

# Sport on indigenous lands in the Paraná State: elements for a public policy

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Juliana Dias BOARETTO\*  
Giuliano Gomes de Assis PIMENTEL\*\*

\*Centro de Ciências da Saúde, Universidade Estadual do Paraná, Paranavai, PR, Brasil.  
\*\*Centro de Ciências da Saúde, Universidade Estadual de Maringá, Maringá, PR, Brasil.

## Abstract

This article answers the following questions: To the indigenous people of Paraná, what means the sports and body practices during leisure? How they interact their local practices with non-indigenous demonstrations? How can we think policies according to social practices and the Amerindian thought? In terms of methodology, we developed an action research within Guarani, Xetá and Kaingang communities. Consulting leaders conducted On-site assessments about needs and sporting potential of each community. We also held in conjunction with this public, training sessions of sports leaders, festival organizations, state games and collaborative actions to revitalize the body culture of these populations. The results show that the practice of cultural hybridization recurs in every population, but with specific uses and resignifications for each indigenous land. Among the physical practices, sport is the recurrent element in multicultural interaction, but choose body paint, fights and the dances, to mark the identity of the ethnic group with the language and craft. We conclude that the study participants see in the sport two mechanisms: a) redefinition of its historical practices; b) Intercultural dialogue with the non-indigenous society. If the knowledge must turn to the public interest, we suggest guiding area policies in this native intentionality.

KEYWORDS: Public policies; Indigenous population; Intercultural; Sport; Leisure.

## Introduction

From a universal perspective, a public policy of sport in Brazil 'must' serve the entire population, which includes the indigenous communities. However, do all indigenous groups think and experience sport in the same way? In fact, if we were to adopt a native viewpoint, this Amerindian perspective<sup>1</sup> would lead us to an ethnographic attitude, to the point where we first consider the views of the indigenous people with their over 305 ethnic groups<sup>2</sup> before establishing a policy whose cosmology is diametrically in conflict with native corporeity/spirituality.

Based on this assumption, we seek bodily practices in indigenous communities of Paraná, a southern Brazilian state, where the Kaingang, Guarani and Xetá ethnicities live. More specifically, in this article, our objective is to discuss: a) relevant aspects of the body culture of the ethnicities living in Paraná, b) the partnership process between leaders and researchers regarding the field of corporeal practices, and c) what elements of the local

culture promote Policies for Sports/Recreation for/with/from these communities.

We consider that the study of bodily practices - games and play - are understood as elements of the corporeal culture of each ethnic group, nevertheless, they assume sense and meanings according to the social context in which they are experienced. Therefore, they become foundational elements for the intercultural establishment of Public Policies related to Sport/Leisure in the Kaingang, Guarani and Xetá ethnic groups.

Thus, planning to carry out the research on Public Policies for Sports/Leisure in indigenous lands in Paraná took into account the theoretical-methodological arrangement between knowledge generation and action strategies, feeding the organicness between present assumptions, i.e. in the CEDES network (generate knowledge) and in the intervention programs of the Ministry of Sports, such as the PELC (Sports and

Leisure in the City Program, which currently has a line for traditional communities).

It is worth mentioning that when we inquire about what meanings the indigenous communities of Paraná attribute to the corporeal practices, we try to consider their codification for a leisure sports policy. As native thinking was guiding us, not all corporeal practice was relevant, as well as some manifestations, such as crafts and language, were emerging as central to reflect about this articulation between culture and leisure policies.

Given the fear that engagement might undermine scientific rigor, would there be a theoretical basis for sustaining academic work in the production of reflective and transforming knowledge?

The first element is what VIVEIROS DE CASTRO<sup>1</sup> considers as Amerindian perspectivism. For this author, knowledge is a social relation: if we already enter into an intercultural dialogue with the assumption that our knowledge is able to explain and subdue the knowledge of the other part, then there is no way to learn the other's point of view in the construction of reality. Therefore, if we want to know if, at least, each set of subjects within

an ethnic group wishes to have sports or leisure politics, we need to access what is the possible sport that the native understanding of politics and of sport allows to be materialized.

