the name of the ethnic group; the recognition of the area as a *tekoha* was completely neglected and the *Guarani and Kaiowa’s* action was mostly described as an “invasion” in contrast to their own description of “auto-demarcation”. In other words, discourses strongly connected to assimilationist and integrationist ideas were prevalent – which ultimately can be related to the reproduction of colonial discourses contributing to the dynamics of coloniality of power.

A close reading of the newspaper texts revealed a large presence of discourses that represent the *Guarani and Kaiowa* as manipulated (either by Paraguayan guerrillas, the catholic missionary council via foreign NGOs, or even the Federal Government), consequently many discursive constructions represent the *Guarani and Kaiowa’s* actions as a threat to Brazilian territory, a threat to the urban and rural majority people and a cost to *Mato Grosso do Sul’s* economy. To sum up, the main discourses found in the data silence *Guarani and Kaiowa* voices, and omit their realities.

Dissonant constructions were also found, mainly in the texts of September 6 and October 21 and 22. It is useful to notice that none of these texts seem to fit in the format of “news” – September 6 is a reflective piece that could be classified as a reportage and October 21 and 22 also bring some interpretative elements. It indicates that reflective and interpretative genres may be more favourable to attempts of dialoguing with indigenous perspectives. In October’s

cases, the passage of time and the interest of international broadcasters in the case also seem to have had a positive influence.

Although these examples represent exceptions, I believe that they are important texts in the sense that they reveal that “it is possible to talk” even in this extremely challenging context. However, it is clear that this “possible dialogue” is mainly made on majority terms. Even in the September 6 text, which is notably positive in relation to the use of voices, and which clearly discloses the miserable economic situation of the indigenous community, it is still the case that impact of historicity and cultural differences do not become so evident. Correspondingly, historicity seems to be a central challenge in the news reporting examined here. It seems unlikely that journalistic texts, especially when written in the format of news genre, can stretch their historical background to before the 1980s.

Another necessary point is that these reflective and interpretative texts published after the confrontation could not contribute to the protection of Semião Vilhalva’s most basic human right (life). This critique is hard to make, but I believe it is a crucial point. During a decisive period of the case (August), from the time when the community entered the land until two days after the confrontation, the newspaper published accusations against the *Guarani and Kaiowa* (threat of fire, relation with Paraguayan guerrillas and international NGOs) without providing space for their voices. This kind of coverage contributes to the legitimation and naturalization of the persistent violence against indigenous peoples in *Mato Grosso do Sul*.

I clarify that I am not asserting that the newspaper has any direct guilt in relation to the assassination of Vilhalva. Rather, I argue that the newspaper has failed concerning the journalistic responsibility of playing an important role in democracy by mediating social discussions, reflections and decisions. It did not serve as an adequate agent of an active and diverse public sphere.

Discussion of validity

As already asserted in previous chapters the methodology used in this thesis is rooted in the understanding that there is no such thing as value-free science. Thus, there is no claim of objectivity here. Still, it is possible that some categorize the research as “biased” in favour of *Guarani and Kaiowa* perspectives. And yes, the aim of this thesis was to discuss how *Guarani and Kaiowa* perspectives were articulated in the news, and in this way contribute to

the reflection upon the issue of abuse of power that is expressed in the asymmetry between indigenous and non-indigenous perspectives in journalistic discourses.

I believe that attempts at being objective are still valuable and can be useful to many research proposals. However, I consider that it would not be suitable for this case. Regarding this case, attempts to objectivity and neutrality would tend to favour what is hegemonic and the status quo, which ultimately does not contribute to the protection of indigenous human rights or to the discussion about their collective and land rights. For that matter, this research's axiology was informed by the ethics of de-silencing.

In this sense it is questionable if an immersion in *Guarani and Kaiowa* / indigenous literature and *Aty Guasu*'s posts on social media, as well as my previous contact with them and informal talks during August were enough to acknowledge *Guarani and Kaiowa* perspectives. Perhaps qualitative interviews or focal groups with indigenous peoples and non-indigenous journalists would have produced valuable data that could have been combined with the content analysis and close reading developed in the analysis. However, making interviews would have been a rather difficult choice since I developed the thesis while living in *Sápmi* and spent a quite limited time in *Mato Grosso do Sul*. Another question is the issue of language. Since the original analysed texts were produced in Portuguese and this thesis was written in English, it was not possible to be very detailed or sophisticated about language use. This also has to do with my own limited knowledge in linguistics, since I did my bachelor in Journalism not Language (and this master program is also in journalism). Further research could include ethnography, interviews and a more detailed account about language structure usage and cognitive processes.

Lastly I acknowledge that the usage of Berger and Luckmann (1966) together with Fairclough (1995) may sound strange or unconventional. However, I do believe that these two slightly different conceptions of reality can dialogue and this combination was essential to the development of my argument.

Implications

About the present thesis, I believe that it has a real potential to contribute to the discussion about journalism practice concerning the delicate relation between majority media and indigenous peoples. In this sense, I consider that it was appropriate and useful to develop the analysis using through using the main axes: voices; people; territory and action. Although

their interconnectedness is evident in the holistic *Guarani and Kaiowa*'s worldviews, the observance of these categories can help to inform non-indigenous journalists in the production of their texts.

However, I must stress that I believe that the simple observance of appropriate lexical choices would not be enough to remove colonial discourses and acknowledge indigenous perspectives. To oppose asymmetry and discursive power abuse in indigenous *versus* non-indigenous contexts it is necessary to acknowledge the centrality of historicity even when reporting "things how they are". In this sense cultural sensitivity would also have to be more valued in news rooms (cf. riic.ca).

The assertions above were typical "critical thinking" – reflecting upon how reality should or could be. Now I have to point out that those critiques are not entirely utopic and a better scenario is possible, despite all the socio-economic constraints. As a substantial batch of light I could point out the existence of increasing research and literature on the relation between indigenous peoples (or other minorities) and media worldwide; as well as my own recent existence of this master programme – what is apparent is that this theme is a concern for many people including non-indigenous media professionals, researchers and indigenous peoples.

In this way, it can be useful to strengthen the articulation between indigenous peoples in Brazil and *Mato Grosso do Sul* with what has been described as a global indigenous media (e.g. Markelin, 2003). Regarding the national level, the acknowledgement of indigenous peoples' right to own media (observing their autonomy to develop media in their own terms) is an important discussion that should not be neglected, even in this problematic political moment in Brazil.

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Appendices

Appendix 1 Translations of the texts used in the section “Voices”

August 23 2015

Cover: ANTÔNIO JOÃO (name of the municipality) / **Headline:** Indians invade farm and take family as hostage / Indians of the ethnicity guarani kaiowa invaded farm in Antônio João. The foreman (taskmaster) and family got to be kept as hostages. PAGE 13.

Page: ANTÔNIO JOÃO / **Title:** Indians take hostages at farm

More than 40 indians of guarani and kaiowa ethnicity – the majority of them children – invaded yesterday dawn the Farm Primavera, in the municipality of Antônio João, border with Paraguay. The taskmaster of the property and his family were made hostages.

According with information of the Border Department Operations (DOF), during the occupation, three people from the same family were surrendered, battered and other two, one women and a child approximately 4 years old, managed to run away and were found later by the police in a neighbour farm, where they looked for shelter.

The Indians were armed with arrows, knives and fire guns, but the hostages were liberated hours later. There was no confrontation. According to people that live in the region, part of the Indians that invaded the farm is not from local indigenous villages.

The five victims were taken to the Civil Police Office to register a report of invasion and body injury.

The police department informed that one team will continue at the place making rounds to avoid confrontations and safeguard the physical integrity of the producers (farmers) and indigenous.

27 August 2015

Cover: Headline: Indians invade farms and cause tension in MS/ ANTÔNIO JOÃO. Indians of the ethnicity guarani invaded nine farms and, according to DOF, there was threaten of putting fire on the municipality/ Since Saturday, there is tension in the municipality of Antônio João, area of Brazil’s border with Paraguay. Indians of guarani ethnicity invaded farms in the area and the Campestre district, which is the entrance to other properties. The rural producers decided to block access to the roads MS – 164 and MS 384, fearing that the indigenous follow through with their threat to put Antônio João on fire, information that was forwarded by the Border Department Operation (DOF). The Federal Police was contacted, but did not go to the place yet. The Indians claim 10 thousand hectares as memorial property.

Page: Title: Indigenous invade nine farms and threaten to occupy more properties

There are at least nine occupied areas and one district, corresponding to 10 thousand hectares. Nine farms and more the Campestre district – that gather approximately around 10 thousand hectares -, in the city of Antônio João, 282 kilometres south from Campo Grande, in the border with Paraguay, were invaded by guarani Indians since Saturday dawn, 22, when only a property called Primavera, was occupied. The owners of other properties were also expelled.

The climate, that was already tense last weekend, intensifies every day. According to comments (relatos), the indigenous threatened to enter in more properties in the municipalities of Amambai and Nioaque.

According to the lawyer and daughter of one of the owners of the invaded farms Luana Ruiz Silva, the owners are prevented from entering the properties, since the indigenous say that they are the owners, based on anthropological studies that would have (teriam) confirmed the indigenous ancestors in the area. “We do not have access to the farms, the producers (farmers) locked the road so the Indians do not enter the city and the indians blocked access to the district”, asserted Luana, that was yesterday in Brasilia to take care of the subject.

According to the Border Operation Department (DOF), there was a threaten that the indigenous would put the city of Antônio João on fire, and because of that, the access between the roads MS – 164 and MS – 384 were blocked by pickups and other cars of the farmers. There was no estimated time for the group to leave until yesterday’s afternoon. On the other hand, the Indians closed the access to the farms in the Campestre district. Until the city of Bela Vista.

28 August

Cover: Headline: Tension increases and number of invaded farms gets to 95. Subtitle: CONFLICT. With las weekend’s invasions in Antônio João the total of invaded farms by indians in Mato Grosso do Sul got to 95; landowners accuse the federal government of omission.

Page: CONFLICT. Title: Mato Grosso do Sul has 95 farms invaded by indians Subtitle: Federal government’s inertia makes tension between indigenous and producers increase in the state.

The federal government’s inertia with the indigenous issue and the land demarcation results on 95 invaded properties in 26 municipalities of the state’s interior. With no action from the National Force and Federal Police, mandatorily responsible for the occurrences that involve indigenous, the conflicts have been mediated by the Border Operations Department (DOF) of the Military Police.

One of the promises of Dilma Roussef (PT)’s government nourished the hope of ceasing the conflicts, in a legal form. However, five new farms were taken by the indigenous only last week, in the municipality of Antônio João, south of the state. Indigenous people expelled the the inhabitants of the farms and erected campsites on the properties: Primavera (Spring), Pedro (Peter), Fronteira (Frontier), Barra (Bar) and Soberania (Sovereignty). Only two farms remain not invaded.

The currently occupied territories correspond to nine thousand hectares, which ten years ago were recognized by the National Executive Power as indigenous land and delivered to the community of over a thousand Guarani Kaiowás. Then, the effects of the federal government homologation were suspended by the Superior Federal Court (STF), and the areas returned to the farmers.

The injunction was issued by then-minister Nelson Jobim and said that the effects of the presidential act would be suspended until the lawsuit was judged. Today, the case is with

Minister Gilmar Mendes, still paralyzed, and the Indians removed from these areas occupy a space of only about 100 hectares.

The occupations began in the early hours of August 22, when more than 40 Indians of ethnicity Guarani Kaiowá, most of them children, brought workers from the Primavera farm. The Indians were armed with arrows, knives and firearms, but there were no injured, and so far, no conflict has been registered. Since yesterday, the MS-364 highway is blocked by farmers who have had their properties invaded.

The action is to prevent the Indians from entering the city, because there was a threat that the indigenous could set fire to the urban area of the municipality.

The prognosis of an attack is denied by Flávio Machado, coordinator of the Indigenist Missionary Council (CIMI), linked to the Catholic Church. "It is a rumour to foment prejudice and racism and also to criminalize the Indians. They want territories, not goods," he said. He also stressed the fear that civilian police would intercede for the ranchers and act to remove the Indians, which would be illegal because the issue is a federal responsibility, not state's.

According to Mauricio Saito, president of the Federation of Agriculture and Livestock of MS (Famasul), in a meeting on August 26 in Brasilia, the federal government was "sensitized" to the situation, but did not define what security measures will be used. He also requested the presence of the Federal Police in the invaded areas.

Saito also stressed that the invasions in Mato Grosso do Sul began in 1998 and believes that the entire crisis faced by the country, currently, was an incentive for the invasions of last week. In the last year, the consequence of the misappropriation of farms generated a 26% loss in the value of the State's Gross Domestic Product (GDP) - more than R \$ 13.9 billion in 2014. "These municipalities are subject to intensive farming, of soy and corn. "

The president of the National Foundation of the Indian (FUNAI), João Pedro Gonçalves da Costa, positioned himself as contrary to the invasions of lands and said that he will fight for the urgent opening of a constructive dialogue between the parties.

*Know: Army in Antônio João

The federal government is willing to authorize the Army to go to the region of Antônio João to ensure there is no conflict between rural and indigenous producers. The release depends on the request of the governor Reinaldo Azambuja.

August 29

Cover: Headline: Antônio João lives war atmosphere. Subtitle: CONFLICT. Paraguayan indians would have been recruited to reinforce invasion, producers vigil and block roads in the region

The war atmosphere is installed in Antônio João since last weekend, since guarani indians invaded six farms and Campestre district, located beside Marangatu village. Families that had lived in the district for decades were expelled and are poorly housed in relatives' houses. The producers, fearful of the information that the Paraguayan indigenous were being used to reinforce the invasions, maintain blockade at the MS-384, at the entrance and exit of the municipality. The indigenous community claims 9,300 hectares, considered to be owned by

them, according to the 2005 decree. However, the ownership was contested by the farmers and action still pending in the STF.” Bottom lines: “INTERNATIONAL ONGS FINANCE CIMI AND INVASIONS OF FARMS IN MS PAGE 12”. Picture caption: “SIEGE. Trying to avoid new invasions, producers use pick-ups to block entrance and exit of the municipality

Page: Special ENDLESS TENSION. **Title:** Antônio João municipality lives war atmosphere with invasions. Subtitle “Farmers and small producers were expelled from their lands by the guarani-caiuá

Text: Ruralists of Antônio João, city where six farm invasions occurred a week ago, said yesterday that Indians would have being recruited from the Paraguayan territory as a way to strengthen and even double the land takeover movement, captained by at least 1.5 thousand Guaraní-Caiuí Indians, Brazilians, who inhabit villages in the region.

The farmers fear that three more areas will be occupied in the coming days. Because of suspecting new invasions, three days ago, the ruralists guarded part of the MS-384, blocking the entrance and exit of the city, generating an atmosphere of war. Yesterday the road was locked from 3’o clock with small and big cars. Until the night the road remained blocked.

The distance of the sul-mato-grossense municipality, of about 8.6 thousand inhabitants according to the Brazilian Institute of Geography and Statistics (IBGE), with the Paraguayan territory, measures around four kilometres.

For the Rural Producers’ Syndicate of the city, the invasions have been handled by the command of the Indigenist Missionary Council, organization linked to the Catholic Church, and also by Indians who would be public servants, mainly teachers.

In addition to occupying the headquarters of six farms, since midweek, white families that inhabit the Campestre District, an area adjacent to the Marangatu village, 7.5 kilometres from the city, were expelled from their homes, some of them lived for four decades in the locality.

OLD FIGHT

The dispute involving Indians and farmers in Antônio João intensified a decade ago, in 2005, the year in which former president Lula signed a decree that considered nine indigenous farms in the region as indigenous land, six of which were occupied since a week. Together, these lands total 9,300 hectares.

It happens that the farmers filed a complaint with the Federal Supreme Court (STF), which returned the case to the Federal Justice in Ponta Porã, a court that has not yet settled the matter.

The producer Antônio César Pereira Flores, the Baby, also vice-mayor of the city, for the PSDB, said that the last four years there were no invasions in the region. The battle that pushes Indians and farmers to opposing sides, said the vice, lasts at least two decades and the federal government "does little" or "does nothing."

The intrigue even affected the politics of the city. So much so that Baby, although vice-mayor, does not fulfil expedient because he broke ties with the mayor of the municipality, Selso Louzano, that is of the PT.

"He (Selso) did not keep a promise with me, so I did not go there anymore (city hall)," said Baby, one of the main activists in the ruralist movement.

ACTIONS

Since the beginning of the invasions, farmers have gathered in front of the rural syndicate of the municipality, erected right at the entrance of the city. Earlier today, for example, at least 30 pick-ups were parked in the compound's yard. There the ruralists monitor the news and information about the displacement of the Indians to the occupied farms.

The president of the syndicate, Roseli Ruiz, said she would not give interview, but authorized "whoever wanted to speak" with the press.

The ruralist Pio Queiroz Silva Barros, Roseli's husband and owner of a wealth of R \$ 25 million, according to him, among them one occupied farm, blames the federal government for the risk of clash with the Indians.

"Our Country turned an old land, full of rats. This govern, playing the idealist, only likes the Indians, social movements, mensalões, petrolões and to take away money from Petrobras. We have to take away this government, these communists that are in the power. I worked for all my life, lost my youth and now my health, "complained the farmer, 61 years of age, 50, he said, dedicated to the farm.

Pio Barros denied the information that runs in the city indicating that the farmers would be contracting armed militias to act in eventual confront with the indians. "I do not know that, no. I like the person of the Brazilian Indian, but now he's grinding me," Barros said.

The ruralist also said he was in favour of handing over his lands to the Indians, provided the federal government compensated him.

NO DIALOGUE

The reportage, which since yesterday has been accompanying the mobilizations of the Indians and the farmers, was not allowed to enter the Spring Farm, where the Indians who command the incursions would be.

WHO FINANCES

Documents obtained by Correio do Estado's reportage show that between 2000 and 2002, the Missionary Indigenous Council received \$ 451,000 from Cafod (The Catholic Fund for Overseas Development) to carry out actions to retake indigenous lands – and another institution called Trócaire, which is a Catholic aid agency in Ireland.

Among the actions maintained with these resources were two resumptions of Guaraní-Caiuíá areas, in addition to the expenditure of 24 thousand dollars for "political articulation / pressure", besides wood, nails, saws, tarps and even machetes and scythes.

The documentation is part of projects presented by CIMI to these two international entities. Yesterday morning, at the headquarters of the Federation of Agriculture and Livestock of Mato Grosso do Sul (Famasul), producers met to discuss the issue and considered opening a Parliamentary Inquiry Commission (CPI) through the federal bench to investigate Cimi.

*Know:

The intelligence service of the Federal Police surveys the land dispute between Indians and farmers in Antônio João, on the border of Mato Grosso do Sul and Paraguay. The idea of the FP is to discover points where possible conflicts can occur and to summon a larger force to contain the clash. At least until yesterday a car with four officers from the Department of Border Operations, the DOF, acted exclusively in the vicinity of the occupied areas. The government of Reinaldo Azambuja (PSDB) also asked the Army to send an officer there, but the proposal has not yet been complied with.

Text 2

Title: The Indians were my friends, but sent me away. **Picture caption:** WITHOUT REASON. Dona Isidora does not understand why was she expelled from home, since they used to live together friendly

Isidora Alves Vareiro, 67 years old, 40 of whom live in the Campestre District, located next to the Marangatu indigenous village, Antônio João district, was one of those expelled from the house the day before by the Guaraní-Caiuí Indians, according to her.

"They (Indians) were good to me, they asked me to leave soon, that there would be no confusion," said Isidora, who yesterday arranged his furniture in the back of one of the daughters' houses in the municipality.

Isidora lived with two more daughters and two sons-in-law in a six-bedroom, two-bathroom home. "My house is the largest in the village, I had trade there, the Indians were all my acquaintances, friends. Now they have sent me away. We spent all the money to reform it. I do not understand this, I think this (invasions) is not something of the Indians from here", she complained.

