



Institutionalization of education in the South of Mato Grosso. The School Group of Batayporã (1955-1974)¹

Institucionalização da educação no Sul de Mato Grosso.
O Grupo Escolar de Batayporã (1955-1974)

Institucionalización de la educación en el Sur de Mato Grosso.
El Grupo Escolar de Batayporã (1955-1974)

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Abstract

This paper focuses on the socialization aspects related to primary education offered at the Batayporã School Group, south of old Mato Grosso. The completed research for a postgraduate program in Education was carried out with the purpose of describing and analyzing the main elements that allowed the emergence and functioning of the school in a specific village within a historical moment between 1955 and 1974. Foucault's concepts and notions, national productions on school institutions, and, written, imagery and oral sources were used in this work. The school, created in 1955, constituted a material element of the institutionalization of education device in the village, which, at the time of its creation had not achieved its administrative emancipation. It was concluded that its emergence and initial functioning favored or offered conditions for the establishment of migrants in the colonization project, as well as inscribed the school in discourses in education circulating in Brazil in that historical moment.

Keywords: Colonization project. School institutions. Primary education

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Resumo

O artigo socializa resultados de pesquisa concluída, realizada em Curso de Pós-Graduação em Educação, referente à educação primária oferecida no Grupo Escolar de Batayporã, sul do antigo Mato Grosso, que descreveu e analisou os principais elementos que permitiram seu aparecimento e funcionamento em um lugar específico e momento histórico datado. O recorte temporal da pesquisa foi o período de 1955 a 1974. Foram utilizadas noções inscritas na perspectiva foucaultiana, produções nacionais sobre instituições escolares e fontes escritas, imagéticas e orais. A escola, criada em 1955, constituiu um elemento material do dispositivo de institucionalização da educação na cidade, que, no momento da criação, não havia adquirido sua emancipação administrativa. Conclui-se que o seu aparecimento e funcionamento inicial favoreceram ou foram condições para a fixação de migrantes no projeto de colonização, como também a inscreveram nos discursos sobre a educação em circulação no Brasil naquele período histórico.

Palavras-chave: Projeto de colonização. Instituições escolares. Educação primária.

Resumen

El artículo socializa los resultados de investigación completada, realizada en curso de postgrado en educación, referente a la educación primaria ofrecida en el Grupo Escolar de Batayporã, sur del antiguo Mato Grosso, que describió y analizó los principales elementos que permitieron su aparición y funcionamiento en un marco específico y momento histórico fechado. El recorte temporal de la investigación fue el período de 1955 a 1974. La investigación utilizó nociones inscritas en la perspectiva foucaultiana, producciones nacionales sobre instituciones escolares y fuentes escritas, imágenes y orales. La escuela, creada en 1955, se constituyó como elemento material del dispositivo de institucionalización de la educación en la ciudad, que en el momento de la creación no había adquirido su emancipación administrativa. Se concluyó que su aparición y funcionamiento inicial favorecieron o fueron condiciones para la fijación de migrantes en el proyecto de colonización, como también la inscribieron en los discursos sobre la educación en circulación en Brasil en aquel período histórico.

Palabras clave: Proyecto de colonización. Instituciones escolares. Educación primaria.

Introduction

The article focuses on the socialization aspects of the institutionalization of education that began in 1955, in the Ivinhema Valley, in the village of Batayporã (founded in 1953)², in the south of the former State of Mato Grosso³. The conclusive results of the research developed in the Postgraduate Program in Education⁴, draws on the history of school institutions and sought to understand the specific characteristics of the establishment and functioning of schooling in a specific town and institution, which has not been studied before.

This work covers the period from 1955 to 1974. The year of 1955 marked the beginning of the educational institution operation, when it was officially established as a Mixed Rural School that in the same year turned into a Primary School. This time period was chosen due to the fact that in 1974 the School was integrated into the Batayporã State Middle School, which was created in 1969, when the two institutions began operating under a new structure and a new denomination: The “Jan Antonin Bata” Middle School, which was inserted in the State School System in accordance with Law #5692 of August 11, 1971 (BRAZIL, 1971).

The focus in school education, highlighted in the research, emphasizes the relationship between the colonialism project and the creation of the institution, and likewise some practices adopted within the school that ensured its continued existence.

Some Foucault’s concepts were used as analytical tools and they implied considerations about writings on the school and the individuals’ speeches as contemporary narratives that contribute to generate research questions through problematizing. Therefore, developing a discourse analysis some implications can be found, among them the issues highlighted in the research socialized here: the refusal to seek the origin and the concept of power as something that is possessed and emanated from institutions such as the State.

Power was understood as force relations, which is exercised in different social space-time. It can assume tangible forms, because it is distributed across the social body, materializes in institutions, in punishments, in dominations; reaches the individual, and invades the everyday life, controlling bodies and minds. In *Dialogue with Foucault* (2004, p. 161), it can be explained that power should not only be thought of as something negative; it should be regarded as productive instead: “[...] power produces; it produces reality; produces domains of objects and rituals of truth. The individual and the knowledge that may be gained of him belong to this production.”

In these terms, the notion of device was characterized as a network of power-knowledge that is delineated by the complex and heterogeneous set of discursive and non-discursive practices (such as the school institution), which is articulated to other social, economic, and political structures. Thus, it can be stated that education participates in the network that forms the device; it is one of its elements. The device is a mechanism with the ability to guide, to control, and to intervene in the behaviors and on what people express. These concepts and others, derived from Foucault’s works, allow us to corroborate the process of institutionalization and schooling as devices and the school as its visible part.