In addition, from our intercultural learning in the construction of solutions that are academically engaged with the transformation of society, we are still in dialogue with Public Sociology. In order to substantiate the dimension of social commitment, we understand that in the Public Sociology manifesto, according to BURAWOY<sup>3</sup>, there is an orientation that the social sciences mesh with publics, understanding those publics as people who are involved in this process. Public Sociology can also be understood as the one that is capable of participating in the political contest of society and that can maintain academic rigor in the pursuit of scientific-academic objectivity. The author, when dealing with publics, emphasizes that "we should not think of publics as fixed but as in flux and we should not think that we can participate in both their creation and their transformation"<sup>3</sup>.

## Method

Considering some misrepresentations about indigenous people today as populations that are still living in isolation, the researchers in this study were trained on the indigenous issue with the help of more experienced researchers. The project was developed in indigenous communities in the State of Paraná by combining different techniques: participant observation, interview, filming and document analysis. This descriptive step was complemented with action research, since the subjects studied demanded concrete answers in the work process and, thus, we were able to carry out pilot experiments of what would be the policies desired by them.

The work was carried out in all indigenous lands, totaling 30 communities (TABLE 1), and was carried out by UEM researchers, assisted by nine fellows of the project. The collected data were transcribed in the field diary and analyzed from the study's own categories that arose from the contact with the indigenous people.

The basic procedures regarding Ethics in Research with Human Beings were adopted, fulfilling the necessary criteria for the development of a research of this nature. Thus, the research was authorized by the local FUNAI (Indigenous People National

Foundation, a government organ linked to the Justice Ministry) and the Paraná Inter Tribal Committee, in addition to being approved by the Ethics Standing Committee in a local ethics committee, and later by the national ethics committee (necessary in the case of indigenous populations).

Before the trip, the researchers made contact with tribal chiefs and requested authorization, which was confirmed when entering each territory, by means of signing the consent term.

During some visits, changes were observed in some ethnic groups, such as in the Morro das Pacas, which went through the process of removing the Guarani Indians from the place and consequently sending them to another territory; There were also visits to territories that are in the process of fighting for recognition and demarcation, which presented precarious survival conditions of its residents. The length of stay in each territory ranged from three days to one week.

The data collection in the indigenous lands included a specific part on Sports / Leisure, with the addition of identifying the needs and potentialities of each territory. Concomitant to each descriptive step of the research, leaders and researchers discussed what could be done in terms of feedback about the

knowledge generated in the study. Next we aimed at some results, beginning with aspects of the diagnostic phase, followed by a topic in which we discussed the

results more related to the objective. It should be noted that most of the interviewees are men; with few political, artistic and sports leaders among women.

TABLE 1 - Indigenous communities in Paraná State.

	<b>Ethnic indigenous lands</b>	<b>Ethnicities</b>
01	Tekohá Ocoí	Guarani
02	Tekohá Añetete	Guarani
03	Tekohá Itamarã	Guarani
04	Pinhalzinho	Guarani
05	Laranjinha	Guarani
06	Yviporã Laranjinha	Guarani
07	Apucarana	Kaingang
08	Barão de Antonina	Kaingang
09	São Jerônimo	G K X
10	Mococa	Kaingang
11	Queimadas	Kaingang
12	Faxinal	Kaingang
13	Ívai	Kaingang
14	Marrecas	G K
15	Koho Mu Boa Vista	Kaingang
16	Mangueirinha	G K
17	Rios das Cobras	G K
18	Palmas	Kaingang
19	Rio Areia	Guarani
20	Ka' Aguy Guaxu Palmital	Guarani
21	Kakané Porá	G K X
22	Araçaí	Guarani
23	Ilha da Cotinga	Guarani
24	Guaraguaçu	Guarani
25	Cerco Grande	Guarani
26	Morro das Pacas	Guarani (Uninhabited)
<b>Land not demarcated</b>		
27	Tekohá Y'hovy	Guarani
28	Tekohá Porá	Guarani
29	Tekohá Marangatu	Guarani
30	Tekohá Araguajú	Guarani

Source: Organization of indigenous lands and ethnicities carried out by the authors.