As soon as they left the house, still with some furniture inside, Marangatu village Indians entered the property and are living there.

The reportage went to the village, but few of the community, between 70 and 100 families, according to one of the residents, wanted to manifest.

The Guarani Alisson Morales, 21, however, contested the version of Mrs. Isidora. He said that the track where the village is located, 15 kilometres straight, "was always Indian's." This land here was homologated two decades ago, it is ours, the Indian's. It is speculated in the city, that until 40 years ago, Indians negotiated lots with white families, in exchange for money. Alisson, who was Isidora's neighbour, refuted the idea. "It was the whites who invaded here," concluded the subject and told the reportage to go to the indigenous leaders to handle the case.

Alisson's father-in-law, who identified himself as José, Guarani-Caiuí, owner of a convenience, said that he has nothing against Dona Isidora and that his son is even the "godson" of the former neighbour. However, inquired about the expulsion, he also directed the report to look for the "leaders".

From midweek until yesterday ten families had been evicted from the Campestre District. Some of them, although not located, would have nowhere to go and went to streets far from the city centre, according to João Antônio Valensuela, Isidora's son-in-law.

August 30

Cover: Headline: Owner retakes farm and indian dies in confrontation. Subtitle: ANTÔNIO JOÃO. Battle in Farm Barra yesterday afternoon had one indian dead and at least ten injured

The dispute for land between indians and farmers, in the municipality of Antônio João, had its most severe episode yesterday. A group of approximately 100 people linked to the rural owners retook the Farm Barra, so far occupied by hundreds of indigenous. Both sides were armed, there were shotguns and pistols and archery. In the confrontation, Simeão Vilhalva, one of the guarani kaiowa leaders died hit by a shot on the head. At least other ten indigenous were injured in the confrontation. **Picture caption:** WAR IN THE BORDER. Indians made barricade, but did not avoid the entrance of farmers in the area; on detail one of the injured

Page: WAR IN ANTÔNIO JOÃO. **Title:** Producers retake invaded farm and one indigenous dies” Subtitle: “Neither the police, producers nor indians explained how the confrontation at Barra Farm ended in death

During the resumption of invaded property by guarani kaiowa indians in Antônio João, 280 kilometres south from Campo Grande, rural owners confronted with indigenous, which ended with one dead and at least 10 injured. All indians. The victim that died would be a guy identified only as Simeão that was shot on the head by a gun 22. The circumstances of the death are unknown, and the National Force, Federal Police, Department of Border Operations (DOF), Highway Police and Civil Police accompany the case, that is harder each day.

The confusion was established in the end of yesterday's morning when producers who had five occupied farms gathered at the headquarters of the Rural Syndicate of Antônio João, to outline measures that could resolve the issue. At one point, the farmer Roseli Ruiz, president of the entity, took the attitude of resuming her property, Fazenda Barra, and left the place determined to have her area back. She was accompanied by at least another 40 pick-ups with producers from the region, who went straight to the property. Other dozens joined the group throughout the day, and more than 100 people reoccupied the farm.

There, Correio do Estado's team was prevented from entering by the ruralists who even threatened to cut the tires and topple the pick up if the reportage tried to go to the headquarters of the farm, which is in a distance of at least six kilometres from the entrance, on MS-384 highway.

The team then tried another alternative: to access the headquarters of the property by another vicinal road; but in a part of the way was approached by indigenous people, who also harassed and threatened the reportage, which had no alternative unless to return to the Farm Barra entrance and wait for details of the situation from far away.

In the evening the death of one indigenous was confirmed by rural producers that were leaving the property and by DOF. One injured indian, Felisberto Corrêa Vilhalva, 28, that was attended at the Municipal Hospital of the city, told that he was battered on the head and Simeão died with a shot on the front head. However, he did not tell the circumstances of

Simeão's death. Felisberto, that talked little, told also that after being hit he was almost ran over by a ruralist. (ruralist's car)

Producers that left the farm yesterday afternoon said that the victim was already dead when they got there and none of the police forces informed how the indian would have died.

Page of guarani indians on social media, the Aty Guasu, informed that the surname of Simeão would also be Vilhalva and that he would be an indigenous leader. The injured indian that talked to the team did not comment if he is a relative of the dead indian.

Both indigenous and rural producers were equipped with weapons. The Indians had machetes, bows, arrows and shotguns. But the producers who went to the farm were in bulletproof vests and, although not seen, inside the vehicles there would be weapons.

The dispute involving indians and farmers in Antônio João intensified a decade ago in 2005, the year in which former president Lula signed a decree that considered 9 farms in the region as indigenous land, six of which were occupied a week ago. Together, these lands total 9,300 hectares.

It happens that the farmers filed a complaint with the Federal Supreme Court (STF), which returned the case to the Federal Justice in Ponta Porã, a court that has not yet decided the matter.

POPULATION

The atmosphere inside the town is of pure terror. Inhabitants say they are terrorized and unsafe. The driver João Paulo Gonçalves Maciel is 41 years old and has lived in Antônio João for 20 years. He says he is terrified. "We're all nervous because no one really knows what's going on. There have been other conflicts here, but there was always Justice to appease and then it was gone. But now, nobody knows what can happen", he lamented.

August 31

Cover: Headline: Farmers accuse Paraguayan guerrillas of training indigenous. Photo 1: TENSION. Hooded, indians reacted to the eviction of two properties by farmers on Saturday . Photo 2: CONFLICT. Teams of the Department of Border Operations are in the region to ensure safety

Text: ANTÔNIO JOÃO (city). Members of the Paraguayan People's Army (EPP) would have taught war tactics to the indians that occupy farms

The indians who invaded farms in the municipality of Antônio João in the last ten days received training from the guerrillas of the Paraguayan People's Army (EPP), as accused the landowners of the region and members of the National Force of Security also suspect. For them, Brazilian indians would have been receiving war tactics and being inflated to invade farms. Landowners and indians clashed the day before yesterday in action of resumption of the farms Barra and Fronteira. An Indian died. Page 12

Page: Special > Land conflict

Photo 1: STRATEGIC. Indians armed with arrows stood close to the road leading to the farm that had been occupied; for farmers, they also use weapons obtained from revolutionary force

Headline: For landowners, guerrillas of Paraguay train the indians

Group would have been munitioning (providing munition) the indians who invaded farms in Antônio João

Guerrillas linked to the Paraguayan People's Army, the EPP, organization composed of left radicals and nailing the power of the domain by the revolution and the imposition of universal reform land, would be training and munitioning with weapons the Guarani Kaiowa, indians who invaded farms in the municipal region of Antônio João, on the border of Mato Grosso do Sul with Paraguay.

Indians and farmers face tension since ten days ago, period in which occurred seven invasions and the resumption by strength of two areas in the region, the day before yesterday.

In the reoccupation of farms Barra and Fronteira, an indian was killed with shot in the face and other three Guarani, wounded, escaped into the woods.

By the end of yesterday's afternoon, they had not been found. An indian woman and one baby of the village also were injured with shots of rubber bullets. After confrontation, the surrounding farms were policed by at least 40 men of the National Force of Security and also of the Border Operations Department, the DOF.

The suspicion that the EPP would be arming the indians is a recurrent information among farmers, however, when it is officially treated, few agree to comment. "I came to know it by reliable source, the EPP is arming the indians, financing the indians, that is most likely " said the landowner Marco Almirão, owner of a farm nearby Antônio João.

"The right to property here is in check". Besides the EPP, Almirão attacked also Funai and CIMI, an organization that looks after the interests of indigenous peoples. "They (CIMI) came here (Antônio João) and determined the exchange of caciques (indigenous leaders), who ordered the invasions " he said.

Almirão also informed that eventual war trainings led by the EPP would be happening in the territory of Paraguay, about 10 km away from Marangatu village, near from where the conflict occurred. This village is 7.5 hectares away from central Antônio João. The area, supposedly dominated by the EPP, and that would be attracting indians to learn fighting is Paraguayan territory and is in a dense forest with rare car traffic.

Antônio Cesar Pereira Flores, known as Baby, vice-mayor of Antônio João, landowner in the region, said he also received the information that EPP would have connections with the guarani indians. "I got to know and think this would have to be investigated", Baby said.

Police officer of the National Police Force, which operates in policing farms resumed agreed to comment the matter, as long as his name is not published.

"Look, we do not have this information (EPP action) but one thing is certain: they (indians) have been acting differently, we realize it now here, in Antônio João" said the policeman, used to accomplish tasks involving conflicts between indians and farmers.

The "different" cited by the member of the Force, according to him has to do with the organization of the indians in situations of combat.

“They position themselves much more organized than before”, said.

But the DOF command, via advising office, informed that "as far as investigated," the information [EPP instructing indian] is "unfounded".

Photo 2: CONVOY. Landowners went in group to resumption the invaded area

Photo 3: DEFENSE. Indians tried to stop car traffic, the day before yesterday, through the village Marangatu

*Know: Azambuja defends restitution

The governor Reinaldo Azambuja did not defend any side, indians or landowners. He said that the output would be the Federal government compensate farmers. "If they officially gave to farmers lands belonging to indigenous, it is up to who to compensate? The Union needs to acquire the lands, indemnify and solve the dead-lock, "he said. Azambuja also defended the presence of the Army in the conflict area. (Anny Malagolini)

Headline: Deputy says that indigenous would have died before the conflict

Congressman Luiz Henrique Mandetta, of DEM, which also attended the resumption of Farm Fronteira, the day before yesterday, in Antônio João, said via Facebook that the indian allegedly killed in conflict with the farmers would already have died before the arrival of the landowner's convoy. "A shot was heard in the woods 800 meters far and ten minutes later the indians brought a body that was said to have been targeted. I presented myself as doctor and went to the location. The corpse of a man already in rigor mortis was throw on the road, " wrote the parliamentary of the rural bench in Congress. According to what was said by Mandetta, the indian would have been murdered before farmers retake the area.

The federal deputy's argument, however, was rejected by Julius Cesar Arguelho, Sergeant press adviser of the Department of the Border Operations, the DOF.

"This story rigor mortis is not true. I have been there, I touched the dead body of the indian shot on the face, "said the Sergeant.

The body of Simeão Vilhalva was investigated by the federal police, but until yesterday's afternoon the conclusion of the investigation had not been released. In the resumption of the areas, the farmers used 40 trucks to get to the farm. The police went to the place two hours later.

September 6

Page: Title: “Indians live in miserable conditions in Antônio João” Subtitle: “Região foi palco de conflito envolvendo comunidade indígena e fazendeiros, que disputam domínio de terras”

Behind the battle for the land with a “murdered dead” Indian story that takes place in Antônio João, a municipality of 8,679 inhabitants and located about 300 kilometres from Campo Grande, already on the border with Paraguay, hides the misery in which the Indigenous people of the Guarani kaiowá ethnic group live.

In the Ñhanderu Marangatu village and Vila Campestre, dusty villages, eight kilometres from the city centre, live about 1,200 Indians all below poverty line and in some cases the only income of entire families are subsidies paid by the federal government.

In addition to the lack of resources to survive, local residents do not have basic infrastructure such as sanitation and piped water, which could prevent many diseases, such as diarrhoea, constant disturbances mainly among the Indian children.

When entering the village, it is possible to notice the lack of structure in which the guaranis kaiowás are submitted, the majority of them live in shelters covered with grass and the walls made of bamboo.

Always receptive with shy smiles, it is possible to talk, even in some cases not understanding correctly the Portuguese pronunciation. They adopt loyally the official language of the village: Guarani.

“The lack of resources here is complicated, it seems that they forgot about us, the lack of structure and resources in the village is very big, what saves many families are the subsidies paid by the federal government, otherwise it would be much worse”, said Tomásia Areco Jara, 40, who has a trading in Vila Campestre and has lived there for 15 years, since she was married.

For the Coordinator of the Mboeroy Tupãï Arandu Reñoi Indigenous School, Isaias Sanches, 28, what the community produces is subsistence agriculture, but in many cases, they cannot reach the harvest due to a lack of structure to care for the land, what was planted ends up not thriving.

Isaias is the father of three children and said that what makes the life of his family a little more comfortable is that he receives salary from school, and with that, he gets a certain comfort. "Lack of resources for most families is a serious problem here in the village and in the village. My luck that I work as a coordinator in the school and I can live with a little more dignity", said the Guarani.

The case of indigenous Zélia da Silva, 23 years old and mother of three, is the one that most portrays the conditions of life in the village Ñhanderu Marangatu and Vila Campestre. She lives with her children and her husband with the income of R\$ 200 that she receives from the federal government family grant.

The husband, she says, occasionally gets some work without employment, and this improves the income of the family, which lives in a small house.

"We have to live with this money that the government sends, we do everything to not miss anything until the end of the month, when my husband finds some place to do some brushing (roçado) things improve a little," she said.

In the opinion of Chief (cacique) Orestino Fernandes, 52, if the situation of the demarcated lands were resolved quickly the misery of his people would be less complex. "The government had to solve soon, it would be good for everyone, it would even take my people out of misery," he concludes.

*Know: Farmer led return

On the 21st of last month, the Guaraní Kaiowá Indians invaded two farms. After that, in the past weeks, four more areas. Foreman who took care of the properties were expelled. From then on, the rural syndicate of Antônio João warned the state government and initiated a series of hearings at the entity's headquarters. On Saturday, the ruralist party - senator Valdemir Moka (PMDB), state deputy Mara Caseira (PTdoB) and federal deputies Luiz Henrique Mandetta (DEM) and Tereza Cristina (PSB) - came to town at the invitation of syndicate's president Roseli Ruiz, owner of one of the farms that had been occupied. Before the politicians spoke, on her turn Roseli said that she was "tired" of waiting for solutions and that she was going to "go home" and whoever wanted to accompany her. They left in a convoy of at least 40 pick-ups destined to Barra farm. Without police officers in the region, the group was meant to get the Indians out of there. Two hours later, the National Force and the Border Operations Department appeared on the farm. According to the police, as soon as they arrived, they saw an Indian (that occupied the area) dead. Federal police investigate the case.

October 21

Page: Title: Military, civilians and indigenous are in standby in conflict area. **Subtitle:** "Reintegration of possession determined by Justice must be carried out today on occupied farms". Picture caption: "IN WAR. Guarani-Caiua Indians promise to resist the reinstatement of the police and military forces in the city"

Federal and Military Polices of the Department of Special Operations (DOF) and a convoy with Army men are expected to perform this morning the reintegration warrant of the farms situated in the region of Aldeia Nanderu Marangatu, in Antônio João, border with Paraguay, occupied since July by a group of Guaraní-Caiua Indians. The action should also include teams from the PM's Shock Battalion, "BPCoque", which left Campo Grande yesterday, as well as the Civil Police and the Fire Department.

These teams are expected to add up to about 400 men from the Army and National Force, who have been on the place since the conflict became tenser in August.

According to residents that were heard, since yesterday's morning the military mobilization is intense. Besides vehicles equipped with guns and satellite-guided communication material, helicopters flew over the area. The "headquarters" of the military police groups is in the Historical Park Colônia Militar dos Dourados, inside Antônio João, but at 12km of the urban area of the municipality.

The indians that are there state that even in front of the Police Force they should resist the measure. It is what said Ramão Martins, 45 years old. In the indigenous village Marangatu he said to Correio do Estado that "will resist and if they want to kill indians even indian's dogs will be killed, because everyone will resist.

Antônio Pereira, 52 years old, also guarani-caiua, supported that "we prefer to die than leave".

However, despite the bravery, the team noted that the indigenous are in fact cautious. Lene Aquino, one of the local leaders, asserts that she is positive about a contrary decision of Justice that turns down the preliminary injunction that guarantees the repossession to the rural producers. "The MPF (Public Federal Ministry) appealed to the STF (Supreme Court) and we're waiting a decision until midnight [of yesterday]". For her, resistance is only one of the

alternatives, since they also bet on dialogue or in case of eviction “going to the side of the highway.

UNDERSTAND

Indians and farmers dispute the domain of for 9,300 hectares in this region, territory considered indigenous in 2005 by the presidency of the Republic. The ruralists reacted to the idea, they filed a judicial appeal in the Federal Supreme Court, a court that, although ten years later, did not define the cause.

In 2005, the guarani-caiuás entered the nine farms, but the justice had ordered their eviction. At the time, an Indian died assassinated and the natives accuse that the killer would be farmer's henchman (capanga).

In August of this year, the Indians reoccupied the farms, in greater numbers in the areas known as Fronteira and Barra. On the 29th of that month, the indigenous Semião Fernandes Vilhalva, 24, died with a shot in the face. The death, still under investigation, occurred as at least 100 people, including farmers and so-called "volunteers", entered the two farms with the intention of resuming their territory. Since then, Army, National Force and DOF teams take care of security on the spot.

The reintegration warrant was announced by the federal court a month ago. Yesterday, the National Indian Foundation (Funai), in Ponta Porã, received the news of the evacuation. After fulfilling the injunction in Antônio João, the police force goes to the city of Amambai, also on the border, where they must remove another group of Indians who occupy a farm.

The municipality of Antônio João has about 8,679 residents and is about 300 kilometres from Campo Grande, already on the border with Paraguay, and beyond the conflict, it hides the misery in which the indigenous people of the Guaraní-Caiuí ethnic group live. In the Nhanderu Marangatu village and Vila Campestre, eight kilometres from the city centre, about 1,200 Indians live, all on the line below poverty, and in some cases the only income of whole families are subsidies paid by the federal government.

*Know: International eyes

The possible conflict over repossession in Antônio João is being accompanied by two foreign broadcasters: one Canadian and other Arabic, the famous Al Jazeera.

October 22

Page: Title: Supreme cancels reintegration but does not resolve conflict. **Subtitle:** Indians came to block the highway in the city, but they released it upon learning of the decision; Producers silenced themselves

"She [minister] suspended the injunction because, if fulfilled, there was the risk of a social upheaval. The Fronteira farm, for example, would become a stage of war. The Indians were willing to resist, even with the presence of the police force," said Elder Paulo Ribas da Silva, coordinator of the National Foundation of the Indian (Funai) in Ponta Porã. The Funai and the Federal Public Ministry (MPF) have moved the appeals against the expulsion of the Indians.

SILENCE

Representatives of the municipality's Rural Syndicate adopted silence all day. The president of the entity, Roseli Ruiz, said she would not say anything. In a tone of irritation with the STF's decision, she informed that the reportage (team) could find another member of the union or farmer who wanted to comment on the matter, but they were also reticent.

Without authorizing the publication of names, some farmers have assured that, from now on, the class should promote a wave of protests throughout the region. "We will repeat road blockades, do demonstrations in the Legislative Assembly; wait, surprises will come around" said one of the ruralists, who called the STF minister's decision "an act of communism".

FUNAI's coordinator said he believed that the suspension of the injunction should accelerate the process in the FTS. He also favours farmers to be compensated for the land.

With pieces of branches and tree trunks, the Guarani Kaiowá stopped traffic on the highway from 4am to 8am. Armed with bows and arrows, they said they "knew" about the decision, but were there to be "sure" that they would not be expelled from the area.

The teacher Leia Aquino, one of the leaders of the Indians, said she now awaits a final STF decision. "We've waited for ten years, ten years! I hope the government will soon indemnify the farmers and let us live in peace now," said the Guarani teacher, graduated from the State University of Mato Grosso do Sul (UEMS).

