Since 1993 Paleoindian archaeological sites have been registered inside an environmentally protected space in the hub of a highly urbanized area in Brazil. Referred in this work as the Park, it is surrounded by three satellite-cities in what is today the most prominent urban region in the Brazilian Federal District after the capital Brasília. In these settings varied responses towards the local archaeological heritage safeguarding have come up over the years from diverse institutions and stakeholders, with singular discourses towards ownership and civil rights. Nonetheless, why would people care about heritage when it is not directly a representation of their own past? To reach an understanding a qualitative methodological framework within an interdisciplinary approach has been applied, tested on data collected during walking surveys; archival and online research; and semi-structured open-ended interviews. Conclusions pointed out that the probable antiquity of the sites is the main appeal for public attention, followed by an expected response from local institutions, increasing their public significance due to a combination of both intrinsic and extrinsic heritage values.
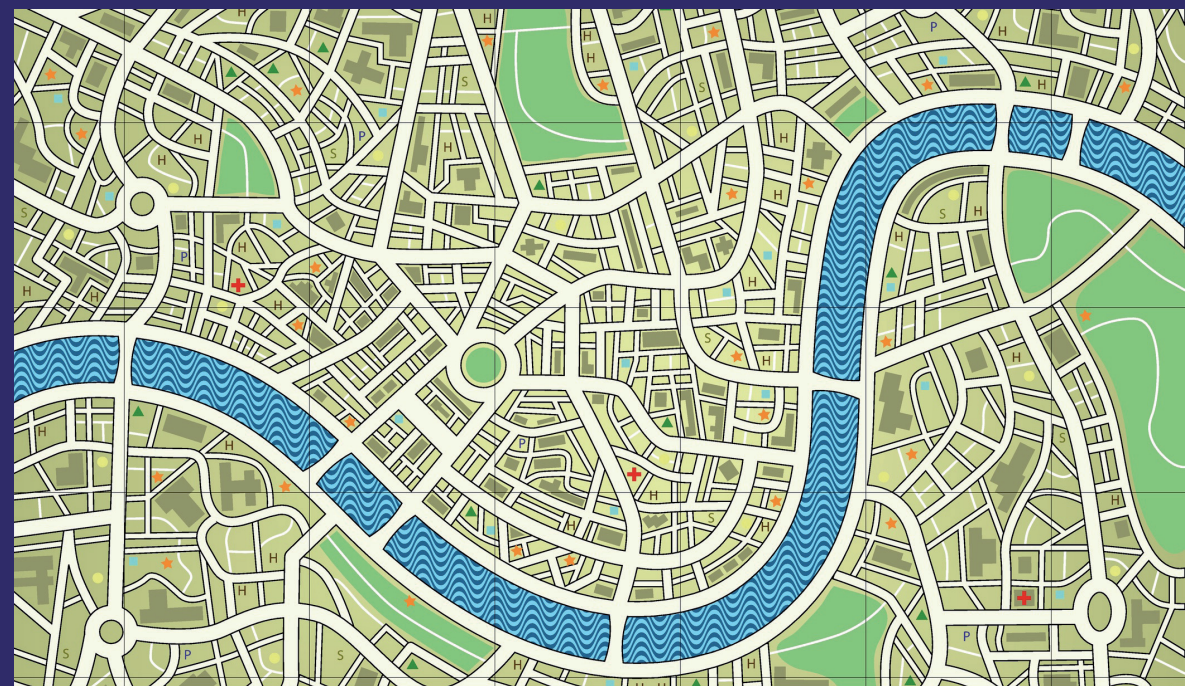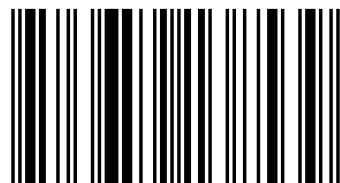
Renata de Godoy

Assessing Heritage Values

Public Archaeology in Brasília

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To my dear love and best friend Diogo

Preface

Understanding the public value of archaeological heritage in heterogeneous settings is the general goal of this research. Since 1993 important archaeological sites have been registered inside ARIE JK, an environmentally protected area in the hub of a highly urbanized area in Brazil referred in this work as the Park. In different occasions archaeologists have identified Paleoindian and historical archaeological sites within the Park, also significant for uncovering the early human presence in South America. The area is surrounded by three satellite-cities: Taguatinga, Ceilândia, and Samambaia, in what is today likely the most prominent urban region in the Brazilian Federal District after Brasília itself.

Approximately one million people inhabit the vicinity, and all three cities were developed in different occasions during the last 50 years. In these settings varied responses towards the local archaeological heritage safeguarding have come up over the years from diverse institutions and stakeholders, with singular discourses towards ownership and civil rights. Nonetheless, why would people care about heritage when it is not directly a representation of their own past?

The hypothesis was that non-descendent public care most about archaeological heritage because it can be strategically used due to its institutional and instrumental values. However, the conclusions pointed out that the scientific relevance of the local sites due to probable antiquity is the main appeal for public attention, followed by an expected response from local institutions, increasing the local archaeological heritage public significance due to a combination of both intrinsic and extrinsic heritage values.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

APA	Área de Proteção Permantente (ecological areas permanently designated with special protection and land use restrictions)
ARIE	Área de Relevante Interesse Ecológico (Area of singular attention for conservation)
CAESB	Companhia de Saneamento Ambiental do Distrito Federal (Company of environmental sanitation of the Federal District)
CNPq	Conselho Nacional de Desenvolvimento Científico e Tecnológico (Brazil's National Science Foundation)
CONAMA	Conselho Nacional de Meio Ambiente (Environmental National Council)
DER/DF	Departamento de Estradas e Rodagens do Distrito Federal (Department of traffic and roads administration of the Federal District)
DF	Distrito Federal (Brazilian Federal District)
EIA-Rima	Estudo de Impacto Ambiental and Relatório de impacto ambiental (Environmental Impact Study and Report)
EMBRATUR	Empresa Brasileira de Turismo (Brazilian Tourism Bureau)
GDF	Governo do Distrito Federal (Government of the Federal District)
IBAMA	Instituto Brasileiro do Meio Ambiente (Brazilian Institute for the Environment)
IBRAM	Instituto do Meio Ambiente e dos Recursos Hídricos do Distrito Federal/ Brasília Ambiental (State institute for environment and water resources of the Federal District)
IGPA/PUC-GO	Instituto Goiano de Pré-História e Antropologia, Pontifícia Universidade Católica de Goiás (Goiás' Pre-history and Anthropology Institute, linked to Pontifical Catholic University of Goiás)
IPHAN	Instituto do Patrimônio Histórico e Artístico Nacional (Brazilian National Agency for Historical and Artistic Heritage)
JK	Juscelino Kubitschek de Oliveira (President of Brazil from 1956 to1961)
MPF	Ministério Público Federal (Public Prosecutor's Office)
NOVACAP	Companhia Urbanizadora da Nova Capital do Brasil (Urban planning agency created to construct and manage the new capitol of Brazil)
PDOT	Plano Diretor de Ordenamento Territorial do Distrito Federal (Master plan for town and country planning of the Federal District)
PDL	Plano Diretor Local (Local Master Plan)
SAB	Sociedade de Arqueologia Brasileira (Society for Brazilian Archaeology)
SEDUMA	Secretaria de Estado de Desenvolvimento Urbano e Meio Ambiente do Distrito Federal (State secretary for urban and environmental development of the Federal District)
SEMARH	Secretaria de Estado de Meio Ambiente e Recursos Hídricos (State secretary of environment and water resources)
TAC	Termo de Ajustamento de Conduta (Conduct Adjustment or Agreement)
TERRACAP	Companhia Imobiliária de Brasília or Agência de Desenvolvimento do Distrito Federal (Real Estate Company of Brasilia or Development Agency of the Federal District)
UnB	Universidade de Brasília (University of Brasília)

