Traditions of Knowledge in Colonial Management of Inequality: Reflections on an Indigenist Administration Perspective in Brazil[1]

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This text addresses issues related to anthropological studies on public administration in Brazil from a historical perspective. It is based on a series of research studies dealing with public policies focused on managing minority populations in need of special protection and care for their integration into "Brazilian" society as a whole, i.e. as a "civic mass" that is able to exercise citizenship. Potentially dangerous, due to the incomplete character of their development, some of these segments are sometimes described by social thinkers, lawyers, physicians or any other specialists appointed for their management, as in need of State caring and monitoring, a kind of power exercise which may be called *tutelary* (Souza Lima, 1995)[3].

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1   First published in Portuguese in Bastos, Cristiana; Almeida, Miguel Valle de; Feldman-Bianco, Bela, eds. 2002 – Trânsitos coloniais: diálogos críticos luso-brasileiros. Lisboa: Imprensa de Ciências Sociais, pp.151-172.

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3   My studies on the exercise of power by the State, which I have called tutelary, arose from my study of Brazilian Native peoples policies, initiated in 1985 with an M.A. dissertation and resulting in a doctoral thesis in 1992, published with revisions in 1995 (Souza Lima, 1995). See also Souza Lima, 2003 for further developments. Similarly there are studies by Adriana de Resende Barreto Vianna (1999; 2003); Claudio Costa Pinheiro (1998); João Paulo Macedo

I examined many documents such as staff instructions for direct State management of native issues. Data was collected through observation, participation and interviews. This study questions how administrative officials, direct agents of tutelary power, were instructed at a given time. It also focuses on what kind of accumulated knowledge these instructions were based on how this knowledge was transmitted. Thus, a more comprehensive reflection was required − placing them as members of a Nation-State administration, derived from a peculiar colonial system − on how differently the ways of perpetuating and reestablishing social inequality are expressed at an institutionally political level. In light of this, the notion of tutelary power underlies this article.

Colonial Traditions: Knowledge for Managing and Maintaining Social Inequality

With a view to creating tools to transcend certain impasses brought about by post-colonial studies and by some of their critics, I will consider the types of knowledge generated in colonial enterprises, in their transmission, distribution, reproduction and re-significance.[4] Before trying to define **a single and unique** "culture of Portuguese colonialism", placing Brazil as the supposed heir to this legacy − present in Brazilian society through the broader scale of personal relations, reflected in certain aspects of a particular "informality" and "legal concision" etc. - one must grasp how certain specific social categories responsible for managing distinct aspects of imperial enterprise in different periods of time and in interaction with pre-existing local realities, have produced, handled and transmitted their knowledge. Given the plurality and complexity of imperial *specialists*' knowledge and power, it is possible to pose a number of questions, an interpretative step to be associated with others. Without trying to subsume the same order and the continuity of a single period of time from an "exemplary centre" − that of the mother country and the Portuguese court − it is interesting to maintain a view of the complexity and variation between times and distinct spatial scales for the world that arose from Portuguese conquests since the fifteenth-century, without defining great chronological references *a priori*. A possible way to do this would be the descriptive and

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& Castro (1998; 2003), Jair de Souza Ramos (2003); José Gabriel Silveira Corrêa (2003).

4   See. Nicholas Thomas (1994).

formal use of proposals presented by Fredrik Barth (1975: 15-27; 1982:80-86; 1993: 339-354; 1995; 2000:107-166) to approach cultural phenomena. This would mean weighing the utility of the *tradition of knowledge* concept to consider links between the imperial Portuguese enterprise and the States that were created in the regions in which it operated.

A colonial management tradition of knowledge could be in this case thought of as a set of knowledge, whether embodied and reproduced in customary interaction standards, into etiquette, corporal positions and stereotyped gestures, or targeted at power devices such as organizations, codifications, culturally material elements (architecture, clothing etc.). Finding and disseminating information, submitting and defining, classifying and organising hierarchically, agglutinating and locating conquered peoples and the spaces inhabited by them are operations carried out by what I term management knowledge and by the power through which it is exercised and generated. Further, these forms of knowledge also affect peoples and organisations that conquer and colonize new geographic spaces and their inhabitants: the colonizers' visions of both natural and social worlds are changed by means of an essential and transforming feedback from the colonizing experience.

