

Trajectories of peasant women in Espírito Santo: permanence's and discontinuities

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ABSTRACT. This article aims to understand the trajectory of peasant women in Espírito Santo from the period of 1930 to 2017, in the search for an understanding of the ways in which they lived/live and perceived/perceive their childhood, personal trajectories, insertion processes as workers and participants in the social spaces of their communities, as well as the meanings that schooling assumes throughout their lives. It uses as theoretical and methodological support Carlo Ginzburg's (1988, 1989, 2002, 2007) thinking, based on the assumptions of microhistory and the indicial paradigm, in cooperation with Mikhail Bakhtin's (2003, 2004) work, taking the narratives as concrete statements. As a source, it analyzes the narratives of four peasant women, born in Espírito Santo, materialized in the *Cadernos da Realidade* (Notebooks of Reality) of graduation students in Countryside Education/UFES. The analysis indicates continuities and discontinuities in the trajectories of these women in the period of investigation. As permanencies, it stands out that women still occupy domestic spaces, mainly exerting herculean activities, devoid of economic value. In addition, the patriarchal model of family/society is presented in the narratives and in the records of women from different generations. Evidence of discontinuities also emanate from the documents, such as: insertion as a child in the schooling process, the role of women in domestic services, community and wider spaces in society, such as the University.

Keywords: Peasant Women, Notebook of Reality, Espírito Santo, Permanence's, Discontinuities.

Trajetórias de mulheres camponesas no Espírito Santo: permanências e descontinuidades

RESUMO. Este texto visa compreender a trajetória de mulheres camponesas no Espírito Santo no período de 1930 a 2017, na busca pela compreensão dos modos como viveram/vivem e perceberam/percebem sua infância, trajetórias pessoais, processos de inserção como trabalhadoras e partícipes dos espaços sociais de suas comunidades, bem como os sentidos que a escolarização assume ao longo de suas vidas. Privilegia como aporte teórico-metodológico o pensamento de Carlo Ginzburg (1988, 1989, 2002, 2007), com os pressupostos da micro-história e do paradigma indiciário, e o de Mikhail Bakhtin (2003, 2004), tomando as narrativas como enunciados concretos. Como fonte, analisa os discursos/narrativas de quatro mulheres camponesas capixabas materializadas nos Cadernos da Realidade dos estudantes da Licenciatura em Educação do Campo/UFES. As análises indiciam permanências e descontinuidades nas trajetórias das mulheres capixabas no período investigado. Como permanências, destaca-se a mulher ocupando os espaços domésticos, sobretudo, exercendo atividades hercúleas, desprovidas de valor econômico. Ademais, o modelo patriarcal de família/sociedade presentifica-se nas narrativas e nos registros de mulheres de diferentes tempos geracionais. Emanam dos documentos indícios de descontinuidades, tais como: a inserção ainda criança no processo de escolarização, o protagonismo das mulheres no âmbito doméstico, comunitário e nos espaços mais amplos da sociedade, como a Universidade.

Palavras-chave: Mulheres Camponesas, Caderno da Realidade, Espírito Santo, Permanências, Descontinuidades.

Trayectoria de las mujeres campesinas en Espírito Santo: permanencias y discontinuidades

RESUMEN. Este texto pretende entender la trayectoria de las mujeres campesinas en Espírito Santo, durante el período de 1930 a 2017, con el objetivo de comprender los modos como vivieron/viven y percibieron/perciben su infancia. Así como las trayectorias personales, procesos de inserción en el trabajo y participación en los espacios sociales de sus comunidades, al igual que el sentido que la escolarización asume a lo largo de sus vidas. Se privilegian los aportes del pensador Carlo Ginzburg (1988, 1989, 2002, 2007), en relación a la micro-historia y el paradigma indiciario, además de los referentes de Mikhail Bakhtin (2003, 2004), donde se toman las narrativas como enunciados concretos. Como objeto de estudio, se analizan los discursos/narrativas de cuatro mujeres campesinas nacidas en Espírito Santo materializados en los Cuadernos de la Realidad de los estudiantes de Licenciatura en Educación del Campo/UFES. Los análisis indican permanencias y discontinuidades en las trayectorias de las mujeres nacidas en esta provincia, durante el periodo investigado. Como permanencias, se destaca a la mujer ocupando espacios domésticos, sobre todo, ejerciendo actividades hercúleas, desprovistas de valor económico. Además, el modelo patriarcal de familia/sociedad se exterioriza en las narrativas y en los registros de las mujeres de diferentes tiempos generacionales. Se derivan de los documentos, indicios de discontinuidades, como: la inserción infantil en el proceso de escolarización, el protagonismo de las mujeres en el ámbito doméstico, comunitario y en los espacios más amplios de la sociedad, como la Universidad.

Palabras-clave: Mujeres Campesinas, Cuaderno de la Realidad. Espírito Santo, Permanencias, Discontinuidades.

Introduction

The Licenciante in Countryside Education at the Federal University of Espírito Santo (hereinafter LEC/UFES), with qualification in Human and Social Sciences and Languages, is intended for the training of teachers whose teaching functions should be practiced in the final years of Elementary School and Secondary Education, as well as in other spaces in which the graduates' degree is recognized. The LEC/UFES is a classroom course that takes on the Pedagogy of Alternation as a methodological reference, highlighting, in that way, according to the course's PPC, the pretension of "... contributing, in the diversity of pedagogical actions, to the accomplishment of the countryside education as a human right and a tool for social development". (PPC/LEC/UFES, 2015, p. 04).

Therefore, the referred course, bearing in mind the interlocution of the scientific knowledge with the knowledge arising from the peasant communities, endeavours the further development of the issues related to the countryside education through the joint reflection, dialogic and dialectic with the academic production from the perspective of the emergency of the complexity that, recently, affects the peasantry.

We underscore the pioneerism of the state of Espírito Santo in the introduction of the Pedagogy of Alternance in Brazil, through the Movimento Promocional do Espírito Santo (Espírito Santo's Promotional movement) (MEPES) in the city of Anchieta. This pedagogy takes a prominent position regarding the problematization to be voiced in the training spaces of the graduating students because, as exhibited by Caliar *et al.* (2013, p. 38-39, author notes), "we're convinced that the Pedagogy of Alternation, *by talking to its reality*, the developed activities and its role in knowledge organization, must have affinity and a clear expression of activities in this own reality ...".