CHAPTER 1
INTRODUCTION

Archaeology is unique among sciences regarding public participation and interest (Allen 2002), and it has fascinated people around the globe for long time (Fagan 1984; McManamon 1991). "Archaeology provides memorable experiences that appeal to many people", even though many times those images are resulted from idealized clichés, metaphors and stereotypes that are more important than actual truths (Holtorf 2006a:167). And the reasons for archaeologists to care about public opinion are numerous. It has been widely accepted among American archaeologists that a public aware of this subject is less likely to loot or vandalize sites, and more likely to give greater support for archaeological research in general (McManamon 1991; MacManamon and Hatton 2000).

Currently the urgency of giving a voice to marginal groups is an unquestionable task in archaeological research, and it has been the goal of Public Archaeology to link general audiences and scientific research. Discussions about ethics and heritage have gained strength inside the discipline, and expressions such as community-based archaeology, heritage values, tourism, repatriation, and public outreach have become central to a moral debate in archaeological research. Dilemmas such as "who owns the past", about legal and human rights, national and local identities, and public participation in archaeological interpretation, have gravitated around the globe in archaeological literature, but the majority related to descendant communities and archaeological preservation.

Strongly influenced by the need to acknowledge the importance of the context to achieve a critical understanding of the present (Tilley 1998), this research intended to investigate motivations diverse people have to care about archaeological heritage, considering especially the non-descendant public. In

order to achieve this goal I used the Public Value Approach (Hewison and Holden 2004), which is explained following. A case study that encompasses great archaeological significance and urban development was chosen to answer this question: a Brazilian metropolis, comprising three twentieth Century satellites cities Ceilândia, Samambaia, and Taguatinga, all located in the Federal District closer to the planned capital known as Pilot Plan (Figures 1-1 and 1-2). In the heart of these cities there is an environmentally protected area named ARIE JK, also referred throughout the research as the Park, in which potential archaeological sites have been registered during surveys. Among those there are three sites that have been excavated and delimited (sites DF-PA-11, DF-PA-15 and *Pedra Velha*), on researches that provided unquestionable data about their type and their scientific significance, and for that reason they were chosen as the center of this research (Figure 1-3).

In this unique setting of recent and highly urbanized areas, in different occasions over the last two decades local dwellers have demonstrated concern with Paleoindian archaeological sites protection. After all, why do people care about a heritage at first so foreign to their own? Why would migrant communities care about prehistoric archaeological sites? In order to answer these questions an interdisciplinary approach that includes urban anthropology and urbanism, cultural heritage management, and heritage tourism has been chosen. Data collection and analysis followed a threefold strategy: first open-ended interviews to assess what local stakeholders think, what they acknowledge, and how they identify to the case study; second archival and online research specially seeking for newspaper articles, unpublished reports, and legal documents related to the case study in order to understand local institutional context as well as how archaeology has been displayed in Brasília; and last walking surveys at the Park and its surroundings, focusing in locations close to the sites, seeking to identify diverse land uses and sporadic

activities directly related to the archaeological landscape, or else the lack of association between current Park users and the local past remains.

1.1 Heritage Value Perspective - Archaeological Heritage and its Intangible Meaning(s)

The core of this study is Archaeological Heritage as a concept. Discussing and actually defining what heritage is can be a dilemma, especially considering that "heritage is a complex notion, involving the past, contemporary social understanding of places, and the active construction of the past" (Baram and Rowan 2004: 5). Even to label something as 'archaeological heritage' has become a problem, since the remains of the past are not exclusively archaeological. For people outside the field, including indigenous people and tourists, material cultural remains are primarily symbolic and should be defined simply as 'cultural heritage', therefore archaeologists should have no right to define or to control them (Holston 1989; Howard 2003; Skeates 2004).

Broad approaches regard heritage as basically everything you want; one just needs to recognize it as significant to be preserved for the future, which means to add some sort of value to it. The most common definition is the one broadly used by professional bodies, national governments and cultural agencies, as archaeological heritage representing the material culture of past societies. This definition means that someone else is already nominated to decide which is or is not significant as a patrimony, considered by some a static and non-democratic decision.

Archaeological heritage should be critically analyzed as representing a process through which "the material culture of past societies is re-evaluated and re-used in the present" (Skeates 2004: 10). However, "so long as heritage can be used for profit, or to produce group pride or identity, or to subjugate or

exclude someone else, then someone is going to use it" (Howard 2003: 5-6). And of course, in this process, one cannot escape from economic uses, political and symbolic representations sometimes manipulated and sometimes genuinely owned by living groups.

Nevertheless, what really makes a building, a landscape, or material culture as heritage "is the value that we place on it" (Clark 2006: 3). Cost-benefit analysis is not an option for one to really measure greater benefits from preserving heritages (Jowell 2006: 17). And although it is definitely challenging to determine collective public value on cultural heritage there are attempts being made worldwide regarding this issue. A significant solution is presented by the UK Heritage Lottery Fund, an agency that has to incorporate public opinion and to justify visibly why and how of their sponsorships. As a way of understanding the wider benefits of their projects, Demos (Hewison and Holden 2004) was hired to think about public value as an organized framework, proposing as a result the Public Value Approach. As a rhetoric outline this new approach seeks to actually measure public meanings of the three values generated by heritage: Intrinsic, Institutional and Instrumental values.

Intrinsic values represent why and to whom heritage is important or the intellectually, emotionally and spiritually individual's experience of heritage. Institutional values represent the major ways heritage is presented to the public, how this value is manipulated is extremely important to understand the circumstances local communities acknowledge archaeological heritage. Most importantly, institutional values represent the ethos and behavior of heritage organizations. Instrumental values are the effects of heritage to achieve economic, social, or environmental purposes. Instrumental values imply how heritage can assume environmental, social and economic purposes, and

ultimately this value will have major impact in how archaeological remains are managed and how they will be used in the future by local groups.