²Ziliani explains that the name Batayporã consists of two words in the Guarani language preceded by Bata (the colonizer’s surname). Bata, y = water, porã = good, which means “good water”, in a free translation. Since 2007 the name of the city has been written with a “y” (CITY HALL, 2007). In this article we use Batayporã, except in direct quotes from the sources of the research period.

³The State of Mato Grosso was divided into two States in 1977 when the State of Mato Grosso do Sul was created, according to the Complementary Law #31 on October 11, 1977 (BRAZIL, 1977). Currently, Batayporã is a municipality in the State of Mato Grosso do Sul.

⁴The research was supported by the Coordination for the Improvement of Higher Education Personnel (CAPES), the Foundation for Support for the Development of Teaching, Science and Technology of the State of Mato Grosso do Sul (FUNDECT/MS), and the Federal University of Grande Dourados (UFGD).

The documentary sources selected for the research were found in the State School "Jan Antonin Bata" archives and in the Memory Center "Jindrich Trachta", both institutions located in the municipality of Batayporã⁵, such as attendance register books, reports, book of school equipment, and photographs. Some narratives of the individuals that mainly contributed to the creation and operation of the school institution in the initial decades were also considered as sources⁶. The sources - documentary, imagery, and oral - were not hierarchical, being taken as producers of the reality and the subjects they investigate.

The narratives of the emphasized subjects were not developed as "expression of individualities", as something homogeneous or as "subjective unit". It aimed at understanding memory as "[...] composed of fragments of multiple experiences and experiences at the individual and the collective level" (ALBUQUERQUE JÚNIOR, 2007, p. 200); thus the multiplicity of memories was applied; as individuals' behaviors, always composed of the relationship with others.⁷

Therefore, historicizing these individual and collective memories is to a certain extent interpreting them in their different meanings; propose an elaboration of past events, among the possible, according to the adopted concepts as analysis operators.

For the knowledge of architecture and the methods of construction organization, photographs were used, which for Lima and Carvalho (2009, p. 36), may mean a "casual excerpt detached from the texts, [and] would offer access to the environment and people who frequented the village." The photographs found in the collection of the "Jindrich Trachta" Memory Center depict scenes of classrooms and school routines, buildings, civic celebrations, events with authorities, characteristics of the village, shops, automobiles and ox carts, wood extraction, and resident families.

In the images depicting the Mixed Rural School, later called The School Group of Batayporã, one can observe that, at least in part, the people involved and the memorable activities, in addition to other aspects of the school routine and the city. The photographs available in the files consulted seem to have had the function of "recording important events and situations for the preservation of the institution's memory" (SOUZA, 2001, p. 80) and, of the village, in the first decades of its operation.

Following the adopted theoretical-methodological framework, it can be emphasized that the research on the Institution did not intend to seek its pure origin, which that would have arisen without conflicts, relations of forces, citizens' movements, and the like. It was about trying to map its infrequent beginnings, inscribed in various discourses and practices, of which the school institution is only one of the results.

For an approximation of the objective, the text was organized into two parts. In the first part, the work focused on issues related to the foundation of the Colony and, in the second, the conditions that support the creation of the School and the aspects of its operation in the first two decades were described and analyzed.

1. Discourses on colonization and the constitution of the city of Batayporã

The objective in this section was to address the central aspects of the device of nationality and the notion of progress that corresponds to it, in vogue in the first half of the

⁵The Memory Center was created by descendants of Czechoslovak immigrants, who worked in the Colonizing Company, called Companhia Viação São Paulo Mato Grosso (CVSPMT), to keep the memory of colonization in the region alive. These immigrants came to "Batayporã".

⁶The oral sources were produced through interviews, recorded and transcribed, conducted in the city of Batayporã, between 2014 and 2015, and relied on narratives from five individuals. We also explain that the name given to the interviewee in this article is fictitious.

⁷The text reporting the memories of the school subjects was presented at an event in the area of Education in the Midwest, in 2015.

twentieth century. Elements related to the process of colonization of the Ivinhema Valley region until the creation of the city of Batayporã were highlighted.

The colonization process that occurred in the 1940s and 1950s, in the south of the former Mato Grosso was registered in the device. Considering this process entailed an approximation of discourses of the Companhia Viação São Paulo Mato Grosso (CVSPMT) and some of the projects the company had done, in addition to the emergence of the Colonia Samambaia, later Batayporã district, as well as the settlers that settled there.

Since the end of the 19th century in Brazil⁸, with the aim of creating an "official history of the nation", institutions such as the Brazilian Historical and Geographical Institute were created in 1839, in order to demarcate the spaces of the Brazilian territory. Galetti (2012, p. 33, emphasis of the author) states that, in the country, "[...] particularly from the second half of the 19th century, a significant proportion of intellectuals and political leaders would come to recognize the *wilderness of the homeland* – or simply *the wilderness* – as the other geographical of the nation." These and other propositions circulated throughout the first half of the 20th century, being used to justify the colonization of lands of the Brazilian territory which were considered "unknown".

Getúlio Vargas was the President of Brazil from 1930 to 1945. The "New State" began in 1937 and, in the following year, the campaign called "March to the West" was launched, which aimed to unite the nation to conquer unexplored regions. The context was as follows:

that Mato Grosso became the center of attention. The campaign was permeated by a series of mystical contents and imaginary constructions and allowed for a homogeneous identity of the Nation and the State to overcome social conflicts. (GUILLEN, 1996, p. 39).

However, according to the author, the March concealed that the West was permeated by complex power relations, such as the presence of mate herb extract companies, sugar mills, cattle farms, and other farms in southern Mato Grosso. There was also a strong concern about national identity, with the integration and unity of border areas and the so-called "wilderness".