Consequently, we comprehend that point out and problematize the know-how created with/by the peasant women through the Pedagogy of Alternation becomes effectively relevant, since the materialization of the speech reproduced by them made through the Notebooks of Reality allows us to reach not only the linguistic, but also the historical, social, cultural and ideological aspects that permeate them.

As a didactic-methodological resource, the Notebook of Reality constitutes the Pedagogy of Pedagogy of Alternation as the materialization of direct

mediation of reality in dialogue with the theoretical contributions accessed.

Therefore, its existence and use allow the direct access of theory in practice, facilitating the realization of *praxis* in a given context. From this conception, we bring, again, Caliari *et al.* (2013, p. 50-51) evidencing the Notebook of Reality as a “...opportunity for the student to reflect on their daily life and how much is bound with their environment ...” and, in addition, portray “...the history of their family, their social context, the geophysical and economic understanding of the environment in which they live ...”.

Consequently, given its specificity of uncovering the paradoxically strange reality and/or new discovery that constitutes the daily life of the student, the Notebook of Reality becomes, in this sense, a document, a sort of dossier of precise or, sometimes, circumstantial, information allowing us, therefore, to pursue tracks, threads and traces which help the vision/action on the existence detected, in the possibility of reflecting and acting with and before it, approaching us to the credible, through an indirect, indicial and conjectural knowledge (Ginzburg, 2002). From this perspective, we understand that the primary link between school content and the student's social reality becomes evident through mediation

provided and materialized in and through the Notebook of Reality.

Based on these considerations, we understand that investigating the trajectory of peasant women in the state of Espírito Santo between 1930 and 2017, in the perspective of verifying permanence's and ruptures relating to social, family, educational (schooling) aspects through the Notebook of Reality and the narratives of these women, becomes not only relevant but fruitful, once the materiality of the discourses produced there goes back to a specific look and, consequently, an already problematization and/or reflection regarding the dialogue between theory and socio-historical context.

With this understanding, to meet the greater purpose of this paper¹, explained above, this text aims, more specifically: a) to understand the ways in which peasant women in Espírito Santo live/lived and perceive/perceived their childhood and their personal trajectories; b) to investigate the processes of insertion of these women in the work and in the social spaces of their communities during the period investigated; and c) understand the meanings that schooling assumes for these women, throughout their life trajectories.

Aiming at the proposed goals and in the sense of defining our analysis, whose corpus consists of the discourses/narratives

of four women, materialized in the Notebooks of Reality, we brought as a theoretical-methodological reference the studies of Ginzburg (1988, 1989, 2002, 2007) and Bakhtin (2003, 2004), guided by the need to look at the multiplicity of sources and the interrogation of documents for the production of the historiographical narrative as well as the consideration of the Notebook of Reality as concrete statements and, in this sense, as discursive genres. We also show contributions of Cordeiro (2007), Paulilo (2009) and Neves e Medeiros (2013), considering the main theme of our paper, the trajectories experienced by peasant women. We also think that these documents constitute vestiges, threads, and traces (Ginzburg, 2007) for the understanding of the singularities that characterize the trajectories of the women from Espírito Santo in the period under analysis.

For the organization of the text, we list three axes/categories which emerged from the cited sources and guided our research, namely:

- Peasant women from Espírito Santo: memories of childhood and their personal trajectories;
- The work, challenges and social insertion of peasant women in Espírito Santo;

- The schooling processes of Espírito Santo's peasant women.

These axes/categories follow the objectives of the research. Therefore, aspiring to the organization, clarity and objectivity of our study, then, we show some studies that brought the peasant woman as a focus; in a later section, we seek the potential of the research topic, through a deepening of the theoretical-methodological referential announced; later, we give samples of the discursive *corpus* composed by the texts materialized in and by the Notebooks of Reality, which are analyzed and discussed as statements, immersed in the discursive dynamics to which they were produced.

Peasant women in literature: the thematic field of the articulation between gender and peasantry

Historically, the conception of women in the Brazilian context has undergone different modes of understanding and idealization, both domestically and socially. In colonial Brazil "...the indigenous considered the woman a companion, finding no reason for differences in educational opportunities. They did not see, as the whites warned them, the peril that could represent the fact that their women were literate ... ", besides that, "... the work and pleasure of man, like

those of the indigenous woman, were considered equitable and socially useful ...". (Ribeiro, 2011, p. 80)ⁱⁱ.

Sexual exploitation at the time of the colony was intense and abundant. The Portuguese, supported by evident patriarchalism and force, came to Brazil without their families and abused indigenous and enslaved black women. In Brazil colonial period, the sixteenth-century man dominated and decided the course of the domestic and social life of the family. According to Holanda (1995), the word family originates from the expression *famulus*, of Latin origin, which means: domestic slaves of the same lord. Therefore, it is understood that this word and/or expression refers to obedience to a patriarchal lord, *my husband, lord, my father, lord*.

In this context, when women had their first menstruation, by the age of 11 or 12, they were ready to marry. These girls were guarded at all times by their father and brothers to protect their virginity. The woman was described as dependent and subordinate, which was subject to the domination of the father or the husband, having domestic duties as a single obligation and removed from important economic decisions. The woman of this time, therefore, always dedicated herself to the private space. Work for her was only

related to household chores (Ribeiro, 2011). Reflecting on the history of women in Brazil inevitably addresses the ways they lived in the countryside, for until the early nineteenth century, Brazil was a huge rural country. The dominant elite's lifestyle in Brazilian society was marked by influences from the imaginary of the Portuguese aristocracy, from the day-to-day of commoner farmers, and from the social differences and interactions defined by the slave system and determined by total patriarchalism. The so-called Brazilian patriarchal family, commanded by the father who possessed enormous power over his dependents, clans and slaves, inhabited the great house and dominated the senzala (D'Incao, 2004).

We know the challenges of writing about the history of women, both because of the strong sexism that prevails in our society, and because of the secondary social place that women have occupied and, not infrequently, still occupy in many communities. Thus, dealing with the history of women is already a necessary effort and, because they are peasant women from the state of Espírito Santo, this task is even more fruitful, since the historiography of this state has been the focus of current research, but it still demands a lot of historiographical effort in the sense of groping the semi-invisibility

of Espírito Santo's history (Simões & Franco, 2004).