According to Demos these three categories have equal importance while measuring the public value of heritage, as forming the angles of an equilateral triangle, on contrast to the pyramid symbol used before, or the top-bottom approach in which policymakers and professionals dialogue with each other while the public opinion is left behind. In this conceptual framework all three values combine to create a structure where they support each other, and according to the authors "the concept of cultural value creates a context in which these different measures can reinforce rather than contradict each other" (Hewison and Holden 2006: 15).

1.2 Research Question and Hypothesis

Measuring cultural heritage values is a difficult task. Identifying intrinsic values of archaeological heritage is the most common approach to assess public importance because it is natural for heritage sites to have personal, ethnic, historical, scientific, or aesthetic significance. On the other hand, institutional and instrumental values, or the extrinsic values generated by cultural heritage, have been taken for granted.

The goal of this investigation is to recognize motivations in order to understand why the public might find to care about cultural heritage. The main research-question: why would people care about heritage when it is not directly a representation of their own past? The Hypothesis is that extrinsic heritage values influence non-descendant groups more to care about archaeological remains than intrinsic values. In other words, my hypothesis is that non-descendent public care about archaeological heritage mostly because

it can be strategically used due to its institutional and instrumental values, and not because of its intrinsic value.

1.3 Significance of the Research

One of the purposes of this research is to understand the different meanings general audiences construct about archaeological heritage, and how they deal with this matter in their daily lives. Numerous times the public does not have straightforward cultural attachments to explain why they care or why they disregard cultural heritage. While many keep looking for the "owners" past, inevitably archaeological heritage gains and losses significance to the great public for various reasons.

Archaeological heritage has been treated by several governments worldwide as a communal good that should be preserved for future generations. The customary way for establishing significance to archaeological heritage is related to its scientific value, and/or ethnic and historical relevance. However, what happens after the field work is done? Many times the archaeological remains turn out to be a forever ordeal that local communities and governments have to deal with, and not unusually these people are left with entire collections not knowing how to actually care for them and how they benefit the local population. The discussion proposed here is that if one continues to manage archaeological heritage just considering its intrinsic values as beneficial to general public, preservation strategies might not be as successful since naturally cultural heritage influences other kind of purposes, such as political agendas and economic exploitation. And to continue to avoid these matters might create more problems than benefits for the local public.

In addition, the understanding of the various public meanings and values of archaeological heritage is still challenging in archaeological practice, in particular concerning non-descendant communities. The literature lacks case studies that deal with migration and immigration settings. If one is dealing with urbanized areas this concern is even more relevant, since the urban environment is characterized mostly by heterogeneity. In those settings is necessary to investigate the connections that all urban dwellers have with archaeological sites, since they share space, urban codes, land uses, and taxes.

On the other hand accessing heritage values as a source to understand public opinions about archaeology has recently gained strength, and currently it has received special attention from professional organizations. The Society for American Archaeology started a new Interest Group in 2008 called Heritage Values "concerned with how the past is valued in, and by, contemporary society" (SAA 2009). This initiative was influenced by the discussions held during the 2008 Sixth Annual World Archaeology Congress in Dublin, Ireland. Over the last decade in Brazil social responsibility has been linked to active professional and academic discussions. Since 2003 Federal licensing for archaeological research requires outreach strategies, an issue that in the past was taken for granted by managers and by archaeologists. Since 2006, the *Revista de Arqueologia Pública* (Public Archaeology Journal) from the University of Campinas/UNICAMP started its first issue specifically oriented to attract academic debate on the subject. Not to mention the socially oriented theme proposed by the 2009 conference for the Society for Brazilian Archaeology entitled "Arqueologia e Compromisso Social: Construindo Arqueologias Multiculturais e Multivocais", or archaeology and social responsibility: building up multi-cultural and multi-vocal archaeologies (SAB 2009).

All of these initiatives mirror a change of mentality inside the discipline, acknowledging that the practice of archaeology in the twenty-first Century must change if it is to exist in the contemporary multicultural world (Hodder 1991). Understanding how values and meanings have played important roles in shaping social practices at all times, and how material culture can be used "to legitimate power strategies and ideological practices both in the past and the present" (Tilley 1998:325) position this science as socio-political action that recognizes the public as active leaders of their own pasts, and add relevance to our function in the modern world.

It is not a matter of who owns the past; it should be mostly about how the past is held in the present. Work with rather than against popular conceptions of general audiences and care for perceptions rather than authenticities are other challenges we need to face if we are to apply archaeology to contemporary concerns. "Archaeologists need to know precisely what it is that almost everybody else seems to find so irresistible about 'their' subject, and rethink how they are relating to their popular representations" (Holtorf 2006b:171). It seems there is actually a lack of anthropological understanding of the public engaged with archaeological issues, although this is often-cited topic.

Urban and rural areas around the globe easily fit in the setting investigated here as a case study, where archaeological sites need to be managed and decision-making opinions from diverse stakeholders should be accounted for. Researching actual meanings and different values non-descendent communities might attribute to archaeological heritage will enhance understanding of the overall public response towards preservation of past remains. The matter discussed in this research is directly linked to how and why people are taking possession of the heritage, in order to achieve a

better understanding as to how heritage is being constantly used and redefined in the current world.

1.3.1 Public Archaeology

Combining the words public and archaeology is definitely a hot topic lately, but Public Archaeology is not a new idea. First proposed in the early 1970, it was at that time associated with Cultural Resource Management/CRM practices in contrast to academic research. Since then theoretical influences from Marxism, Critical Archaeology and Post-Processual claims, as well as the development of stronger ethical codes, have made the field more open to actually search for minorities' opinions and to address civil rights (Merriman 2004). Although the so called post-modern theories are heavily criticized for poor systematic methodology, their social role is well-defined (Hodder 1991). As a product of this thought, public archaeology is not additional to archaeological practice, it rather reflects a different "approach to the generation of research questions and the production of knowledge" (Heckenberger 2008: 252).

This field is concerned with all different kinds of publics and their own interests (Merriman 2004), and in this research public means the average citizens, independently of their scholarity and social status, as well as ethnic or historic linkage to the heritage. Many believe that Public Archaeology actually represents applied anthropology, in a way of making the discipline meaningful, democratic, and socially relevant (Lucas 2004; McDavid 2004; Shackel 2004). It means not only to search for communities' interests, but also to interact with various stakeholders, as well to open the dialogue to other professionals. "It is a way of making archaeology an integral part of a community's heritage" (Shackel 2004: 14). Public archaeology seeks to

appreciate many perceptions about this specific cultural heritage, it is a matter of acknowledging meanings and consciously assessing motivations in order to make this information available and useful for all the actors involved in the context of archaeological heritage. The bottom line is that everyone, more or less, establishes a connection with archaeology once it is part of their lives. Learning the meanings of these associations can only be beneficial archaeological practice (Kuhn 2002).

To do public archaeology is to engage with communities, to understand their attachments to the past and their needs to the present. 'Community' is one of those terms used so loosely nowadays, as well as 'public'. As noted by Delanty community is indeed an ambivalent concept (Delanty 2010). Generally community means an entity formed by individuals that have something in common; in this case they share the same territory. The term community used many times in this work simply means non-contractual social bond shared by a group of people that lives in the same urban or rural space, and who abides to the same regulations, encompassing more particularity than universality.