## Results and discussion

### Basic findings

In terms of bodily practice that allows dialogue between different groups, football is the most present

practice, among both men and women. Thus, confirming Fassheber's study<sup>4</sup>, the Kaingang ethnicity value soccer as an expression of their ethnic strength, since it is a sport practiced by men and women. The

sport phenomenon has an important collaboration so that the corporal practices are resignified. However, it deals with interethnic processes that have generated hybrids. CANCLINI<sup>5</sup> looks for some motives that define the reason for this process of cultural hybridization, and despite the subject's complexity, he can explain the hybridization process according to three reasons:

- the first reason would be the fall of the great culture dissemination centers, with this growing cultural variety in the world, because there are no more centers that transmit the culture and that emit it in a homogeneous way, which would cause a plurality of cultures to break the society's old standard.

- the second reason is the dissemination of impure genres, taking the musical rhythms as an example, with which we can perceive that several rhythms became mixed and diffused with time, giving rise to a variation of new rhythms around the globe. The same can be seen in the culture, the mixture of customs caused a diffusion of mixed genres, which caused a rich cultural variation;

- the third reason is deterritorialization, which, according to the author was presented as a fundamental process for the process of globalization of cultures, since from there, they would mix and gain characteristics different from each other.

For the author<sup>5</sup> the hybridization process is multicultural, thus, it allows the respect, appreciation and tolerance of cultural diversities. However, when we think about the history of indigenous peoples, the colonizing process was not so tolerant, occurring in a violent way. In this sense, when we look at studies from HALL<sup>6</sup> and BHABHA<sup>7</sup> that also have the same object of study as CANCLINI<sup>5</sup>, the authors<sup>6-7</sup> portray cultural hybridism as a process that results from cultural clashes and shocks.

Thus, "cultural hybridization brings to the subject new forms of meaning that are often totally opposed to their cultural matrices of origin, a fact that causes a crisis of identity in the subject. And we also stress that it should not be forgotten that within the process of hybridism there are also control and power relations"<sup>8</sup> (p. 7). In a nutshell and in order to understand the process of hybridization, we approach the ideas as the three authors visualize the model of cultural hybridity.

When we approach the indigenous ethnic groups in the state of Paraná there are three: the Kaingang, the Guarani and the Xetá. The Kaingang, according to HENNERICH<sup>9</sup> studies, represent the third more populated ethnicity in the country. The language spoken is one in the Jê linguistic stem. They are

spread out in four Brazilian states: Sao Paulo, Paraná, Santa Catarina and Rio Grande do Sul. MOTA<sup>10</sup> and ISA - Instituto Socioambiental<sup>11</sup> complement that the Kaingang live in more than 30 Indigenous Lands and represent a small part of their traditional territories. Because they are distributed in four states, the situation is not homogeneous. In all cases, however, its social structure and cosmological principles continue to be in force, updated in the face of different historical conjunctures.

The Guarani are known by different names like: Chiripá, Kainguá, Montesés, Baticola, Apyteré, Tembukuá, among others. In this way, its self-denomination is Avá, which in Guarani means "person"<sup>12</sup>. The Guarani people inhabit a territory that includes regions in Brazil, Bolivia, Paraguay and Argentina and present differences internally in many groups very similar to each other<sup>12</sup>.

In the fundamental aspects of their culture and sociopolitical organizations, however, they are different in how each speaks the Guarani language, how they practice their religion and different in terms of the technologies they apply in relation to the environment<sup>12</sup>.

Such differences, which may be considered small from the non-indigenous point of view, play the role of ethnic markers, distinguishing exclusive political communities<sup>11</sup>.

These groups recognize historical, linguistic and cultural origin and proximity and, at the same time, differentiate themselves as a way of maintaining their socio-political and economic organizations<sup>12</sup>. The Guarani groups that live in Brazil today are: the Mbya, the Píi-Tavyterá, known in Brazil as Kaiowá, and the Guarani Avá denominated in Brazil as Ñandeva<sup>12</sup>.

The last ethnic group in the state of Paraná to contact the national society were the Xeta. In the 1940s, colonization fronts invaded its territory, reducing it drastically. By the end of the 1950s, they were practically exterminated<sup>13</sup>. In 1999 there were only eight survivors left. Today, they live scattered in the states of Paraná, Santa Catarina and São Paulo<sup>13</sup>.