We add to these challenges the fact that we cover the trajectory of peasant women, a theme that has occupied the place of social invisibility in research (Neves & Motta-Maués, 2013). According to Neves e Motta-Maués (2013), among the common places in the interpretations of many authors who deal with women's forms of action in the peasantry, there is the exaltation that they perform Herculean tasks, play a fundamental role in the position of defense of land tenure or even movements in the face of their expropriation, however, they often do not have these tasks recognized by their respective social and economic values.

Therefore, to corroborate the thinking of Del Priori (2004), we ask: would the time have come to talk, without prejudice, about women? Had the time come to read about them, without so many *a priori*? Much has been written about the difficulty of constructing the history of women, masqueraded as they were by the speech of men and absent from the historical setting. Believing that this discussion is not over, the present study constitutes the starting point for investigations that focus on peasant women in Espírito Santo. Consequently, we aim to make visible, through the records and

discourses of the Notebooks of Reality, the trajectories of peasant women from Espírito Santo communities.

What do the studies on peasant women in Brazil show?

When analyzing the thematic field of the articulation between gender and peasantry, Neves, Santos e Cruz (2013) point to the social invisibility of women in academic productionsⁱⁱⁱ. Such occurrence is usually explained by male domination, sometimes in absolute terms, given the reference to the so hegemonic masculinizing influence of institutional rules and organization; or defended by affiliations and political complicities of the researchers with the repudiation to the submission of women; or investments based on the construction of denunciations as part of the political procedures for change in their respective power relations. Regarding this social invisibility and the risks of considering it in interpretations and analysis, the authors assert:

If social invisibility can be understood by the impossibility of participating in public life or by the non-recognition of the active role of women in the elaboration process of social life, to accept it as a principle of interpretation is to stand up to the requirement of at least explaining, in each situation, how public life and its social organization are defined (Neves, Santos & Cruz, 2013, p. 351-352).

When analyzing the set of studies on gender in rural areas, Neves, Santos e Cruz (2013) alert to the scarcity of research that is concerned with recent changes in the social and ideological organization of the Western world that have interfered in family life and in the roles previously attributed to women, in this case peasant women. They therefore show a significant " ... lack of interpretations about the metaphorical transformation described as a social revolution in the face of changes in relations between the sexes, as well as social displacements in these terms" (Neves, Santos & Cruz, 2013, p. 352).

In quantitative terms, Neves (2013) surveyed 12 studies, between dissertations and thesis defended in postgraduate programs in the country, between 1995 and 2007, analyzing gender relations in the rural world. Of this total, 3 papers are of special interest to us (Oliveira, 2007; Janata, 2004; & Brochado, 1998 apud Neves, 2013) because they are about women in rural areas.

Neves (2013) analyzes the master's dissertation in Education of the Federal University of Paraíba, defended in 2007 by Maria Lucia Lopes de Oliveira, who takes as physical and social space of analysis a settlement in Cariri Paraibano. The main objective of the research was to identify the transformations that occurred in the

daily lives of women in rural settlements. It encompasses personal and collective relationships, considered through the recognition of the experience of women in empowerment processes and under an interventional work, based on the feminist formation proposed by the Coletivo Feminista (Feminist Group) and Centro Da Mulher 8 De Março (March 8th Women's Center).

The most evident results highlighted by the author were: elevated self-esteem; exercise of speech in public spaces; social recognition of knowledge's that they dominate; and their enrichment resulting from new knowledge in the development of their practical skills. These material acquisitions, but mainly of symbols of prestige, according to the author, facilitated: the access to credit policies; recognition of the identity of rural worker; the critical awareness of the inequalities of power that refer to relations between women and men and the patterns of social organization (Neves, 2013). Another study analyzed by Neves (2013) is entitled "*Gossiping on the culture of work and the playfulness of girls-youngsters-women from MST (agrarian reform movement) settlements*". This dissertation is a Master's Degree in Physical Education, Federal University of Santa Catarina, defended in 2004 by Natacha Eugênia Janata.

Neves (2013) points out that the investigation was limited to the study of the articulation between the physical education activity and the production of social movement engagements, particularly in the Landless Rural Workers Movement (MST). Starting from the problematic of the migration of rural youth to the city, the objective of Janata (2004) was to understand the relationships and contradictions between the culture of working and playing lived and built by youngsters of the 30 de Outubro and São José Settlements. Both are representatives of mobilizations coordinated by MST leaders and are located in the municipality of Campos Novos - Santa Catarina.

Janata (2004), when valuing the participation of women in participatory research activities, brings to the reader's knowledge the situational explicitation of dreams. Through this collective reflection, women acquired a new meaning in face of the engagements in the political project of MST (Neves, 2013).

Ofélia Cerinéia Brochado, Master in Geography (Human) in 1998 by the University of São Paulo, Brazil, in the context of agricultural studies, focusing on issues related to working conditions and reproduction of human life, in the text *Work, Health and Reproduction of Life: The bóia-fria woman in the divided world*

of Paraguaçu Paulista, considers the work of women in the sugar cane fields of the country. In emphasizing the participation of women, the author claims her affiliation to gender studies, sizing the conditions of existence of the female sugar cane cutter, subject of double exploration: as a woman and as a worker (Neves, 2013).

In addition to the three studies selected from Neves' survey (2013), we located and analyzed two studies that allow us to approach the daily life of peasant women and the challenges they face in domestic and social spaces, considering the asymmetric relations that are established in these spaces. This is the article *Women's Farmers' Movement and the many senses of "gender equality"*, published by Paulilo in 2009, and the article entitled: *Gender in rural contexts: freedom to come and go and control of women's sexuality in the backwoods of Pernambuco*, by Cordeiro (2007).

Paulilo (2009) assumed that women, when participating in collective movements, whether feminist or not, tend to question their subordinate social position. To that end, the author interviewed militant and non-militant women and sought to ascertain whether these gender inquiries were challenging the identity between women's and other family members' interests.

The author's interest is mainly focused on the search for differences between the women's discourse of the Peasant Women's Movement and that of the leaders of other movements, as a counterpoint to the discourse of non-militants from three southern states, especially in Santa Catarina.