Appendix 2 Content tables and news itemsⁱ

August 23

DATE	TITLE	PAGE	PICTURE
23/08/2015	Cover: "Indians invade farm and make family hostages" Page: "Indians take hostages at farm"	13 (Cities)	[1] by DOF
SOURCES		TERMS	
[2] non-indigenous	[0] indigenous	People	
4) DOF		Guarani Kaiowa [2]	
5) "people that live in the area"		Guarani [1]	
		Indigenous [2]	
		Indian [6]	
		Territory	
		Tekoha [0]	
		Ñande Ru Marangatu [0]	
		Farm/Property [6]	
		Action	
		Demarcation [0] refers to gov.	
		Occupation [1]	
		Invasion [12]	

Cover and page:

ANTÔNIO JOÃO

Índios invadem fazenda e fazem família refém

Índios da etnia guarani kaiowá invadiram fazenda em Antônio João. O capataz e a família chegaram a ser mantidos reféns. PÁGINA 13

ANTÔNIO JOÃO

Índios fazem reféns em fazenda

ANNY MALAGOLINI

Mais de 40 índios da etnia guarani kaiowá – a maioria crianças – invadiram ontem de madrugada a Fazenda Primavera, no município de Antônio João, fronteira com o Paraguai. O capataz da propriedade e sua família foram feitos reféns.

De acordo com informações do Departamento de Operações de Fronteira (DOF), durante a ocupação, três pessoas da mesma família foram rendidas, agredidas e outras duas, sendo uma mulher e uma criança de aproximadamente 4 anos, conseguiram fugir e mais tarde foram encontradas pelos policiais em uma fazenda vizinha, onde buscavam abrigo.

Os índios estavam armados com flechas, facas, armas de fogo, mas os reféns foram liberados horas depois. Não houve confronto. Segundo moradores da região, parte dos índios que invadiram a fazenda não é de aldeias locais.

As cinco vítimas foram levadas à Delegacia de Polícia Civil da cidade para registrar boletim de ocorrência de invasão e lesão corporal. O departamento policial ainda informou que uma equipe continuará no local fazendo patrulhamento para evitar confronto e resguardar a integridade física de produtores e dos indígenas.

DIVULGAÇÃO DOF



GUARANI. Indígenas não seriam de aldeias próximas da propriedade

August 27

DATE	TITLE	PAGE	PICTURE
27/08/2015	Cover: "Indians invade farms and provoke tension in MS" Page: "Indigenous invade nine farms and threaten to occupy more properties"	12 (Cities)	[1] by DOF
SOURCES		TERMS	
[5] non-indigenous	[0] indigenous	People	
1) Luana Ruiz, lawyer and daughter of		Guarani Kaiowa [0]	
2) DOF		Guarani [3]	
3) "rural producers"		Indigenous [8]	
4) Roseli Maria Ruiz, president of Rural		Indian [12]	
5) Famasul		Territory	
		Tekoha [0]	
		Ñande Ru Marangatu [0]	
		Farm/Property [16]	
		Action	
		Demarcation [0] refers to gov.	
		Occupation [3]	
		Invasion [11]	

Cover:

QUINTA-FEIRA, 27 DE AGOSTO DE 2015 | ANO 62 | Nº 19.625 | CORREIODEESTADO.COM

Índios invadem fazendas e provocam tensão em MS

ANTÔNIO JOÃO. Índios da etnia guarani invadiram nove fazendas e, segundo o DOF, havia ameaça de colocar fogo no município

Desde sábado, o clima é de tensão no município de Antônio João, na região de fronteira do Brasil com o Paraguai. Índios da etnia guarani invadiram fazendas na região e o distrito de Campestre, entrada para outras propriedades. Os produtores rurais resolveram bloquear os acessos entre as rodovias MS-164 e MS-394, com receio de que os indígenas concretizem a ameaça de colocar fogo em Antônio João, informação que foi repassada pelo Departamento de Operações de Fronteira (DOF). A Polícia Federal foi acionada, mas ainda não foi ao local. Os índios reivindicam 10 mil hectares como propriedade memorial. **PÁGINA 15**

ANTÔNIO JOÃO

Indígenas invadem nove fazendas e ameaçam ocupar mais propriedades

São pelo menos nove áreas ocupadas e um distrito, que correspondem a 10 mil hectares

LUCIA MOREL

Nove fazendas e ainda o distrito de Campestre - que somam cerca de 10 mil hectares -, na cidade de Antônio João, a 282 quilômetros ao sul de Campo Grande, na fronteira com o Paraguai, foram invadidos por índios guaranis desde a madrugada de sábado, 22, quando apenas uma propriedade, chamada de Primavera, havia sido ocupada. Os donos dos outros imóveis também foram expulsos. O clima, que já era de tensão no último fim de semana, se intensifica a cada dia. Conforme relatos, os indígenas ameaçam entrar em mais propriedades nos municípios de Amambai e Nioaque.

Segundo a advogada e filha de um dos donos de fazenda invadida Luana Ruiz Silva, os donos estão impedidos de entrar nas propriedades, uma vez que os índios já se dizem donos da terra, em razão de estudos antropoló-



TEMEROSOS. Temendo que índios invadissem a parte urbana de Antônio João para incendiá-la, fazendeiros bloquearam rodovia

95

INVADIDAS
Com as novas ações indígenas, o número de propriedades rurais invadidas em Mato Grosso do Sul chega a 95, segundo a Federação da Agricultura.

gicos que teriam confirmado a presença de antepassados indígenas na região. "Não temos acesso às fazendas, os produtores trancaram a rodovia pros índios não entrarem na cidade e os índios bloquearam o acesso ao distrito", afirmou Luana, que ontem esteve em Brasília para tratar do assunto.

Conforme o Departamento de Operações de Fronteira

(DOF), havia ameaça de que os indígenas colocariam fogo na cidade de Antônio João e, por isso, os acessos entre as rodovias MS-164 e MS-384 foram bloqueados por caminhonetes e outros veículos dos fazendeiros. Não havia horário para que o grupo saísse de lá, pelo menos até a tarde de ontem. Já os índios fecharam o acesso às fazendas, do distrito de Campestre

até a cidade de Bela Vista.

Conforme a advogada, não se sabe se a produção agropecuária da região foi comprometida, mas "de longe" é possível ver fumaça e focos de incêndio. Houve expulsão dos moradores das fazendas e também do distrito, onde viviam cerca de 50 famílias. Produtores rurais afirmam que o Conselho Indigenista Missionário (Cimi) encabe-

ça as invasões e a presidente do Sindicato Rural de Antônio João, Roseli Maria Ruiz, a situação no município é um "caos" e que, "diante de um caos desta magnitude, não tenho ideia do que fazer para garantir a ordem. Contactamos todas as autoridades e poderes de polícia. Até o momento, não tivemos respostas".

Apenas o DOF está no local,

mas lidando apenas com os produtores, já que não tem autonomia para lidar com assuntos referentes a indígenas, o que é atribuição da Polícia Federal ou da Força Nacional. Segundo a Federação da Agricultura e Pecuária de MS (Famasul), foi solicitado que a FN que atua em Amambai se desloque para Antônio João, o que até o fechamento desta edição não havia ocorrido.

BRASÍLIA

Produtores rurais e representantes das comunidades indígenas tinham uma reunião marcada para ontem com o ministro da Justiça, José Eduardo Cardozo, que não compareceu ao encontro. Representantes dos índios também não, conforme informações da assessoria de imprensa da Famasul.

Segundo a federação, a reunião deveria marcar avanços nas negociações sobre as invasões a propriedades rurais em Mato Grosso do Sul, mas não ocorreu porque apenas os proprietários rurais compareceram.

O grupo, no entanto, conversou com o presidente da Fundação Nacional do Índio (Funai), João Pedro Gonçalves da Costa, que prometeu interceder para que homens da Força Nacional, que já estão na região de Amambai, também sejam deslocados para Antônio João.

August 28

DATE	TITLE	PAGE	PICTURE
28/08/2015	<p>Cover: "Tension increases and number of invaded farms gets to 95"</p> <p>Page: "Mato Grosso do Sul has 95 farms invaded by indians"</p>	12 (Cities)	[1] map by Famasul
SOURCES		TERMS	
[4] non-indigenous	[0] indigenous	People	
1) Flavio Machado, coord. Cimi		Guarani Kaiowa [0]	
2) Mauricio Saito, president of Famasul		Guarani [0]	
3) João Pedro Gonçalves da Costa,		Indigenous [6] 2	
4) "Federal Government"		Indian [10]	
		Territory	
		Tekoha [0]	
		Ñande Ru Marangatu [0]	
		Farm/Property [12]	
		Action	
		Demarcation [1] refers to gov.	
		Occupation [3]	
		Invasion [11]	

Cover:

Tensão aumenta e número de fazendas invadidas chega a 95

CONFLITO. Com as invasões do último fim de semana, em Antônio João, chegou a 95 o total de fazendas ocupadas por índios em Mato Grosso do Sul; proprietários das terras acusam governo federal de omissão PÁGINA 14

CONFLITO

Mato Grosso do Sul tem 95 fazendas invadidas por índios

Inércia do governo federal faz aumentar tensão entre indígenas e produtores no Estado

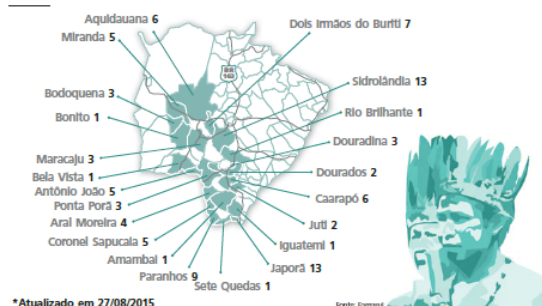
ANNY MALAGOLINI

A inércia do governo federal com a questão indígena e a demarcação de terras resulta em 95 propriedades invadidas, em 26 municípios no interior de Mato Grosso do Sul. Sem ação da Força Nacional e Polícia Federal, obrigatoriamente responsáveis pelas ocorrências que envolvem indígenas, os conflitos têm sido intermediados pelo Departamento de Operações de Fronteira (DOF), da Polícia Militar.

Uma das promessas do governo de Dilma Rousseff (PT) alimentava a esperança de cessar os conflitos, de forma legal. Entretanto, cinco novas fazendas foram tomadas pelos indígenas somente na última semana, no município de Antônio João, ao sul do Estado. Os indígenas expulsaram os moradores das fazendas e ergueram acampamentos nas propriedades: Primavera, Pedro, Fronteira, Barra e Soberania. Restam apenas duas fazendas não invadidas.

Os territórios ocupados atualmente correspondem a nove

PROPRIEDADES RURAIS INVADIDAS POR ÍNDIOS EM MS*



mil hectares, que há dez anos foram reconhecidos pelo Poder Executivo nacional como terra indígena e entregues à comunidade de mais de mil guaranis kaioiwá. Em seguida, os efeitos da homologação do governo federal foram suspensos pelo Superior Tribunal Federal (STF), e as áreas voltaram a pertencer aos fazendeiros.

A decisão liminar foi do então ministro Nelson Jobim e dizia que os efeitos do ato presidencial permaneceriam suspensos até que ação judicial fosse julgada. Hoje, o processo encontra-se com o ministro Gilmar Mendes, segue paralisado, e os índios removidos dessas áreas ocupam um espaço de apenas 100

hectares, aproximadamente.

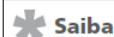
As ocupações tiveram início na madrugada do dia 22 de agosto, quando mais de 40 índios da etnia guarani kaioiwá, sendo a maioria crianças, renderam funcionários da fazenda Primavera. Os índios estavam munidos de flechas, facas e armas de fogo, mas não houve feridos e, até ago-

das de segurança serão usadas. Ele também solicitou presença da Polícia Federal nas áreas invadidas.

Saito destacou, ainda, que as invasões em Mato Grosso do Sul começaram em 1998 e acredita que toda a crise enfrentada pelo País, atualmente, foi um incentivo para as invasões da última semana.

No último ano, a consequência das apropriações indevidas de fazendas gerou prejuízo de 26% no valor do Produto Interno Bruto (PIB) agropecuário do Estado – mais de R\$ 13,9 bilhões em 2014. “São municípios passíveis de pecuária intensa, de cultivo de soja e milho.”

O presidente da Fundação Nacional do Índio (Funai), João Pedro Gonçalves da Costa, posicionou-se contrário às invasões de terras e disse que lutará para a abertura urgente de um diálogo construtivo entre as partes.



Saiba

Exército em Antônio João

O governo federal está disposto a autorizar a ida do Exército para a região de Antônio João, a fim de garantir que não haja conflito entre produtores rurais e indígenas. A liberação depende de solicitação do governador Reinaldo Azambuja.

August 29

DATE	TITLE	PAGE	PICTURE
29/08/2015	Cover: "Antonio Joao lives war climate" Page: "Municipality of Antonio Joao lives war climate with invasions"	12 (Cities)	[1] photographer
SOURCES		TERMS	
[6] non-indigenous	[2] indigenous	People	
1) "Farmers"		Guarani Kaiowa/ guarani caiua [5]	
2) "Rural Syndicate"		Guarani [2]	
3) Antonio Cesar Pereira Flores (Baby),		Indigenous [4] 3	
4) Roseli Ruiz, president of Syndicate		Indian [26]	
5) Pio Barros, landowner		Territory	
6) Isidora Alves Vareiro, non-indigenous		Tekoha [0]	
7) Alisson Guarani		Ñande Ru Marangatu [0]	
8) Jose guarani caiua		Farm/Property [8]	
		Action	
		Demarcation [0] refers to gov.	
		Occupation [7]	
		Invasion [13]	

Cover:

SÁBADO, 29 DE AGOSTO DE 2015 | ANO 62 | Nº 19.627 | CORREIODEESTADO.COM.BR | FUNDADO EM 7 DE FEVEREIRO DE 1954 | CAPITAL R\$ 1,30 OUTROS R\$ 1,50

Antônio João vive clima de guerra

CONFLITO. Índios paraguaios estariam sendo recrutados para reforçar invasões; produtores fazem vigília e bloqueiam estradas na região

O clima de guerra está instalado em Antônio João desde o último fim de semana, quando índios guarani invadiram seis fazendas e o distrito de Campestre, localizado ao lado da aldeia Marangatu. Famílias que moravam havia décadas no distrito foram expulsas e estão precariamente alojadas em casa de parentes. Os produtores, temerosos com a informação de que os indígenas paraguaios estariam sendo acionados para reforçar as invasões, mantêm bloqueio na MS-384, na entrada e na saída do município. A comunidade indígena reivindica 9,3 mil hectares, considerados de propriedade dela, conforme decreto de 2005. Porém, a posse foi contestada pelos fazendeiros e ação ainda tramita no STF.



ONGS INTERNACIONAIS FINANCIARAM CIMI E INVASÕES DE FAZENDAS EM MS PÁGINA 12

CERCO. Na tentativa de evitar novas invasões, produtores usam caminhonetes para bloquear entrada e saída do município

Especial > TENSÃO SEM FIM

Município de Antônio João vive clima de guerra com invasões

Fazendeiros e pequenos produtores foram expulsos de suas terras pelos índios guarani-caiuaús

CELSE BEJARANO
ENVIADO ESPECIAL A ANTONIO JOAO

Ruralistas de Antônio João, cidade onde ocorreram seis invasões de fazendas, de uma semana para cá, disseram ontem que índios estariam sendo recrutados do território paraguaio como forma de reforçar e até dobrar o movimento de tomada de terras, capitaneadas por ao menos 1,5 mil índios guarani-caiuaús, brasileiros, que habitam aldeias da região.

Os fazendeiros temem que outras três áreas sejam ocupadas nos próximos dias. Por desconfiar das novas invasões, há três dias, os ruralistas vigiam parte da MS-384, bloqueando a entrada e saída da cidade, gerando um atmosfera de guerra. Ontem a estrada foi trancada a partir das 3 horas com carros pequenos e grandes. Até a noite a via permanecia bloqueada.

A distância do município sul-mato-grossense, de cerca de 8,6 mil habitantes segundo o Instituto Brasileiro de Geografia e Estatística (IBGE), com o território paraguaio, mede em torno de quatro quilômetros.

Para o Sindicato dos Produtores Rurais da cidade, as invasões têm sido manobradas pelo comando do Conselho Indigenista Missionário, organização ligada à igreja católica, e também por índios que seriam servidores públicos, principalmente professores.

Além de ocupar as sedes de seis fazendas, desde o meio da semana, famílias de brancos que habitam o Distrito Campestre, área situada ao lado da aldeia Marangatu, distante 7,5 quilômetros da cidade, foram expulsas de suas casas, alguns delas moradores há quatro décadas na localidade.

Saiba

Polícia Federal faz levantamento da área invadida

O serviço de inteligência da Polícia Federal faz levantamento da região de disputa de terra entre índios e fazendeiros em Antônio João, na fronteira de Mato Grosso do Sul com o Paraguai. A ideia da PF é descobrir pontos onde podem ocorrer eventuais conflitos e convocar um efetivo maior para conter o embate. Ao menos até ontem uma viatura com quatro policiais do Departamento de Operações de Fronteira, o DOF, agiam exclusivamente nas proximidades das áreas ocupadas. O governo de Reynaldo Azambuja (PSDB) pediu também ao Exército que mande um efetivo para lá, mas a proposta ainda não foi acatada



INVADIDAS. Indígenas já ocupavam, ontem, várias casas do Distrito de Campestre, formado por pequenos produtores e comerciantes que moravam lá há mais de 40 anos

BRIGA ANTIGA

A disputa envolvendo índios e fazendeiros em Antônio João intensificou-se há uma década, em 2005, ano em que o ex-presidente Lula assinou um decreto que considerou como terra indígena nove fazendas da região, seis das quais foram ocupadas de uma semana para cá. Juntas, estas terras somam 9,3 mil hectares.

Ocorre que os fazendeiros entraram com recurso no Supremo Tribunal Federal (STF), que devolveu o caso para a Justiça Federal, em Ponta Porã, corte que ainda não definiu a questão.

O produtor Antônio César Pereira Flores, o Baby, também vice-prefeito da cidade, pelo PSDB, disse que há quatro anos não ocorriam invasões na região. A batalha que empurra para lados opostos índios e fazendeiros, disse o vice, dura ao menos duas décadas e o governo federal "pouco faz" ou "nada faz".

A intriga afetou até a política da cidade. Tanto que Baby, embora vice-prefeito, não cumpre expediente porque rompeu vínculos com o prefeito do município, Selo Louziano, que é do PT.

"Ele (Selo) não cumpriu promessa comigo, por isso não fui mais lá (prefeitura)", disse Baby, um dos principais ativistas do movimento dos ruralistas.

AÇÕES

Desde o início das invasões, fazendeiros se reúnem em frente ao sindicato rural do município, erguido logo na entrada da cidade. Ontem cedo, por exemplo, ao menos 30 camionetes estavam estacionadas no pátio da entidade. Ali, os ruralistas monitoram os noticiários e ainda as informações acerca do deslocamento dos índios às fazendas ocupadas.

A presidente do sindicato, Roseli Ruiz, disse que não da-

ria entrevista, mas autorizou "quem quisesse falar" com a imprensa.

O ruralista Pio Queiroz Silva Barros, esposo de Roseli e dono de um patrimônio de R\$ 25 milhões, segundo ele, entre os quais uma fazenda ocupada, culpa o governo federal pelo risco de embate com os índios.

"Nosso País virou uma terra velha, cheia de ratos. Este governo, metido a idealista, gosta apenas dos índios, movimentos sociais, dos mensalões, petroleiros, de tirar dinheiro da Petrobras. Temos que sair com este governo, com estes comunistas que estão no poder. Trabalhei por toda a minha vida, perdi minha juventude e, agora, minha saúde", queixou-se o fazendeiro, de 61 anos de idade, 50, disse ele, dedicados a fazenda.

Pio Barros negou a informação que corre na cidade indicando que os fazendeiros estavam contratando milícias armadas para agir em eventuais

combate com os índios. "Não sei disso, não. Gosto da pessoa do índio brasileiro, mas agora ele está me triturando", disse Barros.

O ruralista afirmou também ser favorável à entrega de suas terras aos índios, desde que o governo federal indenize-o.

SEM DIÁLOGO

A reportagem, que desde ontem cedo acompanha as mobilizações dos índios e dos fazendeiros, não foi autorizada a entrar na fazenda Primavera, onde estariam os índios que comandam as incursões.

