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THE BATCH AND THE LONGHOUSE:
TERRITORIALIZATION, CHANGES
IN INDIGENOUS ARCHITECTURAL
KNOW-HOW AND LANDSCAPE
EVOLUTION IN INDIGENOUS
VILLAGES. A STUDY CASE FROM
THE KAINGÁNG

026

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ABSTRACT

This paper, based on literature, shows the development of indigenous housing over the centuries, with reference to the process of indigenist territorialization and the advance of urbanization processes and westernized ways of building on traditional spaces of the village. From the landscape analysis, your references will be the batch, spatial form that will characterize urbanization in Brazil; and at the other side, the longhouse, the main reference of traditional indigenous housing.

KEYWORDS

Batch. Longhouse. Space. Territorialization.

LA TRAMA Y LA CASA
COMUNAL:
TERRITORIALIZACIÓN
INDIGENISTA, CAMBIO NO
SABER-HACER
ARQUITETÓNICO Y LA
EVOLUCIÓN DEL PAISAJE DE LOS
PUEBLOS INDÍGENAS. UN
ESTUDIO DE CASO KAINGÁNG

O LOTE E A MALOCA:
TERRITORIALIZAÇÃO
INDIGENISTA, MUDANÇAS NO
SABER – FAZER
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EVOLUÇÃO DA PAISAGEM NAS
ALDEIAS INDÍGENAS. UM
ESTUDO DE CASO A PARTIR DOS
KAINGÁNG

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RESUMEN

Este ensayo, de base bibliográfica, presenta la evolución de la habitación indígena al largo de los siglos, tendo por referência el processo de territorialización indigenista y el avance de los procesos de urbanización y de las formas occidentalizadas de construcción sobre los espacios tradicionales de la aldea. Desde la analisis paisagística, sus referências son el “lote”, forma espacial característica de la urbanización em Brasil; y, de outro lado, la “maloca”, referéncia principal de la habitación tradicional indígena.

PALABRAS CLAVE

Lote. Maloca. Espaço. Territorialización.

RESUMO

Este ensaio, com base em pesquisa bibliográfica, apresenta a evolução da moradia indígena ao longo dos séculos, tomando por referência o processo de territorialização indigenista e o avanço dos processos de urbanização e das formas occidentalizadas de construção sobre os espaços tradicionais da aldea. A partir da análise paisagística, suas referências serão o lote, forma espacial que irá caracterizar a urbanização no Brasil; e na outra ponta, a maloca, principal referência da habitação tradicional indígena.

PALAVRAS-CHAVE

Lote. Maloca. Espaço. Territorialização.

PRESENTATION: THE INDIANS AND THEIR LANDS

Men only if appropriate of that makes sense to their lives and this sense is, always, social creation, and not the things themselves and for themselves.

Carlos Walter Porto-Gonçalves, 2003

The reflection on the “batch” and the “longhouse” seems central when we undertake to understand the forms of contemporary “way of live” from ancestors of people in Brazil and Latin America. To think the batch and the longhouse should aim, as a starting point, a landscape analysis of the village space and social processes involved in its transformation. For a long time, and until today, the national territorialization process has achieved through “doxas”, reduce and deny the contradictions of this country still searching for an identity. Rogério Haesbaert develops a very interesting reasoning that helps us to understand the dynamics of social processes in human geography, especially its territorial notions of identity (2003), deterritorialisation (2011), precariousness (2004), trans-territoriality and antropophagy (2011) very important concepts to understand the social world in which lies the question of indigenous lands in Brazil. By the way, this is an issue more than necessary, since indigenous lands represent approximately 13% of the national territory and are rich areas in cultural, mineral and forest resources¹. Indigenous lands are also known for the high rate of conflicts (involving indigenous, farmers and peasants).

Darcy Ribeiro, in his book *The Brazilian People*, demonstrates how the question of identity has been dear to Brazilians since, above all, the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, when began to appear the first generations of Brazilians. The first Brazilians had the Portuguese father and Indian mother, the result of sexual violence inherent in the “conquest”, but in its metaphorical sense, this expression reduces these Brazilians to “sons of the soil”, preying on the Indians, also symbolically, “seen as savages” whose parents saw their backs. In chronological convergence, most of the articles that make up the fickleness of the *Soul Wild and other anthropological studies*, from the anthropologist Viveiros de Castro, is dedicated to studying the seventeenth-century texts, calling Brazils social subjects who recognized those texts, highlighting mainly the Tupinambá cannibalism ritual² (CASTRO, 2003).

These were Brazilians who territorialize Brazil. Those who have advanced the coastline opening ways for crude progress, symbolized in the image of arbitrary and repressive father, without love for the land, nor the children. Through the geographical forms it is that this road was opened through the destruction and reduction of entire peoples, through illness, political cooptation or declared war. The batch in this sense is the form-symbol³ of this territory domination model, since implemented by the European in the colonial city, was first expanded towards the farm, and then will demarcate the space built in colonial farms and, in cities founded within the country, to finally reach the Indian villages, whose order logic - implemented first by the Jesuits and then by SPI - will be quite similar to the farm logic, based on the logic of production principle, or what we call “productive use of space” (AMPARO, 2015). (The

landscape of contemporary village Kaingáng⁴ can be understood from the spatial logic known among geographers for *roughness* in M. Santos, or *residuality*, in H. Lefebvre.) Historic site from Kaingáng settlements in the past 25 centuries – with ample vestiges archaeological⁵ – the Kaingáng land in the context of interethnic⁶ friction and the territorial policies⁷ were not demarcated from their traditional territoriality, guided by the logic of mobility and farm cycle/ collection/ritual.