The results of Paulilo's study (2009) point to the fact that only when women begin to question traditional marriage, they will question the fact that it is the only route to the profession of farmer. The issue of the non-inheritance of the land still is a taboo among rural women. According to this author, asking for gender equality in public policy seems to be easier than tackling the issue within the family. Undoubtedly, opposition to groups that are not effectively close and therefore can be characterized as "enemies", brings less emotional wear and tear than opposing husbands, fathers, in-laws, brothers and sons.

The study by Cordeiro (2007) aimed at understanding the constraints and obstacles of gender concerning the freedom to come and go of the leaders and participants of the Movement of Rural Working Women of the Central Backwoods of Pernambuco (MMTR), with the guiding hypothesis that in the restriction to coming and going from

women also consubstantiates the control of female sexuality.

Cordeiro (2007) points out that research on family farming tends to point to the rigid and asymmetric pattern of gender relations in rural areas, emphasizing that women are often confined to the home, farm and community where they live, confronted with moral orders of gender that impose hard restrictions when coming and going.

The author points out that despite the transformations in the rural area and the overcoming of the debate on the rural world and the urban world as isolated instances, the control and regulation of the conducts and the bodies of women are important elements in the moral orders of gender. And the family, relatives, neighbors and the community exercise vigilance so that it continues. Being "badly spoken of", being targeted by someone's "gazes" are some of the tricks men and women use to impose sanctions, coercions or hinder women's "escapades" and "winks".

The studies that have been accessed allow us to approximate what has been produced at the national level regarding peasant women, pointing to the invisibility of women in the production of studies on their own life contexts, the lack of representativeness regarding their

economic and social role in the communities in which they live. In addition, they highlighted challenges in the search for gender equality in public policies and in domestic spaces and the observation that the control and regulation of the conduct and bodies of women constitute important elements in the gender moral orders.

In the search for studies developed in Espírito Santo, we accessed the database of the Postgraduate Program in Education (PPGE) and History (PPGHIS) of the Federal University of Espírito Santo. We have located 5 studies that take women as subjects (Siqueira, 2008, Rangel, 2011, Suanno Neto, 2014, Silveira, 2015, and Rocha, 2016), however, none of the researched thematics were peasant women. This finding points to the importance of this initial reflection, constituting as a starting point for studies that focus on the peasant woman from Espírito Santo and her life trajectories.

Discourses and memories of peasant women from Espírito Santo: the concrete statements materialized in the Notebooks of Reality

At this moment in our study, we present narratives of peasant women from Espírito Santo, transcribed from the Notebooks of Reality of students of LEDOC/UFES, aiming at the

problematization of such discourses in view of our main research objective: to reflect on the trajectory of peasant women^{iv} in the state of Espírito Santo in order to verify permanence's and discontinuities in social, family and educational aspects (schooling) in the period of 1930 to 2017.

It is important to make explicit that the discourses were listed in order to delineate the thematic and research objectives and, through such guidance, the possibility of covering the explicit time cut. In this perspective, we understand with Ginzburg (2007, 287) that "... we must learn to untangle the multicolored threads that constitute the tangle of the context under investigation".

Therefore, the selection of Helena, Vanilda, Dória and Karina counted, consecutively, with 92, 85, 81 and 21 years, highlighted by the possibility of representing the continuities and discontinuities in this historical process: the woman of the present - 21 years and the woman of the past, in different phases/moments - 92, 85 and 81, aimed at translating the power of the narrative of the peasant woman, with a view to the potentiality of the period investigated.

From this perspective, we proceed with the study, giving the narratives of these women, with a view to the three axes/categories listed:

- Peasant Espírito Santo women: memories of their childhood and personal trajectories;

- The work, challenges and social insertion of peasant women in Espírito Santo;

- The schooling processes of peasant women from Espírito Santo.

Peasant women from Espírito Santo: childhood's and personal trajectories' memories

At first, we dedicate this text to the childhood memories narrated by Espírito Santo's women and also reminiscences of their particular trajectories unleashed in their social processes, taking into account that we understand, as explicitly explained by Bakhtin (2004, p. 58, author's notes) that

... the content of the *individual* psyche is, by its very nature, as social as the ideology and, in turn, the very stage in which the individual becomes aware of his individuality and the rights that belong to him is ideological, historical, and internally conditioned by sociological factors...

Therefore, by narrating to childhood memories, the peasant women bring to the fore the historical and social contours immanent to their time.

In parallel to Mikhail Bakhtin's (2003, 2004) thinking, seeking the evidence through almost invisible and

sometimes neglected details, Ginzburg (2007) upholds his historiographical method by removing the macro-historical veil that hides important details of minorities.

What to say about very poorly schooled individuals? How to narrate stories of historically neglected seclusion and repression? What to think of these women in the communities from Espírito Santo today? In the meantime, one must take into account "... that the accumulation of knowledge always occurs this way: broken lines instead of continuous lines; by means of false starts, corrections, forgetfulness, rediscovery; thanks to filters and schemes that obfuscate and make see at the same time". (Ginzburg, 2007, p. 111).

In this way, Bakhtin (2004) believes that our consciousness emerges and is affirmed through lived contexts, so that the ways of thinking of the women seen here, living and remembering their experiences in domestic, social, political, economic and cultural spacetimes.

Narratives about childhood reminiscences of peasant women are one of the main facets, permeated by challenges, overcoming and difficulties that impact on the constitution of their families and their singularities. This is what is indicated in the narratives of Dória,

who lived childhood in the 1930s and 1940s:

I was born in a very bad house. I have lived in so many houses ... more than 20 houses They were very bad houses, just like a storehouse. We were very poor. We were 11 brothers and we needed to work hard. My father drank too much. Once we were all sick with measles and my grandmother brought some milk and rice for us to eat. We were very poor. I only had two dresses, which I wore on Wednesday and Saturday. My father did not work, he only drank (Dória, 81)^v.

Living in her childhood in the 1920s, Helena highlighted material conditions that marked her daily life. In her words: "The mattress was made of corn-straw, the pillow of chicken feathers, and the blanket was a plank flag. It was a very difficult time, but I would give anything to go back there ..." (Helena, 92 years old).