There is a consensus in acknowledging the importance of public support, at least for purposes of preservation and funding (McManamon 1991; Tilley 1998; Pokotylo and Guppy 1999; Lucas 2004). If archaeologists fail to address politicians, government and public land managers these publics will not have the tools to make informed decisions, heritage might be more easily manipulated to fit agendas and the legal support we need to deal with the public good represented by heritage might be useless, or become obsolete to current reality (McManamon 1991).

Public support is also necessary for archaeologists to convey significance of this practice, especially in applied research, "in legitimizing the practice archaeologists have to sell the results of their research as relevant to

contemporary issues" (Lucas 2004). Considering the expected social benefits generated by archaeological research, the necessity for caring about the public should not be a question. After all, what is the reason to do archaeology if not to reach its public benefits, supported by various anthropological ethics codes that clearly recognize the past belonging to everyone (Little 2002). Archaeologists should be much more engaged with the people who benefit from it, and with those misusing our own messages, consciously or not (Pyburn 2003). We should "become involved in the discourse of how individuals and societies relate and communicate through images of the past" (Russell 2006: 26), as well as assuming accountability for the ways we present the past to the public (Patten 1997).

Pledges of social responsibility of archaeology are also numerous. Archaeology is the one of the sciences that can give voice to misrepresented or underrepresented groups, but it is the only one that can actually recuperate the past to those who lived before history was kept, as well as to groups that did not have the chance "to keep their own historic records" (Smith 2006: 134). The role of archaeological heritage in the formation of ethnic and national identities is undeniable (Trigger 1984; Dietler 1994; Oyuela-Caycedo 1994; Díaz-Andreu 1996; Kohl 1998; Joyce 2003). Some would even ascribe world peace to socially-oriented accounts of the past (Smith 2006). This statement is not unlikely if we stop to think about how archaeological heritage has been actively used as targets in modern conflicts (Golden 2004), as well as to manipulated and subjugate colonized nations and colonized peoples (Trigger 1984). Or simply taken for granted by states where there are no attractive archaeological heritages (Oyuela-Caycedo 1994), which is the case in Brazil.

1.3.2 Ownership - Descendents versus Outsiders

Public is virtually each person involved in a scenario where archaeological heritage plays a role. Usually the immediate understanding of public relates to local communities, but there are other groups and other interests involved in this mix. Merriman (2004: 2) defines the concepts of what is public in two fashions: public as representative of state and institutional power; and public as general audience, or non-archaeologists: "hugely diverse range of people, with different age, sex, class, ethnicity and religious interests and affiliations, many of which are in conflict with each other".

For urban settings, the importance of caring for the tax payers is undeniable. Certainly this is a simple way to pressure archaeologists to address the average citizen's right for that information. In democracy the majority rules, but researchers from different disciplines have been questioning this vision. The question "who pays and who benefits?" (Thompson 2002: 61), and the awareness of diversity of agendas involved in public decisions makes this matter that much harder to address. It might be easier to assess rights and desires from those 'paying' for the job, but this is a rather shallow understanding of who should we care for while digging someone else's past.

Although not always part of the 'taxpayer audience', the 'descendant community' category is a good start for explaining who the public is and who should be addressed by public archaeology. The vast majority of North-American case studies published explicitly using the term 'public archaeology' is related to colonial settings (Potter 1994; McDavid 2004; Mullins 2004; Reeves 2004; Brooks 2007); followed by multi-cultural communities (Derry 2003; Lucas 2004; Moyer 2004; Wall et al. 2004); and

Native-American sites (Hantman 2004; Warner and Baldwin 2004). For these audiences, cultural heritage has a close link to their identities, memories, and traditions. Explicit links to the past support discourses of ownership, legitimizing and empowering groups as controllers of the past.

Nevertheless, different kinds of individuals, even those with no obvious cultural affiliation to the cultural heritage indeed play the role as stakeholders, and are equally responsible for controlling the past. Including as "public" archaeologists and cultural heritage managers might sound strange at first. These actors are important components of the so called stakeholder group, and since no knowledge production is completely unbiased, including in archaeology (Tilley 1998; Holtorf 2006b; Holtorf 2006a), they are also in the list of individuals that will translate conscious or unconscious agendas and motivations to their final products (Patten 1997).

1.4 The Case Study

From 1993 to 2009 a total of eight potential archaeological sites have been registered in ARIE Parque JK, or conveniently referred here as the Park, which is an environmentally protected area in the hub of the most populated region of the Brazilian Federal District (Figure 1-4). It comprises 2,306 hectares within a river valley (NCA 2006); located 13 miles away from the planned federal capital known as Plano Piloto, in *Brasília*. In different occasions archaeologists have identified potential areas of prehistoric and historic archaeological sites within the area, and at least three of these occurrences were determined to be quarry-based lithic sites, and two of them possibly present significant antiquity (Barbosa and Costa 2005), thus remarkably significant for understanding the early human occupation in South America. While other sites have been registered there, those identified as

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quarry-based (DF-PA-11 and DF-PA-15 are Paleoindian, and Pedra Velha is historic) have undeniable scientific significance, and therefore they are the core of this case study. As the other possible sites located in and surrounding the Park they do not present significant above ground features and are impossible to be identified by non-archaeologists (Figures 1-5 and 1-6).

As already pointed out, the archaeological sites are surrounded by three urbanized areas, satellite-cities Taguatinga, Ceilândia, and Samambaia, in what is today likely the most prominent urban region in the Federal District after Brasília itself. These cities have presented significant territorial expansion toward ARIE JK (Figure 1-7), especially due to lack of housing for an increasingly growing population. Today approximately one million people inhabit this vicinity, and all three cities were developed in different occasions during the last 50 years as housing solutions to receive low-income population that could not afford to live in the planned capital. Since the beginning of the massive construction of Brasília in 1956, many migrants left the Northeast region of the country to escape a great drought on during that period, looking for jobs at the construction sites (Holston 1989). After the official transference, although many were very reluctant, federal employees also moved to Brasília from the previous capital Rio de Janeiro (Figure 1-1). Until this day thousands of people have migrated to the Federal District attracted by the high wages, in search for a better life around Brasília.

1.4.1 Brasília – a Federal Capital built from sketch

Brasília is a planned city, born from sketch. The motives to create the new capital are numerous. It represented a solution for old problems, and the beginning of new politic and economic perspectives. Actually the proposal of constructing a new capital is from colonial times, officially quoted in the

constitution of 1891. But it was in 1955 that the capital began to look like a reality. Oscar Niemeyer's Modernist design motivated then President *Juscelino Kubitschek* to finally put this idea in practice. To transfer the capital meant to exterminate political problems, such as corruption in Rio de Janeiro, but mostly it represented a boost to economical development (Ficher 2005: 230).