Since the first half of the 1930s, Getúlio Vargas had begun the valorization of the countryside and the small properties' owners, initiating colonization policies, which proposed an initial assistance to the settlers that included work, primary education to their children, and health care, to enable them to become independents. In Mato Grosso, this "siege" occurred mainly by the company Matte Laranjeira, which dominated most of the southern part of the State (GUILLEN, 1996)⁹.

This "rummage of the bodies" was necessary to control the settlers and civilize them for social living. The process of discipline was intended to make the settlers more skilled for the work and success of the colonization policy, guiding them to new ways of behaving in society. According to Guillen (1996, p. 43), the New State, by giving visibility to the south of the old MT "[...] with the March, tried to imprint an image of the future: finally integrated into the body of the nation, the border region would achieve the progress and development that benefited part of the country."

⁸Since the 19th century in Brazil, discourses in circulation defended the notion of evolution, which allowed recognizing differences and determining the inferiority of the indigenous, Afro descendant and former slaves, opposing to European descendants, white and civilized people. According to Schwarcz (2014), the hygiene and education of the people were tools for the correction and improvement of man.

⁹The exploration of mate herb began in the 1880s, after the demarcation of the Brazil-Paraguay border line, and the Brazilian Thomaz Laranjeira was considered a founding partner of the Matte Laranjeira Company, which explored the herbals of the southern region of the former Mato Grosso. On the Company's activities, academic and scientific studies were carried out, as well as institutional publications.

For the effectiveness of this strategy, which aimed mainly at the colonization of lands and the settlement of the "empty and inhospitable wilderness", the performance of companies and colonizing companies aimed, among other issues, the settlement of the borderland¹⁰ was paramount. CVSPMT was among these companies, engaged in colonization activity, including part of the former south of Mato Grosso.

The company CVSPMT was founded in 1908 to replace Diederichsen & Tibiriçá¹¹. In 1941, it became the property of Czechoslovakian Jan Antonin Bata (ZILIANI, 2010)¹². Its purpose was industrial and commercial activities and the exploration of borderlands in the State of São Paulo and Mato Grosso, with the objective to create colonies and sell borderlands¹³. In the State of Mato Grosso, the colonies that would give rise to the cities of Bataguassu and Batayporã were founded, respectively, in 1946 and 1953. According to the author, the Company announced in 1942, through its newsletter, the Journal "Progress and Order" (2010), the opportunity to purchase lands in the Ivinhema Valley region, south of the former Mato Grosso. The newsletter used the discourse that was circulating that there were "good lands" to be explored. The publications of this Journal served well the ideal of the "New State" and its colonization strategies: "[...] our work and our capacity that are directed satisfying above all our desire to serve, always ahead, the development of the country" (NEWSPAPER ORDEM E PROGRESSO, 2010, p. 191).

In 1953, the Czechoslovakian immigrant Vladimir Kubik, an employee of CVSPMT, was in charge of selecting an appropriate place to start selling plots of land, especially for raising cattle and wood extraction, starting the colony's core. In 1954, a new character appeared in the colony of Batayporã, the Czechoslovakian Jindrich Trachta¹⁴, who was responsible for the sale of the lands, assistance to the settlers and owners of the "new" lands and infrastructure elements, as well as manufacturing activities, agricultural, and animal farming.

It is noteworthy that the regulation of Batayporã as a district occurred in the same year of the creation of the Colony, in 1953, when Bataguassu¹⁵ achieved its political-administrative emancipation. The district owned in the late 1950s, in addition to the Company's main farm, sawmills, brick kilns, starch factories, a hotel, a church, residential houses, small shops, and a school.

In *the Roll Call, Daily Attendance and School Equipment* (BATAYPORÃ SCHOOL GROUP, 2015b) of the Batayporã Mixed Rural School, there is a record with the parents' profile of the enrolled students. It can be stated that the families of migrants and immigrants who settled in the Colony were of very diverse origins, such as northeastern, from São Paulo,

¹⁰Borderlands are lands that do not have a public use, that are not in private domain or that are possessions legitimized by the Land Law #601, 1850 (BRAZIL, 1850).

¹¹Diederichsen & Tibiriçá was a major settlement company of Alta Sorocabana. Its main shareholders and founders were the doctor and farmer Arthur Diederichsen and the doctor Francisco Tibiriçá. In 1927, it was sold to other Group of German entrepreneurs, and in 1941 was bought by Czechoslovakian Jan Antonin Bata.

¹²According to Ziliani (2010), Jan Bata owned a shoe company in the United States in the 1930s, being persecuted by other companies' owners for threatening sales of their products. In 1940 he acquired the Company, supported by Presidents Getúlio Vargas and Eurico Gaspar Dutra, at that time received Brazilian citizenship.

¹³The Company also aimed to explore the navigation industry on the Paraná River and affluent rivers, in addition to cattle breeding and cutting activities. From the 1940s, he expanded his activities of creating colony's core, being responsible for several colonization projects, founding cities in the State of São Paulo, as well as in the south of the former Mato Grosso (ZILIANI, 2010).

¹⁴Jindrich Trachta went to work as a Manager at the Company in the newly created Colony, when he accepted the invitation of Jan Bata. He married and formed a family in Brazil. His home, also an office, was the place where Bata stayed when he was in the colony. In the 2000s, the "Jindrich Trachta" Memory Center was organized in the location, including a documentary collection of the family and the Company.

¹⁵According to data from the Brazilian Institute of Geography and Statistics (IBGE) (1958, p. 89), in the city of Bataguassu there were "[...] 9 rural schools in 1955, 5 primary schools in 1956, a total of 203 students, one located in "Bataiporã" district.

