

ARCHIGENEALOGICAL ANALYSIS OF SEGREGATION AND EXCLUSION MECHANISMS IN CARIRI METROPOLITAN AREA, CEARÁ, BRAZIL

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ABSTRACT. The present study is the description and analysis of three episodes that occurred during the twentieth century in the region of Cariri, Ceará State, Brazil: the Buriti concentration camp, the community Caldeirão da Santa Cruz do Deserto and a psychiatric hospital. They are objects for the analysis of the power relations and governmentality related to the poor, drought migrants and the mad. To that end, elements and concepts from the work of Michel Foucault are used, especially the concept of biopower as a general governmental strategy. In addition, the multidimensional perspective of poverty was used, since these mechanisms were applied to the bodies of poor people, justified by the preservation and maintenance of others' lives. This work aims to describe and analyze three events of the early twentieth century, relating them to the strategies of governance, control and power over the bodies of poor people. We highlight the importance of critical and reflexive apprehension in relation to the contexts in which discourses and practices of exclusion are inscribed.

Keywords: Psychiatric hospital; poverty; social exclusion.

ANÁLISE ARQUEGENEALÓGICA DE MECANISMOS DE SEGREGAÇÃO E EXCLUSÃO NO CARIRI CEARENSE

RESUMO. O presente artigo consiste na descrição e análise de três episódios ocorridos durante o século XX relacionados ao governo e gestão dos corpos de pessoas pobres do Cariri cearense. O campo de concentração do Buriti, o Caldeirão da Santa Cruz do Deserto e um hospital psiquiátrico são objetos da análise das relações de poder e governamentalidade relacionadas às pessoas pobres, migrantes da seca e loucos. Para tanto, foram utilizados os elementos das análises arqueológicas e genealógicas presentes na obra de Michel Foucault, sobretudo, o conceito de biopoder como estratégia geral de governo. Ademais, foi utilizada a perspectiva multidimensional de pobreza, uma vez que esses mecanismos foram aplicados aos corpos de pessoas pobres sob a justificativa de preservação e manutenção da vida de outras. Nosso objetivo é mostrar a importância do aprofundamento crítico-reflexivo no que diz respeito aos contextos nos quais os discursos e as práticas de exclusão social se inscrevem.

Palavras-chave: Hospital psiquiátrico; pobreza; exclusão social.

ANÁLISIS ARQUEGENEALÓGICA DE MECANISMOS DE SEGREGACIÓN Y EXCLUSIÓN EN EL CARIRI CEARENSE

RESUMEN. Este artículo es la descripción y el análisis de tres episodios que se produjeron durante el siglo XX en relación con los órganos de gobierno y de gestión de las personas pobres de Ceará Cariri. El campo de concentración de Buriti, el Caldeirão da Santa Cruz do Deserto y un hospital psiquiátrico son el análisis de los objetos de las relaciones de poder y la gobernabilidad relacionados con los pobres, los migrantes sequías y loco. Por lo tanto, se utilizaron los elementos de análisis arqueológico y genealógico presente en la obra de Michel Foucault, especialmente el concepto de biopoder como estrategia general del gobierno. Además, se utiliza la perspectiva multidimensional de la pobreza, ya que estos mecanismos se aplicaron a los cuerpos de las personas pobres en los terrenos de la preservación y el mantenimiento de la vida de los demás. Nuestro objetivo es mostrar la importancia de la

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profundización crítica y reflexiva en relación con los contextos en los que los discursos y las prácticas de exclusión social caen.

Palabras-clave: Hospital psiquiátrico; pobreza; exclusión social.

Introduction

The Carriri metropolitan area, located in the southern region of the state of Ceará, in Brazil, developed rapidly and following the model of the state's capital, Fortaleza. The urbanization process and the economic development did not take place without conflicts, governmental strategies and an organization of towns that valued certain ways of living over others. In the municipality of Crato, during the twentieth century, three historic and political situations, characterized by peoples' exclusion, were part of the urban space development process. Those are facts that may help us to detect the management devices and control of certain categories of people, such as the spaces destined to them in and out of the city.

The first fact was the existence of concentration camp for refugees during the great draught of 1932, which ravaged Brazilian northwestern region. Buriti concentration camp impeded the migrants to enter the city of Crato, and is believed to have up to sixty-five thousand refugees, besides a countless number of deaths (Rios, 2006). The second fact is the creation and the massacre in Caldeirão da Santa Cruz do Deserto (also referred here as Caldeirão), a religious community headed by the blessed José Lourenço (dissident of Canudos and of the libertarian ideas of Antônio Conselheiro). The community was created with Father Cirero's permission; its organization provoked some discomfort to the country's authorities. The inhabitants of Caldeirão were decimated in 1937 by the first (and only) attack carried out by the Brazilian Air Force towards civilians (Cordeiro, 2004). The third one is related to the establishment of a psychiatric hospital², used to shelter crazy people taken away from the streets and from the town's public jail, becoming then part of a process to institutionalize the human exclusion, justified for being a medical treatment. The hospital was inaugurated in 1970, being considered a great achievement for the town and all its area (Revista Itaytera, 1970).