Contemporary geography is given by the intersection of two different scalar logical (HAESBAERT, 2011). To Oliveira Filho, Indigenous Lands are before, sociological units that, due to the series of contradictions that mark the demarcation process in political and legal contexts (OLIVEIRA, 1998). Indigenous Lands, are to be demarcated, amid strong processes and political tensions, especially them aside any area from their settlements (marquees) and restricted them to territoriality, since the typical geography inscription “white” (Western) is the limit – set in cartography usually by a straight line – which limits two contiguous spaces (setting the inside and outside).

Other controversies demarcate the process: the most important one: the Indians are not “owners” of the land, being rather unique beneficial owners (Art 231 of the Constitution.), and thus prevented both their disposal as the enjoyment of the property of its subsoil.

The degradation of the longhouse – for Kaingáng, the underground home – is the degradation of *kre*, a word whose variation always related to the artifact in the Jê language (basket, hamper, sowing, planting, etc.⁸). At the same time that their lands were reduced to mere fragments of what were historically, particularly with regard to the territorial scale of hunting and migration, Kaingáng became banned from colonized spaces just by having⁹ their lands. Despite limited extension, the Kaingáng started to live, too, with another productive rationality toward the market economy. Thus, indirectly, the design of Indigenous Lands, today, is, in a sense, determined by the market economy. This statement is due to the fact that these lands, which are not territories, are subject to control systems imposed by indigenous institution (currently FUNAI).

So by FUNAI, the state control and also, now, through partnerships with environmental NGOs have aims and objectives that are not always to be confused with the interests of indigenous peoples, the Indigenous Lands follow a spatial logic of production in which control given to them is merely symbolic, a kind of territorialism that does not discuss autonomy, where you play a logic imposed from outside the village, this logic that often, skews toward the arbitrary and authoritative. In this way, conflicts around this space in indigenous production logic produce political disruptions that often lead to the formation of new villages – “*emã*” and camps – *varé* (See JAENISCH, 2010, p. 21).

It is clear that the indigenous lands demarcated as fragments are one of the territorial strategies established with the Indians, and, in its wake, causes necessarily internal conflicts, especially those related to the demarcated land projects, since unlike the state planning that sees them as homogeneous, indigenous communities marked by the diversity of projects and worldviews,

which converge only at certain specific times, usually moments of fighting some common enemy and external to the community.

These narratives, the internal conflict to the villages, even generate the dispossession of indigenous by others (Indians) are common among Kaingáng, so that also play a key character in social production spaces of villages. Based in this logic a functionalist-mechanist vision of the territory in which this is taken as a resource, which refers to the exchange value, rather than the use value. This is because only since 1988 began to recognize the indigenous right to live according to their own rationales.

Indigenous Lands, until then, had a management focused on production of goods as the "vocation" of the earth. This explains the fact that Kaingáng lands have been, throughout the twentieth century, violently exploited as a provider of woods area, as with the advancement of rural production colonies (soybeans, wheat, corn, etc.), now house the unique forests remaining in the region. Once consummated this initial degradation of forests, and concomitantly the model of agricultural production scale, and, based on the use of machinery and pesticides, entered the Kaingáng lands, establishing an existing production cycle to date. This cycle we call the roughness shape in the village (AMPARO, 2015), taking the term roughness towards Milton Santos, towards a reading of the architectural form and its synchronously or diachronically relationship with social practices and contemporary lifestyles.

Thus, these forms inherited from an earlier time (which Lefebvre, in turn, calls "residual spaces": the sheds, the fields of crops) remain operative in Kaingáng landscape, being perceived by anyone who can analyze it the morphological point of view.

THE PRODUCTION OF INDIGENOUS SOCIAL SPACE

It can not be said that mental spaces of the natives do not approach geometry. Body painting, crafts, finally, all the graphics and architectural forms, all expressions of indigenous knowledge and practices, refer, in a way, a geometrization of the world. What is observed, however, it is that the ownership of these forms is abstractly constructed in the sense of a binary or identity dualism, referring to either former clan (the case of dual societies). The Kaingáng are a dual society, or a society based on division of the world between two main groups, the Kamé and Kanhru. Kamé is the founder of Kaingáng people. Aware of its incompleteness in the world, created his brother Kanhru, to help constitute the world. Each created a whole beings, identifying themselves and thus did the world. Kamé made snakes, Kanhru did ounces, Kamé made the Araucaria, Kanhru the cedar, etc. Those who identify Kamé thus adopt the painting in the form of lines / strokes, while Kanhru adopt forms of circles and dots in body painting, in the graphics and crafts.

The geometrization of abstract space of indigenous takes peculiar forms of mediation, which very little is equipped with cartesian rationalism forms.

Figure 1: Landscape
Appearance of Votouro Village.
Photo by the author April 16,
2005



Rather, they come back in the form of artistic expression, express themselves through paintings, music, objects, or even family and ritual. When we speak of "property", it is quite relative in the Indian case, actually, "possessions", prevailing in the community kinship systems and affinity in the division of property, labor and social prestige. The shape of the village, except in cases where this has been profoundly altered, as in the Kaingáng case, followed a certain symmetry with those relationships of kinship and affinity, establishing, for example, circular or in the form of horseshoes villages (as in classical studies anthropologist Lévi-Strauss on the Bororo, or Cristina Sá, in the architecture).