Mato Grosso, and Paraná, Japanese, Portuguese, and Spanish, in addition to the Czechoslovakians who lived there, evidencing the cultural "mix" that composed it. The main occupation they claimed they exercise was that of farmers, but there were also drivers, bakers, domestic employees, carpenters, cobblers, policemen, barbers, merchants, butchers, a peace judge, pensioners, pharmacists, and "housewives" (BATAYPORÃ SCHOOL GROUP, 2015b). According to the narratives of the interviewed students, their parents grew coffee, corn, rice, beans, in addition to raising chickens and pigs. The father of one of them worked as the company's land manager.

This document also contains data on religion, education and profession of settlers, students' parents from 1957 to 1964, in accordance with the student enrollment forms. It can be seen that most of the settlers were illiterate, mainly women who were engaged with their roles as housewives or working in other peoples' homes, followed by some with primary education and a few with secondary education.

This historical context of the early years of the Colony, with the arrival of migrants / immigrants from different regions of the country, who relied on the company that had attracted them to apply for the positions they offered and in the official discourses of that time on "development" and "progress" of the nation, which provided evidence for the effectiveness of the strategies used.

2. Education in Brazil and in the State

The objective in this part was to resume the general lines of education in the country, aiming to analyze the primary schooling offered in Batayporã, in the period between 1955 and 1974, materialized in a school institution, initially called The Mixed Rural School of Batayporã and then Batayporã School Group.

Since the beginning of the 20th century, in particular, the education of the population was a condition for the development of the nation; statement that circulated in different discourses. Illiteracy of the poor part of the population was seen as an evil that made the "civilization" and "evolution" of the country impossible. Understood as "[...] social disease, the idea that lack of schooling was the moving force of a clinical reason which was in a permanent process of appropriation by those who considered illiteracy the father of all the evils of the nation" (FREITAS; BICCAS, 2009, p. 41).

At the end of the 19th century, there were the so-called isolated and rural¹⁶ schools operating in the country, gradually replaced by a "new" school model called "School Group", which initially appears in São Paulo and Rio de Janeiro. Throughout the first two decades of the 20th century, this school model emerged in several other states of the country, including united Mato Grosso. They were created with the expectation of contributing to the country's economic development and presented as a model which ruptured from the former imperial model: "[...] they projected for the future, projected a future, in which in the Republic, the people, reconciled with the nation, would shape an orderly and progressive homeland" (FARIA FILHO; VIDAL, 2000, p. 25).¹⁷

The so-called Organic Laws of Teaching (BRAZIL, 1942-1946 apud IGNACIO, 2006),¹⁸ of this period, had their effects two decades after being promulgated, that is, in the

¹⁶According to Souza (1998, p. 51), in the first decades of the last century, the isolated rural schools "[...] survived in the shadow of school groups in the cities, neighborhoods and fields. Although they were considered to be necessary, the groups received more benefits, and they continued to be mainly in need of everything".

¹⁷Even though the school groups appeared and formed with the intent of being the main reference for schooling children, their "intended hegemony" did not happen. They ceased to exist with the enactment of Law #5692/1971 (BRAZIL, 1971).

¹⁸"The so called Organic and Capanema Reform 'Laws'[... are] a set of *Decree laws* elaborated by a council of 'outstanding' citizens presided by Gustavo Capanema and conceded by president Getúlio Vargas during the

second half of the 1950s, when the studied school was created. According to Freitas and Biccás (2009, p. 115), they brought as novelties: the standardization of the national curriculum, the type of school architecture, uniforms, the verification of student hygiene and other aspects; in addition to disseminating a "sense of patriotism and nationality". In 1951, the Organic Law of Primary Education of the State of Mato Grosso, Law #452 (MATO GROSSO, 2001), was approved, which regulated the provision of primary education in the State of Mato Grosso.

Agreements between the National Institute of Pedagogical Studies (INEP) and the Mato Grosso government made possible, according to Brito (2001), the construction of 161 buildings in the rural area between 1947 and 1953, and, in this period, 23 more were being built and 30 had not yet been started.

The occupation of the State of Mato Grosso took place more intensely from the 1950s on, because the export of food derived from livestock and agriculture to other places in Brazil and the world intensified, as well as colonization initiatives in the southern part of the State and construction of the railway network between the city of Corumbá and Bolivia. Because of such enterprises, the population increased in the rural area of the state, which caused isolated rural schools to multiply throughout the state. Brito (2001) states that the public administration recognized the importance of these rural schools, investing in improving education in the interior of Mato Grosso. The school institution of the district of Batayporã, established in 1955, was part of the data collected by this author.

The first Law of Guidelines and Bases of Education, Law #4024 (BRAZIL, 1961)¹⁹, was promulgated in 1961, after thirteen years of a troubled fabrication; defined the structure of education to be offered in the country, but did not give the emphasis expected by organized civil society to the public school.

In 1962, the governor of the State of Mato Grosso Fernando Corrêa da Costa regulated, through Decree #319/1962 (MATO GROSSO, 1962b), the Primary Education Program, which defined the general guidelines for the teaching of each discipline, also establishing the duties and rights of students and teachers in primary education institutions of the State.

According to the Secretary of Education, Culture and Health Hermes Rodrigues de Alcântara, in a Letter sent to the governor in February 1962, it was necessary that:

Primary education in Mato Grosso underwent substantial changes in its organism. For rural and isolated urban schools, special programs were elaborated, [...]. The programs of the School Groups and the Gathered Schools, with significant improvements, are based on the most advanced education systems in the country (MATO GROSSO, 1962a, p. 4).

This legislation, in connection with other events, composes the education map of that period, showing that the prescriptions, or "concessions" contained therein, represented, simultaneously, the advances and limits in progress and that were far from meeting the demands of the population that had already taken for themselves the statement of school education as imperative to development and as a possibility of a better life.