We believe that the synchronic analysis of those three situations shows how the social changes and the economic growth experienced in Cariri area in the first half of the twentieth century are inseparable from the creation of undesirable insurance mechanisms and social exclusion devices, especially from governmental strategies that operate on the body of the poorest people. As tools of the discourse analyses and of the power-knowledge relations that cross and condition the three events analyzed, we are supported by concepts proposed by Michel Foucault in his studies on biopower and governmentality, characteristic of the contemporary societies (Foucault, 1992, 1999).

The approximation and the contextualization of those three episodes allows us to understand how certain human groups (poor and helpless people, migrants from drought and poverty-stricken areas and the mad) were part of the everyday-life of the town, and target of management practices and of sanitary and assistentialist medical discourse, which are inseparable from a silently naturalized moral and political recognition that sustained the mechanisms of exclusion and of bodies control.

Strategic location of Crato in the southern Ceará

The municipality of Crato is located in the southern region of Ceará, a Brazilian state, bordering with Pernambuco state and close to the borders of Piauí and Paraíba states. It is in the foothills of *Chapada do Araripe* and was part of the leather route and a place for the passing of the expeditions that occupied the inland cities of Brazil during the colonial period. Its privileged geographic position could be seen as an oasis, if compared to the deserted region where it is located, for *Chapada* keeps a reserve

² That is *Casa de Saúde Santa Teresa*, device analyzed in the Master's Degree thesis entitled "*Análise arqueogenológica da Casa de Saúde Santa Teresa: abertura, manutenção e fechamento de um hospital psiquiátrico*", defended at the Post Graduation Program in Psychology of Universidade Federal do Rio Grande do Norte, developed by the first author and advised by the second ones.

of the Atlantic forest and water sources. It caused Crato to have mild weather and luxurious vegetation, contrasting with the arid and dry weather of that region.

In the beginning of the twentieth century, Crato still had some colonial characteristics. In its small urban perimeter, buildings that symbolized the dominant institutions, which held the power, had already been built. Examples of those buildings are *Igreja da Sé* ("The Church of Sé), finished in 1911 and the *Seminário São José* (Seminar São José) – a model ecclesiastic school that started to work still in 1875. The mild weather, the abundant water and the geographic location made the municipality turn into a stronghold for faith, mysticism and popular religiosity, with the political power concentrated mainly on colonels, who were the biggest landowners (Figueiredo, 1970).

Crato was proud of its people culture and education; however, it held important and little known episodes that are not part of Brazilian official history. In that town, for example, Brazilian Independence was declared five years in advance. On May 3, 1817, José Martiniano de Alencar, son of Bárbara de Alencar³, influenced by the republican ideals of *Revolução Pernambucana* (Pernambuco State Revolution), starts the republican movement in Vale do Cariri and, on the town's central pulpit, proclaims Brazil's Independence, five years before Peter I of Brazil did on the banks of Ipiranga River. Crato was a republic for eight days, until the movement was suppressed by the orders of Leandro Bezerra, a big landowner. In that occasion, Martiniano, his mother, Bárbara, and his brother, Tristão Gonçalves, were arrested, sent to Fortaleza and then to Salvador (Aragão, 2010). The bourgeois municipality contrasted - and still contrasts – to the Crato of its revolutionary sons.

The political conflicts and the braveness (or madness) acts are part of the town's history, which, in the beginning of the twentieth century, starts to share the growth and progress leadership in the area of Vale do Cariri with the newly created *Joazeiro*⁴. Crato's diocese is created in 1914 and, under the influence of Catholic Church, the town grows and earns, besides a diocesan seminar, for the education of religious workers, the Philosophy Faculty – initial cell of Universidade Regional do Cariri ("Cariri Regional University"). Crato was also the final spot of Baturité railway, which connected the municipality to the capital, Fortaleza. Such fact boomed the commerce and the settling of people, making the town grow.

In that period, there were painful events, forgotten in the history books, which we will address in this study. Analyzing those episodes allows us to identify how the poor and helpless people, migrants from the drought-stricken areas and mad people were removed, in varied ways, from the towns' daily life, marked by the modernization and expansion process. The economic, political, and social of each period are re-affirmed by the existing discourses, allowing us to find the relations among the common elements of the three episodes, apparently distinct, but which constituted the relation knowledge/power and of the mechanisms of social exclusion and segregation that act on the development of Crato.