The notion of limit, like we know, established by a rational cartesian scheme, does not seem inherent Kaingáng. On the contrary, it seems that the reality demarcated by the boundary shown too expensive to these indigenous; is what emerges from the ethnographic literature and actual scenario. However, we know that the property was well defined and exercised by the bosses and their affinity groups. We are thus led to another rationality at the geographical space, a perception that only recently is going to find reception in the context of disciplinary geography (symbolism / phenomenology), whereas, since at least Pierre Clastres, Carl Sauer and Darril Poasey, already studying in etnology. The chiefdoms system does not imply a rectilinear perception of the area. Before, Kaingáng caciques constituted their territories by the pinion exploration areas domain. These trees were marked with indigenous artwork and respected by the other caciques. With colonization, however, these areas have become increasingly devastated and turned into farms, lots, polygons..., finally defined properties. Therefore, the landscape of the village Kaingáng plays currently the logic of these limitations and conflicts that are waged in the territory.

LOT AND LONGHOUSE

If the reflection from the territorial scale allows us to understand the interethnic friction processes and the gradual assimilation practices and spatial forms by Kaingáng in their demarcated lands, establishing ways that are forged from the conflict *between the symbolic predation of otherness* (meaning Viveiros de Castro), *from antropophagy and hybridization* (HAESBAERT; MONDARDO, 2010) *and the indigenous territorialisation* (in the Weberian sense, public administration, see João Pacheco de Oliveira Filho), the residential and villager scales enable us to observe a physical evolution in the form of housing construction Kaingáng. The batch on the basis of considerations made by Professor Nestor Goulart Reis (USP), in his book *Framework Architecture in Brazil* is the geometric shape that will demarcate the urban space and architecture in Brazil. This is not the time to deepen or review their analysis, only grasp this idea to understand its practical implications on ways to architecture, from colonization, settled in Brazil.

The meaning of the lot, as is marked and known, takes place in the city to meet the space limitations to be supplanted by colonial urbanism; but its expansion into the field does not obey the same principle, resulting, rather, a mimesis of know-how already tested and, to some extent, solve an urban problem. It is necessary to take into account that the Brazilian architecture sought to fit the rectangular lot, resulting this way in reference to the architectural projects in Brazil, it is found in the Latge Farn houses, palaces and headquarters of the organs of the Imperial Government and republican. It is the model nation that only with the modernist movement meets an effort to break. This play, which will reach the headquarters of the indigenous stations, is explained, then, not as creation but as mimesis, as the farms and estates were not the limiting space of the lot to determine the area to be built.

In this model will join the implanted indigenous form in many different corners of Brazil, resulting, therefore, the mimesis of an urban design transposed into places where other forms of know-how inscribed territorial architectures and managements historically built from the need to solve specific problems. The indian post (lot expression) and the longhouse pass to confront the landscape, from north to south. The asymmetry that is established between one form and another is precisely the fact that the former have limits and the second not, there is seen the diversity of longhouses recognized in ethnography: circular, rectangular, *sibs* (Yanomami collective longhouses), or even mere roofing straw and complete detachment from the "home", as among the Pirahã. Fruit of "white" rationality, homogeneous in its supremacy at the multiple rationales ancestors and their expressions stateless, the evolution of the landscape in the village occurs in sync with the denial movement of the historical character of indigenous peoples. Occurs concurrent with the naturalization of their relationship with the land and the denial of their otherness.

The evolution of the longhouse, the assimilation of the white form, taken as superior from mimesis, is given concomitantly with the Indian national society

Figure 2: Dwell Pirahã.
Photo by the author.



integration policy, based on the protection institute. Starts from the moment he (the Indian) is seen as a being in transformation, asserting their temporary status, transit in a single course of history that denying him the right to be Indian, taking it as a being transition to its future, which is to remove itself completely of its identity, becoming peasant (OLIVEIRA, 1998) or, more recently, a marginalized citizen of the urban periphery. So their crops, their knowledge and practices, their ways of living and live, his cosmological vision, all this should be deleted in favor of the untouchable progress, which prevents the subject to take the course of social transformation.

The logic of waste from Lefebvre or the logic of roughness (Milton Santos) applied dialectically to indigenous, enables us to take the ancestral forms as ridges that give them a sub-identity, since persist there remembering what they were, and not they should be more; while you can observe space objects introduced in their villages as white designs of roughness to their land with which they can not break, for materials and contemporary financial needs. There are any difficulties that today's indigenous face, particularly, the Kaingáng.

INHABITING KAINGÁNG

Contrary to this denial of logic ("become invisible") of indigenous forms, which can be called indigenization "modern-colonial" new logics emerge in the twenty-first century, articulating itself in many ways, with new brands, such as dignity, the right to sexuality and women's empowerment, which go far beyond the traditional left flags (CRUZ, 2011). Thus, the pent-up fight all these insurgents guys, we have the plurality of ideas and currents that will determine the ownership of social spaces, oriented to remain alive, in its fullness, re-exist (PORTO GONÇALVES, 2003; CRUZ, 2011). Contemporary

Kaingáng are therefore find themselves in front of this action, standing in southern Brazil in the colonial modernity with few fragmented and conflictive lands. This is the context in which it discusses therefore dwelling and indigenous architectural do.

The “*occupation*” strategy (or *varé*), used by the Indians, is not at all different from the MST strategies – Movement of Rural Workers Landless. In this condition are located two camps – Kandóia and Forquilha Grande, at Rio Grande do Sul. In these camps, indigenous people are living in canvas tents, by the road in poor conditions. In these dwellings they live all the time waiting for the demarcation of their lands, a cause that can span several generations.