QUEM FINANCIA

Documentos obtidos pela reportagem do Correio do Estado mostram que entre os anos de 2000 e 2002, o Conselho Indigenista Missionário recebeu 451 mil dólares para realizar ações de retomadas de terras consideradas indígenas, do Cafod (The Catholic Fund for Overseas Development) - que

significa Fundo Católico para o Desenvolvimento Exterior, em tradução livre - e de outra instituição chamada Trócaire, que é uma agência católica da Irlanda de ajuda humanitária.

Dentre as ações mantidas com esse recursos estavam duas retomadas de áreas guarani-caiuaús, além de gasto de 24 mil dólares para "articulação política/pressão", além de madeiras, pregos, serrotes, lonas e até facões e foices.

A documentação faz parte de projetos apresentados pelo Cimi a essas duas entidades internacionais.

Ontem de manhã, na sede da Federação de Agricultura e Pecuária de Mato Grosso do Sul (Famassul), produtores se reuniram para tratar do tema e cogiram abrir uma Comissão Parlamentar de Inquérito (CPI) através da bancada federal para investigar o Cimi.

"Os índios eram meus amigos, mas me mandaram embora"

Isidora Alves Vareiro, 67 anos de idade, 40 dos quais moradora do Distrito Campestre, situado ao lado da aldeia indígena Marangatu, distrito de Antônio João, foi uma das expulsas de casa anteontem, pelos índios guarani-caiuaús, segundo ela.

"Eles (índios) foram bons amigos, pediram para que eu saísse logo, que não teria confusão", disse Isidora, que ontem à tarde ajeitava seus móveis nos fundos da casa de uma das filhas, no município.

Isidora morava com mais duas filhas e dois genros numa casa de seis quartos e dois banheiros, no local. "Minha casa é a maior da vila, eu tinha comércio lá, os índios eram todos meus conhecidos, amigos. Agora, mandaram eu embora. Gastamos todo o dinheiro para reformá-la. Não entendo isso, acho que isso (invasões) não é coisa dos índios daqui", reclamou ela.



SEM RAZÃO. Dona Isidora não entende por que a expulsaram de casa, já que convivia amigavelmente

Assim que retirada da casa, ainda com alguns móveis dentro, índios da aldeia Marangatu entraram no imóvel e lá estão morando.

A reportagem foi até a aldeia, mas poucos da comunidade, entre 70 e 100 famílias,

segundo um dos moradores, quiseram manifestar-se.

O guarani Alison Morales, 21 anos, no entanto, contestou a versão de dona Isidora. Ele disse que a faixa onde se situa a aldeia, de 15 quilômetros de linha reta, "sempre foi do

índio". Esta terra aqui foi homologada há duas décadas, é nossa, do índio.

Especula-se na cidade, que até 40 anos atrás, índios negociavam lotes com famílias brancas, em troca de dinheiro. Alison, que era vizinho

de Isidora, refutou a ideia. "Foram os brancos que invadiram aqui", concluiu o assunto e disse à reportagem que fosse procurar os líderes indígenas para tratar do caso.

O sogro de Alison, que se identificou como José, guarani-caiuaú, dono de uma conveniência, afirmou que nada tem contra dona Isidora e que um filho seu é até "afilhado" da ex-vizinha. No entanto, indagado sobre a expulsão, também orientou a reportagem procurar os "líderes".

Do meio da semana até ontem dez famílias tinham sido despejadas do Distrito Campestre. Algumas delas, embora não localizadas, não teriam para onde ir e foram para ruas distantes do centro da cidade, segundo João Antônio Valensuela, genro de Isidora. (CB)

August 30

DATE	TITLE	PAGE	PICTURE
30/08/2015	Cover: "Owner retakes farm and indian dies in confrontation" Page: "Producers retake invaded farm and one indigenous dies"	13 (Cities)	[2] photographer [1] map by Famasul
SOURCES		TERMS	
[3] non-indigenous	[2] indigenous	People	
1) "Farmers"		Guarani Kaiowa/ guarani caiua [2]	
2) DOF		Guarani [1]	
3) Felisberto Correa Vilhalba, indigenous injured		Indigenous [8] 1 t.	
4) Aty Guasu		Indian [15]	
5) João Paulo Gonçalves Maciel, non-		Territory	
		Tekoha [0]	
		Nande Ru Marangatu [0]	
		Farm/Property [20]	
		Action	
		Demarcation [0] refers to gov.	
		Occupation [5]	
		Invasion [2]	

Cover:

DOMINGO, 30 DE AGOSTO DE 2015 | ANO 62 | Nº 19.628 | CORREIODEESTADO.COM.BR | FUNDADO EM 7 DE FEVEREIRO DE 1954 | CAPITAL R\$ 1,30 OUTROS R\$ 1,50

Proprietário retoma fazenda e índio morre em confronto

ANTÔNIO JOÃO.
Batalha na Fazenda Barra, ontem à tarde, teve um índio morto e ao menos dez feridos

A disputa por terra entre índios e fazendeiros, no município de Antônio João, teve ontem seu episódio mais grave. Um grupo de aproximadamente 100 pessoas ligadas aos proprietários rurais retomou a Fazenda Barra, ocupada, até então, por centenas de índios. Ambos os lados estavam armados, havia espingardas e pistolas e arco e flecha. No confronto, morreu Simeão Vilhalva, um dos líderes guarani kaiowá, atingido por um disparo na cabeça. Ao menos outros dez indígenas ficaram feridos no confronto. **PÁGINA 13**

GUERRA NA FRONTEIRA. Índios fizeram barricada, mas não evitaram entrada de fazendeiros na área, no detalhe, um dos feridos



CENTENAS. Indígenas estavam por todos os lados da Fazenda Barra, uma das seis que foram ocupadas pelos índios, desde o dia 22 de agosto



FOTOS: ALVARO REZENDE

A FORÇA. Produtores rurais em caminhonetes, vestidos com coletes à prova de balas, seguem em comboio rumo a propriedade

GUERRA EM ANTÔNIO JOÃO

Produtores retomam fazenda invadida e um indígena morre

Nem polícia, produtores ou índios explicaram como o confronto na Fazenda Barra terminou em morte

LUCIA MOREL E CELSO BEJARANO ENVIADO ESPECIAL A ANTÔNIO JOÃO

Durante retomada de propriedade invadida por índios guaranis kaiowás em Antônio João, a 280 quilômetros ao sul de Campo Grande, proprietários rurais entraram em confronto com indígenas, o que terminou com um morto e ao menos 10 feridos. Todos índios. A vítima que morreu seria um rapaz identificado apenas como Simeão, que levou um tiro na cabeça, de arma calibre 22. Não se sabem as circunstâncias da morte, e Força Nacional, Polícia Federal, Departamento de Operações de Fronteira (DOF), Polícia Militar Rodoviária e Polícia Civil acompanham a situação, que a cada dia se torna mais crítica.

A confusão se estabeleceu no fim da manhã de ontem, quando produtores que tiveram cinco fazendas ocupadas se reuniram na sede do Sindicato Rural de Antônio João, para traçar medidas que pudessem resolver a questão. Em determinado momento, a fazendeira Roseli Ruiz, presidente da entidade, tomou a atitude de retomar sua propriedade, a Fazenda Barra, e saiu do local determinada

10

FAMILIAS
Do meio da semana até sexta-feira (28), dez famílias tinham sido despejadas do Distrito de Campestre, também alvo das ocupações indígenas. Algumas delas, embora não localizadas, não teriam para onde ir e foram para ruas distantes do centro da cidade.

a ter sua área de volta. Ela foi acompanhada de pelo menos mais 40 caminhonetes com produtores da região, que seguiram direto para a propriedade. Outras dezenas se juntaram ao grupo ao longo do dia, e mais de 100 pessoas reocuparam a fazenda.

Lá, a equipe do Correio do Estado foi impedida de entrar, pelos ruralistas, que inclusive ameaçaram cortar os pneus da caminhonete e até tombá-la, caso a reportagem tentasse seguir para a sede da fazenda, que fica a uma distância de pelo menos seis quilômetros da entrada, na rodovia MS-384.

A equipe tentou, então, outra alternativa: acessar a sede da propriedade por outra estrada vicinal; mas, em parte do caminho, foi abordada por indígenas, que também hostilizaram e ameaçaram a reportagem, que não teve alternativa a não ser retomar à entrada da Fazenda Barra e aguardar, de longe, detalhes da situação.

No fim da tarde, foi confirmada morte de um indígena, tanto por produtores rurais que saíram da propriedade quanto pelo DOF. Um índio ferido, Felisberto Corrêa Vilhalva, 28, que foi atendido no Hospital Municipal da cidade, contou que levou uma paulada na cabeça e que Simeão morreu com um tiro na testa. Ele não contou, no entanto, a circunstância da morte de Simeão. Felisberto, que falou pouco, disse ainda que, após levar a paulada na cabeça, quase foi atropelado por um ruralista.

Produtores que saíram da fazenda, na tarde de ontem, disseram que a vítima já estaria morta quando chegaram e nenhuma das forças policiais informou como o índio teria morrido.

Página de índios guaranis em rede social, a Aty Guasu, informava que o sobrenome de Simeão também seria

Vilhalva e que ele seria uma liderança indígena. O índio ferido que conversou com a reportagem não comentou se tem parentesco com o índio morto.

Tanto indígenas quanto produtores rurais estavam equipados com armas. Os índios tinham facão, arcos, flechas e espingardas. Já os produtores que foram até a fazenda estavam com coletes à prova de balas e, apesar de não ter sido visualizado, dentro dos veículos haveria armas.

A disputa envolvendo ín-

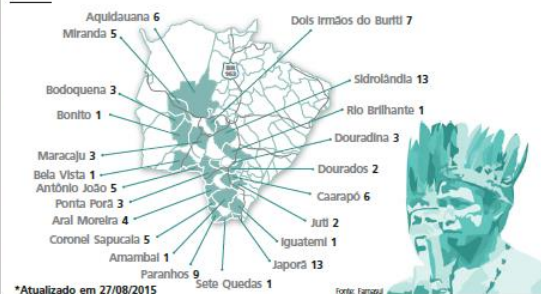
dios e fazendeiros em Antônio João intensificou-se há uma década, em 2005, ano em que o ex-presidente Lula assinou um decreto que considerou como terra indígena 9 fazendas da região, seis das quais foram ocupadas de uma semana para cá. Juntas, estas terras somam 9,3 mil hectares.

Ocorre que os fazendeiros entraram com recurso no Supremo Tribunal Federal (STF), que devolveu o caso para a Justiça Federal, em Ponta Porá, corte que ainda não definiu a questão.

POPULAÇÃO

O clima dentro da cidade é de puro terror. Moradores se dizem aterrorizados e inseguros. O motorista João Paulo Gonçalves Maciel tem 41 anos e há 20 mora em Antônio João. Ele se diz apavorado. "Estamos todos nervosos, porque ninguém sabe de fato o que está acontecendo. Já houve outros conflitos aqui, mas sempre aparecia a Justiça para apaziguar e, depois, ia embora. Mas, agora, ninguém sabe o que pode acontecer", lamentou.

PROPRIEDADES RURAIS INVADIDAS POR ÍNDIOS EM MS*



August 31

DATE	TITLE	PAGE	PICTURE
31/08/2015	<p>Cover: “Farmers accuse Paraguayan guerrillas of training indigenous”</p> <p>Page: “To ruralists, guerrillas from Paraguay train the indians”</p>	12 (Cities)	[6] photographer
SOURCES		TERMS	
[5] non-indigenous	[0] indigenous	People	
1) “Farmers”		Guarani Kaiowa/ guarani caiua [1]	
2) Marcos Almirão, landowner		Guarani [2]	
3) Antonio Cesar Pereira Flores (Baby),		Indigenous [6]	
4) Policeman from National Force		Indian [25]	
5) DOF		Territory	
		Tekoha [0]	
		Ñande Ru Marangatu [0]	
		Farm/Property [12] right of 1	
		Action	
		Demarcation [0] refers to gov.	
		Occupation [2]	
		Invasion [7]	

Cover:

SEGUNDA-FEIRA, 31 DE AGOSTO DE 2015 | ANO 62 | Nº 19.629 | CORREIODEESTADO.COM.BR | FUNDADO EM 7 DE FEVEREIRO DE 1954 | CAPITAL R\$ 1,30 OUTROS R\$ 1,50

Fazendeiros acusam guerrilheiros paraguaios de treinar indígenas



TENSÃO. Encapuzados, índios reagiram à desocupação de duas propriedades no sábado por fazendeiros

CONFLITO. Equipes do Departamento de Operações de Fronteira estão na região para garantir a segurança

ANTÔNIO JOÃO. Integrantes do Exército do Povo Paraguai (EPP) teriam ensinado táticas de guerra aos índios que ocupam fazendas

Os índios que invadiram fazendas no município de Antônio João nos últimos dez dias receberam treinamento dos guerrilheiros do Exército do Povo Paraguai (EPP), conforme acusam os proprietários de terra da região e também suspeitam integrantes da Força Nacional de Segurança Pública. Para eles, os índios brasileiros estariam recebendo táticas de guerra e sendo insuflados a invadir as fazendas. Ruralistas e índios entraram em conflito ontem em ação de retomada das fazendas Barra e Fronteira. Um indígena morreu. **PÁGINA 12**

Especial > CONFLITO POR TERRA



ESTRATÉGICOS. índios armados de flechas ficaram próximos à estrada que conduz à fazenda que havia sido ocupada; para os fazendeiros, eles usam também armamentos obtidos da força revolucionária

Para ruralistas, guerrilheiros do Paraguai treinam os índios

Grupo estaria municiando com armas os indígenas que invadiram fazendas em Antônio João

CELSO BEJARANO, ENVIADO ESPECIAL A ANTONIO JOÃO

Guerrilheiros ligados ao Exército do Povo Paraguáio, o EPP, organização composta por radicais de esquerda e que prega o domínio do poder pela revolução e a imposição da reforma agrária universal, estariam treinando e municiando com armas os guaranis katowá, índios que invadiram fazendas na região do município de Antônio João, na fronteira de Mato Grosso do Sul com o Paraguai.

Índios e fazendeiros enfrentam clima tenso há dez dias, período em que ocorreram sete invasões e a retomada à força de duas áreas na região, antontem.

Na reocupação das fazendas Barra e Fronteira, um índio foi morto com tiro no rosto e outros três guaranis, feridos, fugiram para a mata.

Até o fim da tarde de ontem, eles não tinham sido localizados. Uma mulher índia e um bebê da aldeia também ficaram feridos com tiros de balas de borracha. Depois do confronto, os arredores das fazendas foram policiadas por ao menos 40 homens da Força Nacional e também do Departamento de Operações de Fronteira, o DOF.

A suspeita de que o EPP estaria armando os índios é informação recorrente entre os fazendeiros, no entanto, quando do assunto é tratado oficialmente, poucos concordam em comentar o caso. "Soube disto por fonte segura, o EPP está armando os índios, financiando os índios, isto é muito provável", disse o produtor Marcos Almirão, dono de fazenda próxima a Antônio João.

"O direito à propriedade por aqui está em xeque. Além do EPP, Almirão atacou ainda a Funai e o Cimi, entidade que cuida dos interesses dos indígenas. "Eles (Cimi) vieram aqui (Antônio João) e determinaram a troca de caciques, os que assumiram ordenaram as invasões", disse.

Almirão informou ainda que eventuais treinamentos de guerra conduzidos pelo EPP



COMBOIO. Ruralistas foram em grupo retomar a área invadida



DEFESA. Índios tentaram impedir o trânsito de carros, antontem, pela Aldeia Marangatu

estariam acontecendo no território paraguáio, cerca de 10 km distante da Aldeia Marangatu, perto de onde ocorreu o conflito. Esta aldeia fica a 7,5 mil hectares da região central de Antônio João. A área supostamente dominada pelo EPP e que estaria atraindo índios em aprender a guerrear é território paraguáio e fica em uma mata fechada e com rara circulação de veículos.

Antônio César Pereira Flores, o Baby, vice-prefeito de Antônio João, produtor rural na região, disse que também recebeu a informação de que EPP teria ligação com os índios guaranis. "Fiquei sabendo e acho que isto teria de ser investigado", disse Baby.

Policial da Força Nacional que atua no policiamento das fazendas retomadas concordou em comentar o assunto, desde que não publicasse seu nome.

"Olha, não temos esta informação (ação do EPP), mas uma coisa é certa: eles (índios) têm agido diferente, percebemos isto agora, aqui em Antônio João", disse o policial, acostumado a cumprir tarefas envolvendo conflitos entre índios e fazendeiros.

O "diferente" citado pelo integrante da Força, segundo

Saiba

Azambuja defende indenização

O governador Reinaldo Azambuja não quis defender nenhum dos lados, índios ou produtores. Ele disse que a saída seria o governo federal indenizar os ruralistas. "Se titulariam terras que pertenciam aos indígenas, cabe a quem indenizar? A união precisa adquirir as terras, indenizar e resolver o impasse", afirmou. Azambuja defendeu ainda a presença do Exército na área de conflito. (Anny Malagolini)

ele, tem a ver com a organização dos índios em situações de combate.

"Eles posicionam-se bem mais ordenados do que antes", disse.

Já o comando do DOF, por meio da assessoria, informou que, "até onde investigou", a informação [do EPP instruindo o índio] "não procede".

Deputado diz que indígena teria morrido antes do conflito

O deputado federal Luiz Henrique Mandetta, do DEM, que também participou da retomada da Fazenda Fronteira, antontem, em Antônio João, disse pelo Facebook que o índio morto supostamente no conflito com fazendeiros já teria morrido antes da chegada do comboio de ruralistas. "Ouviru-se um tiro numa mata a 900 metros e dez minutos depois os índios trouxeram um corpo que diziam ter sido alvejado. Me coloquei como médico e fui até o local. O cadáver de um homem já em rigidez cadavérica foi jogado na estrada", escreveu o parlamentar da bancada ruralista. Pelo dito por Mandetta, o índio já teria sido assassinado antes de os fazendeiros retomarem a área.

O argumento do deputado federal, contudo, foi rechaçado por Júlio César Arguelho, sargento, assessor de imprensa do Departamento de Operações de Fronteira, o DOF.



PROTEGIDO. Pio Silva usou colete à prova de balas na retomada

"Esta história de rigidez cadavérica não é verdade. Estive lá, toquei no corpo do índio, morto com um tiro no rosto", disse o sargento. O corpo de Simeão Vilhalba foi periciado pela polícia federal, mas até ontem à tarde

o desfecho da investigação não havia sido divulgado. Na retomada das áreas, os fazendeiros usaram 40 caminhonetes para chegarem à fazenda. A polícia foi para o local duas horas depois. (CB)

September 1

DATE	TITLE	PAGE	PICTURE
01/09/2015	Cover: no Page: "Invasions and indian's death lead govern to ask for the Army in the border"	11(Cities)	[3] photographer [1] DOF
SOURCES		TERMS	
[5] non-indigenous	[2] indigenous	People	
1) Reinaldo Azambuja, governor of MS		Guarani Kaiowa/ guarani caiua [2]	
2) Defense Ministry via press office		Guarani [2]	
3) Army via press office		Indigenous [1]	
4) Cacique Oréstimo Fernandes		Indian [20]	
5) Mariano Vilhalva		Territory	
6) Luiz Henrique Mandetta, federal deputy		Tekoha [0]	
7) Baby, vice-mayor and landowner		Nande Ru Marangatu [0]	
		Farm/Property [13]	
		Action	
		Demarcation [0] refers to gov.	
		Occupation [6]	
		Invasion [4]	

Cover: No

ANTÔNIO JOÃO

Invasões e morte de índio levam governo a pedir Exército na fronteira

Solicitação foi feita oficialmente ontem; presidente Dilma deve definir envio de tropas ainda hoje

CELSO BEARANO E GILDO TAVARES ENVIADO ESPECIAL A ANTÔNIO JOÃO

Onze dias depois da onda de invasões de fazendas em Antônio João, que pode ter provocado a morte de um índio, o governador de Mato Grosso do Sul, Reinaldo Azambuja, do PSD, mandou oficialmente um comunicado à presidente Dilma, pedindo que o Exército atue logo na região de fronteira, como meio de evitar novos confrontos por disputas de terra.