Brasília also represented a symbol for the world to see Brazil as a modern and industrial growing country. From 1956 until its dedication in April 21st 1960, President *Kubitschek* achieved what for many was an unrealistic dream, to build a whole city from sketch. The creation of a new federal capital 600 miles into the hinterlands was also an attempt to decentralize the political power from the east coast, which happened only few years before the 1964 military coup, a dictatorship that lasted twenty years and that definitely benefited from this isolation.

Although its architectural pieces (designed by Oscar Niemeyer) are more popularly celebrated, the real 'inventor' of this place was urban planner Lúcio Costa, both heavily influenced by Le Corbusier. In fact, Brasília is an urban representation that followed the Modernist city model proposed in the Manifestos of the *Congrés Internationaux d'Architecture Modern* – CIAM[1] and is considered by many as the epitome of Modernism. Brasília has been considered "about the closest thing we have to a high-Modernist city" (Scott 1998: 118); it has illustrated "the principles, intentions and consequences of the model of development that this type of city embodies" (Holston 1989: 1). Lúcio Costa created this complex city along two main axes: the Monumental Axis, where the government buildings are located, and the Highway Axis or Road Axis, "which is slightly curved, runs through the residential, commercial

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[1] "From 1928 until the mid-1960s, CIAM remained the most important forum for the international exchange of ideas on modern architecture." (Holston 1984: 3)

and recreational sections" (Murtinho 1966: 7). These intersecting axes resemble an airplane; the residential sections along the Road Axis, known as "Superquadras," are named South Wing and North Wing.

Brasília is also a World Heritage Site since 1987, according to UNESCO it is "a landmark in the history of town planning" (UNESCO 2008b), being the first 20th century city to achieve such recognition. UNESCO establishes six criteria in which a site, a monument, or a group of buildings, can be recognized as cultural heritage part of the World Heritage List due to exceptional character and outstanding universal values. In the case of Brasília, the criteria for inclusion were: (i) to represent a masterpiece of human creative genius; and (iv) - to be an outstanding example of a type of building, architectural or technological ensemble or landscape which illustrates (a) significant stage(s) in human history (Figure 1-8).

In paper Brasília was created to be a masterpiece of Modernism, but what might be its most relevant quality was enhancing Nationalism, and shaping identity at a continental nation that presents so many cultural differences that sometimes can only be one through language. It was also intended to be a metaphor of the Brazilian motto "Order and Progress" and to portray Brazil as a place of hope and great opportunities. Ironically, it also produced unfavorable results when its urbanized area sprawled over a large part of the Federal District in the form of new settlements known as satellite-cities. This multiplying effect continued for almost 50 years and today these appendices to the modern capital are recognized as Administrative Regions.

1.4.2 The satellites-cities and ARIE JK

In addition to the expected migration of government employees, central Brazil also received thousands of people searching for a better life around the

new capital, attracted by the high wages. Most migrants were from the northeastern region of the country, laborers with some construction experience (Shoumatoff 1980). These workers, also known as *candangos*, were supposed to live in authorized construction camps temporarily (Epstein 1973). By the time the committee approved Lúcio Costa's project, they also suggested the creation of satellite cities twenty years after the capital's dedication. However, the first satellite city was born two years before the dedication, and by 1961 three more were recognized (Silveira 1999: 149). Scott (1998: 129) also points out that

> by 1980, 75 percent of the population of Brasília lived in settlements that had never been anticipated, while the planned city had reached less than half of its projected population of 557,000.

It is obvious today that Taguatinga, Ceilândia, and Samambaia together represent a distinct urban center on the Federal District, regarding population number, urban growth, and economic function. Considered as an impressive conurbations, "this agglomeration now borders on autonomy and could become the metropolitan economic center" (Kohlsdorf, Kohlsdorf and Holanda 2009: 55). All three towns' establishment was motivated by social housing issues; each of them was built to receive illegal dwellers. To expose characteristics of Taguatinga, Ceilândia, and Samambaia actually explain the very starting point of satellite towns in central Brazil.

1.4.2.1 Taguatinga

Taguatinga is the first officially recognized satellite city of the Brazilian Federal District, and it is now known as the best developed of them all regarding services and infrastructure (Souza, Machado and Jaccoud 1996).The name Taguatinga came from a blend of Tupi-Guarani words *Tauá* and *Tinga*, which mean white mud, common geological feature of the area. Located 25

kilometers from the capital, it was a rapid solution to avoid complete chaos regarding migrant housing. In June 1958, according to Holston (1989: 260-61),

> in the space of few days, between four and five thousand Northeastern drought victims descended on the Free City in search of work. Novacap ordered its security forces (GEB) to put up barricades on the highway to turn them back. But rather than return – as if they had anywhere to go – these desperate migrants launched a land seizure, setting up an encampment of improvised lodgings on the other side of the barricade.

At first, the settlement was called *Vila Sarah Kubitschek*, after the First Lady. This name selection was considered a "maneuver to gain the sympathy of the authorities and even a subtle form of blackmail, to prevent any move against the invasion" (Epstein 1973: 63). The plan actually worked out, "within ten days, Novacap transferred four thousand squatters and their carefully dismantled shacks to Taguatinga" (Holston 1989: 263). Soon after the name was changed to *Santa Cruz de Taguatinga* for no apparent reason, and eventually it was abbreviated to *Taguatinga*.

Social movements definitely had had a strong effect on Taguatinga's establishment. Nevertheless there were other circumstances that also helped this process. *Vila Sarah Kubitschek* was known to be a northeasterner's refuge from the beginning; their migration was very much a reflection of a severe drought in the region in 1958. This site was located very close to *Cidade Livre*, both on the edges of the federal highway that connects Anápolis to Brasília, or southeast Brazil to the Federal District. The federal government was target of relentless criticism and the opposition sought reasons to reinforce statements against the new capital's building and transference. The dreadful social conditions of *Vila Sarah Kubitschek* were enough to question government actions. So, in order to avoid further negative reactions, President

Juscelino Kubitschek quickly approved the creation of the first satellite city, attempting to shut down any social issues that could reflect against his controversial initiative to transfer the capital (Souza, Machado and Jaccoud 1996).

Today Taguatinga is the Federal District's second largest city with 243,575 inhabitants according to the census published in 2000 (SEDUH 2001). Today 17% of the population of the Federal District lives there (Paviani 2010a). This town is even considered to be the economic capital of the Federal District due to its strong trade (Holanda 2002). According to Silveira (1999) this city has established a new territorial role; it organizes and attracts functions and services.

1.4.2.2 Ceilândia

Like Taguatinga, Ceilândia was also created due to the emergency of low income housing, just ten years after Brasilia's dedication ceremony. Its name was born from the acronym CEI,[2] a government campaign seeking the end of illegal settlements in the area. The goal was to transfer approximately 82 thousands squatters (QuintoJr. and Iwakami 2010), who lived in almost 15 thousands huts from 9 different locations.[3] In nine months the government agency responsible for land use administration transferred all families.