The *emã* (settlements or awnings), in turn, corresponds to the areas already demarcated, in which already has certain legal guarantees, through the exclusive use this as a partial right. Its architectural making, colonized, it is hybrid, appropriating the technical and houses left by settlers. The camp *varé* and awnings-*emã* - or settlements - are differentiated countryside not so much in its landscape, but in its political and social. There’s an intrinsic relationship between the camps and settlements, which correspond to areas of “exclusion”, “restraint” or “prison” (HAESBAERT, 2004). Its conflicts usually arise:

- a) the restricted space for large communities;
- b) predatory and exploitative use (mining, deforestation, soybean cultivation) by indigenous or invasive;
- c) the impacts of major projects such as hydroelectric or mining (northern Kaingáng of Rio Grande do Sul have recently been impacted by the construction of the Small Hydroelectric Power Plant Monjolinho in the basin of the Uruguay River). The following table presents a typology of Varé and Emã.

| | Varé | Emã |
|-------------------------------|--|---|
| Category | Camp | Settlement, “awning”, village |
| Morphology | poor housing, covered with canvas, usually on the roadside (Des-territorial). | Tendency to “modernization” / adoption of the “form” indigenous / “symbolic predation of otherness”, greater autonomy due to the territorial area demarcated, which, however, tends to be limited and conflictive (seclusion / deletion / territorial containment). |
| Legal and political situation | Demand / claim. | Demarcated / Regularized (re-territorialization). |
| Conflict reasons | Struggle for land and dignity (Re-existence). | Planning and Territorial Management (Re-territorialization). |
| Subject of conflict | X indigenous farmers, squatters and “regional” political community (without properly delve into the multiple meanings of the term “regional”). | 1. Internal Conflicts 2. Indigenous x squatters 3. Indigenous x land farmers (in the case of RS, which through “partnerships” illegal lease Indian lands for soy plantations); 3. Indigenous x other ethnic groups living in the same village (Re-territorialization). |

Table 1: Types of Avare and Sister (Camp and Settlements) between Kaingáng.

COLONIZATION

In the first mentions of the ethnographic literature, Kaingáng appear first as Guaianás being around the eighteenth to the nineteenth century, during which were still unknown¹⁰. Only at the end of that century and early twentieth century it is that, through linguistic analysis, described to them – the Kaingáng – and their relatives – Xokreng – such as South Jê; being different from Guarany. An important part of studies on the Kaingáng is carried out by linguists, and the language of these indigenous one of the most popular among the Amerindian people. Some researchers have been devoted to the study of aspects of the history of power relations, religiosity and appropriation of nature by indigenous. The Kaingáng dwell studies rely on subsidies of studies by archaeologists, who discovered and delimited sites Taquara Tradition, helping to understand the Kaingáng dwell before the massacre promoted by colonial expropriation (the “catastrophe” of old and contemporary *ethnocide*).

According to archaeologists, it was designed by Kaingáng as an adaptive response to the southern environment, which had migrated about 2 thousand and four hundred years, proceeding from cerrado. For this reason, Kaingáng are also known as the South Jê, or southern Jê, linguistic and ethnographic related to Jê people; therefore, relatives of Craô, the Timbira, the Bororo, Xavante and the Kayapó. This observation allows us to understand the architectural form that followed. Reportedly in the nineteenth century there was no record of underground homes Kaingáng landscape in the South.

Instead of these, the landscape awnings (villages) shall prevail longhouses in the likeness of the houses that are currently among the Timbira of central Brazil. Certainly the ancestral memory must have been crucial to the development of this architectural form. However, the native home of the nineteenth century was much less effective than underground home with regard to climatic comfort. An analysis of the nineteenth century reports shows that exactly this period, both Kaingáng were victimized in tribal wars, as there have also been huge epidemics of flu and tuberculosis in their villages. It is also believed that the relationship between environmental comfort, architecture and indian death toll has not been properly understood¹¹. Although many studies are engaged in precarious housing in cities, little is known about the forms of indigenous housing and, mainly how the indigenous action determines their typologies, with the marquee or not the indigenous land, legal and administrative form that determines the possibility of a more decent housing, or even the return of the underground house. This, however, is not the case for many Kaingáng communities located on roadsides, waiting for the recognition of their legitimate right¹².

Veiga & D’Angelis in an article published in 2003, anticipate of the comments that we also perform:

Can be found in present-day Kaingang communities, brick houses with roofing cement asbestos tiles (such as “brasilit” or “eternity”), wooden houses with the same type of coverage, or zinc-coated or covered with clay tiles, or even covered “tablets”. But are, in many areas, houses or huts of wattle-and-daub, usually with vegetables leaf cover. Of course, given the shortage of many

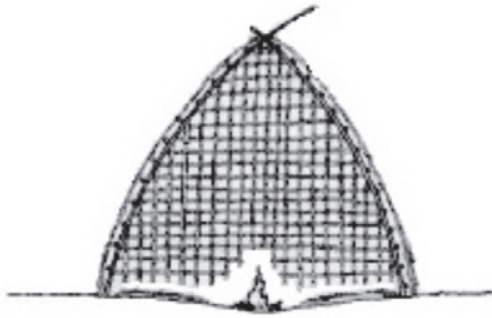


Figure 3: Palhoça Conception Kaingáng nineteenth century. Source: Zuch-Dias, p.154.