Knowledge generated reorders representations of both colonized and colonizers and their administrative organisations as regards nature and human societies, imprinting new trends on their worldviews. Hence, I suggest that the power of population management in colonial contexts outlines simultaneously both social and geographical spaces, as real territories are often created enmeshed in social hierarchies. Even when there is an intent of building integration between conqueror and conquered peoples, the work of colonial management sustains the inequality of achievement and commandment capabilities and fulfillment of command, thus guaranteeing colonizers' dominance. In protecting cultural differences and preserving the continuity of former manners and life-styles prior to the conquest, as in a kind of *in vitro* state, the knowledge and powers set into play by colonizers in a colonial situation exacerbate inequalities. This establishes and demands mediation so that colonized peoples can feel the social forms that are imposed on them as the dominant ones. When differences between colonizers and colonized traditions are brought together in the quest for greater social integration, they belittle colonized peoples' streams of culture[5], as they

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5   See Barth (1982; 2000: 107-166) for the idea of streams of culture.

circumscribe it, appropriate it, thus objectifying and making exotic the everyday life of dominated peoples. In both cases, they reproduce social inequality.

In considering the Brazilian case, especially the exercise of State power on native populations, and focusing on the colonial context, one could distinguish four great traditions of knowledge for colonial management of inequalities among native peoples and transplanted-African peoples. As ideal types to be (re)considered, they can be denominated as "hinterland tradition", "missionary tradition", "mercantilist tradition" and "slave-holder tradition".

"Hinterland tradition" can be thought of, as for every tradition, as knowledge evolving through time. However, it can be traced to the start of Portuguese exploration in Africa, especially in inland areas known as *sertões*, in Brazil and in Africa, since the fifteenth-century. As contours of unknown geographic spaces are explored and inserted onto the set of representations accumulated as portions of the "known world", strategic knowledge at geopolitical and economic levels is registered, often transformed into geographic charts and maps. These "new" geographical spaces are thus classified, and their records act as hubs for commercial exploitation, since they also sketch descriptions of native human populations in these spaces. These hubs serve to maintain contact and trade with these populations and many times wage the first conquest wars against them. These hubs are only some of the characteristic actions in "hinterland tradition". In the Brazilian case, in the context of official protection for native peoples from the early twentieth-century on, the term *sertanista* (hinterland specialist), relate to those engaged in *attraction* and *pacification* techniques (Souza Lima, 1995) directed towards native peoples removed from regular interaction with governmental apparatus, be they hostile or not.[6]

"Missionary tradition" is the term I use to designate the knowledge constituted through the Catholic Church – especially through "conversion" devices and pastoral techniques.[7] It was essential to understand the "uses and customs of gentile peoples" to explain and impose European ways of being and behaving, with a view to creating not only allies and a labor force but also to transform heathens into catechumens. Thus, it was a case of

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6   In Monteiro (1999), one finds an interesting analysis of documents that transports us to the times of hinterland tradition par excellence.

7   For the concept of pastoral power, see Foucault (1990).

making sure that more and more significant aspects of reality built up by the colonizer would acquire the automatism of truth effects. These would be assimilated and sometimes, from varied negotiations, syncretised in relation to colonized cultural streams. The conquerors' viewpoint was present in an incorporated-like state in their values, in their willingness to act, in their ways of perceiving and interacting with physical aptitude and in their ways of feeling and self-expression. All this was aimed at disseminating beliefs submitted to social control devices, institutions, codes, technologies, monuments and in narratives that begun to construct and constitute the "history" of those who recognized themselves in it. Creole elites are a specific example of "missionary tradition" triumph. The "missionary tradition" also demarcates areas (missions, native people settlements directed by missionaries, schools, seminars, faculties, universities etc.), ways of intervening in space and time through peoples with which it is faced, putting itself into effect especially as a "pedagogy of example".[8]

One can call "mercantile tradition" a set of knowledge that cares little for spanning it over spaces or peoples as a goal in itself: here we are speaking of producing and controlling interaction flows for bartering among peoples endowed with a radical cultural alterity. Therefore, the mercantile tradition is made up of the knowledge and ways of acting that allow for trading with profit; transposing social worlds with different values regarding barter; reciprocity rules; acute market interference in the social life of peoples linked through commercial relations in colonial contexts. Some of the operations mounted by the mercantile knowledge in scenarios of alterity, so typical of colonial enterprises, are: 1) seeing nature and exotic societies as purveyors and consumers of goods (from products to mental habits and representations) that are inexistent in other areas framed by commercial networks, 2) reevaluating the meaning of these goods, so that they can become the objects of a progressively greater consumerism in the social universes where they are partially unavailable, turning them into essentials, 3) conceiving and regulating relations that can achieve, transport, widely circulate and extensively sell within the market orbit perceived as privileged for these "new" products.