Helena continues her story by activating her playful memories. Detail plays and ways of producing artifacts for the moments of fun, shared with their brothers:

... the games we used to play were only during the day, because at night there was no light, it was a hideous darkness. There was a huge space that was supposed to dry coffee, and we used to play there ... we played "burnt whip" and "ciranda". We were four brothers, where we used to play the four of us, because we lived in an isolated house. It had a very beautiful waterfall, today there is nothing else because it has dried up. The toys we had to play at the time

were a shuttlecock that was made of corn husks and a ball we used to make out of cloth. The 'people' would pick up old cloth, roll it up, wrap it up and tie it with banana rope to form a ball. And so we played in the afternoon (Helena, 92).

We find the presence of games and moments of fun in Karina's childhood, as she recounts her memories of the 2000s: "We played a lot of hide and seek, tag, capture-the-flag. I also really enjoyed playing cart along with my cousins and neighbors up close. The main game was to build roads in the 'barrier' and make paths, make fencing for the carts" (Karina, 21 years old).

By understanding that "... there are figures from the past that time approaches rather than depart". (Ginzburg, 2007, p. 53), we question, from the narratives of the women here presented: what marks the childhood of peasant women in Espírito Santo? When we consider the deponents who were children in the 1930s and 1940s and those who lived their childhood in the 2000s, what permanence's mark their trajectories? What discontinuities do we observe? So far, we have heard reports about the unfavorable economic conditions and the challenges of a family life with the presence of an alcoholic father, who certainly had the mother to support the family. On the other hand, there are discourses permeated by moments of joy

and amusement, in which the ludic experiences gain space in women's memories and narratives, which, when they access the layers of the past, retains objects that are, for them, and only for them, meaningful within a common treasure (Bosi, 1987).

At many moments, the narratives of childhood are confused with the insertion of these women in the spaces/times of work. This is what Karina related: "I grew up going to the countryside, I grew up having my little sieve, having my little garden hoe, my little harrow, wetting small plants. I grew up along with my family routine, going to the tillage. They have coffee, banana, a very diverse property, despite being small" (Karina, age 21). In the same vein, Vanilda, referring to experiences lived more than 50 years ago, reveals:

... my father just wanted us to work. At the age of 8 we were already going to the farm. Sometimes we said that they would go home because there was a lot of mosquitoes, so my father would say: 'There's no way you're leaving! Don't you want to eat? Don't you want to drink? Then go work' (Vanilda, 85 years old).

We note the grief in Helena's speeches, mentioning that work has taken up a lot of space in her life, especially in adolescence:

I almost did not enjoy my adolescence, I had to work hard, after I got home from school I went to a neighbor to wash their dishes. Then I would go to my house to help my mother wash clothes and iron with coal, because we had no electricity yet. I was always doing embroidery and other craftwork (Helena, 92 years old).

It emerges, through the evidenced speeches, a possible demarcation of a phase of the adolescence of the woman of the field until approximately the years of 1940, marked by domestic work and, consequently, by the preparation of this *girl-woman* for marriage, estimated to be largely the only possible and viable destination, with the possibility of formal education and/or schooling being outside their expectations. We see, therefore, the narrative, in a Bakhtinian perspective, loaded with ideological or experiential meaning and capable of bringing with it the reality and life of its announcer, translating its different nuances (Bakhtin, 2004).

Therefore, early marriage seems to us, to paraphrase Ginzburg (1989), an eloquent indication of permanencies in the trajectories narrated by the peasant women here focused. This is what report Dória: "At the age of 18 I met my husband, he helped us, because my father had died. I got married and I lived in several places ...

He did not work in the fields, we did not have a farm" (Dória, age 81), and Vanilda:

I met my husband in Venda Nova. He worked with troops. I got married with 17 years old and I came to live in Ponto Alto, Domingos Martins with him. The boys began to arrive, so he saw that working with the troops was not enough, because I was alone. So we moved to Perobas, where I am until today (Vanilda, 85 years old).

Karina's narrative points to clues regarding permanent practices in the trajectories of peasant women: early marriage and, at the same time, discontinuities, such as access to and completion of basic schooling:

About dating, I had some flirting, some dates, but I only had one real relationship, that was with my classmate I met in 2008 in the 5th grade and I studied with him in those 4 years. We then studied for another 4 years together at the Escola Família Agrícola de Olivânia, but it was not until the end of the 3rd year of high school that we started to date. At the end of 4th year of high school I got pregnant, and had my son, A. V. I was 19 when I had A. Later, when A. was already 9 months old, we got civil and religious married, we have been married for 1 and a half years (Karina, age 21).

By understanding the narratives as texts that, when questioned, will allow us to conjecture about the ways in which peasant women have built their trajectories, as Ginzburg (2007), we seek

to excavate the intricacies of the texts, giving rise to uncontrolled voices. Therefore, we ask: What are the motivations that lead to the early marriages of the women here focused? Would they be related to Paulilo's (2009) finding that the rural environment would not be a good place for single women, having in mind the fact that the condition of laic, peasant and female celibacy is constituted by "refusals, retentions and denials" (Rodrigues, 1993 apud Paulilo, 2009, p.192)? Even with the absence of answers in the narratives found, we believe that the interrogation can provoke other possible narratives and writings of women themselves in search of answers to these [and other] questions.

Marks of sexism and feminine submission present themselves in the narratives of Dória when she reports conflicting moments with her spouse: "Me and my husband sometimes fought. When he was young he was with other women and I stayed at home, but I did not curse him. No use, right? The more you fight, the worse it gets, right? But he always provided food, we never lacked anything" (Dória, 81).

The story of Dória, who has an experience in the 1950s, points to a patriarchal family model that is propagandized and, in many ways, observed in Brazilian families. The place

of woman and man was clearly demarcated, as shown by Bassanezi (2004), when discussing the role of women in the *golden years* (1950), through women's periodicals of the time.

The author cautions^{vi} that magazine content did not reveal that all women thought and acted as expected, but indicated the social expectations that were part of their reality, influencing their attitudes and weighing their choices.