Episode 01: Buriti concentration camp

Known as "currais do governo" (Brazilian Portuguese for government's corral), along Ceará State's history, many concentration camps were created to stop people who migrated to richer areas of the state, trying to survive from the effects of long droughts. The authorities feared what had already happened during another drought in 1877, when around a hundred and ten thousand starving people left the deserted area and invaded the capital's streets. During the drought of 1915, at least a hundred thousand northeastern people had died, and other two hundred fifty thousand dispersed in search of survival conditions (Rios, 2001).

During the government of the president Getúlio Vargas, there were two long droughts, one in 1932, and another in 1942. For the first time, Brazilian State provided coordinate and centralized interventions

³ Republican heroin, born in the Caiçara farm, in Pernambuco state; mother of José Martiniano de Alencar, Tristão Gonçalves and Carlos José dos Santos, also revolutionaries. She moved to what was then called Vila do Crato. Within the context of Pernambuco revolution, in 1817, she was arrested and considered the first female political prisoner in Brazil (Aragão, 2010).

⁴ The town starts to be called Juazeiro do Norte in 1943; its name originates from a tree of the country's northeastern area, *Zizyphus joazeiro*. The word *joazeiro* is a hybrid formation of Tupian and Portuguese languages, *juá* or *iu-á* (fruit with thorns) with the suffix *-eiro* (Barbosa, 2004).

in the areas affected by the drought. In 1932, the government established the called “*indústria da seca*” (Brazilian Portuguese for drought factory), the help from the federal government to the northeastern oligarchies, which, many times, would use the resources for their own benefit (Villa, 2002). Those actions involved financial support, creation of workforces, and campaigns of migration to the Amazon or to São Paulo, besides the creation of concentration camps. At that time, not only Vargas’s government, but also the government of Ceará, adopted measures to eliminate mendicancy. Due to the large quantity of poor and starving people migrating from the central deserted area to the capital and to Cariri, the government created countless security zones to confine those migrants, known in Brazil as “*retirantes*” (Neves, 2001).

The concentration camps were established along the Baturité railway, which connected Fortaleza to Crato, crossing the whole state. Once in the camps, the migrants were watched over, and did not have permission to leave. There were two camps in Fortaleza and one in Ipu, Quixeramobim, Senador Pompeu, Cariús and, at the end of the railway, there was Buriti concentration camp, located in Crato. The camp was designed to shelter five thousand people, but there are records informing that at least sixty-five thousand people were in Buriti concentration camp during that drought. The *retirantes* were fed with beef jerky and cassava, which was not enough for them, considering quantity and nutritional quality. There was lack of water, the living and sanitary conditions were precarious, and the infectious diseases multiplied. Hundreds died, and were buried without any identification in common ditches, many of them decimated by the epidemics and by famine. Such violent and grotesque experience of social control was repeated in 1942. From those experiments, only survivors’ testimonials and countless orphaned children were left (Rios, 2001).

Episode 02: *Caldeirão* Massacre

Caldeirão, Brazilian Portuguese word for “cauldron”, is called like that for being a geologic crevice at the feet of Chapada do Araripe which, fed by a water table, remains full of water, even during the drought. The fraternity of the desert’s *Caldeirão da Santa Cruz* existed there between 1894 and 1937. The dwellers of Caldeirão, led by the blessed José Lourenço, awaited for the messianic advent of the final judgement. The community survived from planting and harvesting, living from what was taken from the their land. In the middle of that deserted area, the community of free famers grew (O Povo, 1934). Those workers did not count on the State (for the security zones of forced migration zones did not provide any assistance to people), neither on the Church to face the suffering caused by the drought. Therefore, the popular mysticism and the hard work for the colonels were the only ways found for them to survive.

Nevertheless, the community and the blessed started to annoy the authorities. Besides the growth of the group and their principles of self-management, the episode of “*boi mansinho*” (Brazilian Portuguese for “mild ox”) brought problems with the elite (Alves, 1994). The blessed had won an ox from Father Cícero; the ox started to be worshiped by the population. After the pilgrimages in Juazeiro, the pilgrims went to Caldeirão to see the ox. This fact made the congressman and religious leader Floro Bartolomeu become angry, for he did not want the worship to the animal to compete with the worship in Juazeiro. The congressman then ordered the imprisonment of the blessed and sacrificed the ox publicly.