Perhaps the working of the slavery system is the best known of the mercantile knowledge in the Portuguese empire and Brazil. However, the prospect of approaching an aspect of slavery as a

8   In Castelnau-L'Estoile (2000) we find a particularly interesting analysis of Jesuit enterprise to convert Brazilian native peoples.

knowledge tradition for colonial management may help bring up new issues. It is the case of asking how one has built, communicated and reproduced the knowledge needed for: 1) reducing and transporting, culturally uprooting and partially inserting people into another cultural environment (especially as regards labor methods) and 2) keeping up hierarchy and inequality. How did slaveholders came to a set of techniques for immobilising and controlling human stocks; making them produce and reproduce themselves; taming and co-opting them; repressing and dividing these foreign population contingents; transforming them into a type of labor force apparently lacking other values than their very use as a labor force? How does the knowledge about managing slave teams appear; how is it elaborated and handed down? What is its genealogy, from slavery in antiquity to the dawn of the world of discoveries? How are they transformed and in what language are they conveyed and retained? Who are its *specialists* and what public is targeted?

The scope of the "slave-holder tradition" must not be confused with that of the "hinterland tradition", which refers to exploring spaces and to the early moments of the colonizer enterprise as it conquered peoples, although it included arresting captives to work. Neither is it the same as the "mercantile tradition", in which it is the slave-commodity − and the work and the wealth it can produce that are at stake. The status of enslaved peoples − not only those of native origins in the actual colonial space but also and, above all, those transported there − is even less so a subject of investigation similar to that of the "missionary tradition", which supposes the potential or future freedom of the native peoples, or of the spaces like missions and native people settlements directed by missionaries. The appropriate space to generate and operate knowledge that can be called a "slave-holder tradition" is that of domestic units, and its ways of exercising power are coextensive to the management of extended families and their associated clientele. It is knowledge for everyday management; interaction patterns that are developed (and allow it to develop) in domestic spaces (such as rural estates) or based on them (such as in urban situations), which make up a "slave tradition". At this level, state powers and their formation processes are inseparable from family and personal relations. They thus become power relations in themselves; a variety of action on actions in which physical violence is an emblematic limit: it extracts the maximum value through an extra-economic compulsion that does not belong to work.

State Formation and Internal Colonization in Brazil

If the application of this conceptual constellation can be easily imagined for past periods, its explanatory potential must not be restricted only to themes that remain in the exclusive orbit of investigation about the past. The idea of "traditions of knowledge for the colonial management of inequality" may be useful in explaining current contexts, in addition to dualist interpretations of social life aspects. This therefore restores a complex range of processes to the explanatory capacity of current social circumstances as well as frames spatial scales and temporalities from distinct aspects.[9]

To give an example, recent geographic studies on urbanization in the Western Amazon in this century and over the last two decades have revealed the extraordinary importance of the Catholic Church (and even more when it comes to its missionary side) in the process of founding cities, since parish churches often became the origin of future municipalities. "Community" is the current expression employed by many human settlements to be recognized as "political-administrative agglomerates", by inserting themselves in the social net.[10] The strategy of representing itself as a "community", that is, of recognizing itself and making itself to be recognized as "the" "x" or "y" community, is in a sense due to the presence of those Catholic Church segments linked to Liberation Theology that organized the so-called "Grassroots Ecclesiastical Communities". Yet, the expression also serves NGOs' social intervention tools and their international circuits of support and action. Moreover, it is partially incorporated by the Brazilian State, dependent upon the influx of sponsoring multilateral mechanisms and international technical cooperation for development instruments associated with them. The Brazilian State has been adopting this terminology in recent decades, a distinctive one at the political level and a very powerful weapon in the struggle for resources sometimes. At least, we are facing issues related to urbanization processes quite distinct from those formulated for different parts of Brazil, even in the so-called frontier regions (Velho, 1976). It would be essential to remember how old ecclesiastical action in the Amazon region is. This was

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9   For the issue of temporal scales in social analysis, see the different texts included in Revel (1996)..