To achieve the objective, in contact with documentary, imagery and oral sources, some of its characteristics were analyzed: the process of installing the school with its changes in nomenclature and organization, the transformations in the location and buildings, school

New State and José Linhares during the interim government [...]. Their objective was to reform and standardize the national system of education" (IGNÁCIO, 2006, p.1, emphasis added by author).

¹⁹During the elaboration process of the LDB in 1959, there was an intense campaign by educators connected to reformation ideas, defending public, mandatory, secular and free schools and against the defenders of private education connected to, above all, catholic schools. The campaign also had the participation of students, organized workers, writers, with a great number of manifestations by people committed to the movement.

routine, profile of teachers, students and administration, control of student behavior, and moral and civic teaching.

2.1. Creation and initial functioning of the School

The concern with school education in this part was directed at the emergence of the institution, especially at practices and discourses that guaranteed it a unique existence.

The institutionalization of education for children, in the socio-political configuration called Batayporã, materialized with the emergence of a school institution, created in 1955, called The Mixed Rural School of Batayporã²⁰, later School Group Batayporã, created by Decree #2066 of March 4, 1955 (MATO GROSSO, 2015). It was observed that the official creation of the School and even its transformation into a School Group occurred in the same year and before the village was administratively emancipated. Aspects that may highlight the urgency and importance given to education in that place.

The literacy of the children also began even before the creation of the school was officialized and it was improvised, at the initiative of the community, in a room of the only hotel in the village. At the beginning, it had seventy students of different ages, evidencing the existing demand and the adoption of school education as a "necessity".

With the name of Mixed Rural School, the institution seems to have worked for a short time, because in March 1955, as already mentioned, the Batayporã School Group was created. However, the name Mixed Rural School continued to appear in the bookkeeping until 1962. In the Student Roll Book (MIXED RURAL SCHOOL, 2015), the name "Mixed Rural School" appears until April and, from this date on, the term School Group appears in the records of the same document, showing that the change in the nomenclature of the Institution.

Since the Federal Constitution of 1946 (BRASIL, 1946), the gratuity of primary education and other levels of education that presented a lack of resources was officially ensured, determining that federal, state, and municipal governments should apply a minimum percentage in education. In Batayporã it was observed that until part of the 1960s there were no investments for the school by governments, except for the payment of teachers. Lack of support that was not restricted to the municipality in question or to the institution studied.

According to the report of the First Teacher of the Group (INTERVIEW, 2014)²¹, CVSPMT helped in the construction of the School building with the purchase of permanent materials. In the narratives of the other interviewees, it was observed the need to show that the School had, since its beginning, some relationship with the Company, but emphasized the decisive participation of the local community. The emphasis on the Company appears, in particular, in the narrative of student David (2014), the son of an employee of the Company; with it appears a direct indication of appreciation of the company's support in the construction and maintenance of the Institution, however, support seems to have been limited.

Due to the importance given to school education at that historical moment, it can be affirmed that there was an interest of the Company in the Institution, having as condition the permanence of families and the implementation of the ongoing colonization project. But this finding does not seem to have materialized in investments, and this discursive practice was carried out at the expense of the effort of the "population" and this seems to have been in fact the strategy.

²⁰The Decree or document of the creation of the Mixed Rural School was not found, only indications that its creation happened in that year, in photographs available at the "Jindrich Trachta" Memorial Center and in narratives.

²¹Name given to the first teacher of the Group that was interviewed for the research.

It was also observed that some documents²² of the school bookkeeping of the first year of operation of the Institution, such as call books and enrollment books, were printed from the State of São Paulo, signaling, in addition to the little governmental assistance, the difficulty of access, of those who lived there and those involved with education, the capital Cuiabá, where the state administration was located.

From the information provided, books, primers, chalk and other materials for the performance of classes were not made available by the government. Also, no records of resources or other provision of meals for students were obtained. It was also identified that, until the first half of the 1960s, there was no school cash as provided for since the Regulation of Primary Public Education of the State of Mato Grosso (MATO GROSSO, 1927).

Until the political-administrative emancipation of Batayporã, no proof of the state government's participation in the maintenance of the school was found, but in the narratives, information appears that some parents of students, when they could, collaborated with the donation of food or school supplies, such as pencils, erasers, and notebooks for low-income students, who were the majority. In addition to the First Teacher (2014), who claimed to buy for several years, materials such as pencils, notebooks, eraser and even primers for their "poorest students", coming from the State of São Paulo, considering the distances between the cities and Mato Grosso.

Another aspect considered in the research was the architecture, the buildings, the location of the School in the spatial organization of the city and its furniture, as the material part of its operation (FRAGO; ESCOLANO, 2001).

The school's headquarters in the years of its operation changed location. Beginning with the analysis of photographs available at the Memory Center and narratives of the individuals, it was possible to conclude that it began its operation in 1955, in a room of the only inn existing in the small town. All students were alphabetized in the same physical space. The First Teacher (2014) said that there came a time when that space, in the hotel, became "[...] very small and warm for so many children."

In 1957, the first building was built for the School (Figure 1), made of wood, with two small rooms, dirt floor and a bathroom outside the building. A simple structure that differed little from other rural schools of the period. As Garnica (2011, p. 70) shows, generally rural establishments "[...] operated in wooden structures, consisting of only one room, without the existence (or precarious existence) of toilets, kitchen, and patio."

Figure 1. Batayporã School Group Building, backyard (1957)



Source: "Jindrich Trachta" Memory Center (2015).