Thus, in pointing out how the periodicals dealt with female and male infidelity, we observed the disparities. In relation to women, first, the author emphasizes that this theme was not recurring in the magazines of the period. Moreover, when it appeared, women "... were advised to control their frustrations, to escape the temptations and, dominating their impulses, remain faithful to their husbands, even if they do not act in the same way". He adds: "Remorse, moral shame and the risk of losing one's husband, children and social respect would not compensate for the deceptive and fortuitous pleasure of extra-marital adventure". (Bassanezi, 2004, p. 530-531). On the other hand, male infidelity assumes different treatment:

If the unfaithful husband kept his appearances to a minimum and continued to provide his family with material goods, the wives should not

complain. After all, male infidelity was justified by the polygamous temperament of men - a natural factor which, even when considered a weakness, deserved social condescension and understanding of women. Patience and sacrifices, integrity and determination to maintain the integrity of the family (Bassanezi, 2004, p. 531).

Bassanezi's (2004) notes on the ways in which the behavior of women in families and society in the 1950s were thought to approximate situations experienced by Helena in the same period:

In 1957 the Catholic church was built in the community. I was a Lutheran and J. was a Catholic. Then a pastor told me: two religions in one house do not work, because if the father has a religion and the mother has another, the children get lost, they do not know where they go. So, I thought: *I'm a woman, I have to give in. So I converted to his religion* (Helena, 92 years old, our emphasis).

From the listening and the dialogue with the narratives here privileged, we still recognize traces in the ways in which women are thought and the places they occupy in the domestic and social spaces. We agree with Bassanezi's (2004, p. 533): "There remain certain customs and values that define, unite or separate and even establish hierarchies between men and women". On the other hand, many of the ideas and practices observed in the 1930s and 1950s have been challenged and

overcome, and today may cause reactions from strangeness to revulsion.

The insertion of peasant women in social spaces and at work

Through the narrative of childhood memories, we have shown that work has always been part of the life of peasant women from the state of Espírito Santo since childhood. The work at home, in the household chores, or work in the fields, assisting in family subsistence, and often the concomitance of both labor activities were and, perhaps, still are present in the daily life of these women .

At the meeting of this unveiling, we find Del Priore (2004, p. 54), explaining that:

Life experiences reported by rural women show that in their daily lives there is no clear distinction between the boundaries of home and work, between domestic and agricultural tasks, between responsibilities in the education of children and community life. In the countryside, the authority of the head of the family - the father or the husband - goes beyond domestic space and often imposes itself, denying the participation of women in decisions in cooperatives, banks, producer associations and unions.

Regarding the double and/or triple working day of the peasant woman from Espírito Santo, Karina's narrative points out that:

In the work environment I did not suffer any discrimination because where we live and work we live in a very equal way to each other, even though the woman has a double working day. If she goes to the tillage, she still has to take care of the house. I see this, for example, in my mother-in-law's family and also in my mother's family. If she goes to the fields, she still goes home, has to take care of the food, has to handle the house and is heavily charged for it. In my relationship with my husband we do not have it, because if I go to help, he helps me too. At home, it is he who makes dinner and also helps me with the clothes and with our son, he helps me with everything, we do not have this discrimination, this prejudice in the house. But I see this a lot in the neighbors, even in my family. In the community in general what I perceive is this double or sometimes triple work journey that sometimes the woman has, that is the man who wants her to go to the fields, wants her to help, but when she returns, she has to clean the house, she has to do all the housework and take care of the food. (Karina, 21).

We can consider, from Karina's discourse, the continuity of an exhaustive period of daily work of the peasant woman from the state of Espírito Santo, however, the narrative also shows a possibility of rupture regarding male participation in domestic tasks, and in this sense, both a recognition of the exhaustive work of peasant women, and also that some tasks are not restricted solely to the female universe, in the direction, therefore, of a more egalitarian and just relationship between pairs.

However, the narratives also allow us to inquire: to what extent has the work allowed and/or caused the insertion of peasant women into the social spaces of the countryside, with significant action in relation to their demands?

“We started working with sugar cane, corn and beans, worked from morning to night, we had no electricity at that time, switched on the lamp and were going to take care of the pigs, we had lots of them” (Vanilda, age 85). “I am a peasant, and I have this profession mainly because of my family” (Karina, age 21). The two narratives, from different generations, refer, in a way, to a possibility of participation in the social life of the peasant community(ies) through the agricultural work. However, once we have taken on the role of Del Priore (2004) and continue with the narratives, we understand that this participation demanded confrontation and disposition for its effectiveness, especially in view of the insertion in different fronts of work, other than domestic and agricultural:

I started working, I worked a few months in Campinho, I was invited to teach here in Perobas because the teacher who taught here only came for 3 months and was leaving because here was a “tapera”(simple place, far from downtown), there was nothing, so I came here. I arrived here on February 28th, 1945, it was very dark, the road could only be

seen when there was lightning bolts, my father brought me, I stayed in an old house with a porch. When I woke up the other day I thought: I will not stay here! There was a swamp here, you had to be careful to walk, there was nothing here, there were only two houses, Mr. T.’s, which was already demolished, and of P. T.’s, my father-in-law. Then, I talked to my father, that I was not going to stay here. My father said: try for a week, if you like, you stay. If you don’t like, you go home. As I already had a thing with J., I stayed for a week, and 72 years have gone by (Helena, 92 years).

The narrative of Helena, highlighting her trajectory as a teacher, reveals the questions that permeated her insertion in a profession marked, even today, by the female presence and, in addition, the aspects that surpass this activity in the context of a peasant community:

At that time it was very difficult to teach, I worked with the four grades together, I would pass the exercise to one kid, then the other would talk, get in the way, then I did this: divided 1st and 2nd grade on one side, 3rd and 4th on the other side. I put a blackboard on each side, so there was no time for them to talk and play. There was no school lunch or school supplies, there was a student who was very poor, had nothing to eat, he came to school and kept his head low in the desk, weak. Then I thought: Oh my God, this boy cannot stay this way. I would bring him a morning snack, sometimes I would bring home some bread with eggs, I would feed him so he could study. The recess was half an hour, I sang for them, they played a game

where you throw a piece of cloth and another called "burnt whip", very beautiful games. (Helena, age 92).

not give up until I have life, I will not give up because it is not bad words, it's God's word. (Vanilda, 85 years old).