10   Cf. Menezes (2002); Larvie (1998); Barreto Fº (2001) for different uses of the term community. Pacheco de Oliveira (2004:10-111) remarks the rather inappropriate use of this term to Native peoples at the present.

propelled by the severance between Church and State in the Republic, as the notion of prelacy was created – a circumscription of essentially missionary and conquering character – in the Amazon region generally speaking, in which the Salesian Order was to play a fundamental role. One of its members became governor of Mato Grosso State in the first decades of the twentieth-century, for instance.

In examining the military discourses for the occupation of the Amazon region (Souza Lima, 1991a), one comes close to interventionist representations and practices that could be easily reported to the Marquis of Pombal's Directory.[11] The ideals of a military-based colonization, but of an essentially agricultural nature, which would link native peoples to different spaces and transform them into agents of "regional development" - come up often. They appear together with discussions on national sovereignty over the Amazon region; they give rise to inflamed paroxysms of nationalism and xenophobia. What is more, they escape the more frequent types of "explanations" about Brazilian historic development.

Yet, to bring to an end this impressionistic exemplification on the subject of the Amazon, we could see the representation of its "agricultural" destiny (the "barn of Brazil", as it has been called) constructed with another set of rhetoric and practical patterns: those focusing on the extraction of innumerable natural resources, of which rubber latex remained as the most recent and analytically structured episode.[12] I will just mention the many varied enterprises in time, such as extraction of

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11 Cf. Domingues, 2000, for an analysis of the eighteenth-century in the Amazon region, and Almeida (1997), for the Directory itself. Pombal (1699-1782) was a noble and statesman.

12 The Brazilian literature on rubber latex exploitation is vast. Ana Maria Lima Daou (1998)'s doctoral thesis on rubber latex exploitation elites addresses important aspects of Amazonian social shaping in the late nineteenth/early twentieth century. Lucia Arraes Morales (2002) approaches in a specially detailed fashion migration induced by Getúlio Vargas' dictatorial regime of north-eastern workers – known as the rubber soldiers - to extract rubber during the Second World War. Both provide us with different aspects of political negotiations at stake in this part of Amazonian and Brazilian history. João Pacheco de Oliveira (1979) deals excellently with some characteristics of rubber-tree properties during the late nineteenth-century and early twentieth, which can be widely addressed as models for understanding other extractivist forms of exploitation in the region.

"hinterland drugs", rubber latex or, since the 1970's and 80's, of timber, gold and other minerals, along with research studies on flora and fauna species. These enterprises are generally linked to some kind of governmental intervention that transforms labor (and social) relations, in which extra-economic coercion is taken for granted. They are best represented today by regional elites economic interests and are surprisingly enmeshed in ecological concerns. Many of the results and of the practices at stake are far from the achievements aimed at and guided by colonization process planners. Such results and practices comprise a huge and complex panorama framed by historical temporalities and spatial scales that escape them.

As far as an Indigenist administration is concerned, an essential part of the colonizing tools in the Amazon region and other Brazilian regions, the analyses that deal with tutelary power exercise, with only some differences in emphasis and concern, find references and social intuition sources in some papers by Roberto Cardoso de Oliveira, especially those in which he proposes to apply the notion of internal colonialism in ethnology. Originally published in América Latina (1966) and published again in his collection A sociologia do Brasil indígena (1972), Cardoso de Oliveira's essay started from the discussions about Gunnar Myrdal and Wright Mills's on developmental issues, and on the concepts of the strong imbalance faced by the so-called less developed (or in development) societies available at that moment – such as the notion of dual society, present in Jacques Lambert's Os dois Brasis. Cardoso de Oliveira noted that the situation to be described was more complex if seen from the standpoint of a "national society" expanding over native peoples, his privileged object of analysis. He took up the idea of expansion front, proposed by Darcy Ribeiro and which was in turn based on geographer Leo Waibel's concept of pioneer front. The notion of expansion front allowed to select different modalities through which an "enveloping society" would make contact with native peoples. The "expansion front" was worked on later by Cardoso de Oliveira himself and, with some differences, by José de Souza Martins. It was a result of ethnological fieldwork and described the conflictive interactions between native peoples and nut collectors, native peoples and cattle raisers, native peoples and rubber latex explorers. It was an attempt to conceive analytically and critically what the nationalist ideology of the time called "progress" and "modernisation".