Já a presidente, até o início da noite, não havia autorizado, no entanto, a solicitação era examinada e o aval para a ida das Forças Armadas para o local deve ser anunciado hoje.

Ontem à tarde, o corpo do índio guarani-caiá Simeão Vilhalva, 24 anos, morto com tiro no rosto, foi enterrado na fazenda Fronteira, em Antônio João. Ele integrava um grupo de indígenas que haviam ocupado a área no dia 21 passado. Vilhalva foi morto no dia em que um grupo de ao menos 100 ruralistas da região entraram na área, sem o amparo da segurança policial, dispostos a expulsar os índios da fazenda.

"Ficamos um trabalho conjunto nessa região [fronteira] para distinguirmos esse ambiente de conflito que muitas vezes mostra para as pessoas que não temos condições de diálogo. Nós temos,

Saiba

Conflito deixa cidade em estado de emergência

Sébio Louzada (PT), prefeito de Antônio João, decretou estado de emergência na cidade. A medida aguarda avaliação da Defesa Civil, órgão que pode validar a proposta do prefeito. Com o decreto em vigor, o município tem como ajudar as famílias desabrigadas, por exemplo, por causa do conflito.

sim, condições (de diálogo) para tentar solucionar isso", disse Azambuja, ao anunciar o pedido de tropas federais para Antônio João.

O governo de Dilma mandou ontem, para o local do conflito, o diretor de Diálogos Sociais, setor com ligação direta com a Secretaria-Geral da presidente da República, Gustavo Augusto Gomes de Moura. Pela manhã, ele não comentou o envio do Exército para o local, mas disse que estava ali para tentar resolver o impasse envolvendo fazendeiros e índios por meio do diálogo. À tarde, Moura seguiu a Ponta Preta sem divulgar o desfecho da conversa que teve com os envolvidos.



Tristeza. Índios enterraram, ontem à tarde, o corpo de Simeão Vilhalva, que teria sido morto ao tentar localizar o filho de cinco anos de idade

No fim da tarde, a assessoria de imprensa do Ministério da Defesa, por e-mail, informou ao Correio do Estado que, "da parte do Ministério da Defesa, as Forças Armadas estão ultimando os preparativos para essa ação nos municípios de Bela Vista, Antônio João, Aral Moreira e Ponta Preta". Reforçou, contudo, que a proposta de

Azambuja depende exclusivamente da determinação da presidente. "Tão logo saia essa decisão, as tropas da Marinha, do Exército e da Aeronáutica entrarão em ação. O emprego maior é de militares do Exército. A FAB entrará com o transporte da tropa e a Marinha empregará militares de Ladário", informou

a assessoria do Ministério da Defesa. Já a assessoria de imprensa do Exército, em Campo Grande, também informou que qualquer ação a ser tomada na região do conflito "depende de ordens vindas de Brasília". A reportagem do Correio apurou, em Antônio João, que o Exército estará na cidade entre hoje e amanhã, não

para agir na segurança, mas sim desenvolvendo ação social, como levando até os índios atendimento médico e dentário. A segurança em Antônio João tem sido conduzida pela Força Nacional e Departamento de Operações de Fronteira. Policiais federais também foram para o local. (com Valquíria Ortiq)

Entenda a questão

Dia 21 passado, 12 dias atrás, índios guarani-caiá invadiram duas fazendas. Depois disso, na semana passada, mais quatro áreas. Capangas que cuidavam das propriedades foram expulsos. Daí em diante, o sindicato rural de Antônio João avisou o governo estadual e iniciou uma série de audiências na sede da entidade. Sábado passado, a bancada ruralista - senador Valdemir Moka (PMDB), deputada estadual Mara Caseira (PT/DB) e os deputados federais Luiz Henrique Mandetta (DEM) e Terra Cristina (PSB) - foram à cidade a convite da presidente do sindicato, Roseli Ruiz, dona de uma das fazendas ocupadas. Antes de os políticos discutarem, na voz de Roseli, ela disse que estava "cansada" de esperar por soluções e que ia "vulgar para casa" e que quem quisesse que a acompanhasse. Saiu dali um comboio com ao menos 40 caminhoneiros com destino à fazenda Barra. Sem policiais na região, o grupo seguiu com a missão de tirar os índios de lá. Duas horas depois, apareceram na fazenda a Força Nacional e o Departamento de Operações de Fronteira. Segundo a polícia, assim que chegaram, souberam da morte de um dos índios que ocuparam a área.



COMOÇÃO. Carimônia junto ao menos 100 índios que pediram justiça pela morte



VIGIA. Homens da Força Nacional cuidam agora da segurança na fazenda ocupada



FATAL. Simeão Vilhalva foi morto com tiro no rosto, sábado à tarde

Índios ficam na área invadida, diz cacique

Ao menos cem índios participaram ontem à tarde do funeral do índio Simeão Vilhalva, 24, morto baleado no sábado à tarde. O cacique dos guarani, Oréstimo Fernandes, disse que, mesmo com a morte, os índios vão resistir e permanecer no local. O enterro do corpo de Vilhalva foi feito na aldeia Fronteira.

Depois de retomarem a fazenda Barra, o comboio dos ruralistas, segundo os índios, seguiu para a fazenda Fronteira, também ocupada pelos guarani.

Mariano Fernando Vilhal-

va, 40, disse que, assim que o irmão Simeão soube da presença dos fazendeiros na área, correu para procurar o filho de cinco anos de idade, que teria saído correndo. "Eu estava a dois metros dele [Simeão] quando ouvi um tiro e vi meu irmão cair morto", disse Mariano, que acusa os fazendeiros pelo disparo fatal. A versão de Mariano é contrariada por depoimento do deputado federal Luiz Henrique Mandetta, que também havia entrado para retomar a fazenda. O parlamentar escreveu em seu Facebook

que, ao notar o índio caído, foi até lá e notou "rigidez cadavérica" do corpo de Simeão. Ou seja, para o deputado, o índio tinha morrido antes da chegada dos fazendeiros. A investigação acerca da morte do índio é conduzida por peritos da Polícia Federal. Perto do corpo da vítima havia sangue, fato que pode contrariar a versão dos fazendeiros, que desconfiaram que o índio teria sido morto antes e o corpo exibido na chegada do comboio. Até ontem, três das seis fazendas tinham sido desocupadas, segundo o vice-prefeito da cidade e produtor na região, Antônio César Flores, o Babá (PSDB). (CB e GT)

September 2

DATE	TITLE	PAGE	PICTURE
02/09/2015	Cover: no Page: "Minister comes to the state, but will not be in indigenous conflict zone"	11(Cities)	[1] photographer
SOURCES		TERMS	
[2] non-indigenous	[0] indigenous	People	
1) Coronel-Tenent Rocha Lima		Guarani Kaiowa/ guarani caiua [2]	
2) Eduardo Riedel, State Government		Guarani [0]	
		Indigenous [6]	
		Indian [4]	
		Territory	
		Tekoha [0]	
		Ñande Ru Marangatu [0]	
		Farm/Property [6]	
		Action	
		Demarcation [0] refers to gov.	
		Occupation [3]	
		Invasion [1]	

Cover: No

EMBATE

Ministro vem ao Estado, mas não se aproximará de zona de conflito indígena

Eduardo Cardozo, ministro da Justiça, realiza várias reuniões em Campo Grande, mas não cogita visitar município de Antônio João

LUCAS JUNOTE
GILDO TAVARES
ENVIADO ESPECIAL
A ANTONIO JOÃO

O ministro da Justiça, José Eduardo Cardozo, desembarca hoje em Mato Grosso do Sul para buscar solução para o conflito entre indígenas e proprietários rurais na região de Antônio João, a 280 km de Campo Grande. No entanto, todas as programações do enviado do governo federal são em Campo Grande, e não no município que é zona de conflito, na fronteira com o Paraguai. Lá, um indígena morreu com um tiro no rosto no sábado (28). Índios guarani-kaiowá invadiram fazendas na região no dia 22 de agosto.

Cerca de 250 militares do Exército chegaram ontem na cidade, além dos 150 da Força Nacional e 20 do Departamen-



FORÇA MILITAR. Exército está na cidade e realiza abordagens para vistoriar pessoas e veículos

Saiba

Reuniões com governador, produtores e índios

A comitiva do governo federal desembarca pela manhã na base aérea e segue para a governadoria. Às 10 horas, está prevista a primeira reunião do grupo. Produtores rurais vão se reunir com a comitiva dos governos, às 12 horas e às 15 horas, o grupo de autoridades abre o diálogo com os indígenas.

to de Operações de Fronteira (DOF), que estão no local. De acordo com o tenente-coronel Rocha Lima, encarregado da operação, a presença militar é apenas para amenizar o clima. "O Exército não vai interferir. Vimos ajudar a manter a ordem e abrir condições para negociações", comentou.

Na tarde de ontem, os militares montaram uma barreira na estrada de acesso às fazendas que continuam ocupadas: Fronteira, Cedro e Barra. O trânsito está liberado, mas estão sendo realizadas abordagens e vistorias nos veículos. A Fazenda Brasil, que também estava ocupada, foi liberada ontem. As fazendas Primavera e Cedro estão com as sedes ocupadas pelos indígenas. Na Fazenda Fronteira, apenas na casa dos funcionários ainda há índios. Exército também está nas cidades de Ponta Po-

rã, Aral Moreira e Bela Vista.

Ao chegar, o ministro se reúne com o governador Reinaldo Azambuja. Segundo o secretário de Estado de governo, Eduardo Riedel, a visita é agir em favor da pacificação entre os ruralistas e índios. "Vamos fazer uma série de reuniões com as autoridades Federais e com todo o staff do governo do Estado, a fim de encontrarmos uma solução para acabar com os conflitos fundiários do Estado", ressaltou Riedel.

Também devem participar desta agenda os representantes da Procuradoria-Geral da República, Polícia Federal, Polícia Federal Rodoviária, Supremo Tribunal Federal, Fundação Nacional do Índio (Funai), Ministério da Justiça e a secretária-geral da República, Regina Miki. Da parte do governo do Estado, os secretários de Estado Eduardo Riedel;

Sérgio de Paula e Sílvio Maluf e representante do Comando Militar do Oeste (CMO) e da Procuradoria-Geral do Estado estarão presentes.

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Ontem, em Brasília, lideranças indígenas de seis povos (guarani-kaiowá, terena, munduruku, baré, kambeba e baniwa) realizaram ato em protesto ao assassinato de Semião Vilhalva, no sábado.

DATE	TITLE	PAGE	PICTURE
03/09/2015	<p>Cover: “Justice Minister comes to the capital, “promenades” and goes away”</p> <p>Page: “Without effective solution to conflicts, commission is created to dialogue”</p>	13(Cities)	[1] photographer
SOURCES		TERMS	
[2] non-indigenous	[1] indigenous	People	
1) José Eduardo Cardozo, Minister of Justice		Guarani Kaiowa/ guarani caiua [0]	
2) Reinaldo Azambuja, Governor of MS		Guarani [0]	
3) Lindomar Terena, indigenous leader (Terena)		Indigenous [3] 3	
		Indian [8]	
		Territory	
		Tekoha [0]	
		Nande Ru Marangatu [0]	
		Farm/Property [3]	
		Action	
		Demarcation [5] refers to gov.	
		Occupation [0] 2	
		Invasion [0]	

Cover:

CORREIO DO ESTADO 61
AVGZ

QUINTA-FEIRA, 3 DE SETEMBRO DE 2015 | ANO 121 | Nº 31.632 | CORREIODOSTADO.COM.BR | FUNDADO EM 7 DE FEVEREIRO DE 1954 | CAPITAL R\$ 4,30 OUTROS R\$ 5,50

Ministro da Justiça vem à Capital, “passeia” e vai embora

SEM SOLUÇÃO. José Eduardo Cardozo esteve na Capital para discutir conflito agrário

O ministro da Justiça, José Eduardo Cardozo, passou pouco mais de seis horas em Campo Grande e, depois de muita conversa, definiu a formação de grupo de mediação de conflito para discutir disputa de terras entre índios e produtores rurais. A comissão vai visitar cinco áreas de conflito no Estado para tentar encontrar solução de demarcação, podendo ser indenização ou medida jurídica. O desfecho do encontro é semelhante ao que ocorreu depois das invasões em Sidrolândia, que até agora não tiveram solução prática. Cardozo não foi à região do embate mais recente, em An-
Vitor João **PÁGINA 13**

COFFEEBREAK
Secretário confirma compra de votos para cassação

Vereador em março do ano passado, quando o prefeito Alcides Bernal (PP) foi cassado pela Câmara, Paulo Pedro (PDT), atual secretário de governo do município de Campo Grande, confirmou ao Gacéo esquema de compra de votos para tirar o mandato de Bernal. **PÁGINA 2**

LAVAJATO
Ex-diretor da Petrobras chama delator de mentiroso

PÁGINA 5

cidades@correiodoestado.com.br

IMPASSE

Sem solução efetiva para conflitos, comissão é criada para dialogar

Ministro da Justiça veio à Capital para mediar situação indígena, mas foi embora sem apresentar ação definitiva

LUCAS JUNOT

Sem uma ação efetiva para o fim dos conflitos entre indígenas e proprietários rurais em Mato Grosso do Sul, a série de reuniões com a presença do ministro da Justiça, José Eduardo Cardozo, durante todo o dia de ontem, teve como único encaminhamento a formação de uma comissão mista dos governos Federal e Estadual para voltar a discutir a questão. Ambas as partes deverão elencar cinco áreas prioritárias no Estado, que deverão ser apresentadas na semana que vem, em reunião em Brasília, para que a comissão inicie novas etapas de discussão e mediação.

Em Antônio João, cidade distante 402 quilômetros da Capital, cerca de 250 militares do Exército cumprem a chamada ação de garantia de lei e ordem (GILLO), a pedido do governo do Estado, desde terça-feira (1º). Em seu pronunciamento, na tarde de ontem (2), o ministro disse que as forças policiais e militares agirão com rigor nos casos de violência e/ou incitação à violência. "Não aceitaremos ofensas à lei e quem o fizer será preso em flagrante, investigado e sofrerá a aplicação rigorosa da lei, seja quem for, índios ou proprietários, não importa", advertiu.

A pacificação imediata, conforme Cardozo, é a condição primordial para a continuidade das mediações. De acordo com ele, quebrado o acordo, a solução para o conflito de terras será submetida à morosidade da Justiça. "Tentamos no passado fazer a mediação, mas sofremos com a intransi-

gência dos proprietários em resolver a questão de forma judicial e a demora e acirra os ânimos, que culmina na busca por uma solução própria, o que é ilegal", comentou.

No decorrer da discussão, o governador Reinaldo Azambuja (PSDB) também comentou a experiência dos conflitos na fazenda Buriti, em Sidrolândia, cujo posicionamento considerou "um erro". Em 2013, o índio Oziel Gabriel acabou morto em conflito. Tentou-se a indenização aos produtores pela terra, já considerada indígena, mas eles não aceitaram o valor oferecido pelo governo federal por estar muito abaixo do mercado.

"Caracterizamos toda esperança entomo de uma só área, acabamos criando um cenário que desencadeou novas retomadas, pois todos acreditavam que seria um marco. Cada área tem uma realidade fundiária, contamos com a boa vontade dos dois lados para, sem pegar em armas, mantermos o estado democrático de direito", avaliou o governador.

Para Lidomar Terena, líder indígena, não houve nenhum progresso na resolução da questão. "Eles disseram que haverá um esforço para resolver, o mesmo que disseram há dois anos. Não mudou nada, simplesmente porque não há vontade dos fazendeiros em resolver", pontuou. De acordo com ele, os encaminhamentos da reunião serão levados para outras lideranças e só então saberão como agir. "Não podemos decidir nada aqui sozinho, até porque nunca foi descumprido um acordo por par-



REUNIÕES. Azambuja e Cardozo se revezaram entre reuniões com produtores, índios e Igreja Católica

te dos indígenas", defendeu.

MORTES

O ministro José Eduardo Cardozo citou da morte do índio Oziel, em 2013, cujo laudo pericial foi apontado como inconclusivo. De acordo com ele, o inquérito policial para apurar a autoria do crime está em curso na Polícia Federal, mas corre em sigilo.

Da mesma forma, as investigações sobre morte do índio Simião Vilhalva, durante retomada de área por parte dos produtores em Antônio João, no sábado, 29 de agosto, segue em caráter de prioridade, ordem expressa do governo à Polícia Federal.

Sem revelar detalhes, o ministro disse apenas que foi realizada perícia e que acredita na resolutividade do trabalho

da Polícia Federal, acima da média mundial, com 80% dos inquéritos solucionados. "Espero que estejamos nos 80%, não nos 20% e que esse crime seja punido com o rigor da lei", emendou.

INDENIZAÇÕES

O grande dilema entre o governo federal e a solução dos conflitos de terras em Mato Grosso do Sul tem sido o entendimento com relação aos valores das indenizações a serem pagas aos proprietários. Os fazendeiros alegam que os valores oferecidos estão aquém das propriedades e o governo que as ofertas são condizentes com a realidade.

Quando definidas as cinco áreas prioritárias, cada um dos casos será discutido individualmente. "No caso da fazenda

Buriti discutimos bastante a questão da indenização e faremos o mesmo em relação as outras áreas, dentro da lei e de acordo com as condições do orçamento que temos. Não havendo entendimento, cada um é livre para buscar os caminhos judiciais se achar que deve", ponderou.

EMENDAS

No mesmo hall de discussões, a Proposta de Emenda Constitucional (PEC) 215, que inclui entre as competências exclusivas do Congresso Nacional a aprovação de demarcação das terras tradicionalmente ocupadas pelos índios e a ratificação das demarcações já homologadas, estabelecendo que os critérios e procedimentos de demarcação sejam regulamentados por lei, foi

Saiba

Rapaz pode ter morrido antes

Deputados que integram a comissão especial que analisa a PEC 215 fizeram ontem a leitura de um parecer favorável à proposta. Em maio, 48 dos 81 senadores da República assinaram um documento classificando como um "atentado" a tentativa de aprovar a proposta. Atualmente, apenas o Executivo tem a prerrogativa de demarcar terras indígenas, o que pode se estender ao legislativo, caso a proposta seja aprovada.

condenada pelo ministro como inconstitucional. "O governo federal é contrário à esta emenda, ela fere cláusula pétreas e no mérito da questão, o que é ou não é bem público é uma questão administrativa, do Executivo, não do Poder Legislativo", opinou.

Já sobre a PEC 71, abominada pelos ruralistas, prevê indenizações pela terra para ocupantes retirados de terras demarcadas como indígenas, já que a Constituição prevê apenas o pagamento de benfeitorias, o ministro disse que ainda não pode avaliar o texto aprovado, tampouco realizar estudo técnico sobre ele.