²²Documents that were filed at the "Jan Antonin Bata" State School, where registers in school bookkeeping forms of the State of São Paulo were located, for the years 1960, 1963, and 1966. Besides the geographical proximity, the hypothesis of contact between the Company and the São Paulo government can be raised.

Still, the scenario changed with the construction of this building, done free of charge by two Portuguese carpenters who lived in the city. The construction did not have the financial support of the state government, but was done with materials provided by the Company and the community. It was only in the late 1960s that the municipal government built a brick building in another space on the same land, for the operation of the School.

With the support of Frago and Escolano (2001, p. 47), it can be affirmed that the school "[...] in its different achievements, is a product of each time and its constructive forms are, in addition to the support of cultural collective memory, the symbolic expression of the dominant values in different epochs." In the few photographic records, it is possible to observe the furniture and the distribution of students in the setting, as well as their clothing. In one of the images there is a teacher standing at the door and her 44 students, some with upright posture and others talking, some barefoot and others not. Thus, it is noticed that there was no requirement to wear uniforms at that time.

The students used, as desks in the classrooms, a table fixed to the seat (bench), which generally accommodated two children. In one of the photos, three children settle in school desks, but this distribution may have been organized only for everyone to appear in the photograph. In other images they appear in pairs of boys or girls.

According to student David's narrative (2014), only on exam days boys and girls sat together, so that there was no opportunity for "conversations and cheating" during the exam. According to his narrative, they were "nervous days", sometimes they even cried, because he had to share the exam desk with a girl, since they did not have a relationship of "friendship" and "intimacy".

In dialogue with Frago and Escolano (2001), it can be affirmed that school architecture constitutes a "program", which controls spaces, educates by the establishment of certain rules and imposition of habits, values.

Although the students sat together during the classes, the teaching-learning practices were not collective, but individualized, because the teacher was solely responsible for the activities, "scanning" them through their notebooks, evaluations and grades, the control of behavior, their posture in front of the classroom, and all their written notes about each student. This process was capable of separating the bodies of the individuals, even though so close. For Foucault (2004, p. 123), in institutions it is important to

establish presences and absences, know where and how to find individuals, establish useful communications, interrupt others, being able at every moment to monitor the behavior of each one, to appreciate it, to sanction it, to measure the qualities or merits.

Each and all institutional architecture contribute to "compose" and "conform" individuals as subjects of specific types (ROSE, 2001) and constitute a material element of what we call "schooling device".

The Batayporã School Group did not have a grand frontage, staircases, entrances for boys and girls, among other aspects that were designed for these buildings built throughout Brazil, from the end of the 19th century to the beginning of the 20th century, according to Buffa and Pinto (2002), Faria Filho and Vidal (2000) and Souza (1998). According to Faria Filho and Vidal (2000, p. 31-32):

Instead of the sumptuousness exhibited at the beginning of the Republic, the struggle for democratization of the school was felt in functionalist buildings, technically designed for a fast and efficient education, with specific places to host machinery, such as mimeograph, and provide

control of the teaching staff through increasingly capillary administrative mechanisms, and in the more rustic solutions, which associated formal teaching to the teacher's house in rural areas.

In addition to architecture, the "school time" was inaugurated with the creation of school groups in the country. With them, time gained importance in the organization of teaching. Faria Filho and Vidal (2000, p. 32) state that "[...] school time is associated with the hours when one stays in school, counted in bells, playgrounds, notebooks, in the same way as in the clockhands". The division of the school year into classes, periods, days, semesters, vacations, also evidences this distribution and temporal control.

Without the obligation to provide lunch by the governments, state and municipal, students took to school what they "had at home". In the late 1960s, milk began to be provided to students. Later, according to student David (2014), the school had established an agreement with a brand of noodles to serve it during lunch. However, for this to happen, parents needed to buy the same pasta for consumption in their homes. Another indication that there was little financial support from the governors and that the school sought or used these alternatives to function and serve enrolled students.

Through the sources, it was found that the School was far from the students' homes and that they traveled for miles to attend classes. Even with the distance from his home to school, the student Mario (2014) states that he "loved going to school", because he played a little and when he was there he felt free from the work in the crop he did with his parents. Narrative that points out a meaning given to the school by a farmer's son, according to an utterance that began to establish itself, according to which "the place of a child is in school" and not at work; but in that locality the formative and professionalizing perspective that was already circulating in the country about the function of this social institution was still distant.

2.2 Teachers and teaching methodology

This item included aspects related to working conditions, teacher training and selection and teaching.

Recalling, in different discourses, including the official one, the role of the school and that of the teachers indicated education/instruction as a condition for the formation of children for life in society. In the Message (MATO GROSSO, 1952) given by Governor Fernando Corrêa da Costa to the Legislative Assembly, we observe the importance given to the knowledge and to teaching:

Because teaching, even if they are only notions of teaching programs implies having knowledge that is not only related to reading, writing and accounting, but of hygiene, health, mastery of the land and social affairs related to the interest of the collectivity in which the teacher is active [...]. (MATO GROSSO, 1952, p. 26).

In the early years of operation of the School, only one teacher taught, but in the following years, other teachers were hired to practice teaching. Until 1963, no records or narratives were found that there were other employees, such as a school attendant, doorman, and inspector. According to the First Teacher (2014), the role of principal was occupied by her during at least the first decade of operation of the Institution without, however, having been appointed or receiving the salary consistent with the position of principal. The justification given was that "she was the oldest teacher". In this respect, no record was found (nor the Official Gazette of appointments), referring to the period in which she reports having occupied the

functions of teacher and principal. A practice far from that provided for in the legislation, which established that to be director of a public school the teacher should prove experience in teaching of at least three years, in addition to going through a public tender (BRITO, 2001). The first teacher of the Institution had primary training and studied the initial grades of middle school, without completing it. Only in the late 1960s, as pointed out, a "trained" (normalist) teacher officially assumed the role of director of the School.