According to Bakhtin (2003, p. 312), "the human attitude is a potential text and can be understood (as a human activity and not physical action) only in the dialogical context of the period itself (as a replica, as a semantic position, as a motif system)". Therefore, we can infer that human activity, translated here as labor activity, is evidenced as a form of insertion of peasant women in social spaces, as well as the effectiveness of participation in such spaces can ratify and give visibility to the *work done*.

It is with this perspective that we emphasize the narrative of Vanilda (85 years old), in what concerns mainly the commitment in the development of a human activity which realization evidences the direct and implied relation with the peasant social space(s):

My father taught me to consecrate when I was 15 and to this day I work with it, I've suffered prejudice because I'm a folk healer from Catholic Church, but what I say is the word of God, and I do it with a good heart, as long as I live I will not give up, because at 85 years old, I will not give up, definitely not, because if it was a bad word, a bad thing, yes, people could talk, but it's all God's word. Every day there are people here, there are days that there are 13, 15 up to 20 people, and I face everything in the faith of God, thank God everything is going well, I will

The narrative of Vanilda brings a man (father) and a woman (daughter) exercising the same practice, however perceived in different ways by the peasant community: for man, acceptance and recognition; for the woman, in spite of the usufruct of its activity, the judgment. We think, therefore, in the Ginzburgian perspective (1988), when investigating inquisitorial processes, because it brings the woman as one of the central subjects, accused of witchcraft. In this research space, Vanilda would take the place of the witch, who, through unguents, offers healing to the people of the field, even the father, has its moral integrity preserved and its activity valued in the wider social context of the community.

The highlighted narratives can confirm a gradual and non-facilitated insertion and participation of the peasant woman from Espírito Santo in the social spaces and, in a double way, in work activities other than the domestic and agricultural activities, appearing in an exercise of interest and desire to participate in these spaces. As Karina (21 years old) tells us:

I participate a lot in the church and social life of the community, I go to church every Sunday, but I also participate in parties, other things that happen in the community, I help to organize, I have my responsibilities. In the schools, when I was studying, I also participated in the 'body' of the school. I knew the Domingos Martins rural workers' union a lot because my father worked there. He worked there for 10 years, so when he worked there we knew about it, and he participated in the things that the union did. Today I am a member of the union ... (Karina, age 21).

Contrasting the narratives of Vanilda and Karina, regarding the participation in the social spaces of the peasant communities, we find the permanence of a desire to act in these spaces, which, regardless of the content/modes as they materialize, ended up bringing different nuances and forms of materialization of prejudice:

And how I perceive myself as a woman in society: I have suffered prejudice in the family, like, in my grandfather's generation. He is a person who is characteristic of this sexist society, for example, these days I am a woman and I have a brother D. and a sister A., and we went for a ride and I wanted to go on a certain animal. Then my grandfather said: no, you don't know how to ride that one, you have to be a man to ride on that one. That's how it was, he made me embarrassed, a little sad to hear it from him. But, related to my parents, they are already from a different generation,

they always treated me and my brothers in a very same way. If I went to the farm, D. would go, A. would, too. Of course, each one has their limitations, but they always saw us as equal people, regardless of our gender (Karina, age 21).

From the perspective of the highlighted narratives, we understand that, in spite of the vicissitudes regarding the insertion of peasant women in social spaces and at work, we find the permanence of a double/triple working day, however, there is a possibility for ruptures, especially within the family, both in the treatment and in the *looking* at this woman and in the consideration of her daily tasks.

To meet the reflection through the discourses brought, we corroborate with Bakhtin (2003, p. 294) that "in every age, in every social circle, in every family microworld, of friends and acquaintances, of colleagues, in which man grows and lives, there are always invested statements of authority that set the tone, ... in which people are based, which they quote, imitate, follow ...".

Therefore, such *authoritative discourses* also permeate the peasant institutions, refraining from them permanencies or possibilities of ruptures as to the condition of women in this community(ies), which could not be

different in the context of the rural communities in the state of Espírito Santo.

The processes of schooling of peasant women from Espírito Santo

"... We cannot read anything"; "... I finished my studies with great difficulty"; "... My father would not let us study. I really wanted to study and he did not let us do it "; "After having passed through the phase of maternity, marriage, construction of my own family, I began to enter college". These and other narratives impel us to question: How did peasant women in the state of Espírito Santo get/got involved in schooling processes? What is the place of schooling in the trajectories of women focused on this study?

Based on the indications and clues left by peasant women in reporting their memories about their life trajectories and specifically about inclusion/exclusion in schooling processes, we seek to understand and problematize permanences and discontinuities in their trajectories, considering, with support in Ginzburg (2007, p. 40), that "... our knowledge of the past is inevitably uncertain, discontinuous, lacunar: based on a mass of fragments and ruins".

These fragments indicate that the processes of insertion or exclusion of the peasant women seen here are intrinsically

related to the organization of the families, as well as to the place occupied by these women in domestic and social spaces. According to research on family farming, "... [peasant] women are confined to the space of the house, the farm and the community in which they live, confronted with moral orders of gender that impose severe restrictions on coming and going". (Cordeiro, 2007, p. 20). Dória's account reveals her father's concern to prepare his daughters for work and married life:

... My father did not work, just drank, because of this, we cannot read anything. The school was close to our house and the teacher told him to let us study. He would say no and inquire: 'Why study?' He said that we needed to work, because then we would marry and would not know how to work. He was very bad (Dória, 81 years old).

We find similarities between the story of Dória and the recited verse in the houses of Portugal and Brazil about five centuries ago: "A woman who knows a lot is a mess: to be the mother of a family, know little or know nothing" (Dias, 1984, apud Ribeiro, 2011, p. 79).

Peasant women are, by various means, left on the fringes of society. This is what we observe in the narrative of Dória, which was destined for submission. Submissive to the father as a daughter and submissive to her husband as wife. Vanilda

recounts the similar situation: "My father did not let us study. I really wanted to study and he did not let us" (85 years old).

Helena, unlike Dória and Vanilda, was able to study. But her education was late, so that the challenges she encountered in this long process marked her and are recalled and recorded by her.

... I finished my studies with great difficulty, I had distance education. At that time you could not study, there was no condition. With the help of a judge who is married to a friend of mine, he prepared the documents so I could study. I was able to graduate in the teaching degree. I've always been a good student, I've never had a bad grade, I'm an easy learner (Helena, age 92).