In this sense and according to our interventions, the needs of the Xeta people were analyzed. Among them, there is a strong and unanimous claim on the agrarian issue, since they always remember being a landless people, who are "losing their identity". They report that these facts are the major cause of dependence on the "white people" and other ethnicities. Another aspect noted is the language issue, because currently only two representatives are fluent in the native language. The representatives of this ethnic group emphasize that the language is

essential for the cultural revitalization and culture maintenance facing the current society. They show pertinent concern with the future Xeta generations. The older ones are concerned with the strong influence of society, which has been superimposing on ancient customs.

Claudemir, a representative of the ethnic group in the indigenous territory of São Jerônimo, reports:

We no longer have the cool games we had. Everyone respected themselves. Not today. The young people of 10, 8 and 9 years old and more only think what is not proper and go astray. Today you do not see a youth spend a day by the river fishing. And they no longer want to go fishing with their father, spend a weekend with their father. What they want is to be near the other youth; they want to keep pace with society.

Another report that we consider relevant in our analysis is Julio's, chief representative of the community of São Jerônimo. He describes his people's plight:

We are trying to seek the culture of our ancestors, such as the corporal fight, we need a car to take the youth to play ball... and see what we can retrieve for the children to play and that's it, I'm even getting emotional about it (...) I also really wanted to play target shooting, you know. I think we should have bow and arrow to remember the ancestors, because until now I have not seen anyone doing it.

Regarding cultural traits, the Xetá consider their landless condition as an aggravating element. Paradoxically, when they were expelled from their land in the 1950s and 1960s, they hunted and collected their food. Thus, even the organization of a territory does not guarantee the reproduction of its original basis of material life. Culture cannot be seen as something inert, without transformation. However traumatic the dissolution of their collectivity was, the Xeta will not return to the initial conditions of their existence. They will have to reinvent themselves from the combination of new elements.

Certainly, a more in-depth analysis of these subjects' discourse does not fall within the limits of this article, but it is worth pointing out a certain recurrence of indigenous people who idealize the past relations as more harmonic. Thus, they must be differentiated from the struggle for a people that longs for social and cultural self-determination.

In this way, the discussion on the limits of the local culture facing the so-called universal culture is a prevailing debate in the present time and has serious consequences in the Public Policies. Therefore, it is essential to understand the

internal logic of the Xetá group, in order to situate it multiculturally in the face of the imperatives of a Rule of Law in the Brazilian context.

As far as the youth and their corporal activities in the different ethnic groups of Paraná, the presence of soccer, as well as of video-game, was observed. The young people say: "Our playing field is on the ground itself, many people even play barefoot until it hurts... When there is no ball, we play video game." When asked what games they like, they reported: "We played Playstation II, we like Dragon Ball and another fighting game. We think it is very interesting."

While there are some specific demands, the overall picture points to common demands, especially regarding support for football teams. It is interesting to note that they differ between sports leaders<sup>3</sup> and political leaders. The political leader is responsible for the dialogue with non-Indians. He is chosen by the community and can be changed at any time according to the community needs. The sports leader also has his work similar to the political one, however, his leadership is committed to promote and develop participation and sports experiences in the most different sports aspects: mainly as mentioned by the leaders, in the search for "support in transportation and sports materials". Another leadership with a fundamental role in the Guarani ethnicity is the spiritual leader, who is not elected/chosen by the community, he was born assigned to this role, being the main counselor in the community.

With the end of the project, it is hoped, in its entirety, to identify what has been done in terms of Sport/Leisure for the indigenous communities in Paraná, aiming at intersectorial interventions in order to value their cultural dynamics. As a more emblematic result, an experimental model of intervention in Sports/Leisure for indigenous communities will be offered, in addition to training of sports leaders.

The results point out that there is an internal process, supported by the leaderships, of resumption of the ethnic groups' language and traditional practices, if they value memory in the co-educational process. On the other hand, there is absorption of external technologies and practices, which are appropriate and re-signified to the local ethos.

Language is, in fact, a form of resistance, from which the other cultural experiences are reorganized.