With a view to going beyond this regionalist perspective, so as to allow for a more theoretical and comprehensive picture,

Cardoso de Oliveira brought into play the colonial situation concept proposed by Georges Balandier (1951) in his study of the contradictory aspects of African societies. In colonial situations, it is possible to see the opposition between "enveloping society" and "tribal society" in post-colonial countries. This was the starting-point for the internal colonialism concept coined by Pablo González Casanova (1963: 25;29-30) based on the Mexican situation, which was quite distinct from that in Brazil. The concept of internal colonialism could, according to Cardoso de Oliveira, serve as a theoretical proposal for his ethnological analysis in terms of "inter-ethnic friction" in the relations between native peoples and the "enveloping society". In his own words, "the ethnologist is interested in examining national societies seen as a whole and not in their regional manifestations anymore" (1972:80), which would turn ethnological investigation into a fundamental element for analyzing the "second Brazil", according to Lambert's expression.

Cardoso de Oliveira even proposed that "these inter-ethnic friction areas must be taken − in a research study inspired by the notion of internal colonialism − as particular cases in the wide process of conquering territories and subjugating their tribal occupants" (1972: 80). If, apparently, developments of Cardoso de Oliveira's viewpoint were not extended, one can see them broadly redefined in another referential analysis in Otávio Velho's study on what he calls "authoritarian capitalism", starting with comparative research studies on internal colonization processes such as those that took place in the United States and Russia (Velho, 1976).[13] The frontier concept is supposed to have many developments in Brazilian anthropology and geography. However, it seems that these ended up not fitting in with one of the demands in Cardoso de Oliveira's proposal, that is, a decisive focus on the analysis of certain meanings of the "national society" concept. It remained limited to the study of certain types of peasantry and locally circumscribed relations with public administrative agencies. If the project had been forwarded, it would have helped to put into question this category so greatly used and scarcely defined and demonstrated: the national society.

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13   For the notion of "expansion front" and its development, see the same entry in Velho's article on the *Dicionário de Ciências Sociais*. For his use of a re-elaborated version of Fredrick Jackson Turner idea of moving frontier in North American history, see Velho (1976).

Drawbacks to the notion of "internal colonialism" are evident. Marked by its time, it was conceived based on theories developed after the Second World War, theories that were economically formulated, about and for modernization and development, the same theories that according to Escobar (1994) engendered "underdevelopment" and the "Third World". The result was a sort of "prescription" towards internal development. This encompassed the mechanical association of phenomena such as agrarian reform, urbanization and political mobility, social mobility and marginalization, and the formulation of a typically industrial class system, seen as the way to widening political participation, as they designated "democratic" access to voting.[14] This prescription for an "advanced society" had roots in the Cold War and the "struggle against communism". This logic of grasping colonial trends, quite distinct from that proposed by Balandier, leaves out some essential elements in defining a situation as colonial: growing cultural asymmetry, the monopoly for accessing vehicles for worldviews and knowledge legalized in codes and power devices.

It is in these terms that employing the concept of tradition of knowledge, proposed by Barth for contexts of cultural pluralism, such as those existing in colonial situations, makes one look at facts that should be included in the thematic universe I approach in this paper. One may ask – and ethnographically answer - what are the worldviews, the construction of significant social realities, behavior and interaction patterns; knowledge and power devices that allow the imposition and perpetuation of a concrete scenario so that it can be defined as a colonial situation? We have to consider the re-signified reproduction of social ways of negotiation and conflict, which recreate their effects and lead to changes unforeseen by social planners, making their specialization in general a discretionary, authoritarian and many times useless exercise. Social planning developed between the 1950's and 1970's, furthered the proposals for "modernizing" Latin-American states, though centered on good intentions for transformation and on social justice ideas, considered "awareness" an absolute, unanimous process that, pedagogically established at a given moment, would further a break with its past and the everyday life of dominated peoples. Nevertheless, this paper's

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14 The works developed at Núcleo de Antropologia da Política (the Anthropology of Politics Nucleus), Nuap/Pronex, co-coordinated by Drs. Moacir Palmeira (PPGAS/Museu Nacional), Mariza Peirano (UnB), and César Barreiza (UFC) have been delving into the electoral policy in Brazil.

focus is not to address issues that seem to hamper use of internal colonialism, at least not at this moment.[15]

Indigenist Administration in Brazil and Its Specialists[16]