We note that her insertion in the schooling process became possible thanks to the mediation of a judge, married to her friend. In this way, there is mediation not only male, but of a person occupying a profession socially privileged. We perceive, in this perspective, the predominance of the patriarchal model of society, which provides the model in which, in political and social life, therefore, interpersonal relations were stuck. "An inflexible moral law, superior to all the calculations and wills of men, can regulate the good harmony of the social body, and therefore must be rigorously respected and fulfilled". (Holanda, 1995, p. 85).

Even Karina found difficulties and obstacles in her school education. However, in narrating the beginning of her schooling, the young woman emphasizes that the schools met the needs of her reality:

About the schooling process, my first school was "Pena's" unidocent municipal school, close to home, where I studied from 1st to 4th grades. Later I went to the Agricultural Family School of São Bento do Chapéu, where I studied from 5th to 8th grades. This in the years 2008 to 2011. From 2012 to 2015 I attended high school at the Agriculture School of Olivânia. I went there precisely to give continuity to this segment of education I was having, which was an agricultural family school, geared to our reality, geared towards the countryside, geared towards what I lived and I live to this day that is work in agriculture, in the farm (Karina, age 21).

Unlike Dória and Helena, Karina was able to enter a college course. In her words: "After having passed through the phase of maternity, marriage, construction of my own family, I joined college in 2016. Today I am in the 4th year of the Degree in Countryside Education, in the area of Human and Social Sciences" (Karina, 21 years old).

Even considering that the schooling of Karina represents signs of discontinuity in relation to the exclusionary processes,

there are permanencies in its trajectory: early marriage and motherhood.

According to Bakhtin (2004, p. 42, emphasis added) "The psychology of the social body is not situated in any *interior* place ... it is, on the opposite, entirely externalized: in the word, in the gesture, in the act ...", being that "... forms of verbal interaction are very strictly linked to the conditions of a given social situation and react ... to all fluctuations in the social atmosphere (2004, p. 42)". In this way, the discourses analyzed here represent a specific reality and its socio-historical implications reveal the social situations imposed on women and all their effects that remain today, in a more or less perceptible way.

We emphasize the importance of the discourses seen here, since it refers us to the social contexts in which the women from Espírito Santo were/are inserted. In fact, the discourses reveal what was historically hidden or neglected.

Thus, the peasant women from the state of Espírito Santo found/find significant obstacles in their schooling processes, considering the patriarchal tradition and its unfolding, which mark the broader family and social relations. However, the discontinuities are presented in their narratives. As an example, we find the insertion of peasant women in

higher education, especially in the Countryside Education Degree (LEDOC), which seeks to recognize them as protagonists and, therefore, historical subjects, when considering the reality of the countryside as a starting point for educational processes.

Some considerations

In the sense that a text (discursive genre) reflects and constrains the concrete reality and, in this sense, the social, historical, cultural and ideological aspects inherent to it, we understand that the narratives of the peasant women from Espírito Santo state in this study reflect a condition in constant change, in spite of the permanencies found. Therefore, the (in)conclusion of the research becomes a power in the perspective of its own inconclusiveness to demand new dialogical movements and the opening of the frontiers to other sayings and possibilities.

With this understanding, the visibility of materialized recurrences in the narratives instigates us to reflect on some specific issues, among which the continuity of a double and/or triple working day of the peasant woman from Espírito Santo, still for many naturalized and devalued, portraying, thus a patriarchal model of family/society still strongly

marked in the countryside. Therefore, as Paulilo (2009, p. 192) asserts, "... working outside the home does not automatically make women more independent of their husbands and politically active", nor does it lead to a similar concern with the inequality between genders. Therefore, the entrance of this woman into other work fronts, among them teaching, did not reflect, in large part, on a look at her living conditions and the work activities that she needs to perform.

On the other hand, even if this look is not comprehensive, we can distinguish that the desire for effective participation in the peasant community gave visibility to this woman and placed her in a condition of importance in this community, given that the positions of farmer, housewife, mother, woman, teacher, folk healer... show their appreciation and influence.

We understand that from these displacements, marked by the intense activity of the peasant women in their community(ies), we find, today, their insertion as a child in the schooling process, as well as a protagonism in the domestic and community scope, different visions in these spaces and, in this sense, visibility and deference by the local and wider society.

In addition, we translate that the insertion of peasant women from Espírito

Santo in Higher Education and, more specifically, in Public University, allows the dialogue between different cultures and the visibility of the peasant activity as legitimate and indispensable, which causes processes of ruptures not previously thought. Therefore, the Degree in Countryside Education/UFES evidences this possibility in the sense of this look and of the displacement and the relevance that is inherent to it.

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Notes

ⁱ This article presents partial reflections of ongoing research linked to Research Projects of formative processes of the students of the LEC/UFES course: *A look with and by the Notebooks of Reality* and extension program: *The Notebook of Reality as an instrument of interlocution and intervention in the community of undergraduate students in Countryside Education* which developments are carried out, among others, through the production of articles and the Undergraduate Thesis produced by a student of the Degree in Countryside Education/UFES.

ⁱⁱ In order to deepen the diversity of the indigenous groups that populated the region of Piratininga at the time of the colonization of Brazil, mentioned by Ribeiro (2011) when dealing with the compression regarding indigenous women, see: Moreau, Felipe Eduardo (2003). *The Indians in the letters of Nóbrega and Anchieta*. São Paulo: Anablume.

ⁱⁱⁱ This study was carried out by the authors considering all titles of dissertations and theses available in the Bank of Theses of CAPES, until the end of the first semester of 2009, that had as reference or keyword not only the term gender

(regardless of whether taken as a concept or common sense), but also the male and female sexual distinction, emphasis on the study of the living conditions of women and men, forms of production of masculinity, femininity and sexuality (2013).

^{iv} In highlighting each statement/discourse, we will use *fantasy names*, in the sense of preserving the identity of these women, *co-producers* of our research.

^v The narratives were first recorded in audio and later transcribed to the Notebooks of Reality, seeking to guarantee the reliability of the speeches.

^{vi} The author analyzes women's magazines that circulated during the period: *Jornal das Moças* and *O Cruzeiro*.


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