In 1971, already 17.619 lots were demarcated, of 10x25 meters each, in an area of 20 squared kilometers (Resende 2010). The idea of building this city was conducted by the federal district first lady at that time, Vera Prates da Silveira. Architect and urban planner Ney Gabriel de Souza is responsible for

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[2] Acronym for "Campanha de Erradicação das Invasões".

[3] IAPI squatter, *Vila Tenório*, *Vila Esperança*, *Vila Bernardo Sayão*, *Vila Colombo*, *Querosene* and *Urubu* hills, *Curral das Éguas*, and *Placa das Mercedes*.

its design, characterized by two axes crossed in angle of 90 degrees, forming the illustration of a barrel (Romero 2005).

About 70 percent of the population in Ceilândia is Northeastern descendent. One can notice their cultural influences in the urban daily life; for instance there are 13 open markets (*feira livre*) distributed all over the city. Another example is *Casa do Cantador*; a modern building projected by Oscar Niemeyer and dedicated in 1986, where there is a national annual festival, as well regional and local cultural activities. Today Ceilândia is the Federal District largest city in inhabitants' number, 344.039 (SEDUH 2001).

1.4.2.3 Samambaia

Originally part of the rural Taguatinga area, Samambaia was yet again created to receive residents of several illegal settlements (Paviani 2010b). First planned in 1977[4] as part of governmental structural plan for territorial distribution, only in 1989 it was recognized as an Administrative Region (Skartazini 1997). Away 32 kilometers from the Pilot Plan, Samambaia's housing project intended to built 66.000 residential units to benefit 330 thousand people (Paviani 2010b).

Its name is due to the Samambaia stream situated in its site. According to Gouvêa (1996: 235), Samambaia was the earliest and largest housing district created by this plan, which also reinforced the Federal District growing pattern to this area, directed away from the Pilot Plan. Samambaia received hundreds of thousands residents, and likewise the other satellite cities it did not have job offers, or basic sanitation and infrastructure to receive inhabitants. In a political maneuver, just before the 1989 elections, then Governor Joaquim Roriz arranged the replacement of 120 thousand people that lived in

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[4] As part of PEOT - *Plano Expansão e Organização Territorial do DF*.

improvised illegal quarters. From the beginning it seems that the chosen area for building a new city was not well thought; the population struggle with enormous erosions due to land inclination and soil vulnerability (Gouvêa 1996). Samambaia today is the Federal District fourth largest city in inhabitants' number: 164.319 (SEDUH 2001).

Taguatinga represents the very origin of satellite city in central Brazil, Ceilândia as a direct consequence of Brasilia's first decade, and Samambaia as an example of a new town that is still struggling to reinforce its purpose besides being a housing solution are three instances that represent well the context of appearance of the urban areas surrounding the planned city. Cidade (1999:225) states that while satellite cities in general still present a strong economic dependency in relation to Brasilia; these three cities managed to decentralize their functions, and since 1996 they are treated together as a single new regional urban center.

1.4.3 The archaeological sites of ARIE JK

It was during the early 1990s that the first archaeological survey at the Park took place; when archaeologist Eurico Teófilo Miller conducted a survey in which ARIE JK was also part of. According to his report the cities of *Ceilândia* or *Samambaia* had never been object of archeological research before his work (Miller 1993). In this valley, right in the middle of these urbanized areas, five sites of hunters and gathers were registered, specifically around the *Melchior* River.

Some years later, in 1997, a second research was conducted by the archeologists Emílio Fogaça and Lúcia Juliani, sponsored by the federal agency for heritage management and preservation IPHAN. Their main objective was to evaluate the scientific potential of the sites located by Miller

in 1993. The material culture related to these occurrences is an impressive collection of plan-convex lithic artifacts known in Brazil as "slugs" (lesmas in Portuguese), most likely related to the first known Paleoindians in South America (Fogaça and Juliani 1997). In 2004, 2007 and 2009 three new development projects caused direct environmental impacts in ARIE JK, which in Brazil demands for archaeology mitigation projects. So far it is proved that three sites inside the Park are quarry-based, and present great potential for archaeological research.

The case study chosen to develop this research is unique because it gathers a great variability: the difficult relationship between modern communities and early archaeological sites sharing the same space in high density area. The heterogeneous site represented by the urbanized environment, and its uniqueness as part of a 20th Century metropolis in a developing country may reveal a multiplicity of unintended subjects many times apparently not related to archaeological heritage, such as tourism, politics, diverse interests and land use patterns.

1.5 Description of Chapters

This work was organized according to the theoretical framework proposed, by categorizing each chapter with discussions, data analysis and conclusions related to each topic. The Hypothesis considered that in heterogeneous settings the extrinsic values would be the focus point for motivating local public to care about archaeological heritage, represented by institutional and instrumental characters, while the intrinsic character of local sites was thought to be less important for incentive public response. After the methodological construction presented in Chapter 2 and the general public understanding of this Park, Chapter 3 scrutinizes the Institutional Values,

Chapter 4 the Instrumental Values, and Chapter 5 closed the discussion by investigating the Intrinsic Values. Chapter 6 presents final thoughts about the conclusions. Following a brief description of each section is presented.

Chapter 2 entitled "Archaeology in the city: methodology and public space cognitions" presents an overview of concepts concerning the object of this study: urban and rural communities and the archaeological heritage in the city. Following methods for data collection and analysis are discussed portraying the procedures and descriptions for each kind of data: interviews, newspaper articles and other related documents, and the walking surveys that sometimes were also followed by observations in the field. Conclusions on data related to the public perceptions of the Park collected on interviews and assessed on local newspapers, contrasted with information about current uses registered during the surveys inside and on the outskirts of ARIE JK are analyzed. The goal of this scrutiny was to understand public cognition about the Park, and to identify if there are any physical links current Park users and/or local dwellers establish with the archaeological sites, always focusing on the three sites classified as quarry-based (DF-PA-11, DF-PA-15 and *Pedra Velha*).

Chapter 3 named "Archaeology and Institutional Values" scrutinizes the institutional realm concerning cultural heritage preservation by explaining how the institutional system was built for archaeological heritage protection and research in Brazil. It concerns the legal scenario and institutions behind it, as well as the professional setting for archaeology. In this chapter data related to the complex institutional settings of the Park are exposed, followed by data analysis that focused on the opinions and major concerns expressed by the respondents and by the newspaper reports regarding the major institutions that deal with environmental and cultural preservation in the Federal District. The goal was to understand how the institutional scenario might influence

stakeholders' decisions on valuing the local archaeological heritage. A special discussion regarding how local archaeology has been portrait by the media is also part of this discussion.