Caldeirão had around five thousand inhabitants; many of them had escaped from the conduction to Buriti concentration camp, and found the help that they needed from the blessed. There was not any crime recorded in that community. For their communitarian beliefs and independent economy, the political elite of Juazeiro and Crato decided to end the community of Caldeirão, claiming that it was a communist community, composed of religious fanatics (Cordeiro, 2004). The arrival of a wooden box from Germany was the expected reason to justify the attack. Caldeirão was accused of having received guns to attack Crato’s colonels. The attacks to Caldeirão were successive from then on until 1937, when the General Eurico Gaspar Dutra, who was the ministry of war then, authorized the attack with airplanes of Brazilian Air Force. The dwellers of Caldeirão were strongly hit by the bombs falling from the sky. The death of at least seven hundred people is estimated. The blessed José Lourenço survived, ran away to Pernambuco, and died nine years later. The victims’ corpses were never returned to their

families, Ceará state never gave an official pronouncement on the episode and the army never claimed the responsibility for the bombing, even though there are records of the massacre in newspapers of that time. The right to the memory, until nowadays, is systematically denied, and Brazil violently denigrates that sad fact of its history⁵.

Episode 03: The opening of a psychiatric hospital in Crato

Having more than a half of its population living in the urban perimeter, under strong intervention of the Church and of the colonels, the town of Crato started to develop intensively during the first half of the twentieth century. The care with the population's health started to be a worry, and, until the end of 1960, the municipality already had four new hospital units.

Following such expansion rate, the health care institutions, of initially religious character and based upon creative ideals, changed their status from the increasing accreditation to the *Instituto Nacional de Previdência Social* (INPS – Brazilian Nacional Social Security Institute). During that time, the mendicancy problem starts to be considered as unacceptable at a leading municipality in that area. The beggars, who remained in that area because of the commerce and the religious pilgrimages, disturbed the town and its inhabitants. It is also during this period that the society started to be more intolerant with “the mad”, those characters who constituted popular types in that area, and with whom the town lived peacefully. This justified the necessity for the opening of a sanatorium for Cariri (Cunha, 2013). Until then, the prison had the function of moral coercion. In those new times, prison was not anymore enough to curb or annihilate those infame subjectivity manifestations, so disturbing and not in accordance with the standards supported in that time.

In the middle of the 1960s, the idea of opening a psychiatric hospital in that area appears like an imperative to be based upon the idea of progress and order, such as the example of the enlargement of the hospital net in Cariri, but also as a denounce of the nuisance that people like beggars and the mad caused to the town. Such “improvement” was certainly made easier by the opportunities provided by the Brazilian government, which invested a high quantity of public resources in the private assistance of the country. Under those conditions, under that specific context, in 1970, on June 21 – anniversary of Crato – the psychiatric hospital opened its doors (Revista Itaytera, 1970).

Guiding principle: power, government, poverty, and exclusion

What is there in common among those episodes apparently distinct (concentration camp, the community of insurgents and the psychiatric hospital)? What lines and links among them allow a broader understanding of the area's political devices and of its constituting hegemonic social values? Our hypothesis is that there are three episodes separated in time, but geographically located at the same place; a power structure and a poverty management logic imbricate them, approximate them, justify them, allow them to happen. We will argument on this hypothesis in more details.

It is important to understand that Brazil became a republic in 1889, and, although there was not a sovereign power like in Europe, the transition from a country governed monarchically to a central government, with the resulting strengthening of the states due to the hereditary captaincies, brought various changes. Those changes happened specially on the governmentality scope, according to Foucault (2008a, p.14, free translation) understood as a “specific and complex form of power that has the population as a target, the economy as the main form and the security devices as the technical instrument”, as well as on the organization of urban spaces in the cities. I.e., the twentieth century was characterized by the political institutionalization, by the enlargement of the urban centers, by the investment in industry and commerce and by the strengthening of federal and state governments. This way, it seems clear that governing a country with big geographic extension and huge economic discrepancies among the regions demanded the making of decisions on the management of the bodies

⁵ Although it is not mentioned in Brazilian official history, the massacre was registered in newspapers and periodicals. Examples of that can be found in: A chacina do Caldeirão. Tarcísio Holanda. Jornal do Brasil, Rio de Janeiro, 01-02-1981, Caderno Especial de Domingo.

and lives of people who were not within the social standards idealized by the increasing rate of the supposed social development. Those people were, mainly, poor people.

It is worth to mention that in Brazilian northeastern region, the government was always linked to the local oligarchies. In Ceará, the colonels - owners of lands and of the called governmental corrals – held the political decision power and dictated the votes of the masses. Such scenario, largely known by our political oligarchies, would be too little for a more comprehensive understanding of new governmentality ways, put up and demanded by the imperatives of social modernization that the region started to know in this period.