In this way, the practical results of this research will aim to impact the evaluation of policies, their intersectorial integration, the greater and better indigenous communities' access of to leisure, and also the knowledge of the national creation sport and its



promotion in the actions of governments, entities and productive sectors.

It is important to emphasize that all groups carry out displacement between territories as a tradition, whether due to marriages or even due to expulsion of dissidents, which must be welcomed in another land, according to the deliberation of the Indigenous Council of Paraná. Because of these displacements and the presence of indigenous people in the cities, especially for selling their products, a recurring problem is being hit by vehicles<sup>10</sup>. On the other hand, displacements are an anthropological constant in these groups. Thus, tournaments and festivals are important attractions for them, since it is a playful way of experiencing new experiences, even for a short time.

When one thinks about the problem of indigenous access to existing policies, the expansion of Sports/Leisure possibilities, and the necessary promotion of national sports from the 305 ethnic groups<sup>2</sup>, it is not a question of simple and unequivocal causalities, but of the conjunction of linguistic, geographical, historical, cultural and economic factors. In fact, the communication barrier, geographic isolation, exploitation and genocide during the colonial process, differences of ethos, and material way of life are basic challenges for thinking about the problem. Therefore, the need for this research to consider the interface of Sport and Leisure Policy with other Sectoral Policies, a position emphasized by the 2<sup>nd</sup> National Meeting of Managers and Agents of City Sports and Leisure Program (Brasília-DF, November 7 to 10, 2007).

Thinking about sports as cultural production is essential, so we understand in accordance with SANTIN<sup>14</sup> that they are “carriers of a deeply ambiguous polysemy, because their meaning depends on the field of practices that constitute them and where they are inserted” (p. 14). In this way, guaranteeing the development of sports activities with traits of our culture, like the indigenous one, is a way of (re)knowing and valuing our diversity, that is, in the words of SANTIN<sup>14</sup>, is “causing it to be revered and cultivated by the playful imagination of each community.” It implies letting social groups develop their creativity in their own spaces and times, following their inspirations “and not submit to the geometrized models of training that obstruct and atrophy the inventive spirit.” This enables alterity and, with it, the (re) knowing of the “other” in its condition of “other” and therefore in its difference.

## From bargain to partnership

In the research carried out by MELIÀ<sup>15</sup>, he draws attention to the fact that a variety of indigenous peoples have their livelihoods with their languages and cultures, and sometimes “without their languages, but with their cultures”, which surpassed the clashes of the colonial period, as well as those resulting from the assimilation and integration in more recent times.

The alterity of the indigenous people would have been sustained due to their own strategies, one of them being, in the opinion of the researchers, the pedagogical action. In fact, this is one of the central questions defended by MELIÀ<sup>15</sup>, especially when he warns that there is still an indigenous education in these peoples that enhances their way of being and their culture, with continuity in other generations. This did not happen without struggles and resistance. As the author explains, “attacks on alterity and difference occurred in a multiple way, but perhaps we can summarize them in: imposition of a general or national language, national curriculum and teachers for indigenous peoples” (p. 14). Thus, the construction of alterity has specific objectives in each community and has its own methods, one of them emphasized by community participation in the indigenous community. “Alterity is always, after all, a philosophy of life, and cannot be treated in the margin of what we call the construction of the person” (p. 15).

The 1988 Federal Constitution guarantees Sports/Leisure as every Brazilian citizen’s right. However, as PAULA<sup>16</sup> warns, “although the 1988 Federal Constitution recognized these peoples’ right to a specific and differentiated education (articles 231, 210 and 215), teachers and indigenous communities continue to suffer unacceptable pressures day by day [...]”. For the researcher, instead of thinking about school in an indigenous area, we should think of “actual indigenous school”, inserted in the educational community peculiar to each people.

On the other hand, the Ministry of Education has been optimizing policies in order to make excluded ethnic groups valued in the formal education system. This can be proven through Law no. 9,394 of December 20, 1996, which was amended by Law no. 10,639, of January 9, 2003, which was amended by Law no. 11,645, of March 10, 2008, which includes in the official curriculum of the Education system the obligation of including the theme “Afro-Brazilian and Indigenous History and Culture”<sup>17</sup>. The law text advise about a syllabus that includes several aspects of history and culture that characterize the Brazilian population formation from these two ethnic groups, re-signifying

their contribution in the social, economic and political areas. Although it is legal, but not always known, recognized and used yet, it is one of the important governmental actions that can contribute to a paradigm shift in relation to these ethnic groups.