September 6

DATE	TITLE	PAGE	PICTURE
06/09/2015	Cover: no Page: "Indians live in miserable conditions on Antonio Joao"	11(Cities)	[4] photographer
SOURCES		TERMS	
[0] non-indigenous	[4] indigenous	People	
1) Tomasia Areco Jara		Guarani Kaiowa/ guarani caiua [3]	
2) Isaias Sanches (school coordinator)		Guarani [1] 1 language	
3) Zelia da Silva		Indigenous [3] 1	
4) Cacique Orestino Fernandes		Indian [7]	
		Territory	
		Tekoha [0]	
		Nande Ru Marangatu [3]	
		Farm/Property [5]	
		Action	
		Demarcation [1] refers to gov.	
		Occupation [2]	
		Invasion [1]	

Cover: No

POBREZA EXTREMA

Índios vivem em condições de miséria, em Antônio João

Região foi palco de conflito envolvendo comunidade indígena e fazendeiros, que disputam domínio de terras

GILDO TAVARES
ENVIADO ESPECIAL A
ANTÔNIO JOÃO

Por trás da batalha pela terra com histórico de índio morto assassinado que acontece em Antônio João, município de 8.575 moradores e que fica a cerca de 300 quilômetros de Campo Grande, já na fronteira com o Paraguai, esconde-se a miséria em que vivem os indígenas da etnia guarani kaiová.

Na aldeia Nhanduru Marangatu na Vila Campestre, povoados vilarejos, a oito quilômetros do centro da cidade, vivem cerca de 1.200 índios todos na linha abjeta da pobreza e em alguns casos a única renda de famílias inteiras são subsídios pagos pelo governo federal.

Além da falta de recursos para sobreviver, os moradores das localidades não contam com infraestrutura básica como saneamento e água encanada, o que poderia evitar muitas doenças, como a diarreia, distúrbios constantes principalmente entre as crianças índias.

Ao entrar na aldeia é possível perceber a falta de estrutura em que os guaranis kaiová são submetidos, a maioria deles vive em barracos cobertos de capim e as paredes feitas de bambu.

Sempre receptivos e com sorrisos tímidos, é possível conversar, mesmo em alguns casos não entendendo corretamente as pronúncias que dizem em português. Eles adotam fielmente ao idioma oficial da aldeia o guarani.

"A falta de recursos com que vivemos aqui é complicado, parece que esqueceram da gente, a falta de estrutura e de recursos da aldeia é muito grande, o que salva muitas famílias são os subsídios pagos pelo governo federal, senão a coisa seria muito pior", disse Tomássa Arco Jara, 40 anos, que tem um comércio na Vila Campestre e mora há 15 anos no local, logo que casou-se.

Para o Coordenador da Escola Indígena Mboeroy Tupai Arandu Reñoi, Isaias Sánchez, de 28 anos, o que a comunidade produz é a agricultura para a subsistência, mas em muitos casos não conseguem chegar até a colheita, por falta de estrutura para cuidar da terra, o que foi planta-



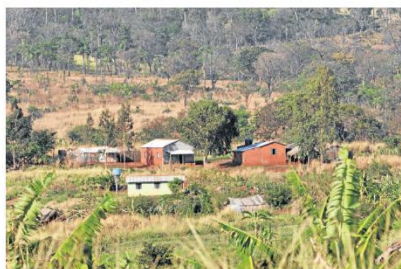
RANCHO. Na aldeia Marangatu as casas são feitas com cobertura de sape; maioria da comunidade vive de programas como Bolsa Família

do acaba não prosperando.

Isaias é pai de três filhos e disse que o que torna a vida de sua família um pouco mais confortável é o fato dele receber salário da escola, e com isso, consegue um certo conforto. "A falta de recursos para a maioria das famílias é um problema sério aqui na aldeia e na vila. Minha sorte que trabalho como coordenador na escola e consigo viver com um pouco mais de dignidade", disse o guarani.

O caso da indígena Zélia da Silva, de 23 anos e mãe de três filhos, é o que mais retrata as condições de vida na aldeia Nhanduru Marangatu e na Vila Campestre. Ela vive com os filhos e o marido com a renda de R\$ 200,00 que recebe do bolsa família do governo federal.

O marido, diz ela, de vez em quando consegue algum trabalho sem vínculo empregatício e isso melhora a renda da família, que vive em uma pequena casa.



JUNTOS. Junto da aldeia, na Vila Campestre, índios vivem junto com brancos, desde a década de 1940

"Temos que viver com este dinheiro que o governo manda, fazemos de tudo para não faltar nada até o final do mês, quando meu marido encontra algum lugar para fazer al-

gum roçado as coisas melhoraram um pouco", disse.

Na opinião do cacique Orestino Fernandes, de 52 anos, se a situação das terras demarcadas fossem resolvi-

das rapidamente a miséria do seu povo seria menos complexa. "O governo tinha que resolver logo, seria bom para todos, inclusive tiraria meu povo da miséria", finaliza.

Saiba

A FAZENDEIRA LIDEROU VOLTA

Dia 21 do mês passado, os índios guaranis kaiová invadiram duas fazendas. Depois disso, na semana retrasada, mais quatro áreas. Capatazes que cuidavam das propriedades foram expulsos. Dali em diante, o sindicato rural de Antônio João avisou o governo estadual e iniciou uma série de audiências na sede da entidade. Sábado retrasado, a bancada ruralista - senador Valdemir Moka (PMDB), deputada estadual Mara Caseira (PTdoB) e os deputados federais Luiz Henrique Mandetta (DEM) e Tereza Cristina (PSB) - foi à cidade a convite da presidente do sindicato, Roseli Ruiz, dona de uma das fazendas que haviam sido ocupadas. Antes de os políticos discursarem, na vez de Roseli, ela disse que estava "cansada" de esperar por soluções e que ia "voltar para casa" e que quem quisesse que o acompanhasse. Sairam em um comboio de ao menos 40 caminhonetes com destino à fazenda Barra. Sem policiais na região, o grupo foi com o intuito de tirar os índios de lá. Duas horas depois, apareceram na fazenda a Força Nacional e o Departamento de Operações de Fronteira. Segundo os policiais, assim que chegaram viram um índio que ocupava a área morta. Polícia Federal investiga o caso. (Celso Bejarano)



NO LIMITE. Zélia da Silva diz que ela e o marido mais três filhos vivem com renda de R\$ 200 por mês



FORÇA. Depois do conflito com morte, aldeia é cercada por forças federais, Exército uma delas

September 8

DATE	TITLE	PAGE	PICTURE
08/09/2015	Cover: "Conflict in Antonio Joao puts commerce down" Page: "Conflict between producers and indians puts down Antonio Joao's commerce"	11(Cities)	[1] photographer
SOURCES		TERMS	
[7] non-indigenous	[0] indigenous	People	
1) Selso Louzada, mayor		Guarani Kaiowa/ guarani caiua [0]	
2) Assomasul (data)		Guarani [0]	
3) José Altair Gomes, president of the city's		Indigenous [6] 2	
4) Carlos Roberto Azambuja, trader		Indian [19]	
5) Newton Coutinho da Silva, trader		Territory	
6 and 7) owners of restaurant (Leontina Dias		Tekoha [0]	
		Ñande Ru Marangatu [0]	
		Farm/Property [3]	
		Action	
		Demarcation [0] refers to gov.	
		Occupation [1]	
		Invasion [0]	

Cover:

CORREIO DO ESTADO

TERÇA-FEIRA, 8 DE SETEMBRO DE 2015 | ANO 62 | Nº 19.637 | CORREIODOESTADO.COM.BR | FUNDADO EM 7 DE FEVEREIRO DE 1954 | CAPITAL R\$ 5,30 OUTROS R\$ 5,50

Conflito em Antônio João derruba comércio

IMPASSE. Desde o início do embate entre índios e produtores rurais, comerciantes no município registraram queda nas vendas

O impasse entre índios e produtores rurais em Antônio João está afetando o município. Os indígenas que costumavam fazer compras na cidade desapareceram, assim como produtores que tiveram áreas invadidas. A prefeitura já espera impacto nas finanças com o conflito. **PÁGINA 9**

AGRICULTURA



COFFEE BREAK I
Investigação vai "manchar" vereador nas próximas eleições

Vereadores que estão sendo chamados para depor na investigação ao Gaeco dizem que o episódio mancha a carreira política e pode ser prejudicial nas próximas eleições. Os depoimentos fazem parte da investigação de compra de votos na cassação do prefeito da Capital, Alcides Bernal. **PÁG. 4**

COFFEE BREAK II
Câmara pode decidir hoje afastamento de parlamentares

A Câmara de Vereadores da Capital pode deliberar hoje se houve quebra de decoro parlamentar de oito vereadores investigados na Operação Coffee Break. O MPE sugeriu afastamento dos parlamentares que tenham suscitado voto para cassar Alcides Bernal. **PÁG. 5**

EMBATE

Conflito entre produtores e índios derruba comércio de Antônio João

Índigenas deixaram de comprar na área urbana da cidade e mesmo os turistas desapareceram

CELSON BEJARANO E
GILDO TAVARES
ENVIADOS ESPECIAIS A ANTONIO JOÃO

O recente conflito influenciado pela disputa de terra que envolve indígenas e fazendeiros, em Antônio João, cidade distante 292 km de Campo Grande, além de ter provocado a morte de um índio, já reflete negativamente na economia da cidade de ao menos 10 mil habitantes, na fronteira de Mato Grosso do Sul com o Paraguai.

A crise que perturba a maioria dos brasileiros acentuou-se no município, principalmente no comércio, segmento que mais emprega e no qual o estrago financeiro é maior. "[O confronto] já teve impacto em nossas receitas, os indígenas também compram em nosso comércio e o dinheiro deles é muito importante para nossa arrecadação, assim como também é muito importante a movimentação financeira dos fazendeiros. Então, todos nós do município saímos perdendo com esta incerteza", disse Selo Louzada, prefeito de Antônio João, também comerciante.

Desde o conflito, ao menos 1,5 mil índios que habitam áreas ao redor da cidade não aparecem na região urbana. No pico do embate, duas semanas atrás, os fazendeiros, durante o dia, trancaram dos pontos da rodovia MS-384, na entrada e saída do município. Isso espantou os principais fornecedores do comércio local, os quais vêm de Campo Grande,

Saiba

Para fazer nada

Na quarta-feira, dia 2, o ministro da Justiça, José Eduardo Cardozo, passou o dia em Campo Grande e se reuniu com o governador Reinaldo Azambuja (PSDB) e também com representantes da Igreja Católica, dos produtores rurais e dos indígenas. A "visita" não rendeu resultados efetivos nem apresentou solução para tal

de, Ponta Porã e Dourados. Para o prefeito, o choque negativo à economia não só prejudica o comércio, mas também os futuros investimentos que o município ambiciona hoje.

Ano passado, segundo dados da Associação Sul-Mato-Grossense dos Municípios (Assomasul), Antônio João arrecadou R\$ 1,1 milhão de recursos próprios e captou R\$ 21,2 milhões com as transferências federais e estaduais. "Tais recursos deixam o município abaixo dos 60 entre os 79 municípios do Estado que mais atraem dinheiro.

OTIMISMO

Ainda que enfrentando dificuldades, há, entre os em-

presários da região, uma dose de otimismo. Desde que haja a paz. "Creio que tudo é uma questão de tempo. Este clima de instabilidade que foi ventilado em nossa cidade criou toda esta tensão, que se refletiu nas vendas do nosso comércio. Isso tudo deve ter consequências financeiras negativas, mas acredito que vamos nos recuperar rápido com o fim dos conflitos", disse o presidente da Associação Comercial da cidade, José Altair Gomes.

Embora com números ainda não fechados, o comerciante Carlos Roberto Azambuja de Almeida, dono de empresa que negocia produtos agrovetenários, já conta como certo que vai fechar o mês no vermelho. "Esta briga não faz bem a ninguém. Perde o fazendeiro, perde o índio e o resultado disso tudo acaba afetando o comércio em cheio", reclama.

O comerciante queixa-se também do governo federal, que seria o responsável pelo conflito. "O governo escreveu as terras em nome dos fazendeiros, já os índios dizem que estas áreas são suas. Agora, que o governo arque com as consequências, indenize então os produtores", disse o dono da agrovetenária.

Newton Coutinho da Silva, um dos mais antigos comerciantes da cidade, disse acreditar que, enquanto não for resolvida a questão do domínio das áreas envolvendo fazendeiros e índios, a cidade vai enfrentar dificuldades financeiras. Aos 88 anos



PARADERIA. Prefeito, comerciantes e moradores relatam que conflito prejudica toda a cidade

de idade, Silva e a mulher, Aurora, 74, tocam na cidade um mercado. Com o conflito, o comércio deles passou a fechar às 16 horas, quatro horas antes do normal. "Sou do tempo em que aqui era de todos, índios brasileiros e paraguaios, comerciantes e fazendeiros. Mas agora, com esta briga toda, que o governo federal resolva! O que queremos é a paz", disse Newton Silva.

Leontina Dias e o marido, Paulo Humberto, donos de restaurante, disseram que o movimento no comércio deles caiu 90%. "Por aqui, passavam turistas todo o dia, as famílias vinham almoçar, agora, com isto tudo,

não estão vindo mais. Não temos nada a ver com o que está acontecendo e somos os mais atingidos", chiou o comerciante.

No dia em que um índio morreu assassinado numa das zonas de conflito, em 29 de agosto, um sábado, a reportagem foi até o restaurante de Leontina, que reclamou: "Vê as mesas vazias? Não era assim, estaria cheio".

ENTENDA A DISPUTA

Índios e fazendeiros disputam na Justiça o domínio de nove fazendas, que, juntas, somam 9,3 mil hectares. Em 2005, o ex-presidente Lula decretou a terra como território indígena, mas recursos judiciais

impediram a homologação da área.

Os índios ocuparam seis áreas no dia 21 do mês passado. Uma semana depois, num suposto confronto entre índios e ruralistas, na fazenda Fronteira, um indígena de 24 anos de idade morreu com um tiro na cabeça.

Os fazendeiros negam que foram eles. A Polícia Federal investiga o caso. Hoje, os índios estão dentro de três fazendas. A segurança no local é comandada pelo Exército. O governo federal estuda meios para pôr fim no conflito. Indenizar os fazendeiros é uma das alternativas.

September 9

DATE	TITLE	PAGE	PICTURE
09/09/2015	<p>Cover: "Indian died between 7am and 3pm of August 29, report indicates"</p> <p>Page: "Autopsy indicates that indian died in the day of resumption of two farms"</p>	9(Cities)	[2] photographer
SOURCES		TERMS	
[3] non-indigenous	[0] indigenous	People	
1) Bruno Raphael Barros Maciel, commissioner		Guarani Kaiowa/ guarani caiua [3]	
2) Roseli Ruiz, president of Rural Syndicate		Guarani [2]	
3) "Ruralist"		Indigenous [4] 1	
		Indian [16]	
		Territory	
		Tekoha [0]	
		Nande Ru Marangatu [0]	
		Farm/Property [13]	
		Action	
		Demarcation [0] refers to gov.	
		Occupation [0]	
		Invasion [5]	

Cover:

ANTÔNIO JOÃO

Índio morreu entre 7h e 15h do dia 29 de agosto, indica laudo

Laudo necroscópico em poder da Polícia Federal indica que o índio guarani Semião Fernandes Vilhalva, 24 anos, morreu assassinado com um tiro na cabeça, entre 7h e 15h de 29 de agosto, em Antônio João. É o mesmo dia em que grupo de cerca de 100 produtores rurais retomaram a sede da Fazenda Fronteira, área em que o corpo foi encontrado. **PÁGINA 9**

ANTÔNIO JOÃO

Autópsia indica que índio morreu no dia da retomada de 2 fazendas

Semião Vilhalva foi achado morto dentro de área invadida por grupo de guarani dias antes

CELSON BEJARANO

Laudo necroscópico feito no corpo do índio Semião Fernandes Vilhalva, 24, indica que ele morreu com um tiro na cabeça, no intervalo das 7 às 15h do dia 29 de agosto passado, dois sábados atrás, exatamente no dia em que ao menos 100 ruralistas entraram nas fazendas Barra e Fronteira com o propósito de retomar a área que havia sido invadida por indígenas guarani-kaiowá, na cidade de Antônio João, fronteira de Mato Grosso do Sul com o Paraguai.

O desfecho deste exame pode confrontar com a versão dos fazendeiros que entraram na área e disseram que assim que chegaram lá o índio já estava morto e seu corpo, caído na estrada que conduz à fazenda Fronteira, estava em estágio de rigidez cadavérica, ou seja, presumindo que o indígena teria morrido bem antes.

Nesta região, índios e fazendeiros disputam pelo domínio de terras desde 2005, ano em que o ex-presidente Lula decretara 9,3 mil hectares como território indígena.

Os ruralistas – nove donos das áreas em questão – recorrem e o processo ainda hoje segue sem definição na Justiça Federal.

A informação acerca da autópsia foi confirmada ontem à tarde ao **Correio do Estado**, por telefone, pelo delegado da Polícia Federal, Bruno Raphael Barros Maciel, que conduziu o inquérito do caso.

O exame indica que o projétil disparado, que ficou alojado na cabeça do índio, saiu de uma "arma pequena, provavelmente de calibre 22", segundo o delegado.

Ainda conforme o laudo, o tiro que acertou a vítima foi disparado a longa distância.

Pela regra policial, disse Barros Maciel, o termo "longa distância" quer dizer que o espaço do disparo até o alvo é considerado a partir de um intervalo de 50 centímetros, em torno de dois palmos.

Ou seja, todo o tiro disparado com espaço superior a 50 centímetros é, na linguagem policial, para efeitos de investigação, tido como de longe.

O delegado informou que aguarda outro laudo para concluir seu inquérito. No caso, ele espera o resultado da perícia feita no local do crime.

O policial federal informou ainda que a ideia de que o



COMOÇÃO. Corpo do índio Semião Vilhalva foi enterrado em uma área dentro da Fazenda Fronteira, que, para eles, pertence aos cerca de 1,5 mil guarani-kaiowá da região

corpo já demonstrava rigidez cadavérica "extraoficialmente" não procede.

"Pedi mais exames e também aguardo a perícia feita no local do crime. Oficialmente, o que a autópsia diz é que o índio tinha morrido entre 7h e 15h do dia 29", reforçou o delegado.

O corpo do índio Semião Vilhalva foi levado de Antônio João para Ponta Porã, distância de 50 quilômetros, por volta das 19 horas do dia 29.

No dia seguinte, às 7h da manhã, foi feita a autópsia pela Polícia Civil, que indicou que o índio havia morrido em um intervalo de 16h a 20h.

INVESTIGAÇÃO

Quanto à investigação acerca morte do índio, o delegado Bruno Maciel disse que já "tem algumas vertentes".

Contudo, informou que ainda não poderia divulgar informações porque resta analisar mais laudos e ouvir outros depoimentos.

No dia em que o índio foi achado morto, ao menos 100 ruralistas foram até as fazendas Barra e Fronteira, que tinham sido invadidas uma semana antes por índios guarani-kaiowá. Os indígenas se afastaram da área e os fazendeiros retomaram as sedes das áreas.

Das seis áreas invadidas,

Saiba

Líder convocou expulsão dos indígenas

A retomada das fazendas Barra e Fronteira, à força, foi definida numa audiência no Sindicato Rural de Antônio João. Em determinado momento da reunião, Roseli Ruiz, presidente da entidade disse que ia voltar para a casa, no caso a fazenda Barra, invadida por índios uma semana antes. "E quem quiser que me acompanhe", disse a líder. Dali seguiram para a fazenda uma fileira de caminhonetes, sem acompanhamento policial.

quatro já foram recuperadas pelos fazendeiros. O local é vigiado desde a semana passada por efetivo do Exército.

Determinação do governo federal diz que as Forças Armadas devem ficar no local por tempo indeterminado. Foi criado um grupo de autoridades para evitar outros conflitos.

Reportagem foi impedida de acompanhar reocupação de área



COMBOIO. Carros dos fazendeiros indo para as fazendas que foram retomadas há duas semanas

No dia em que os ruralistas retomaram as duas fazendas em Antônio João, a Fronteira e Barra, no dia 29 de agosto, a reportagem seguiu o comboio. Restando apenas 1,5 quilômetro, os coordenadores do ato pararam, desceram dos carros e ordenaram que a reportagem voltasse. Embora a tentativa de diálogo, não houve acordo. "Daqui em diante, vocês não vão ver o que vai acontecer", disse um dos ruralistas, que ame-

chou a "riscar" os pneus do carro caso insistisse. Dali, a reportagem seguiu por outra entrada, mas também foi barrada, desta vez por índios. Isso aconteceu entre as 11h30min e as 12h30min. Até este horário, não havia policial seguindo o comboio. Duas horas depois, apareceram no local viaturas da Força Nacional e do Departamento de Operações na Fronteira.