The management mechanisms transform and adapt at each historic period, and are related to the knowledge and power relations characteristic of each period. This adaptation and continuity of certain mechanisms of control can be clearly noticed when we remember that Ceará was the state that had more deaths caused by the countless droughts between the end of the nineteenth century and all the twentieth one, and, according to a report of World Bank, in 2012, that state still had 40% of its population living in a situation of chronic poverty (Renos, Jamele, & Leonardo, 2015).

Based upon that, our analysis follows this line: (1) discussing on the mechanisms of power and regiment of bodies and lives related to the modern governmentality; (2) pointing out that such government processes impact on the large quantity of poor people; (3) problematizing the poverty and the subjectification and subordination related to it, and consequently, on the hybridism poverty and madness. We aim at understanding the rationality of government and of management that enabled and justified the creation of certain mechanisms of exclusion or perverse inclusion, invisibilization and annihilation of human groups, justified by the assurance of social welfare and the preservation of the life of most part of population.

Biopower: the government of the bodies and of the populations

According to Foucault (1999), the modern societies know a new logic of power working, in relation to the model characteristic of the seventeenth and the eighteenth century. It is no longer a repressive and monolithic power, supported by the divine right of the sovereign and based upon torture, confiscation, and despotic government practices. On the contrary, the new political rationality is reconfigured from other mechanisms, such as the populational control, the sanitary surveillance, the disciplining of conducts, the juridical ordination, the paranoid security imperative, etc.

It is a completely new logic of increasing and organizing the social and productive forces that brings “a power destined to produce forces, to make them grow and to order them more than to impede them, reduce them or destruct them” (Foucault, 1999, p.148, free translation). Given that, it is not anymore the right of death – of giving death to the vassal – the thing that characterizes the modern political reasoning. It is, above all, managing life, its forces and functions that becomes established as a principle from which the government legitimizes and justifies itself. It is precisely this transformation, in which the politics does not settle on the right of giving death, but on making life its own object, that Foucault called biopower.

Foucault insists that biopower is constituted from a double articulation: on one side, a disciplinary power that would operate on the individual bodies, establishing a “political anatomy of the human body” centered on dressage practices, enlargement of physical and cognitive capacities and introjection of normative values for individual conducts. On another side, a “biopolitics of the population”, centered on interventions and regulations that had as their object the life-species: “the births and the mortality, the health level, the life length, the longevity, etc” (Foucault, 1999, p.152, free translation).

The object of the modern power is, thus, the life itself, understood as an individual body as well as a populational body: “It is not necessary to insist on the proliferation of political technologies that, from then on, will invest in the body, in health, in the ways of feeding and dwelling, in life conditions, in all the existence space” (Foucault, 1999, p.156, free translation).

Biopower as a governmental logic enables the controlled insertion of bodies in the capitalist production machine, as well as the adjustment of the populational phenomena to the economic global processes, assuring the legitimacy of the disciplinary power under the aegis of the justification of assuring a good life to the general population. “To make people live” becomes the telos characteristic of

the modern governmentality; enabling life is the last stratagem of the government's devices. It is under this justification that the governmentality will become inseparable, for example, from the security devices.

The cleverness of this Foucaultian analysis consists precisely of the perverse and reversible character of biopower. As Foucault points out, "never were wars as bloody as the ones that occurred from the nineteenth century on, and never, saved the proper proportions, had the regimes, until then, practiced such holocausts within their own populations" (Foucault, 1988, p.149, free translation). Well, but do not we face, here, a contradiction between the principle of "managing life" and the empirical fact of "massified death"? In other words, do not we find a disjunction between the norm and the case? For, how is it possible that, through the political imperative of life increase, big massacres can be committed? Foucault insists that there is not any contradiction, once the power of governing excludes, and even killing is legitimated from a positive discourse about life, from a series of supposed practical demands around the survival and the welfare of a certain population.

In other words, the power on life is based upon the imperative of "protecting the living one", even though it means giving part of the population back to death. It reveals how the power always ends up privileging certain forms of life instead of others, as well as some restricted parts of the population in general. In that case, following the Foucaultian analysis closely, we can say that it is precisely the human life as a political fact that is in the core of the three episodes presented in this study. It suggests the existence of a management logic that underlies the three episodes, connecting them. Let us see it in more details.

In the concentration camp, people are cloistered in the outskirts of the city, being impeded to come in and be part of the urban life. There is not, in the public space, anything to offer to the hungry poor people, there is not space for them to occupy without causing problems. The government assures the citizens' welfare in the same movement that, cornered, claims to take care of the human contingent banished by the drought. A security measure concerning the public order, a sanitary measure concerning the populational sprain caused by the drought. Such security zones, however, are exception zones where the human rights are deeply violated. The concentration camp as a biopolitical device does not have as its insertion object a subject of rights, but a way of living that does not incorporate the social and sanitary demands of a certain geographic-political context. A perverse reversion characteristic of biopower – as Foucault would insist – once, in this case, it is in name of the life of a certain part of the population that the "holocaust" of the other less privileged part of population occurs.