In *A sociologia do Brasil indígena*, there are two other funda-mental subjects in the study of indigenist policies and studies: one of them is that of indigenist administration management; the other contemplates representations on native peoples in Brazil.[17] In the first case, Roberto Cardoso de Oliveira emphasized the importance of a sociological study of Indigenous posts managers, specialists at Serviço de Proteção aos Índios - SPI (the Indian Protection Service) and later at Fundação Nacional do Índio - FUNAI (the National Indian Foundation), responsible for relating directly to native peoples, managing local units of official protection and dealing on a daily basis with conflicts between worldviews and social traditions.[18] The second subject points towards the ways in which native peoples have been represented in Brazil, based upon common sense and the media, teaching material and the country's official historiography etc. One could develop a long research agenda by relating all this material to a native people's studies approach based on the idea of "traditions of knowledge for the colonial management of inequality", from

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15 As to the sound quality of Cardoso de Oliveira theory, as well as for some criticism and recovery, see João Pacheco de Oliveira's (1988, 1999) proposals for the study of inter-ethnic conflict.

16 For my use of indigenism and indigenist, see Souza Lima (1991b; 1995, 2005). For a similar, however, different point of view, see Ramos (1998).

17 Cf. "O papel dos postos indígenas no processo de assimilação dos Terena"; "As mentalidades sobre o índio" in: Cardoso de Oliveira (1972). .In Souza Lima, 1995 (Introduction and Chapter 1), I sought to outline a long empirical and theoretical investment, which would address native peoples studies a la Said, that is, as a homologue to oriental studies, which would point above all in the second direction. There I also expressed the reasons why I opted in defining native peoples' studies and native peoples' policies, according to the original context of these ideas: the Mexican context. In Souza Lima (2005), a more in-depth discussion is given.

18 For the establishment of SPI, in 1910, see Souza Lima (1987); for a brief history of FUNAI, see Souza Lima (1998).

the perspective of a historical anthropology[19]. It must be emphasized that for a country whose national identity is emblematically based on native people's societies, studies of the representation of native peoples and their history have not many followers and even less specialists.[20] In an investigation of this nature, the relations between Anthropology and public administration should have a featured role.

However, by emphasizing the possibility of making use of the concept of "traditions of knowledge for colonial management of inequality", administrative categories can become especially meaningful, serving as a catalyst for varied socio-cultural vectors. We are speaking about those that up to very recently held the position of native people's specialists in Brazilian public administration within the scope of the first above-mentioned theme in Cardoso de Oliveira's work: the technicians in Indigenism, created for Indigenous posts chiefs (or managers),[21] but who also perform many other roles within the scope of the National Indian Foundation (FUNAI).

Technician in Indigenism is a position within FUNAI. The term indigenist has thus become a general term for those who work "in defense" of native peoples, which allows enlarging its use for the institution's employees as a whole, whether they are within or without FUNAI today. They are (self) assigned individuals who have received some sort of training (such as the Indigenist courses); who are, or were, part of certain social networks; who shared several ideological presuppositions in their work with Native Peoples, whatever their formal education; who adhere to some values, etiquette, behavior patterns, and who transfer and reproduce them. In sum, individuals who are recognized as having a certain knowledge.

The concern for training personnel to work in direct touch with native peoples, especially in the position of Indigenous posts managers, is not something new, having existed since the beginning of the Indian Protection Service, in 1910, until its closing in 1967 (Souza Lima, 1995). In the 1940's, it was already

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19 The idea of a historical anthropology is presented in Brazil by
    João Pacheco de Oliveira (1999), among others.

20 Cf. Ramos (1998), for an exception to this "rule".

21 I make the following considerations based on my own research
    studies on SPI and, more recently, on FUNAI, and in relation to
    Luiza Saldanha (1996)'s undergraduate research study. See also
    Freire (2005)..

implicit in the proposal for creating a Brazilian Indigenist Institute, which was never implemented. In the 1950's, it became one of the main objectives in the creation of a course specialized in this field, developed at the Museu do Indio (the Indian Museum) and focused on training personnel in Anthropology. The course aimed at fostering ethnological research and disseminating a "scientifically-inspired" standard for "protecting" native peoples. Elaborated by Darcy Ribeiro, it involved participation from many professors and lecturers from other educational and research institutions, among them the National Museum, represented by Professor Luis de Castro Faria (Souza Lima, 2005).