In Brazil, despite the extermination of several indigenous populations, as mentioned previously, there are 305 ethnic groups<sup>2</sup>. In Paraná, there are many villages which house one or more of the three ethnic groups living in them. Although state actions aimed at these groups are recognized, the knowledge of Sports/Leisure in indigenous communities through research is scarce, making it impossible for administrators to see this reality.

At present, just to illustrate, the Indigenous Peoples Games is the most evident work among the country's indigenous peoples regarding Public Policies on Sports and Leisure. According to TERENA<sup>18</sup>, one of the creators of the games, the relevance of the sport event is in how it can revitalize the cultural practices of each ethnic group and among them, even in the middle of the city.

The games emerged in 1996 and reflect the indigenous mobilization to achieve the constitutional guarantee to Sports and Leisure. The participation of indigenous people from the South occurs regularly. Notwithstanding this representation, in the understanding of the indigenous leaders of Paraná, priority is given to the Amazonian indigenous peoples, since participation in the Games is considered as a political affirmation of the groups that would hold a supposedly strong or true culture. From the majority of these local leaders' points of view, the indigenous peoples of Paraná did not know how to present an original culture, losing the opportunity to participate in National Indigenous Games. In this sense, for leaders, the association with the university is essential both to the revitalization of their corporeal practices (which, for them, generate political capital) and to legitimize their knowledge in a national setting seen by the leaders as unfavorable in comparison with the Amazonian indigenous peoples.

This aspect of not having access, whether real or imagined, is important in order to look at their perspective as an element that needs to be considered. In a different way, from our perspective, the study had identified other shortcomings such as: inequalities in participation in sports events between men and women; weaknesses in Sports/Leisure Policies; diverse processes of cultural hybridization in different manifestations, especially soccer and

dance; a project that values traditions related to language, spirituality, food, ethnomedicine and corporeal practices. Thus, after the diagnosis, in the research's participant phase it was necessary to make a choice: to accept the difficulties pointed out by them or those seen by the researchers?

In order to add our choice, from a Public perspective, we welcome an articulation with the groups that understood revitalization as a common problem for the embryo of an intercultural intervention, associating indigenous leaders and university. Thus, we did not isolate ourselves from reality as we carried out the diagnosis of State actions in indigenous lands, as well as the material and immaterial heritage related to the culture of these peoples. The subjects involved did not present us with only the communities' wishes and potentialities. They also brought their needs, so there was a great exchange between researchers and subjects.

Therefore, when the results indicate that there is an internal process supported by the leaderships aimed at reacquiring the language, of the traditional practices valuing memory in the co-educational process, such needs are not fulfilled due to the lack of Public Policies. On the other hand, we also detect the assimilation of external technologies and practices, which are appropriate and re-signified to the local ethos. Faced with this dynamics, of sometimes being open and others, closed, the leaders asked for "material exchanges" as a condition to allow research on their lands. This process initially seemed to us as a form of bargaining, but there was a more structural meaning. It was the way the respondents made connections with the researchers to build alliances. Research, therefore, not only acknowledge the reality, but gave the researcher the opportunity to transform what it discovered.

In order to illustrate this process, researchers and leaderships produced collaborative research, leadership training, political meetings with state authorities, photographic and video records in the ethno-documentary format, two soccer tournaments, being the second one also for women competitors, a cultural festival, an edition of State Indian Games in the national model, and assemblies, in addition to local actions on the territories.

To the limit of this text, we highlight the use of technologies to preserve the memory of indigenous corporeal practices. During the research period a Kaingang dance DVD was produced in Ivaí to illustrate our appropriation of Public Sociology through intercultural dialogue.