Concomitantly, there is a resonance among the events described here that must be highlighted: the concentration camp co-existed with the community of Caldeirão. Why did not the government, who created work fronts and sent people from Ceará to the Amazon and to São Paulo – as cheap and disqualified workforce to occupy low paying jobs – send part of the migrants to the community of Caldeirão, which until then, was prosperous and allowed the expectancy of an alternative development model for the Cariri area?

It is easy to notice that there was not any interest from the oligarchies, neither from state or federal government, in a community ruled by equity and by principles of self-management growing even more. Caldeirão could never be emancipated as a city and constitute a new political center, with management and governing forms that did not presuppose the dynamic determined by the biopower and its alliance with the dominant class. Clear example of how, in the biopolitical management, the productive forces are not only urged, but urged according to determined interests. An obvious confirmation, biopolitics (Foucault, 2008b) is not neutral economically, politically or morally.

In this case, it is not an interest of governors, oligarchs, and politicians that Caldeirão had more inhabitants and that pilgrims went there after the death of Father Cícero. The community of Caldeirão appears as a heterotopic space, an alterity space, which would not work under hegemonic conditions, which does not recognize and does not participate of the same administration and political management dynamics hegemonically adopted in that area. Then the following events became predictable: the supposed German box, the "communist threat", the singular and shameful air attack against unarmed civilians. If the State can kill lives it is because those lives are "the others" – "the poor", "fanatics", "communists", "the late" – everything that obstructs and destabilizes the "progress of

the region". The Concentration camps and Caldeirão da Santa Cruz are crossed by a set of values and practices that show us the verse/reverse of a political power which, in name of life, selects and kills.

But, if this is like that, would not it be the case saying that the psychiatric hospital – recognized certain and evident differences – can also be understood according to a dynamic similar to the events analyzed here? An affirmation device of a discourse and of order practices that consolidate that space as and exclusion, disciplining and normalizing place for the crazy ones. After all, the medical knowledge/power, affirmed as a discourse of the truth, would assure, at the same time, the juridical and the police force that the place for those people would be between the walls of the prison pavilions and not on the cities' streets.

The mad appear, then, as characters that threaten the hegemonic values of that time. Like the retirantes of the community and the inhabitants of the Buriti concentration camp, the mad are understood as subjects who do not have the right to choose on the destiny of their own bodies, as well as a problematic part of the population, in which practices on behavior control and social hygiene must be invested. In other words, the mad, as the object of the medical practice, and the madness, as the object of the psychiatric discourse, also seem to be inseparable from the internal logic of biopower. Then, on the mad, the imperative of contention and security was effectuated, in favor of the welfare of the other part of the population.

That peculiar moment that Cariri area was going through at the beginning of the twentieth century – of consolidation of a capitalist production way in a growing country – was also the moment for the affirmation and institutionalization of the life that should be lived, a life that could adapt to certain hegemonic social, economic and cultural standards. Such hegemony should be understood not as a quantitative majority, but as the normative force that the favored minority has, and has on certain economic-cultural context.

One would not find it strange that right in this period the institutions destined to the representatives of the ways of living that are the least interesting to the biopolitical capitalism were created. As an example of that, we can also think, as Foucault (1979) suggests, about the school for the kids aiming at the standardization of childhood, the almshouse for the unproductive elderly people, the multiplication of prisons for criminals and delinquents, the rehabilitation centers for younger criminals, and, of course, asylum for the crazy ones: "Can one find it strange that the prison is similar to the factories, to the schools, to the barracks, all of them are similar to prisons?" (Foucault, 1979, p.230, free translation). Is not it exactly from this structure bipartite between discourses and practices, from this logic of power based upon the alliance between biopolitical devices and the capitalism what is also said in the core of the events analyzed here? As an attentive reader of Foucault had said, everything happens as

If from a certain point, every decisive political event always had a double face: the spaces, the liberties and the rights that the individuals acquire in their conflict with the central powers simultaneously prepare, at each time, a tacit, but growing, enrollment of their lives in the state order, offering then a new and more fearsome instance (Agamben, 2002, p.127, free translation).

Having said that, we can affirm, with Foucault, that the analysis carried out from the biopolitical perspective shows us how the medicine is – allied to its undeniable technical progress and epistemological rigor – inseparable from a political-administrative demand: healing the body and keeping it able to work and produce. This is the dialectic characteristic of biopower that must constantly be recovered and analyzed. For, once institutionalized, the medical knowledge starts to have geographic location, walls and the concreteness of the hospital, which gives the social body an effective materiality and action powers. In a certain way, in the late modernization of Brazilian society, many spaces were raised and destined to the standardization, cure and adequacy of the subjectivities to life under the aegis of the bio-capitalist control.