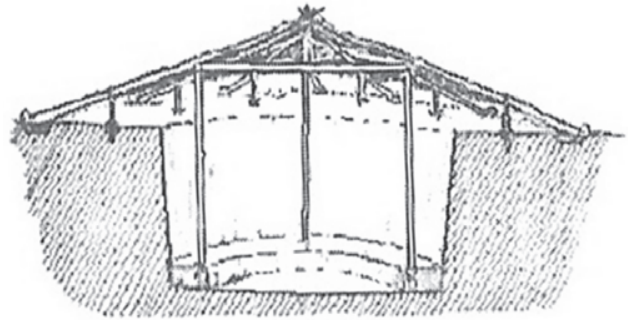


Figure 4: Artist's conception of an underground house (Adapted from Fernando La Salvia). Source: Veiga, p.40.



Figure 5: House of the Indian Post. Source: Zuch-Dias, p.251.

families, also find themselves in indigenous areas (or indigenous camps in the peripheries of cities), made of canvas shelters, cardboard, plywood and other use of materials. More rarely, these days, are also found in some areas houses taquaruçu twisted wall. (VEIGA; D'ANGELIS, 2003, p. 216).

In the twentieth century, there was, with the indigenization of SPI, some progress in recognizing the land, even in the context of indigenous integration through the peasantry, as pointed out by João Pacheco de Oliveira. So fast was instituted indigenous villas inspired by the houses of the Indian post and houses of regional settlers, by mimesis. Certainly due to the problems mentioned in the previous section, the Kaingáng adopted these forms as a survival strategy, operating, therefore, a symbolic predation of these forms. This does not mean that the adoption of these solve the problems of inhabiting the Kaingáng. Instead, resolves a first problem, to resist the cold in a temperate region, but establishes a new logic of dividing the internal space of the house, in rooms. Fire loses its central place and becomes a peripheral space, even if you try for countless ways to give it a privileged place. It also undermines the autonomy of their building, demanding now of monetary resources to obtain "material" (tiles, nails, etc.).

All forms of the village continue to be built by taking paradigm, the rectangle that set the lot. These forms today are no longer only the indian post, but the health center, the Catholic and evangelical churches, schools, etc. The evolution of the landscape in the villages, therefore, taken in the house and the village scales reveal the assimilation of these ways to build at the expense of ancestral

Figure 6: Succession of housing and territorial Kaingáng over the centuries. author of the Scheme (with Beber drawings and Zuch-Days).



technologies, specific-doings knowledge which, knowing the break, also remove part of indigenous autonomy before the social constructed world. Landscapes of Kaingáng villages reveal the capitalist appropriation of this space by way of know-how aimed at the integration of indigenous, to its transformation into a peasant, for productive inclusion of their land and to break with their world of worldviews, which are based on mythology and ancestry.

REFLECTION ON OTHERNESS: THE KNOW-HOW AND THE POSSIBILITY / NEED TO EPISTEMOLOGIZATION THE OTHER

Research on the contemporary realities of indigenous people, as well as empirical observations from their struggles, should also refer to a conceptual, theoretical and epistemological construction. Knowing the indigenous people from the cosmological and holistic perspective of their world views, demand is open to paradigms as transdisciplinary and transcultural, glimpsing methodological horizons as dialogic, horizontality and heterogeneity, as it proposes Paulo Freire (1969).

Transshipment of multiplicities is true not only from the opaque principle of conceptual reflection. Before, this paradigmatic transshipment emerges from the concrete reality of the indigenous, which leads us to anthropology studies¹³. In this context, we believe that these realities must be critically evaluated by adhering to the paradigm of complexity, or more precisely, in the reflection on reason, rationality and rationalization and its multiple forms of expression (MORIN, 1994).

The paradigm of complexity and sophistication echoes the proposals already made earlier (for example, the “magical thinking” by Paulo Freire or “symbolic predation of otherness” in Viveiros de Castro). Alterity and complexity as starting points lead to a reflection on the limitations of folk approaches (the known “studies Folk”), in which with the global homogenization caused by capitalism in its post-industrial phase, indigenous peoples and traditional communities they would be bound to disappear, approaching equivocal concepts, such that the “end of history” (Barthez) or “geography (Virilio)”¹⁴. These are therefore conceptions of which we intend to move away, because they constitute, in our view, a fatalist anachronism presenting the difficulties of understanding the social field subject in Brazil and the geographical forms that they produce and in which its sale is re-produced.

A methodological possibility to be considered relates to our approach, focused on knowledge and doings of these populations, *understood as forms of apprehension and representation of the world, but also as knowledge that enable its transformation, that is operating in the concrete social space*. So when we refer to “know” and “do” attribute to both notions of dialectical perspective needed to, in the process of social re-production, constitute knowledge. Thus, neither the knowledge nor do is knowledge, but the dialectical complexity that develop.