September 19

DATE	TITLE	PAGE	PICTURE
19/09/2015	<p>Cover: "Farms remain invaded in Antonio Joao"</p> <p>Page: "Judicial decision is not followed and farms remain invaded"</p>	13(Cities)	[1] photographer
SOURCES		TERMS	
[2] non-indigenous	[1] indigenous	People	
1) Guarniere Santos Oliveira, Foce tenent		Guarani Kaiowa/ guarani caiua [3]	
2) "Indians", "one of the Indians"		Guarani [1] 1 language	
3) "farmers"		Indigenous [1] 2	
		Indian [16]	
		Territory	
		Tekoha [0]	
		Ñande Ru Marangatu [0]	
		Farm/Property [16]	
		Action	
		Demarcation [0] refers to gov.	
		Occupation [7]	
		Invasion [8]	

Cover:

TENSÃO

Fazendas continuam invadidas em Antônio João

O clima em Antônio João é de tensão e expectativa, com decisão judicial que determinou reintegração de quatro fazendas, ainda invadidas por índios guarani-caiuá. Exército e Força Nacional monitoram a área. **PÁGINA 13**



PAULO RIBAS

CERCO. Índios em reunião na Fazenda Cedro, Invadida desde 21 de agosto

cidades@correiodoestado.com.br

ANTÔNIO JOÃO

Decisão judicial não se cumpre e fazendas continuam invadidas

Força Nacional e Exército permanecem na área de conflito e aguardam posicionamento da PF

CELSO BEJARANO

Até o fim da tarde de ontem, equipe da Força Nacional aguardava comunicado oficial para cumprir a liminar que determina a reintegração de posse de quatro fazendas ocupadas por índios guarani-caiavá, em Antônio João, fronteira de Mato Grosso do Sul com o Paraguai. Fazendeiros da região acompanhavam o caso da sede do sindicato rural da cidade, onde promoveram reuniões.

Nas fazendas em questão, um índio foi assassinado há três semanas num suposto confronto com os fazendeiros, com um tiro no rosto.

O prazo para efetivar o mandado emitido uma semana atrás por juiz federal de Ponta Porã expirava ontem. Os índios, perturbados com a ideia da desocupação, disseram que, mesmo com forças federais no local, estão dispostos a enfrentá-las.

Nos arredores das quatro fazendas ainda invadidas, era intensa a mobilização militar ontem o dia todo. Ao menos seis viaturas da Força Nacional montaram uma base em frente à sede da fazenda Fronteira, ocupada há um mês. Da entrada da cidade de Antônio João até dentro das fazendas ocupadas havia guarnições do Exército circulando.

OCUPAÇÃO

Da fazenda Fronteira (uns 10 quilômetros distante da cidade), o efetivo da Força Nacional - composto por policiais militares vindos de outros estados, principalmente do Rio de Janeiro e Nordeste do País - controlam o trânsito de índios e ruralistas nas vias que conduzem às outras fazendas invadidas, Primavera, Cedro e Figueira.

O tenente da Força, Guarneri Santos Oliveira, afirmou que, caso as áreas fossem reintegradas ontem, a ação teria



SEM REINTEGRAÇÃO. Medida deveria ter sido cumprida ontem, mas índios permanecem nas fazendas

de ser coordenada pela Polícia Federal. "Como eles [PF] não têm efetivo, vão pedir reforço nosso", informou o oficial. Guarneri não quis prolongar o diálogo porque ordens de Brasília o limitam a cuidar da segurança no local, apenas, e que foram desautorizados a conceder entrevistas.

Da base onde ficam os homens da força até o grupo de índios guarani-caiavá que ocupa a fazenda fronteira, a distância não supera 200 metros.

Sem se incomodar com os militares, os índios homens, ontem à tarde, pescavam no córrego Estrela, e as mulheres lavavam roupas.

TENSÃO

Já a dois quilômetros dali, um grupo maior de índios, em torno de 50, na fazenda Cedro, inquietos, disseram que o juiz que havia determinado a reintegração de posse não "era humano, gente, apenas um defensor de fazendeiros".

Saiba

Ministro veio ao Estado no dia 2 de setembro

No dia 2 de setembro, o ministro da Justiça, José Eduardo Cardozo, esteve em Campo Grande. Na data, ficou acordado que seriam definidas cinco áreas de conflito no Estado para tentar um acordo em cada uma delas. Foi criada comissão formada por representantes do Governo Federal, Estadual, produtores e lideranças indígenas para entrar em acordo sobre as situações.

Noventa e cinco fazendas encontram-se invadidas por índios em Mato Grosso do Sul.

Segurando flechas e apreensivos, os índios que opinavam sobre a reintegração não quiseram se identificar em português e não autorizaram registros de imagens, só de longe, desde que não se "identificasse ninguém". Falavam na língua guarani, de difícil compreensão pela rapidez na pronúncia.

"O que está acontecendo aqui é uma vergonha para o Brasil. Aguardamos há anos por estas terras (ex-presidente Lula decretou o local como território indígena em 2005), e aqui vamos ficar. De bisavô a neto, daqui não saímos. Vai-se derramar sangue, se possível", disse um dos índios, com idade presumida de 20 anos.

"Ese, daqui a uns 30 dias, nada for resolvido, vamos retomar todas as áreas, todas. A Justiça brasileira atende a interesse de fazendeiros. Já ouviu dizer de algum juiz decidir numa causa que nossa terra deve ser desocupada pelos fazendeiros, hem, já viu ou ouviu?", queixou-se o

rapaz, que segurava uma flecha fabricada com bambu e que tinha conectado na ponta um material pontiagudo, com aparência de filme, resistente. Em torno de 20 homens seguravam flechas. Nas vias da

aldeia Maracatu, que fica ao lado das fazendas, os índios também circulavam com flechas, ora em bicicleta, ou a pé. Um dos guarani carregava na mão um rádio comunicador.

Produtores esperam cumprimento de reintegração

A presidente do Sindicato Rural de Antônio João, Roseli Ruiz, promoveu uma longa reunião que ocupou parte da manhã e início da tarde para debater o cumprimento da reintegração de posse. No entanto, a audiência terminou e ela não quis comentar o teor do debate.

No meio do encontro, ela saiu da sala e disse que homens do Exército estavam monitorando as áreas invadidas. Tais informações seriam repassadas à Polícia Federal, que cumprira o mandado logo. A informação não foi confirmada pelo Exército, porque os oficiais que atuam na área não dialogam com a imprensa sobre dados da operação que desenvolvem na região.

A Polícia Federal não havia aparecido nas fazendas ocupadas pelos índios até o início da noite. Um fazendeiro que se propôs a falar com a reportagem, sem autorizar o nome do jornal, disse que aguardava com entusiasmo a reintegração.

"Acho que nós, os ruralistas, não precisamos acompanhar ou pressionar pela reintegração. Mandado de juiz precisa ser cumprido, e isso deve acontecer daqui a pouco", disse o

fazendeiro, ontem à tarde. Questionado se ele não temia novas invasões depois da retirada das forças federais, resumiu: "vocês vão ver tudo que aconteceu de novo", retrucou o fazendeiro, favorável à ideia de que a solução do impasse está nas mãos do governo federal. "Indenize a gente e isso acaba".

ENTENDA

O conflito envolvendo índios e fazendeiros em Antônio João dura quase duas décadas. Em 2005, criou-se uma comissão de especialistas em estudos antropológicos, o ex-presidente Lula decretou 9,3 mil hectares, ocupados por fazendeiros, como território indígena. Os ruralistas reagiram à ideia e moveram ação no Supremo Tribunal Federal, corte máxima do país.

Passaram-se dez anos e, de concreto, o caso foi enviado para a Justiça Federal, em Ponta Porã, que mandou tirar os índios das fazendas. Medida igual foi anunciada também em 2005, assim que o STF pôs em xeque a decisão de Lula, mas, à época, o mandado não fora cumprido. (CB)

September 21

DATE	TITLE	PAGE	PICTURE
21/09/2015	<p>Cover: "Invasions complete one month without solution"</p> <p>Page: "Farmers and indians get isolated after confrontation"</p>	13(Cities)	[3] photographer
SOURCES		TERMS	
[0] non-indigenous	[0] indigenous	People	
1) No direct quotes		Guarani Kaiowa/ guarani caiua [2]	
		Guarani [3]	
		Indigenous [2] 1	
		Indian [13]	
		Territory	
		Tekoha [0]	
		Ñande Ru Marangatu [0] 1 aldeia marangatu	
		Farm/Property [14]	
		Action	
		Demarcation [0] refers to gov.	
		Occupation [3]	
		Invasion [7]	

Cover:

ANTÔNIO JOÃO

Invasões completam um mês, e sem solução

Há um mês, quatro fazendas em Antônio João foram invadidas por índios guarani-caiua e, mesmo com determinação de reintegração de posse, a situação ainda não se resolveu. A intervenção de forças federais acalmou os ânimos, mas, hoje, índios e produtores estão isolados, à espera de solução. **PÁGINA 13**

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ANTÔNIO JOÃO

Fazendeiros e índios ficam isolados depois de confronto

Envolvidos em disputa por terra estão encurralados; no meio, as forças federais



VIGIADA. Guarnição armada do Exército circula por aldeia, e fazendas são invadidas de dia e também à noite

CELSON BEJARANO

A ida das forças federais para a zona de conflito, em Antônio João, região de fronteira de Mato Grosso do Sul com o Paraguai, se, por um lado, contém os ânimos de fazendeiros e índios, por outro, isolou as duas partes que disputam na justiça o controle de 9,3 mil hectares de terra. Desde um mês atrás, assim que deflagrada uma onda de invasões, não se vê na região nenhum trator ou outro maquinário cultivando a terra, peão tocando boiada e os índios praticando alguma atividade agrícola.

A Aldeia Marangatu e as

áreas rurais aos arredores abrigam, hoje, uma forte base militar, nunca vista na região.

Dia 22 do mês passado, um índio morreu baleado na cabeça, num suposto confronto com proprietários que quiseram tirar à força os indígenas da área. Ninguém foi preso pelo crime até agora.

Desde então, foram para lá policiais da Força Nacional, Exército e Departamento de Operações de Fronteira, o DOF. Na aldeia, entrada e saída da cidade, ninguém transita sem ser inspecionado pelas forças federais.

Por dois dias, a reportagem do Correio do Estado loco-

moveu-se pela aldeia e pelas fazendas e notou que, embora a intensa movimentação de índios com flechas e viaturas militares carregadas com forte armamento, poucos veem no policiamento a solução do embate pelo domínio da área, que dura desde 1998, 17 anos atrás, ano da primeira invasão.

Em frente à Fazenda Fronteira, de Dácio Queiroz, a Força Nacional estaciona suas viaturas. Dali, os militares monitoram vielas que ligam as outras três propriedades ocupadas.

Policiais disseram que o fazendeiro pouco sai de casa e, quando deixa o local, segue



SITIADA. Força Nacional montou base em frente à Fazenda Fronteira



SITIADA II. DOF vigia sede da Fazenda Barra; dono não sai do local

por outro caminho, como forma de evitar aproximação dos índios. Uns quatro quilômetros dali, situa-se a Fazenda Barra, de Pio, irmão de Dácio.

Pio, marido da presidente do Sindicato Rural de Antônio João, Roseli Ruiz, apesar da insistência, disse que não havia interesse em conversar com a imprensa, apenas aguarda as "definições judiciais", ou seja, que os índios afastem-se de sua fazenda.

Em frente à sede da fazenda de Pio, com frequência, fica estacionada uma viatura do DOF e ao menos cinco militares. A reportagem apurou que Pio não sai de lá há um mês. A maioria dos bovinos foi retirada da área e levada para outras propriedades, distantes dali.

ÍNDIOS

Lá os índios ocupam a maior parte do tempo, de dia e de noite, reunidos em frente a um

Saiba

PF ainda define data para cumprir reintegração

Por acreditar no decreto presidencial assinado em 2005, que declarou a área como território indígena, os cerca de 1,5 mil índios guarani kaiová de Antônio João querem para eles a terra ocupada, atualmente, por nove fazendeiros. Contudo, os ruralistas discordaram da ideia e ingressaram com recursos judiciais. A última medida no processo determina a reintegração de posse, isto é, manda a Polícia Federal tirar os indígenas das quatro fazendas ainda invadidas pelos guarani. O prazo da desocupação expirou sexta-feira, e não há data definida para cumprir a ordem.

imóvel da Fazenda Cedro, que fica no caminho que leva às fazendas Fronteira e Barra. Os guarani disseram que dali não saem, mesmo se os policiais federais forem lá cumprir o mandado de reintegração.

Jovens, crianças e idosos, andando, pilotando motocicletas ou pedalando bicicletas pela aldeia sempre levam consigo flechas. Eles ficam apreensivos sempre que veem carros circulando por lá. Até sábado à tarde, os guarani disseram que não tinham sido notificados da decisão que prevê a reintegração de posse. Desde o início das invasões, os índios não vão mais para a cidade de Antônio João, cerca de 10 quilômetros da aldeia. Disseram temer possíveis ataques.

September 22

DATE	TITLE	PAGE	PICTURE
22/09/2015	<p>Cover: "CIMI is target of Inquiry at the Assembly"</p> <p>Page: "Fight of farmers and Indians involves CPI, church and government "</p>	12 (Cities)	[1] by photographer
SOURCES		TERMS	
[3] non-indigenous	[0] indigenous	People	
1) Dom Dimas – bishop of Campo Grande		Guarani Kaiowa [1]	
2) Mara Caseiro – state deputy		Guarani [2]	
3) Pedro Kemp – state deputy		Indigenous [7] 5	
		Indian [20]	
		Territory	
		Tekoha [0]	
		Ñande Ru Marangatu [0]	
		Farm/Property [4]	
		Action	
		Demarcation [1] refers to gov.	
		Occupation [1]	
		Invasion [11]	

Cover:

ÍNDIOS X PRODUTORES

PAULO RIBAS

Cimi é alvo de CPI na Assembleia Legislativa

A Assembleia Legislativa vai investigar a influência que o Conselho Indigenista Missionário da Igreja Católica (Cimi) exerce sobre os índios que ocupam propriedades no Estado. Uma Comissão Parlamentar de Inquérito (CPI) foi criada ontem pela Casa. **PÁGINA 12**



TENSÃO. Exército atua em área de conflito, em Antônio João

Especial > INQUIETAÇÃO NO CAMPO

Briga de fazendeiros e índios envolve CPI, igreja e governo

Deputada culpa entidade dos católicos pelas invasões; arcebispo ataca poder público

CELSO REJARANO E
VALQUIRIA ORIQUI

Influenciados pelos recentes embates envolvendo a comunidade indígena e os fazendeiros, que disputam o controle de terras, com histórico de morte de dois índios e o ferimento de outros três, a Assembleia Legislativa, a Igreja Católica e o governo do Estado de Mato Grosso do Sul entraram no assunto, que é polêmico e delicado.

Comissão Parlamentar de Inquérito (CPI) criada pela Assembleia e que define, na sessão de hoje, seus integrantes quer culpar o Conselho Indigenista Missionário (Cimi), organismo vinculado à Igreja Católica, pelas invasões de terras.

Já o governo de Reinaldo Azambuja (PSDB) instituiu uma comissão estadual para acompanhar os conflitos com a intenção de prevenir e evitar possíveis confrontos.

O arcebispo de Campo Grande, Dom Dimas, um dos principais líderes da Igreja Católica na cidade, já reagiu contra a formação da CPI: ele defendeu o conselho indigenista e disparou esta: "acho que tanto fazendeiros quanto índios são vítimas, para mim o grande culpado de toda essa situação se chama Poder Público".

ATAQUE

O cérebro da CPI que quer investigar o Cimi é a deputada Mara Caseiro, do PT do B. Para ela, o Conselho Indigenista capta recursos internacionais das Organizações Não Governamentais, as chamadas ONGs, e o dinheiro, que deveria ser investido em melhorias na qualidade de vida dos índios,

Saiba

Comissão deve atrair da Funai à Famasul

A comissão criada pelo Estado para prevenir eventuais conflitos de índios e fazendeiros terá nove representantes, conforme edição de ontem do Diário Oficial. De acordo com o publicado, os integrantes escolhidos atuam hoje na Secretaria de Estado de Justiça e Segurança Pública (1), Polícia Militar (1), Assembleia Legislativa (2), Ministério Público Estadual (1), Fundação Nacional do Índio (1), Ordem dos Advogados do Brasil (1), Polícia Federal (1) e Associação dos Municípios de Mato Grosso do Sul (1).

tem promovido conflitos, as invasões de propriedades privadas, no caso.

Segundo a parlamentar, o cenário que se apresenta hoje não tem só o Cimi como protagonista.

"Outras ONGs estão envolvidas na suspeita de estar financiando esses conflitos, porém, as investigações da CPI estão direcionadas ao Cimi", avisou Mara Caseiro.

Ela disse ainda que integrantes do Conselho Indigenista estariam indo morar nas aldeias com intuito de incentivar as invasões, apenas isto.

A deputada argumentou que as denúncias relacionando o Cimi nas questões das invasões indígenas não são de hoje. "A partir de 1998 aqui no Estado



NA PORTEIRA. Em Antônio João, forças federais vigiam estradas, aldeias e áreas rurais há um mês

já se comentava sobre a participação do Cimi nessas invasões. Indígenas declaravam que integrantes do Cimi e da Funai (na época) incitavam e financiavam esses indígenas", detalhou Mara.

Para fundamentar o pedido da abertura da CPI, a deputada exibiu um vídeo, durante a sessão ordinária, em que índios falam sobre a situação do Cimi nas aldeias, um deles relata que o órgão não apenas direciona as invasões, mas também as investe e que membros do conselho atuam "fazendo a cabeça" dos indígenas e recrutando crianças e jovens para invadir propriedades privadas.

Outra imagem exibida pela deputada mostra a presença de dois membros do Cimi durante o processo de invasão de propriedade situada no município de Dois Irmãos do

Buriti. Um deles é Flávio Machado, coordenador do órgão em Mato Grosso do Sul, disse a deputada.

Para Mara, o dinheiro recebido das organizações internacionais será bem-vindo para elevar as condições de vida dos indígenas. "Tivemos acesso a um dos contratos firmados com uma ONG internacional que remeteu recursos ao Brasil em 2000, 2001 e 2002 no valor total de R\$ 450 mil dólares", garantiu a deputada.

"Neste contrato, duas pessoas são citadas como responsáveis por desenvolver projeto que envolve a retomada de terra indígena e melhorias para eles, e não é isso que está acontecendo", denunciou a deputada.

Apesar de observar a intenção do Cimi de prestar papel para o desenvolvimento dos

índios, estas ações não estão expostas, ao contrário, pregam ódio, desavenças e descumprimento com as causas sociais, segundo interpretação da parlamentar.

A guerra se instalou no campo em busca de uma "ideologia absurda", refletiu Mara. "Entendemos que há uma ação de enfraquecer a classe produtora, o setor produtivo do País, além de ter uma outra intenção, que é se apropriar das riquezas naturais que temos. Foi prefeita de Eldorado, conheço bem nossas aldeias, sempre tive preocupação com a questão indígena e reintegrá-los como cidadãos brasileiros com direitos e deveres", analisou a ex-prefeita.