Teacher Maria (2015), the city's first normalist, took over classes and the direction of the School Group in the second half of the 1960s and remained in office until 1969, when she started to direct the Batayporã Middle School²³. According to narratives, soon after the creation of the Middle School, six qualified teachers from the city of Alvares Machado in São Paulo went to Batayporã to teach classes, invited by the mayor of the city.

With the data from the interviews and other available records, it was observed that teachers rarely participated in courses or improvements offered by the state government in the cities of Campo Grande and Cuiabá. One of the main reasons was the release of said training and the distance between Batayporã and the cities where the training was offered.

Regarding the payment of the Group's professionals, the first teacher narrates that, during the years she worked there, when she needed to receive the salary it was "another problem", because there was no road between Batayporã (district) and Bataguassu (municipality) where she used to go to receive, because to get there she had to go "bordering" the farms and that, on rainy days, it was more difficult to reach the destination. She also states that, due to the distance, she would go "up to five months without receiving" (FIRST TEACHER, 2014).

As for teaching, recurring obstacles were encountered for the education of students, because, as in the first years there were rooms with multiple series, there were children starting literacy and others already mastering writing and reading.²⁴ The main reference for teaching was the *Soft Path* primer. The teacher herself bought it for the students' use, evidencing the lack of indication and gratuity of a specific primer by the state's public authorities, as well as the requirement to follow a specific primer. According to the teacher, she had worked with this primer before going to Batayporã, so her choice followed her own experience and schooling.

The *Soft Path* primer had its first publication in 1948 and was widely used and accepted in the country until the mid-1990s. According to Peres and Ramil (2015), it consisted of alphabetizing students from the printed images. According to the authors, the primer related

the shape of the typographies of the letters or syllables of the words to the format of their respective image which contributes to the memorization by the child who associates the shapes of the fonts of the typography used in the word to those of the represented image, because the characters occupy virtually the same space and take on very similar shape, by fitting within a detail of the figure. (PERES; RAMIL, 2015, p. 63).

Besides de primer, the teacher used dictation, to teach writing. The addition of content and activities appears only in the late 1960s. The Establishment Form, Production and Data Bulletin (SCHOOL GROUP, 2015a), about the students, contains information that in 1967, in March and April, four singing and one recapitulation classes were held, respectively.

²³The Middle School, created in 1969, functioned with independent administration and building separate from the Group. Only after the 1971 educational reform were they integrated, with the creation of the "Jan Antonin Bata" Primary Education State School (MATO GROSSO, 1974).

²⁴The multiseries rooms, according to Cardoso and Jacomeli (2010), were one room, with no divisions, that held students from various grades, generally from first to fourth grades and under the direction of only one teacher.

The spatial-temporal distribution, care for hygiene and behavior, moral exercises, daily prayers, records about behavior, and other practices that were developed in the institution studied ended up composing and conforming the individuals.

According to Foucault (2004), the school, as a "closed" social institution, is a place maintained by the disciplinary order that aims to train the body and mind by obedience, docility, and productivity for work and life in society.

In the scarce localized school bookkeeping, which deals with the students' grades, it is perceived that there was an expressive number of "low grades", especially in the item called "Application". The Application scores were the sum of the behavioral scores and the grades of the subjects taught by the teachers; with which the arithmetic mean was calculated. Analyzing the data, it was concluded that some students did not do well, because they did not "behave" according to the established rules.

In one of the students' statements, however, one can locate a form of resistance to this discipline and control present in the Institution:

sometimes, of you want to go to the bathroom and here, for example, there was no bathroom inside the school, it was those little houses like in a farm, because here it was like a farm, and sometimes we wanted to go out, take a walk outside the playground and there was no way, you couldn't leave, you had the playground and stuff and sometimes when you were holding it in, then we went. And one of the shenanigans that I got tired of doing, I took chalk and cut it with the razor and made some pills like that [small gesture with hands] right, and said teacher, I need to take my medicine. Then go [the teacher would say], and then I'd go there, have some water, stand there, and come back looking sick and stuff. (STUDENT DAVI, 2014, p. 5).

In dialogue with Foucault (2013), it can be reflected that an "individual's position" occupied by the teacher (and other teachers) guaranteed her or demanded some autonomy in the exercise of her function as "educator"; position that implied the control of her students, especially or if necessary, by using discipline. However, it is necessary to problematize this conduct of teachers, since they themselves were subject to certain rules, if not from the education department or the school inspection, but from their own colleagues, when they held the position of head, as director or, also, by the control of one's own conduct. In this sense, the Establishment Form - Bulletin of Production and Data (SCHOOL GROUP, 2015a) allows observation of the type of information required of teachers when teaching classes in the School Group that, in addition to academic training, addressed marital status, experience, and activities carried out in the classroom.

There are also detailed records in school bookkeeping about students, such as enrollment date, weight, height, age, origin, gender, grade, which school they came from (private or public school); records that were part of the school's assignments; in addition to family data, such as profession, religion, schooling and others. Detailing that shows that, through different records and measures, "all" subjects were captured in this school record.

For more than a decade, in Batayporã, at the end of the 4th grade, the students stopped studying if their parents could not afford to send them to study in Bataguassu (nearest city) or in another city, which was the condition of most residents; a situation that appears in the narratives of the students about the 1960s, when the first children had completed the primary course.