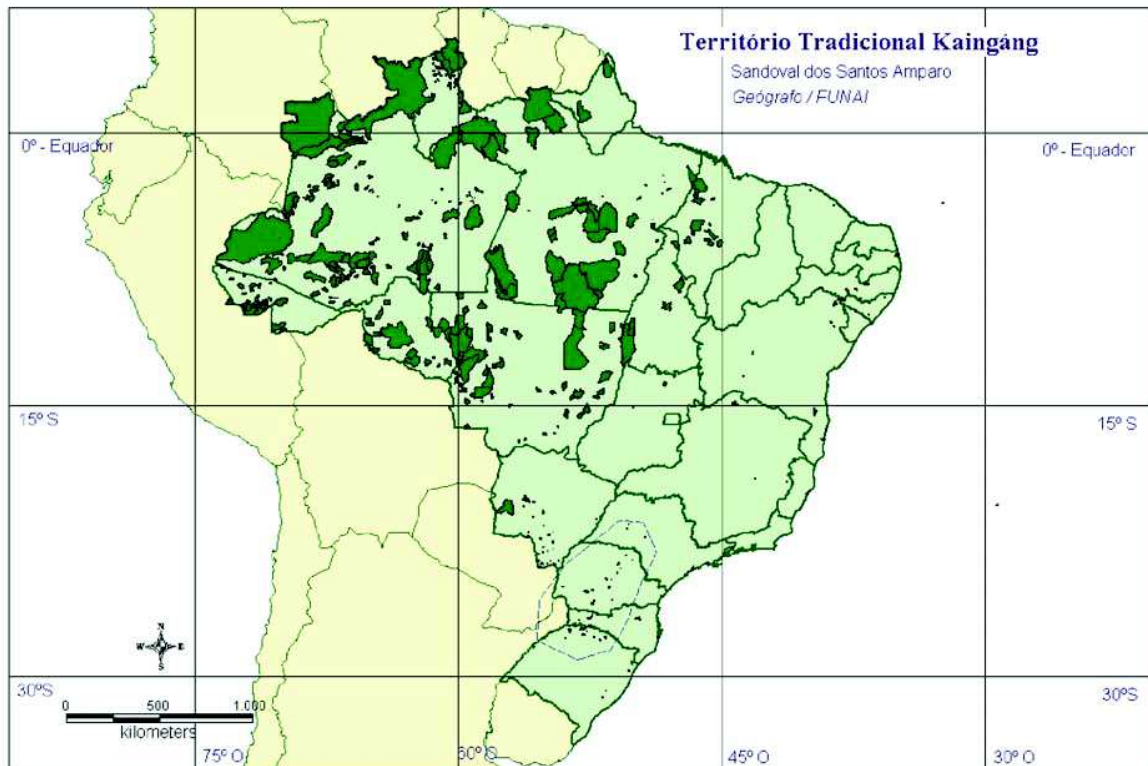


Figure 7: Location of TIs Kaingang in southern Brazil. (Author's Map)

Knowledge does not know himself, as do also does not know. Are more immersed in nature economy the market economy, by responding to the Marxist principle: "The flower produces unaware that produces" (MARX). However, man, individually or collectively, produces knowledge (and flavors) to be experienced. This knowledge and flavors, as demonstrated by Lévi-Strauss, is legitimate only in the design of its social efficacy, locus of their daily replication. His co-training to do is, therefore, related to its effectiveness in the social context that produced it.

There is a big difference between "know", "make" and "knowledge" Knowledge occupies the plan sphere design. Doing occupies the sphere of social objectification of certain knowledge and effective through the work (understood in the nature transformation plan and not merely from the point of capitalist relations). Not all knowledge becomes do, but all do is necessarily the objectification of knowledge, a "thing" produced from an idea concept here in serving as an example, Kaingáng basketry, whose craft them is typical and at the same time unique and exclusive, so a knowledge and make complex (PRADO JR., 1950; MOREIRA, 2010).

For knowledge, the perspective of indigenous peoples and traditional communities, it is understood the set of knowledge, tastes and practices produced by concrete social subjects, located in historical time and having the production, reproduction and transformation of geographical space real dimension of its existence. In turn, when "do" in space, when objetivated in *forms, spellings*, they become objects of criticism and evolution of knowledge that established in the sense of adaptation to the social reality which has its significance. For this reason, then, it is that this know-how becomes aware, by complying not a relationship between theory and practice, but in a dialectic of praxis, in which both know how to do are constantly subjected to critical analysis by an entity legitimating, in this case, the concrete reality and social subjects.

Finally, it is here set with more accuracy, which subject we refer to when we talk about indigenous. For the anthropologist Eduardo Viveiros de Castro:

We must begin then by distinguishing the words "Indian" and "Indigenous", which many may think to be synonymous, or "Indian" is only an abbreviated form of "indigenous". But it is not. All Indians in Brazil are indigenous, but not all indigenous living in Brazil are Indians. Indians are members of people and communities who are aware – either because they never lost, either because they recovered – its historical relationship with the indigenous people who lived in this land before the arrival of Europeans. They were called "Indians" because the famous misunderstanding of the invaders, to assail in America, thought to have arrived in India. "Indigenous", on the other hand, is a very old word, without anything "Indian" in it; means "generated within the earth of its own, a native of the land live in" [1]. There are indigenous people in Brazil, Africa, Asia, Oceania, and even in Europe. (...) The antonym of "indigenous" is "alien", while the Indian antonym in Brazil is "white", or rather, the many words of more than 250 Indian languages ??spoken in the Brazilian territory are usually translated into Portuguese for "white", but refers to all those people and institutions that are not Indian. (CASTRO, 2016 s / d)

| Term | Reading | Reference |
|------------------------------------|---|---|
| People (or communities) indigenous | Common use in the national states of context, community reading as "gemmeinschaft" (Weberian influences). | Indigenistas agencies (FUNAI and NGOs). |
| Indigenous Nations | Movements for dignity and territory, especially in Latin America, but also in Brazil. At issue is not only the right to land, but the continuity of their ways "r-exist." | Thought decolonial Latin American (CRUZ, 2013; PORTO-GONÇALVES, 2003). |
| Tribes | Colonialist notion has limited accuracy and generating understanding of confusion. | Ancient texts of chroniclers and field reports, widespread common sense |
| Indigenous Societies | Sociological influence, not accepted by some authors as Cunha (2009) | Ex.: Pacheco de Oliveira, Manuela Carneiro da Cunha. |
| <i>Crowborough, gentle</i> | Seventeenth-century texts, marked by theological perspective (especially the Jesuits). | Viveiros de Castro, Manuela Carneiro da Cunha. |
| <i>Buggies, Xavante, wild</i> | Old pioneers and settlers in southern central Brazil and the Amazon, acting in contexts of customary violence, political and symbolic that associated with expropriation and dispossession (thought from Marx and Haesbaert). | Regional, social networks cities. |

Table 2: Terms related to ancient peoples and the different readings.