Chapter 4 "Archaeological Tourism in Brazil: an ideological enterprise" is entirely dedicated to discuss the concepts and applicability of Heritage Tourism specifically focused on archaeological heritage, how it has been applied to sites and collections elsewhere and the new strategies for developing sustainable and non-destructive tourism. A new concept has emerged, the Archaeotourism, and understanding its potentials is crucial for learning about its uses and its users as well. After a brief presentation on the current local setting, data analysis focused on the Park's recreational potential. The analysis considered documents and projects, visitation of places dedicated for leisure as well as the sites object of this research on walking surveys, and contrasted the physical setting and prospects with respondents opinions about archaeological tourism, their aspirations about the Park as a visitation place, as well as on how ARIE JK has been portrait by the media in regards to its character as an environmentally protected area that could be used for recreational and tourism. Afterwards discussions on tourism and its potential as a social tool, being the major Instrumental Value for the local heritage is presented.

Chapter 5 named "Archaeology at ARIE JK – multiple perspectives" at first scrutinizes the intrinsic qualities of the local sites by debating the archaeological significance of quarry-based sites. Later a contextualization of the archaeological researches that took place inside the Park is exposed, as well as the justifications and the results of these works. The data analysis for this matter focused on the cognition the public presented about the local sites, and about archaeology in general, followed by scrutiny on how the media qualitatively has portrayed information about archaeology in the DF area.

Chapter 6 named "Archaeological heritage and the non-descendant public realm: final thoughts" presents a brief discussion on general results, and on events that took place after the fieldwork.

Figure 1-1. General location of the case study.
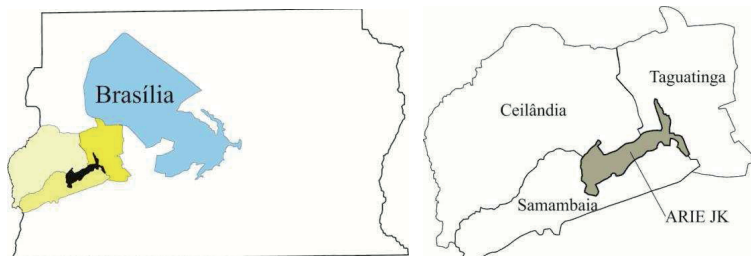
Figure 1-2. Location of the case study site in the Brazilian Federal District.
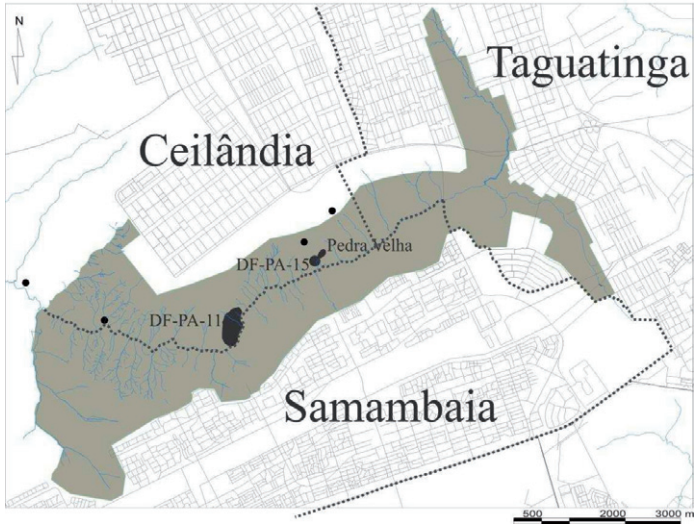
Figure 1-3. Location of archaeological sites inside the Park

Figure 1-4. ARIE JK with the city of Taguatinga in the back

Figure 1-5. General view of the DF-PA-11 archaeological site

Figure 1-6. General view of the DF-PA-15 archaeological site

Figure 1-7. Urban development next to site DF-PA-11

Figure 1-8. Panoramic view of the planned capital

CHAPTER 2
ARCHAEOLOGY IN THE CITY: METHODOLOGY AND PUBLIC
SPACE COGNITIONS

This chapter concerns definitions and discussions about the setting of the case study: the urban environment and its components. A second part describes the methodological framework chosen for the research, as well as the context of data collection. Understanding the context and how the public perceives the space in which the archaeological sites are located functioned as an introduction to the public heritage value analysis. In this chapter the analysis contrasted people's opinion on the Park everyday activities and their personal relation to it as users, citizens, experts, or as outsiders, to what the press chose to publicize about it, and at last to the ordinary and unexpected land uses that usually are taken for granted.

The study of the archaeology in urban environments has always been a challenge and generally considered overly complex and expensive. Archaeologists are also target for pressure due to high visibility and disturbance they might create to the every-day routine in city life, and minimizing these impacts usually demands diverse strategies that include multidisciplinary efforts and especial methods (Salwen 1982). Nevertheless, in many situations mitigation studies are the only way to justify archaeological excavations in urban environments, reaching information that probably would never be available otherwise (Wylie 1995). Besides all the difficulties, to access material culture in cities has a great potential for reaching rich and diverse data and cannot be overlooked. Cities are indeed real depositories of human experiences with great potential to contacting different social groups and to understanding collective memories (Tocchetto and Thiesen 2007).

Although currently it is difficult to be neutral about it, studying the various implications of the city life should be a hot topic for anthropological

investigations. In quite a few different areas it is possible to find thousands of publications seeking to define, understand, criticize, or just to explain the urban environment. And it is not difficult to realize that controversy is one of its major topics. Not looking to comprehend social disparities or segregation, or to criticize the unplanned effects of the planned city, the goal by investigating the relationships individuals that live in the Brazilian Federal District have established with the Park tried to understand how it influenced their motives to care about archaeological heritages. A situation that mirrors stakeholders' conflicts elsewhere and that can also serve as a guide to understand similar issues involving preservation of cultural heritage in urban settings worldwide.

According to the United Nations population growth data in 2000 2.9 billion people live in urban areas, comprising 47% of the world population. In 2007 the number of urban dwellers is already larger than rural dwellers worldwide for the first time in history, and by the year 2030 4.9 billion are expected to live in urban areas, or 60% of the global population (UN 2000). It is definitely about time to pay more attention to urban impacts and changes around the world.

To understand reactions of diverse communities in various urban environments, a number of factors should be looked after given that their high potential to influence people's behaviors. In Brasília, as in most western world, economy, politics and the media play major roles on changing and/or constructing public opinions. Usually when studying urban populations the use quantitative data is the obvious solution. However, for this research the purpose for interviewing diverse persons, assessing how the press publicized information and analyzing land use around archaeological sites was to find motivations and perceptions rather than distribution. The qualitative

methodological approach is described following, after a conceptual discussion on urbanism that is crucial to understanding the chosen case study.

2.1 Understanding the City

Urbanism is the study of cities, apparently a simple concept that ordinarily is related to physical attributes of the urban environment, being it to plan or to understand them. To broaden this definition one might state that this study should also include urban economic, political, social and cultural environments, and the imprint of all these forces on the built environment. In social sciences it is a term used to denote the distinctive characteristics of the urban social life. For urban planners it is also the practice of creating human communities for living, working, and playing. But to comprehend the urbanism as a concept, it is necessary to understand what a city is.