From the contacts in the Paraná Indigenous Lands made by the members of the research project, we had the opportunity of getting to know the dance developed by the Kaingang of the Ivaí indigenous land, located in the municipalities of Manoel Ribas and Pitanga. The dance group is called “Kakrekin” in Kaingang and in Portuguese it means “Tamanduá”<sup>a</sup>.

We got to know the dances and their development in the community through the teachers and leaders Adalton and José Carlos, where we observed that this process allowed a re-signification from the relation between traditional and modern elements and values. In this way, we understand that elements of tradition are not totally abandoned, but they rather incorporate elements that are distinctive of modernity through cultural hybridization.

However, in getting to know and experiencing the process of resignification of their dances, there was a commitment of not posting on the internet without a substantiating knowledge about this people, after all, if our interest was to get to know, register and show that practice as an object of Public Policies and revitalization of their culture, the first thing to do would be to prevent us from being agents of “piracy” with that cultural heritage of the Kaingang people, according to one of the leaders of the dance,

[...] let's suppose... an example that we have is the internet itself... that they copy every photo and assemble in the internet there... and leave it there... so my biggest fear is that... In our performances it is like that... I'm usually afraid of this... people like that photographing us... and putting it on the Internet without asking for permission from me, or the chief... My biggest fear is this too (10/05/2010, Adalton, Manoel Ribas and Pitanga).

In addition to this expropriation, Teacher Adalton stresses the need to keep his culture hidden in the eyes of the world, preserving it as a precautionary measure to prevent the indigenous culture from being misrepresented:

[...] we at the dance group attended for three years the FERA project with Science, and in those three years we were in first place among many dances... but I was disappointed with a teacher... guess what?... a History teacher itself... she was from Astorga and her group was going to perform on stage before us... but the tears came in me you know?... a Astorga History teacher talking on the stage there that they had 20 years of research about the marks on the face, the steps, about the dance, about the song and I said then... I was looking forward to seeing that dance... but

it started to present all those smeared marks like that, totally outside the indigenous culture... the clothes were other things... the steps were totally non-indigenous... outside the reality of indigenous dance... and they had 20 years of research... but... you know that it touched me... you being an indigenous person there, having something to show that is of the community's reality of your people there... but other people go first and show something that was taken from them, and they think that was it... that they did this... and that... without researching... then that touched me... so my biggest fear is that too (10/05/2010, Adalton, Manoel Ribas and Pitanga).

In the light of Adalton's accounts, we could observe that he also recognizes the importance of valuing and disseminating his culture in the social environment outside the community. However, he requested from the research group the production of a DVD that was for their exclusive use, to which he argued:

because my biggest dream is with this group... which exists for five years now... my biggest dream is to make a DVD for these people (10/05/2010, Adalton, Manoel Ribas and Pitanga).

Professor Adalton in his speech elucidates his concern with documenting and recording corporeal practices through dance, and this concern resembles what GARAUDY<sup>19</sup> brings when dealing with dances as a means of asserting oneself as a member of one's group, which in his own words he emphasizes, “since the origin of societies, it is through dances and songs that the man affirms himself as a member of a community that transcends him.” Adalton exemplifies, so that we understand better his “dream” of recording the dances:

[...] the participants of the group, these people were before a huge group that has already happened here... but just talk, I think it's nothing... if... if I... let's suppose I say my children were this, they danced a lot in the past... but people cannot remember it now... I speak here normally like this, I explain everything well... but tomorrow the people who live around forget everything... It only really stays in the past... in history (10/05/2010, Adalton, Manoel Ribas and Pitanga).

As a teacher of the dance group, Adalton wanted the production of the DVD recording the dances of his group for the youth's knowledge, as well as for the community in general, meeting his objectives. With research resources, the DVD was produced from presentations with criteria related to content and location established by Kaingang. In addition, they



helped the research group to put the media material into their language (Kaingang, Jê linguistic stem).

In our analysis, if corporal practices are protected by the indigenous peoples surveyed, on the other hand, they disseminate what they select and consider being relevant about themselves as another act of resistance to colonization. This action is because of a second dimension in which corporeal practices positively mark their cultural identity vis-à-vis non-indigenous people and even as a demonstration of superiority to other territories or ethnic groups. This device related to the traditional manifestations, in turn, is complementary to the use that soccer has to the Kaingang of Paraná<sup>4</sup>, when their victories over other peoples, including non-indigenous peoples, serves to situate their force even in the sport coming from the Other's culture.