We believe that you can join without major restrictions proposed by this author, since it considers the particular situation of Kaingáng.

SOME WORDS, NOT COMPLETE

Mindful of the transformation of the space of the villages, one must consider not only the transformation of geographical reality, through the transformation of the "doings" in the sense of its description and evolution, but above all to devote himself to understanding the knowledge that guide this do, immersing the epistemologies that support the understanding of knowledge and identification of different rationales operating in the production of geographical space.

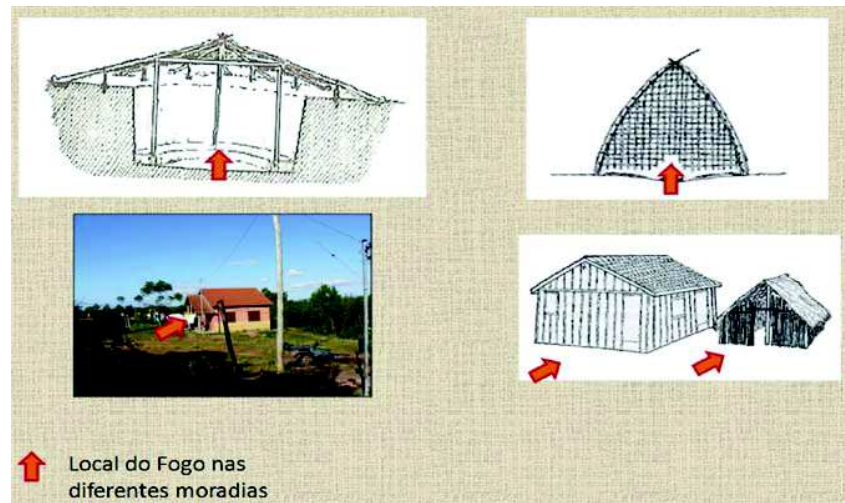
But as immersing yourself in such situations, low sophistication of ethnocentrism, which colonizes even the most hidden strongholds of the critically-libertarian thinking? Of course, there is no manual to avoid the methodological pitfalls of white science, western and colonizing. But anyway, the horizontality and the dialogic seem to indicate the paths for this construction, while providing the "emergency area" (FOUCAULT, 2008) that enable the emergence of an "epistemology of participation," or, more precisely, forms of dialogue with indigenous communities without inducing them or direct them, but trying to understand the contradictions inherent in its concrete social existence, whenever possible, questioning them, providing that they can possibly

overcome them. Here it is important to note that the history of indigenous people is a history of struggle, which at different times adopted strategies and alliances to viabilize its existence or to ensure minimum rights, such as land, dignity and their ways of re-exist. As it has shown Cruz, social struggles contemporary are beyond the traditional left flags and point to issues with the good life, the right to difference, etc. (CRUZ, 2013). Therefore, it is not to change the course of their struggles, but to help them to uncover any operative conceptual traps that act towards the restriction of rights.

This analysis should be embedded in the source of critical Latin American thought, steeped in critical and libertarian spirit of thinkers such as Paulo Freire and, above all, Darcy Ribeiro. You can think the *dialogic* as the ability to reflect the knowledge as social production from the concreteness of social reality. This may not be manifested only by valuing the experience and expertise of the people who produce this reality, and these experiences can be captured by the appreciation of the narrative and the possibility of being mapped. Both dialogic processes that remove the coach from their place of comfort historically constructed in the context of Cartesian science. The technician, cartographer, the researcher, the geographer educator is placed at the reality from the dialectics of social production of space, marked by these knowledge and practices. Through critical interpretation of this knowledge, he reinvents in a dialogical activity, that is part of the process of production / reproduction of such knowledge and practices and, therefore, the production / reproduction of knowledge and transformation of space and society through a cyclical and dynamic process.

Unveils therefore an “epistemology of participation,” dialectics, horizontal and dialogical epistemology, in which we have to consider the subject of its construction. Its guiding principle is the concept of emergence from reality

Figure 8: Fire Place in the different indigenous housing. Author's illustration, based on illustrations and Beber drawings, Zuch-Days and photographic material.



and their social concrete actors. Its role is to prevent manipulation and direction, common places that have been taken social science under the paradigm of colonization and technocracy. In these we have ways of living and the indigenous housing emerge as a relevant object of study in order to emphasize the peculiarity of their know-how and give it unique value; is in order to announce the symbolic predation shapes created by other territorial logic, in this case the indigenous logic and its symbolic form, the lot.

There is yet another dimension to be considered, the ethical dimension of production of this knowledge, this incurs, especially the need for knowledge prior to express or manifest the “will” of the concrete social subjects, to act in order to give them a voice and visibility to their specific causes, allowing them a critical and libertarian look at the living conditions and on the subject in question themselves. In this sense, we, researchers have certainly much to contribute to indigenous peoples, through understanding these conditions in inventories and multiple knowledge, doings and knowledge manifested through yhese. But we should also perform their critical contradictions.