A primeira etapa da CPI será ouvir depoimentos de produtores, pois, segundo a deputada, alguns integrantes do Cimi

Saiba

ENTENDA CASO

O último embate envolvendo índios e fazendeiros ocorreu em Antônio João, região de fronteira, em Mato Grosso do Sul. Exatamente um mês atrás, um índio morreu baleado na cabeça enquanto ruralistas tentavam retomar a área que havia sido invadida por um grupo de guarani-calová. Depois da morte, cuidam da segurança na região a Força Nacional, o Exército e o Departamento de Operações de Fronteira. A Justiça mandou tirar os índios das quatro fazendas ainda ocupadas por eles, mas até ontem a ordem não havia sido cumprida. Os índios disputam judicialmente com os fazendeiros 9,3 mil hectares, área tida como território indígena por decreto presidencial de 2005. Até agora, a Polícia Federal não descobriu quem matou o índio. No fim de semana, três índios, também guarani, foram baleados numa emboscada supostamente coordenada por seguranças de fazendeiros, em Paranhos, outra região de fronteira. Em maio de 2013, outro índio, desta vez terena, morreu baleado numa operação de integração de posse, em Sidrolândia. Até agora, ninguém foi preso. Os terena também reivindicam a área.

já teriam sido identificados. Ao todo, cinco membros titulares e cinco suplentes serão escolhidos hoje durante a sessão da Assembleia Legislativa. Apesar de a bancada do PT ter questionado a relevância das investigações, a CPI foi aberta e tem prazo de 120 dias para ser concluída.

September 29

DATE	TITLE	PAGE	PICTURE
29/09/2015	Cover: no Page: "Funai appeals so that Indians do not leave farm"	9(Cities)	[1] photographer
SOURCES		TERMS	
[2] non-indigenous	[0] indigenous	People	
1) Funai's federal persecutor		Guarani Kaiowa/ guarani caiua [1]	
2) Ministry of Justice		Guarani [1]	
		Indigenous [0]	
		Indian [6]	
		Territory	
		Tekoha [0]	
		Ñande Ru Marangatu [0]	
		Farm/Property [5]	
		Action	
		Demarcation [0] refers to gov.	
		Occupation [2]	
		Invasion [0]	

Cover: No

ANTÔNIO JOÃO

Funai recorre para que índios não deixem fazenda

CELSO BEJARANO

O procurador federal da Funai, Eduardo Perdigão, disse ter recorrido da decisão liminar [provisória] da Justiça Federal, em Ponta Porã, que determinou a reintegração de posse das fazendas, em Antônio João, ocupadas desde julho por índios guaranis kaiowás.

O recurso está no Tribunal Regional Federal, 3ª Região, que ainda não definiu a causa.

O mandado para tirar os índios de quatro fazendas, em Antônio João, foi emitido dez dias atrás.

No entanto, a Polícia Federal, até ontem, nada informou sobre o cumprimento da decisão. Nesta região, no fim do mês passado, um índio morreu baleado num suposto



PAULO RIBAS

FRONTEIRA. Força Nacional atua em fazenda ocupada por índios

confronto com os fazendeiros.

O fato de o procurador da Funai ter movido recurso contra a reintegração não quer dizer que a PF alivie a medida que mandar despejar os guaranis. A reportagem tentou obter informações ontem, por meio de sua assessoria, se a PF

planejava a reintegração, contudo, não obteve resposta.

O Ministério da Justiça informou na semana passada que amanhã divulgará as áreas tidas como negociáveis.

Ou seja, fazendas que podem ser adquiridas pela União e pôr nelas os índios.

October 15

DATE	TITLE	PAGE	PICTURE
15/10/2015	Cover: no Page: "Court keeps injunction of repossession in Antonio Joao"	9(Cities)	[1] photographer
SOURCES		TERMS	
[2] non-indigenous	[0] indigenous	People	
1) Judge and president of TRF3 (Federal		Guarani Kaiowa/ guarani caiua [1]	
2) Federal Police		Guarani [1]	
		Indigenous [6] 3	
		Indian [6]	
		Territory	
		Tekoha [0]	
		Ñande Ru Marangatu [0]	
		Farm/Property [4]	
		Action	
		Demarcation [3] refers to gov.	
		Occupation [2]	
		Invasion [5]	

Cover: No

QUESTÃO INDÍGENA

Tribunal mantém reintegração de posse em Antônio João

Índigenas invadiram fazendas em agosto; desde então, a situação na região tem sido tensa

LUCAS JUNOT

Índigenas das etnias guarani e caiuí terão que desocupar as áreas invadidas na cidade de Antônio João, interior do Estado do Mato Grosso do Sul (MS). O presidente do Tribunal Regional Federal da 3ª Região (TRF3), desembargador federal Fábio Prieto de Souza, negou pedido da Fundação Nacional do Índio (Funai) e manteve liminar da 1ª Vara Federal de Ponta Porã, que havia determinado a reintegração de posse.

O magistrado entendeu que os índios, ao ocuparem mais de 300 hectares da área rural, descumpriram acordo judicial feito em 2006, que previa a permanência da comunidade indígena em área de 30 hectares.

Ao analisar o pedido de suspensão da liminar, o presidente do TRF3 rejeitou a alegação da Funai de que os índios não estão dispostos a deixar a área e pretendem resistir até a morte.

"O conflito, que já era grave e de difícil solução, tornou-se, então, refém de um mal ainda maior: o recurso sistemático ao discurso e à prática da violência. O Supremo Tribunal Federal interdita a tática. A



EXÉRCITO. Tropas estão em Antônio João, a pedido do governo estadual, desde 1º de setembro

discussão do grave conflito não pode ser feita com a ameaça retórica do recurso à violência, seja qual for o interesse contrariado e o seu titular", disse o desembargador federal Fábio Prieto.

A Funai alegou ainda que, em março de 2005, o presidente da República homologou, por meio de decreto, a demarcação da terra indígena. Contudo, Prieto explicou que o STF concedeu liminar

no mandato de segurança para suspender o decreto.

"A questão da demarcação ainda está pendente de exame no Poder Judiciário. Este fato, contudo, não autoriza a ocupação de outras áreas, além daquelas já atribuídas aos indígenas, por meio de acordo, no limite de 30 hectares", concluiu o presidente do TRF3.

"A Presidência desta Corte não pode proferir qualquer decisão referente à posse da

área questionada, sob pena de desrespeito - claro ou dissimulado - à liminar concedida no Supremo Tribunal Federal, ainda em vigor", completou o desembargador federal Fábio Prieto.

A Polícia Federal disse que foi notificada da decisão, mas ainda não tem data prevista para dar cumprimento à medida, uma vez que necessita planejamento e logística para mini-

mizar qualquer problema.

ENTENDA

Há 10 anos, em 2005, o Governo Federal homologou parte das propriedades rurais da cidade como terra indígena. A partir daí, houve série de cobranças por parte dos índios para que a área fosse demarcada, no entanto, nada foi feito.

Em agosto, indígenas invadiram fazendas e fizeram famílias de produtores reféns. No dia 26, o clima ficou ainda mais tenso e produtores rurais bloquearam estradas que dão acesso à cidade em forma de protesto. As rodovias foram liberadas durante a noite. No dia seguinte, a situação era menos tensa na região, mas a invasão continuava e policiais do Departamento de Operações de Fronteira (DOF) fizeram a segurança para evitar confrontos entre indígenas e fazendeiros. No dia 29, o líder guarani Semion Vilhalva foi morto durante conflito com fazendeiros.

O governador Reinaldo Azambuja (PSDB) pediu ajuda ao Governo Federal para ajudar a diminuir a tensão em área de conflito fundiário do Estado e foi atendido pela Presidência da República:

Saiba

Duas CPIs sobre indígenas

Há duas Comissões Parlamentares de Inquérito (CPIs) criadas pela Assembleia Legislativa para investigar os motivos pelos quais acirram-se há décadas os ânimos entre índios e fazendeiros em Mato Grosso do Sul. Primeiro, surgiu a CPI do Cimi, o Conselho Indigenista Missionário, organização ligada à Igreja Católica e que, para os deputados estaduais da bancada ruralista, seria a grande incentivadora das invasões de fazendas. Já nesta semana, despontou a CPI do Genocídio, meio de descobrir as razões dos assassinatos de índios.

tropas do Exército começaram operação no Estado no dia 1º de setembro. (Colaborou Maressa Mendonça)

October 21

DATE	TITLE	PAGE	PICTURE
21/10/2015	Cover: no Page: "Militaries, civilians and indigenous are in standby in conflict area"	(Cities)	[1] photographer
SOURCES		TERMS	
[1] non-indigenous	[3] indigenous	People	
1) "residents"		Guarani Kaiowa/ guarani caiua [5]	
2) Ramão Martins (indian)		Guarani [0]	
3) Antonio Pereira (guarani-caiua)		Indigenous [5] 1	
4) Lene Aquino (leader)		Indian [11]	
		Territory	
		Tekoha [0]	
		Ñande Ru Marangatu [3]	
		Farm/Property [6]	
		Action	
		Demarcation [3] refers to gov.	
		Occupation [4]	
		Invasion [0]	

Cover: No

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ANTÔNIO JOÃO

Militares, civis e indígenas estão de prontidão em área de conflito

Reintegração de posse determinada pela Justiça deve ser efetivada hoje em fazendas ocupadas

CELSO BEJARANO
DE ANTÔNIO JOÃO
LUCIA MOREL
DA REDAÇÃO

Polícias Federal, Militar, do Departamento de Operações Especiais (DOF) e um comboio com homens do Exército devem cumprir nesta manhã o mandado de reintegração de posse das fazendas situadas na região da Aldeia Nanderu Marangatu, em Antônio João, fronteira com o Paraguai, ocupadas desde julho por grupo de índios guarani-caiuás. A ação também deve contar com equipes do Batalhão de Choque da PM, o BPChoque, que saiu ontem de Campo Grande, além da Polícia Civil e do Corpo de Bombeiros.

Estas equipes devem se somar ao efetivo de cerca de 400 homens, do Exército e da Força Nacional, que já estão no local desde que o conflito ficou mais tenso, em agosto.

Conforme moradores ouvidos, desde a manhã de ontem é intensa a mobilização militar. Além de viaturas equipadas com armas e material de comunicação guiado por satélites, helicópteros sobrevoaram a área. O "quartel general" dos grupos militares é no Parque Histórico Colônia Militar dos Dourados, dentro de Antônio João, mas a 12 km da área urbana do município.

Os índios que lá estão avisaram que, mesmo diante da força policial, devem resistir à medida. Foi o que disse Ra-

✱ Saiba

Olhos internacionais

O possível conflito pela reintegração de posse em Antônio João está sendo acompanhado por duas emissoras estrangeiras: uma canadense e outra árabe, a famosa Al Jazeera.

mão Martins, 45 anos. Na aldeia Marangatu, ele disse ao Correio do Estado que "vai resistir, e se quiserem matar índio, vão morrer até os cachorros dos índios, porque todos vão resistir".

Antônio Pereira, 52, também guarani-caiuá, sustentou que "a gente prefere morrer do que sair daqui".

No entanto, apesar da bravura, a reportagem notou que os indígenas estão, na verdade, cautelosos. Lene Aquino, uma das líderes do local, afirma estar confiante numa decisão contrária da Justiça, ou seja, que derrube a liminar que garantiu a reintegração de posse aos produtores rurais. "O MPF (Ministério Público Federal) entrou com recurso no STF (Supremo Tribunal Federal) e estamos aguardando alguma decisão até a meia-noite [de ontem]".

Para ela, a resistência é apenas uma das alternativas, já que apostam também no diálogo, no caso da retra-



NA GUERRA. Índios guarani-caiuás prometem resistir às ações de reintegração de posse das forças policiais e militares que estão na cidade

da, "ir pra beira da estrada".

ENTENDA

Índios e fazendeiros disputam nesta região o domínio sobre 9,3 mil hectares, território tido como indígena em 2005 pela presidência da República. Os ruralistas reagiram à ideia, moveram recurso judicial no Supremo Tribunal Federal, corte que, embora passados dez anos, não definiu a causa.

Em 2005, os guarani-caiuás entraram nas nove fazendas, mas a Justiça mandou retirá-los. À época, um índio morreu

assassinado e os indígenas acusam que o matador seria capanga de fazendeiro.

Em agosto deste ano, os índios reocuparam as fazendas, em maior número nas áreas conhecidas como Fronteira e Barra. No dia 29 daquele mês, o indígena Semião Fernandes Vilhalva, 24 anos, morreu com tiro no rosto. A morte, ainda investigada, ocorreu enquanto ao menos cem pessoas, entre fazendeiros e os chamados "voluntários", entraram nas duas fazendas com a intenção de retomar o território. Desde

então, equipes do Exército, Força Nacional e DOF cuidam da segurança no local.

O mandado de reintegração foi anunciado pela Justiça Federal um mês atrás. Ontem, Fundação Nacional do Índio (Funai), em Ponta Porã, recebeu a notícia da desocupação. Depois de cumprir o mandado em Antônio João, a força policial segue para a cidade de Amambai, também na fronteira, onde deve retirar outro grupo de índios que ocupa uma fazenda.

O município de Antônio João possui cerca de 8.679

moradores e fica a cerca de 300 quilômetros de Campo Grande, já na fronteira com o Paraguai, e além do conflito, esconde-se a miséria em que vivem os indígenas da etnia guarani-caiuá. Na aldeia Nanderu Marangatu e na Vila Campestre, a oito quilômetros do centro da cidade, vivem cerca de 1.200 índios, todos na linha abaixo da pobreza, e em alguns casos a única renda de famílias inteiras são subsídios pagos pelo governo federal.

(Colaborou Tainá Jara)

October 22

DATE	TITLE	PAGE	PICTURE
22/10/2015	Cover: no Page: "Supreme (Court) cancels repossession but does not solve conflict"	9 (Cities)	[1] photographer
SOURCES		TERMS	
[3] non-indigenous	[2] indigenous	People	
1) Eder Paulo Ribas da Silva, coordinator of		Guarani Kaiowa/ guarani caiua [4]	
2) Roseli Ruiz, president of Rural Syndicate		Guarani [1]	
3) "farmers"		Indigenous [1]	
4) "kaiowas"		Indian [13]	
5) Leia Aquino (kaiowa teacher)		Territory	
		Tekoha [0]	
		Ñande Ru Marangatu [0]	
		Farm/Property [9]	
		Action	
		Demarcation [0] refers to gov.	
		Occupation [4]	
		Invasion [1]	

Cover: No

ANTÔNIO JOÃO

Supremo cancela reintegração, mas não resolve conflito

Índios chegaram a bloquear rodovia na cidade, mas a liberaram ao saber da decisão; produtores silenciaram-se

CELSO BEJARANO
DE ANTÔNIO JOÃO

O cancelamento da liminar que suspendeu ontem a retirada dos índios de três fazendas ocupadas, desde julho passado, comprova a ideia de que o Supremo Tribunal Federal (STF), corte máxima brasileira, tem uma cota de culpa pelas constantes ameaças de conflitos, com históricos de mortes, envolvendo os guaranis kaiowás e os ruralistas, em Antônio João, cidade de Mato Grosso do Sul, na região de fronteira com o Paraguai.

Ontem, o STF derrubou a liminar que determinava a reintegração de posse das fazendas Fronteira, Cedro e Primavera, com extensão aproximada de 3 mil hectares. Este território e outros 6 mil hectares da região, por imposição de decreto presidencial de 2005, foram tidos como área dos índios, mas os ruralistas contestaram a medida no mesmo Supremo, que garantiu a posse da terra aos produtores. Desde então, período de dez anos, não há desfecho para a causa.

Se, por um lado, a reintegra-

Saiba

Tropas

A força policial que ia cumprir reintegração de posse ontem, em Antônio João, seguiu viagem para Amambai, cidade também situada na faixa de fronteira com o Paraguai, onde deve cumprir ordem judicial que manda um grupo de índios sair da fazenda Guaviry. O desfecho desta operação pode ser o mesmo que ocorreu ontem, já que MPF e a Funai ingressaram com recurso no STF, pedindo suspensão da reintegração de posse. Tropas do Exército, Força Nacional e DOF, no entanto, permanecem na cidade.

ção suspensa contentou os índios, a sentença de ontem provocou indignação dos fazendeiros. Assim que amanheceu, por volta das 5 horas, ao menos 100 policiais, do Exército e da Polícia Federal e Militar,

preparavam-se para cumprir o mandado de reintegração. Levantamento feito ontem, pela força policial, indicou que cerca de 500 índios teriam deixado as áreas ocupadas. Mas logo chegou a notícia de que a operação deveria ser abortada, porque a vice-presidente do STF, ministra Cármen Lúcia, havia suspenso a liminar de reintegração, emitida um mês atrás pela Justiça Federal, em Ponta Porã.

"Ela [ministra] suspendeu a liminar porque, se cumprida, havia o risco de uma convulsão social. A fazenda Fronteira, por exemplo, viraria um palco de guerra. Os índios estavam dispostos a resistir, mesmo com a presença da força policial", disse Elder Paulo Ribas da Silva, coordenador da Fundação Nacional do Índio (Funai), em Ponta Porã. A Funai e o Ministério Público Federal (MPF) moveram os recursos contra a expulsão dos índios.

SILÊNCIO

Representantes do Sindicato Rural do município adotaram o silêncio o dia todo. A presidente da entidade, Roseli Ruiz,



Ocupada. Imagem mostra uma das fazendas retomadas pelos indígenas, desde agosto deste ano

disse que nãoalaria nada. Em tom de irritação com a decisão do STF, ela informou à reportagem que poderia procurar outro membro do sindicato ou fazendeiro que quisesse comentar o assunto, mas eles também foram reticentes.

Sem autorizar a publicação de nomes, alguns fazendeiros garantiram que, daqui em diante, a classe deve promover uma onda de protestos por toda a região. "Vamos retomar os bloqueios de estrada, manifestações na Assembleia Legislativa; aguardem, surpresas vêm por aí", disse um dos ruralistas, que classificou a decisão da ministra do STF como "ato de comunista". Quando as áreas foram invadidas, em agosto, o sindicato dos ruralistas trancaram uma vez por dia, por período de duas semanas, trechos da entrada e saída do município, na MS-384.

O coordenador da Funai disse acreditar que a suspensão da liminar deva acelerar o processo no STF. Ele também é a favor de que os fazendeiros sejam indenizados pelas terras.

Guaranis kaiowás se alegram e continuam nas fazendas

A notícia da suspensão da liminar que determinava a reintegração de posse foi recebida com euforia por ao menos 80 índios que bloquearam o trânsito na MS-384, no trecho que liga Antônio João à cidade de Bela Vista, uns 5 km distantes da entrada que conduz à fazenda Fronteira.

Com pedaços de galhos e troncos de árvores, os guaranis kaiowás travaram o tráfego de veículos na rodovia, das 4h às 8h. Armados com arcos e flechas, eles disseram que "sabiam" da decisão, mas que estavam ali para terem "a certeza" de que não seriam expulsos da área.

Já perto das 8h, apareceram representantes da Funai no local, com cópia da decisão na mão. Dali em diante, os índios, entre adultos, idosos e crianças, vibraram feito tor-

cedores de futebol, no instante do gol de seus clubes.

Os guaranis kaiowás limparam a pista, subiram nas carrocerias de cinco caminhonetes da Funai e retornaram para a fazenda Fronteira, onde participaram de um ritual. A reportagem do **Correio** foi impedida de entrar no local.

A professora Leila Aquino, uma das líderes dos índios, disse que agora espera uma decisão definitiva do STF. "Já esperamos por dez anos, dez anos! Tomara que o governo indenize logo os fazendeiros e que a gente viva agora em paz", disse a professora guarani, formada na Universidade Estadual de Mato Grosso do Sul.

Até ontem à tarde, os índios mantinham ocupações nas fazendas Fronteira, Cedro, Primavera e Piquiri.

ⁱ *Note that regarding the word "indigenous" it was counted when referring to people. When the term "indigenous" related to other nouns as in "indigenous issue" or "indigenous school" the term is placed outside the brackets.