Such discourse for order and tranquility of the society in general, as well as a contribution to the families of those people appears as a justification for the inauguration of the psychiatric hospital in the municipality of Crato. However, this discourse is not something new or a peculiarity of that context. This idea was already present, as Oda and Dalgalarondo (2005) affirm, around 1870, when, even under terrible conditions, the function of the hospices in the southeast of Brazil was being discussed.

In 1969, the pages of one of the main newspapers of Cariri area shared space with announces of betterments and progress, news on the man's journey to the moon and the compliments to the new health equipment that would be inaugurated soon. In this case, it seems that we can see, in the restrict space of Cariri, the appearance of the basic ideas of Foucault's analysis: the technical development and the discourses of knowledge are necessarily synchronic to the power devices and to the moral political values that ground them (Gimbo, 2016). That is why, even if the epistemological rigor of the medical sciences and the important advances in the psychiatry field that the twentieth century knew are undeniable facts, it is necessary to think about them, concomitantly with their social function and with the managing regimes and the life control in which the medical power is executed. What points out the necessity to constantly problematize the categories supposedly evident as madness, pathology, normality, etc.

Finally, we still must make a last question. This question seems to indicate the fulcrum of our analysis convergence: after all, in a last analysis, were not the Buriti concentration camp, Caldeirão da Santa Cruz do Deserto and the psychiatric hospital pavilions occupied by the same category of people? The answer seems to be "yes": poor people. The poor banished by the drought, the poor that believe messianically in salvation, and, in the third case, the human condition of the poor and the mad. Biopower strategies acted upon such bodies.

Power on the body of the poor

It is necessary to consider that, at first sight, the poverty is considered as the deprivation of money or material goods. In this perspective, when we affirm that the categories of people to whom those governmental mechanisms were destined were groups of poor people, it is common that the first image made is of a legion of vulnerable, ragged people, without any money. This unidimensional concept of poverty, restricted to financial resources, must be substituted for a multidimensional concept, which includes psychosocial, autonomy and liberty factors.

According to Sen (1999), being poor does not mean only material deprivation, but also the deprivation of the basic capacities of an individual, deprivation of a type of liberty that enables the option for the way of living. I.e., being poor does not mean only being below a pre-established income level, but also, and above all, means being deprived from autonomy and subjected to a process of social immobility.

It is not uncommon the fact that the governmental measures related to the poor people – what we call political policies – consist of the idea of providing those people only the access to minimal resources that assure the survival. It is also not uncommon that, on the body of those people, the medicine operates in a way that avoids them becoming a problem for the population's general health. Foucault claims that "in the nineteenth century, mainly in England, appears a type of medicine that is essentially the control of the health and of the body of the lowest classes in order to make them able to work and less dangerous to the richest classes" (1979, p. 97, free translation).

The strategies of the government on the bodies of the poor are presented as socially justifiable and are accepted by the general population. Nevertheless, most times, there is never the idea that governing those bodies would be promoting ways for the absolute poverty to be overcome and the right of self-governing being assured. The gap between, on one side, governing as providing minimal survival conditions and, on the other side, enabling the access to basic living conditions, is larger than it seems. Having access to basic things would be equal to having access to sanitation, appropriate diet, potable water, public transportation, medical services, schools, and, as we know, people in severe poverty situation are a lot behind of a life that includes all of those assurances together (Sen, 2000).

Therefore, the poverty characterizes, in a constituting way, a way of living understood as disqualified. It justifies its exclusion, not only for the character of precarious finances, but multidimensionally, for its trajectory of uncertain personal development trajectory and social immobility. Those factors make the poor less productively competent, and then they are economically and culturally entitled to play less valued roles and have less valued jobs, more underpaid and, many times, they are turned socially invisible (Martins, 1997). In this sense, as Sawaia (1999, p.22, free translation) affirms, "the poverty does not mean necessarily the exclusion, even though poverty can lead to it". This

claim may mean a perverse inclusion process. The poor person, many times, is included as a category that sustains the inequality that, structurally, supports and produces them.

In Buriti concentration camp, like for all the contingent of migrants from the drought, president Vargas offered his paternalism, with emergency practices that included “job” opportunities in the Amazon, going to frontline of the civil war in São Paulo (Abreu, 2011) or suffering among the barbed wire fences of the concentration camps, waiting for the serving of food provided daily (Neves, 2001). It is perceptible that the options for that group of people were precarious jobs, the availability of their bodies to fighting or the provision of food as the minimal character necessary to survival. The biopower takes hold of life, based upon a quantitative calculation that is unable to respect life itself, or a life conformed with assured rights. Therefore, the poverty is the entrance door to the dispossession of one's own life.