2.3 Educating and instructing for life in society: morality and civility in school

This topic analyzed the teachers' responsibility for the moral and civic formation of children, through discourses and practices that took place in the School and in the commemorative activities of the small town. A task that implied the existence of teachers "full of virtues", who served as a model to be followed, examples of "citizens who worked for the homeland". An aspect reinforced in the Message (MATO GROSSO, 1952) of governor Fernando Corrêa da Costa, mentioned above.

Upon arrival at the School, daily, students were greeted with a moment of "welcome", in which they sang the National Anthem and hoisted the Flag of Brazil, as well as praying for the day that was beginning. After the welcome, they were taken to the classroom for pedagogical activities.

The playground was not free, but controlled through directed activities, recreational or not, which explored other forms of care about the bodies of children and adolescents who studied at that school. Looking at the students, one may ask how they acted, resisted and dealt with a certain space-time curtailing.

In the interviews with the group's teacher and students, these aspects appear in some passages, in which they affirm the frequent holding of civic festivities, celebrating, for example, Flag Day; moments when parades were held with children's battalions marching and playing an instrument before the authorities who were present at the official parades (an image that is still familiar to us). Teachers and students interviewed show enthusiasm and pride in having participated in these practices, these rites, because it was "honoring a historical fact of Brazil".

In this sense, these activities, considered extracurricular, contributed to the education of children and adolescents enrolled in the Institution, or, with the support of Rose (2001), to compose and conform child subjectivities, in this case, patriots. With the interviews conducted, in addition to photos found at the Memory Center "Jindrich Trachta", the presence of these acts that occurred in the School was observed, from the daily reception with the execution of the National Anthem and the raising of the Flag of Brazil, to the Tiradentes Day and 7 September, for example.

In two images identified as being from 1955, the boys and girls (separately) appear in uniform, indicating the participation of the School in an official event of the city.

Figure 2. Students during the 1st Civic Festivity in Batayporã (1955)



Source: "Jindrich Trachta" Memory Center (2015).

We did not obtain information that would allow us to state whether the uniform was used only on "special" days or on "commemorative dates", but it is possible to state that on these days they were worn. These dates, in addition to being a showcase of the school's achievements, according to the narratives of the individuals interviewed, make it explicit that there were political contacts between officials and governments, for hiring and indicating functions within the school or education in general.

From this apparently "complementary" formation, it is possible to infer that the school and teachers were responsible, in addition to many other aspects, for the constitution of the imaginary and the national memory, instructing themselves and their students in values such as respect for the signs and symbols of the Fatherland.

In dialogue with the production of other authors on the theme, Vidal (2006, p. 9) shows that the school groups "founded a representation of primary education that not only regulated the behavior, [...], of teachers and students within the institutions as it disseminated social (and educational) values and norms."

In addition to consolidating and reinforcing in children examples of "patriotic heroes" to be followed, for having fought for the country, these practices implied, at the same time, the attempt to constitute docile, disciplined citizens, able to live in society, and consistent with the interests of the Republic:

the public school became the stage for the realization of civic celebrations, another one of the unequivocal traces of the primary school's alliance with the Republic and with civic-patriotic values. Such celebrations aimed to solemnize some "remarkable" dates of our history. (SOUZA, 1998, p. 265).

According to Souza (1998, p. 241), it can be affirmed that:

The Republican school has instituted rites, spectacles, celebrations. At no other time, the primary school in Brazil had shown itself so frankly as an expression of a political regime. In fact, it began to celebrate the political liturgy of the Republic; in addition to disseminating the republican action, it embodied the symbols, values and moral and civic pedagogy that was its responsibility. Celebrations, school exhibitions, parades of children's battalions, exams, and civic celebrations were special moments in the life of the school for which it gained even greater social visibility and reinforced shared cultural meanings.

It is observed a certain "governing" of the bodies of children and adolescents, correlated with the notion of "institution". Intrinsic in these relations of power or government of the other, present in the teacher-student relationship, there were also spaces of resistance or controlled "freedom":

Although surveillance may not occur at all times, it is felt permanently. The constantly watched individual learns to watch over himself, internalizes power relations, and learns to discipline his body and his way of life, thus becoming his own guardian. (MORAES, 2008, p. 61-62).

The Batayporã School Group was configured as an environment for the preservation and cultivation of civic and patriotic values, contributing to some extent to the constitution of "educated" child subjectivities in a specific way.

Final considerations

This paper focuses on the socialization aspects of the institutionalization of education in the city of Batayporã, in the south of the former Mato Grosso, today, Mato Grosso do Sul, materialized in the existence of a school group, which emerged in 1955, implemented in a colonization project, at the time when the village was a district and, therefore, had not achieved its political-administrative emancipation.

With the support of Foucault's notions, the process of schooling that occurred within the educational institution of Batayporã was used as a device, which, similarly to other social institutions, for its practices, rituals, and symbolism, places the bodies of the individuals as objects of specific powers and knowledge.

Considering the results pointed out, through the contact with the singular individuals who were part of the history of the Institution and with the documentary and photographic sources analyzed, it can be considered that the institution studied, in its materiality, contributed to the settlement of migrants and immigrants in that location and historical moment and, that this event did not stay in the past, since it remains as an element that composes the memories of the history of the place and the people who have shaped it.

Attempts to keep the memories of these events alive are expressed by the creation of the "Jindrich Trachta" Memory Center in Batayporã or in the conservation and restoration of archive documents that record the school's achievements during the early years of its existence, when they could have legally incinerated them instead.

Although the school resembled other school institutions that functioned in that period, it was relevant to inquire about its specific characteristics among attempts of homogenization of policies, legislation, nomenclatures, and established resolutions.

The performed research and the resulting knowledge do not exhaust other possibilities of more specific investigations, because the approach to discourses and practices that constituted the Institution studied is not exhausted; the task of historicizing it still remains.

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