Before the “planning” in the “order” or “territorial management” – technical and positivist instruments whose rationales naturalize and reduce social struggles – became active in the field of multiple territories (material territories and identity and cultural territories, as Haesbsaert, but also areas of communication and trans and intercultural dialogue) and its various appropriations expressed by reasons, rationales and rationalizations. Should move toward an ontological and complex analysis to reflect on such themes. If, as stated by anthropologist Manuela Carneiro da Cunha, the Indians are considered beings *without* history (CUNHA, 2009, p. 128), knowledge of their old ways of housing and sociability, those that date back to well before the colonization process, foreshadow the fight against this ideological crusade, which is to take them as beings with no history and thus also without a future, even as we know that indigenous history has been merely the result of intellectual neglect of a historical science and geographically situated. It can be also noted that, for the Indians, the dispossession process to which they are subject implies the precariousness of existence, as demonstrated Haesbaert (2011, p. 66). Although it remains the historicity related to territorial identity, “symbolic predation of otherness” in the case, carried through the assimilation of indigenous housing, implies the loss of control of housing construction process by the Indians in terms of materials and techniques, with a consequent reduction of the “territorial link” communities (if we have in mind a notion of territory built from the integration of different social dimensions, like in HAESBAERT, 2011, p. 52). This situation imposes on them a condition of dependence and subordination in relation to Indian agents (OLIVEIRA, 1998).

What can not be said, however, is that the subordinate integration of indigenous to the capitalist mode of production, the result of the national territorial process, with the adoption in the villages of former underground home for longhouses and then by house type indigenous, involving the disappearance of ancestry by consumption, but merely a symbolic predation

of otherness (in terms of Viveiros de Castro): the appropriation of the universe outside the village provides for the re-existence (PORTO-GONÇALVES, 2003) contemporary of Kaingáng and any other indigenous nation. Knowing the evolution of the territorial form (Indigenous Land) and architectural form (the underground house, hut or house of indigenous type) is, we believe, to penetrate the contemporary narratives that refer to the horizons of re-existence of these historical, social and geographical subjects.

Finally, when we propose to reflect the evolution of the landscape in the villages from Kaingáng, we believe that this reflection goes beyond the Kaingáng case, while being unfeasible to establish, at least in the area of oral communication, a deepening of other indigenous/indigenists realities. What we know as states Pacheco de Oliveira, is that:

The fate of indigenous peoples and cultures, like that of any other ethnic group or nation, is not previously written anywhere. Its original appearance, their vulnerability and their presumed tendency to extinction were never natural components of its existence but that the results of operations of the colonial elites who have imposed their forms of domination that transformed cultural, religious and political in 'brands' of a subordinate, crystallizing new hierarchies and establishing a hegemonic discourse. (OLIVEIRA, 1998, p. 8)

NOTES

- ¹ Not to mention the rich archaeological heritage, which arouses little interest among the population in general.
- ² Haesbaert & Mondardo make notes about cannibalism in the border regions, highlighting the precariousness and hybridity. However, studying the contemporary Brazil, refer to cannibalism in the sense of Brazilian modernism.
- ³ Reference to the fifth part of an urban plot established by the Portuguese in colonial Brazil, which is usually the backyard.
- ⁴ By tradition, ethnologists refer to indigenous people always singular, never using the plural, even when using the article in the plural, with counter example: "the Kaingáng" or "Terena", "the Guarany". Thus stands out the specific character of each nation, in contrast to "Indians" or "indigenous" generic terms.
- ⁵ A group of archaeologists and historians of the south has been dedicated to raising these data. The findings known about these works are gathered in Amparo (2015).
- ⁶ Roberto Cardoso de Oliveira, 1963 (cited Pacheco de Oliveira, 1998).
- ⁷ 8 Haesbaert, 2004; Pacheco de Oliveira, 1998.
- ⁸ *Kre* word means "home" among the Kayapo-Mebengokré, southern relatives of Kaingáng. (WISEMEAN, 2011).
- ⁹ Note that, here, the exact term mentions the possession and not to property. Indigenous peoples have the right to "exclusive use" under Article 231 of the Federal Constitution. However the management of these lands – which are public – up to a specific organ of the Federal Government, FUNAI.

- ¹⁰ Emblematic in this sense, the fact that the areas inhabited by Kaingáng have been described with “unknown hinterlands” in Mappa Chorográphico of the Province of São Paulo, D. Muller. (See BEIER, 2015).
- ¹¹ Negligence researchers of South Jê are the exception, as researchers like Adams & Tomasinno (2015) and Fernandes (2003) and especially Veiga & D’Angelis (2003) have contributed greatly to the knowledge of the ancient and contemporary forms of housing Kaingáng.
- ¹² While finalizing the revision of this text, MILITIA funded by farmers in Mato Grosso do Sul attacked a camp in the city of Caaraõ. In a statement, FAMASUL – Agricultural Federation of Mato Grosso do Sul says “*mourn the death of the indigenous*” but misses the name of the fatal victim, Clodiodi Achilles Rodrigues Souza (his name, Achilles, *exchanged* carefully by Aguille to suggest a Paraguayan origin since Aguille has spanish origin).
- ¹³ Especially in anthropology, see the Indian “hyper-real” Alcida Ramos, interethnic friction (Ramos, 1995).
- ¹⁴ Haesbaert, reflecting these concepts in the social sciences, carries out important analysis of the theoretical trends indicated and their conceptual problems. (Haesbaert, 2003).

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