In Caldeirão da Santa Cruz, the governmental measures were even more severe and perverse. The inhabitants of Caldeirão neither were wealthy nor had important social roles, i.e., they were not part of the local oligarchy. They were considered poor for not having financial resources. However, they had food, lands and a social organization that assured an equitable life standard, assurance of food and liberty to practice their faith. It is precisely this liberty for self-governing, despite of the scarce resources of Caldeirão's people the fact that annoyed the authorities. The blessed and his followers lived according to their own rules, and were not directly subjected to the power of governmental authorities. Besides that, the possibility for Caldeirão to become the center of pilgrimage after the death of Father Cícero and for the community to grow until it became a new town was unacceptable, for obvious economic reasons.

As for the dynamic of the admissions in the psychiatric hospital, we can say that the bodies captured under the justification of the medical discourse disturbed others in the streets, bothered the daily life and were taken to the public prison. Social measures of the government for beggars and crazy people became urgent. Soon, the idea of offering medical care, strengthened by the moment of expansion of psychiatric hospitals in the country, appears as one of the devices for solving the problem. It is worth to remember that the patients came from all the southern region of Ceará, but also from Paraíba, Pernambuco and Piauí. They were all poor. Besides the town's inhabitants, they were also farmers, unemployed people, who, in their majority, were subjected to situations of deprivation, violence, impotence and immobility of their life conditions. Those conditions were typical of that area. To them, what was left was madness, the outburst as an alternative and the repeated leading to admissions along life.

Finally, it is important to highlight how the death was a common destiny in the three cases. Except from Caldeirão, whose massacre and death of people was the action government end itself, the ones who suffered in the concentration camps and the ones who died among the walls of the hospital were not socially asserted. The denial of the memory seems to be one of the biggest strategies of power, as Foucault insisted on saying in his text about “The life of infamous men” (2003). Such invisibilization made the annihilation of those people not to consist of something that caused commotion or organized political revolt. On the contrary, there was a certain lack of commotion, a true naturalization of the idea that the government (and its representatives) did what was possible to do to assure those people's lives, and, within this process, “some losses” were necessary.

Final considerations

The purpose of contemporary governmentality is assuring the economic growth and keeping safe the people who contribute for that. It is the same as saying that, for the other parts of population, mainly the poor people, there are only three places: a prop for the social order, perverse inclusion or the unquestioned death. To those groups – in a last analysis – the mechanisms of exclusion and the governmental strategies that aim to assure the survival in the same movement that they make death justifiable are destined.

Moreover, the idea that promoting the biological survival of human beings accomplishes the implication of the government with the poor is a fallacy, in all its meanings. As Deleuze (2002) affirms, remembering Espinosa, a life thought of as a potence is not only about keeping alive; it is about dealing

with the liberty to beyond the hunger and poverty, providing conditions for life to develop largely and multidimensionally. Reducing the individuals to living bodies, deprived of their possibilities, of affections and possible potentialities, however, is a condemnation to sub-life, the affirmation of the power on the right to life.

Life itself, real life is what escapes. What escapes the barbed wire fences of the concentration camp in continuous migration, what escaped when the inhabitants of Caldeirão preferred the death and the combat to the deprivation of their right to cultivate and live from their lands. Life that is (and why not?) inside the delirium that escapes from the hospital walls and constitute the only possible form of invention before the dispossession of oneself and of the social marginalization. Life, not restricted to the consumption power or monetary value, is what raises the anger of the government, what scares in madness, what lasts beyond the dry lands of the deserted areas.

Pelbart (2008) claims that we must oppose biopotency to biopower, i.e., the capacity that the life forms have to resist, their right to have a broader development. This way, it is never about giving a fool compliment to poverty, or to the madness strength, or to the resistance of the ones who indefinitely and as many times as necessary migrate to be able to live. On the contrary, it is about the ethic and responsible task of thinking together with those people the governmental measures applied to them, without any hope to accept the possibility for those mechanisms to be reversed. After all, like the episodes gathered here teach us, the mad, the poor, the migrants, the beggars, are the lives that are the least interesting to capitalism: undesired presences, undesired ways of living. From that there is the difficulty to assure the public and private interest for the reversion of the situation.

In a last analysis, none of the governmental measures mentioned in the three events intended, in fact, removing people from poverty, enabling them to have the life that they thought as being worth or include them despite of the crazy working. All of those measures had an only aim: preserving some lives over others. Maybe this is what is massively understood about governing: preserving economy, assuring the right of life to certain social layers and to give up on the life of other groups to keep the order of this system.

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Received: May 01, 2017
Approved: Jul. 18, 2017

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