Further, it was with the establishment of FUNAI in 1968 and the official creation of the position of indigenist technician that the acute need to train staff for a series of jobs was perceived. Initial discussions on FUNAI's establishment led once more to a discussion of this issue, as the Deliberative Council endeavored briefly to develop a new State action model in relation to native people's societies. The first training course for indigenist technicians was proposed in 1969 and run in 1970 – there were eight more, the last being in 1985. They came up during the military dictatorship, which was highly concerned with the country's development and keenly interested in expansion towards the Amazon region (Davis, 1978). The course's early purpose was not only to train new staff but also to qualify existing personnel acting directly with the native population, many of whom had not even finished secondary school, a requirement that currently must be met in filling a technician position on native peoples. These were locally hired individuals, the remainder of SPI administration, who exercised menial functions though they were in fact indigenous post managers. It was essential to provide them with the certificates required for their professional development, so as to provide FUNAI with a qualified operational body. A mix between new employees admitted through public examinations and older ones was to continue for some time in the courses, generating obvious discrepancies.

The course syllabus was also reminiscent of the military dictatorship period (1964-1985). At first, it expressed the developmentalist and expansionist character of the dictatorship. The courses would focus on agricultural techniques to be taught to native peoples; community development methods; first-aid notions; and FUNAI's bureaucratic-administrative routines. Gradually, other subjects began to be included in this syllabus: sociological and anthropological concepts and, above all, ethnological studies, besides linguistic notions and techniques. For some learners, all

this was new; for others, innocuous items - even among those admitted by public examinations and the new applicants, there were different levels of information on indigenous issues and very different life experiences. It is worth remembering that a secondary school degree was the only prerequisite for candidates applying for this position, and that secondary schools in Brazil do not include neither sociology nor anthropology in their syllabus; even references to native peoples in history and geography courses are superficial, simplistic and full of prejudices and stereotypes.[22]

The course also counted on two other techniques of knowledge transfer: 1) lectures delivered by experienced indigenists, that is, FUNAI officials (some of them SPI remainders) who had lived for long periods among native peoples, as well as others that had experienced the process of attracting and pacifying withdrawn or hostile tribes – many of them holding a sertanista position on FUNAI's salary schedule and payroll ; 2) field training subsequent to the course's theoretical approach. In short, the applicant would go to a FUNAI indian post, where he would work under the supervision of an office manager and write a final report.

These two aspects of the course must not be overlooked. Lectures and field training generated knowledge transfers in a practical and non-systematic way. They allowed beginners to identify --especially in emotional terms of positive and negative affection, as well as deep humanitarian feelings of "doing good"-- what they were supposed to do. The course therefore gave them access to traditions of knowledge, as they became used to grasping different meanings of indigenist work. In field training, they were bound to write about their working experiences. Writing was part of a native peoples' office manager's routine, before diverse factors began to justify the use of orality as the preferred type of record. Among these factors we can list the progressive dismantling of FUNAI's administrative structure; the absence of resources channeled to community development projects (or even the most basic social work assistance), besides the lack of other kinds of support, such as work groups, an administrative sector contributing effectively to its correspondent activity etc. Actually, the reports also served a function never met by FUNAI's organisational structure so far: that of collecting and systematizing information about what was happening in native areas and

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22 See Pacheco de Oliveira & Rocha Freire (2006) for a radical critique of these stereotypes.

transmitting it to a central administration. It is to a certain extent a centralized type of administration, in which the negotiation game that keeps it going creates influence zones that do not coincide with administrative circumscriptions, thus allowing for maximum dispersion in the governmental network.

Reports on field training programs have not always described these experiences as exactly positive. As one reads this material or resorts to the memory of those who did the courses, one has the feeling that opinions on the training programs convey a general criticism leveled at FUNAI, made by all interviewees. According to the latter, FUNAI officials operating in native areas could count only on themselves and the good relations they could establish with the native societies they were supposed to work with, segments of the local population, other public officials, missionaries etc. In short, they felt that the organizational administrative structure as such left them to their own devices. Many times, they had to learn how to fight against segments of the very FUNAI's rival groups. Each of the indigenist technicians interviewed reported how they had to create their own personal networks in order to keep on working.