Thus, Paraná has at least 30 Indigenous Lands, considering that the process of fighting for new territories still occurs. Although Sports/Leisure seems to be roughly marginal in relation to the needs of the Xetá, Kaingang and Guarani peoples, we conclude that these ethnicities participating in the study allocate two important mechanisms to the sport: a) protection (closure in itself), which is the updating of their historical practices; b) projection (opening to the other), that is, intercultural dialogue with non-indigenous society, in which these practices reinforce their identity vis-a-vis otherness.

In corporal practices we find a form of cultural affirmation of these ethnicities and we think how Sports/Leisure Policies could be developed, in an intersectoral perspective.

In this respect, in agreement with the assumption that knowledge should be turned to public interest, we suggest that the policies of this area be based on this native project in order to value Sport/Leisure in the Amerindian perspective. The path by which we arrived at this orientation was the result of the relationship that

the leaders built with the researchers, in order to bring them immediate return from the first steps of the research.

What initially seemed to be a kind of bargain to us was becoming a bond, a closer link, revealing a relationship with those peoples through research. Its public dimension was in the very act of knowledge, which seems to be an Amerindian perspective to be considered.

In the work development, public interests and research have been translated into a common perspective. In the same way, the leaders mediated data collection between their group and researches, and the latter became means for the local demands to be met, from their specific resolution to the qualification of the indigenous persons for their project of struggle.

In presenting the project and its results we also presented ourselves, from the beginning, as committed to facing the challenges of those peoples. What changed was that, initially, our readings were still generalized, with the perception of indigenous people as a generic identity (there is no universal indigenous people, since, in fact, each ethnicity has its particularities), a perception of them that was romantic (indigenous as good savage preserved from civilization), and hierarchical (the researcher who will 'rescue' the indigenous culture).

In this sense, if the researcher gets rid of these prejudices, understanding the needs and power relations of each territory and / or ethnicity, it will be the natives themselves who, in the course of the process, will become participants, with a fundamental and active role in the unfolding and carrying out of the research. Analogously, we think the Public Policies as an investment to dialogue with the native, who uses this mediation for a double dialogue: protect and project their corporeal practices.

## Note

a. Tamanduá is a genus of anteaters, an animal native to Central and South America with no correspondent name in English.

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## Resumo

O esporte em terras indígenas no Paraná: elementos para uma política pública

Este artigo responde às seguintes questões: Para as populações indígenas do Paraná o que significam as práticas corporais esportivas no lazer? Como eles interagem suas práticas locais com as manifestações não indígenas? Como podemos pensar políticas a partir das práticas sociais e do pensamento ameríndio? Em termos metodológicos, desenvolvemos pesquisa-ação junto às populações Guarani, Xetá e Kaingang. Foram realizados inventários "in loco", consultando lideranças sobre necessidades e potencialidades esportivas de cada comunidade. Também realizamos, em articulação com este público, ações de formação de lideranças esportivas, construção de festivais, jogos estaduais e ações colaborativas de revitalização da cultura corporal desses povos. Os resultados apontam que a prática de hibridação cultural é recorrente em cada povo, mas com usos e ressignificações específicas para cada terra indígena. Dentre as práticas corporais, o esporte é o elemento mais recorrente na interação multicultural, mas a pintura corporal, as lutas e as danças são eleitas para marcar a identidade da etnia junto à língua e ao artesanato. Concluímos que os povos participantes do estudo vêm no esporte dois mecanismos: a) ressignificação de suas práticas históricas; b) diálogo intercultural com a sociedade não indígena. Se o conhecimento deve se voltar ao interesse público, sugerimos que as políticas da área se pautem nessa intencionalidade nativa.

PALAVRAS-CHAVE: Políticas públicas; População indígena; Intercultural; Esporte; Lazer.

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ADDRESS

**Juliana Dias Boaretto**  
**R. Padre Antônio Vieira, 1080**  
**87710-030 - Paranavaí - PR - BRASIL**  
**e-mail: julivictor@yahoo.com.br**

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