In this sense, the 1985 course was different when compared to the others. Offered at a time when officials expurgated during the dictatorial period in Brazil were resuming their positions, the course clearly aimed at a change. It intended to give learners a critical view of the state's way of acting. They were supposed to wipe away some "vices" existent in the indigenist work, endeavoring an interplay with experiences brought about by anthropologists, missionaries and FUNAI's indigenists who had developed practices other than a stricter tutelary control (or simply away from corrupting and corrupted measures).[23] The indigenist task was seen rather as consultation and partnership with native peoples than as mediation. Thus, the expectation was to vitalize common stock practices and take a step towards reformulating FUNAI's administrative machine from the inside.

Once the course was completed, the indigenist technician was sent to a native area, where he was supposed to develop some work come what may. Many times, the only thing he could do was to be an emblematic – more than effective – representative, at the local level, of federal authority, an isolated link on a chain more figurative than real, though able to send information in

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23   For the ethnography of an action project directed towards native peoples, as an alternative to FUNAI's communal development, see Almeida (2001)..

search of help outside the geographic area in which he was located. As there were no available resources to develop activities in the interest of native peoples, the most common answer in the interviews carried out for this paper was that of the indigenist's lonely perplexity: no interplay or knowledge exchange with other FUNAI technicians and sometimes, when they were not seen as potential enemies or competitors, not even with anthropologists, missionaries or native peoples themselves. If, from the beginning, FUNAI would not provide them with regular resources and did not demand a corresponding plan, it soon became impossible to develop clear interventionist proposals. This situation would worsen due to the government's own budget enactment rules. These posed more obstacles than ways of control in distant inland regions. Compelled to invent, the direct managers of State indigenist policies saw themselves many times at the mercy of other officials hierarchically connected to FUNAI's "administrative area" rather than to its indigenist activities. Knowledge transmission chains with any trace of institutional quality were thus broken up. At other times, a possible solution to obtain resources to operate in a micro scale was to employ the very native peoples as FUNAI's officials and soon include them into the State's network. This was one of the strategies for developing a clientele network between native peoples and managers, which could bear the weight of their "national" existence.[24] At other moments, the strategy was to get retirement pensions from agencies devised to assist rural workers as a way of obtaining resources to mitigate hunger and illness among native peoples. In all these cases, through a minimal financial investment in direct action, a growing integration between native peoples and the state administrative network was achieved.

Without a qualification or upward mobility system referred to merit in his career, an indigenist technician as soon as he started to understand and establish the necessary relations to work amidst a native people, could find himself being transferred to another administrative circumscription and having to start from scratch in another region of the country. Another likely destination in these specialists' career was to move to non-local positions along FUNAI's bureaucratic structure. Not to mention those who became involved in corrupt practices. In many instances, proud of his micro-power and his exercise of tutelage, the indigenist technician or very often those who held the position of Indian posts managers turned into local petty rulers, like so many in Brazilian

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24 Bezerra (1995, 1999), points towards the role of personal relations and client trends in State operations in Brazil.

public administration, managing clientele and engaging in various types of natural resource exploitation of native lands. Moreover, priestly heroism, present in many vocations and intentions to work with native peoples, led them easily to arrogance, sectarian and corporative closeness, to an antagonism against all sorts of alliances with actors outside the agency, against all manners of recording and reflecting on such a delicate job, involving the lives of human societies.

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In this paper, I sought to discuss how one can hear echoes of distinct knowledge traditions in staff-training as part of the current Brazilian colonial administration, the so-called indigenist section. In fact, the *indigenist technician* as a typical protagonist in tutelary administration, a specialist in managing cultural plurality situations, presupposes a singular transversality of knowledge traditions invoked by military engineers affiliated to Brazilian orthodox positivism that led to the Indian's Protection Service in 1910. It was a mix of missionary spirit and martyrdom, heroic pioneering and nationalist "hinterland culture". In the indigenist practices, these were also combined with the experience of managing as master or foreman of crowds of workers in a semi-servile or slave-like situation. A final touch could be found on XIX/XX's evolutionary science that supposed native peoples were doomed to civilize or to disappear under the waves of the expansionist thrust. Different kinds of knowledge, whose genealogy is still to be adequately investigated, are grouped together under the banner of the Nation-State and in governmental agencies focused on the Brazilian intra-territorial dimension. This can no doubt be one of the ways in studying state formation processes in post-colonial contexts and in assessing contemporary political action in their own context. The idea of "traditions of knowledge in colonial management of inequalities" can be tested not only by focusing upon native peoples, but also by studying the administrative devices constitutive of State-controlled territorial spaces, or by looking at major segments of the population subsumed to the logic of similar domination.

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