The city has many definitions. Until today it is commonsensical to use density, size, and structure to establish what is an urban and what a rural environment is. As a physical environment the urban is recognizable by basic elements such as the combination of spaces and blocks; or streets and squares; or even the opposition of public and private spaces. The Roman form is considered ideal, characteristic of the Western model. Today one finds many names that right away demonstrate the size of an urban area: village, town, city, metropolis, and megalopolis. And if one looks at it as a functional and social space, the city is also recognizable as having widest facilities and more human interactions than any other environment.

The city is an unclear and disagreed concept even for urban planners. Regarding individual urban experiences the classic study in urbanism was written by Kevin Lynch in 1960, *The Image of the City,* which considered mainly the influence of physical elements in cognitive learning (paths, edges,

districts, nodes, and landmarks). The idea is to recognize images of the city by individual mental maps, in a way of differentiating each person's relation with these structures seeking to recognize the importance of physical attributes for different residents (Lynch 1985).

For social scientists, attempts to define city have come later, and until the 1950s it was usual to find urban definitions related to outdated ideas such as levels of evolution, civilization, class hierarchy, and literacy. Among many ways for defining what a city is, the heterogeneity attribute is still one of the most unanimous characteristics of the urban environment. A city is the space where individuals are gathered to share living, regardless of ethnic, religious, political, or economical differences.

In geography studies related to segregation for example, the city is seeing as a place that always concentrates different groups (Racine 2002: 68). Another pattern always associated with the urban experience is civilization, many times used as a sort of synonym. As Blum describes in a recent study "cities tend to serve as exemplary agents of the 'civilizing process' for populations suffering the tumultuousness of modernization in any historical period" (2003: 21).

Together with civilization, evolution is the other label used to describe urban life, especially when one explains the city in chronological mode, assuming that the most recent as the best. Definitely the most famous publication of this matter is Lewis Mumford's *The City in History: its origins, its transformations, and its prospects*, 1961. His extensive book relates the very origin of human social life as the beginning of the Urban, going through the development of technologies, agriculture, the first forms of ritual and common laws, Egypt, Rome, Medieval time, baroque, mercantilism, industrialism, suburbs, and megalopolis, to explain all the stages or the city over times (Mumford 1998).

It seems that the accepted process for humankind is to transform the environment into urban, as it is to evolve from primitive to civilized, or to migrate to cities, that it is only a matter of progress. The demarcation of rural versus urban is usually related to opposite categories such as: primitive versus civilized; communal versus individual; literate versus illiterate; tranquility versus fear. Usually the term complex is a must for one while describing what a city is. Maybe this explains another stereotype related to cities: the complexity.

> Cities are plainly dissipative complex systems with emergent properties and an evolutionary history. (…) Cities are indeed complex systems but complex systems embedded within both the complex system of global economic and cultural relations, and the complex systems which compose the natural world. (Byrne 2001: 11)

Leeds (1977: 330) provides a more straight-forward definition by stating that the city actually represents a combination of "socio-politico-economic structures and the physical apparatus used in their operation." Beyond a definition, another issue for urban studies regards types and categories since a city is such a varied entity. Gideon Sjoberg proposed in 1960 a typology to distinguish between pre-industrial cities and industrial cities: the pre-industrial city presents technology relying on the power of humans and animals rather than on machines (Sjoberg 1980). Southall (1983) proposed a scheme separating the types of cities ranging from simpler to complex social interactions: pristine cities; cities based on the ancient mode of production; cities in the context of the feudal mode of production; cities in the context of the capitalism mode of production; merchants, nobles, literati and direct producers; the post-industrial city.

As for post-modern thought, the necessity of contextualizing the study object, instead of creating classification among cities is a must. It is crucial to

invent categories of city places, to distinguish urban units inside the urban environment, or subdivisions that might be physical, arbitrary or artificial. These places are numerous, and some has received more attention than others. Without a doubt one category that deserves special attention due to the complexity of its definition and use is the called urban public space.

2.1.1 Anthropology of the city, anthropology in the city

According to Low (1999: 1) the city has been under theorized by anthropology, because this line of inquiry has not had a major theoretical impact. Also anthropologists have been hesitant to participate in, if not totally absent from, urban policy debates. On the other hand this picture seems to be changing rapidly vis-à-vis the extensive amount of varied urban case studies one can find in the current literature. It should be expected that over the next years urban studies might even increase in number, quality, and in variety, even more that they already have since the 1980s. It is only expected that anthropologists begin to switch their researches to urban sites, since the vast majority of the world population today lives in cities.

In addition to the remarkable opportunities the anthropologist can find while investigating cities environments, to understand the urban life is not an addition to classic investigation themes; all the traditional anthropological case studies can be found in urban environments[1] (Canclini 2005: 11). However, the urban environment itself carries many challenges. It may be a very delicate matter to engage in illegal activity research such as drug use or

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[1] *"No se trata sólo de añadir las ciudades a los temas clássicos de los antropólogos: socedades exóticas, indígenas, campesinos, parentesco. Todos esos objetos de estudio tradicionales están presentes em la vida urbana. (...) Los contextos urbanos pasan a ser decisivos em tanto em el mundo actual la mitad de la población vive em ciudades, y em América Latina más de 70 por ciento."*

delinquency. Neutrality is also big deal in urban anthropology, directly related to ethical responsibilities (Leacock 1987).

Before talking about urban anthropology, it is necessary to expose the very origins of this matter in social studies: urban sociology and the School of Chicago. It was born during the 1920s and 1930s with the development of an urban ecological perspective and the research into the urban environment by combining theory and ethnographic fieldwork in Chicago. In this perspective the city is made up of adjacent ecological niches occupied by human groups in a series of concentric rings surrounding the central core. This approach was interested in understanding adaptations and accommodations of urban populations to these new environments. The most important research of this school was conducted by Louis Wirth, a leading figure in Chicago School Sociology. His interests included city life, minority group behavior (especially the immigrant Jews in America) and mass media and he is recognized as one of the leading urban sociologists. Wirth's major contribution to social theory of urban space was a classic essay "Urbanism as a Way of Life," published in the American Journal of Sociology in 1938 (Zenner 1980).

The model developed by Louis Wirth had its roots in the rapid growth of industrial cities in Europe and in North America. Chicago is a perfect example of this transition, from village in the 19th century to metropolis with over three million people in only 100 years. His model consisted in defining the city by its size, its population density, and heterogeneity, and for sure this is the theoretical view that still today dominates urban studies. According to him the city is a bad place to be, and urbanism is a form of social organization that is harmful to culture, because it creates breakdown of primary groups such as family and community, and it reinforces individualism and anarchy. On the other hand, Wirth also stressed the positive effects of city life, such as associating civilization and modernization with the growth of great cities. He

stated that metropolitan civilization is without question the best civilization that human beings have ever devised; and that the city everywhere has been the center of freedom and toleration, the home of progress, of invention, of science, of rationality, and moreover that the history of civilization can be written in terms of the history of cities (Wirth 1980).

The study of the city is most of all interdisciplinary. What make the anthropologists unique among sociologists, economists, urban planners, geographers, among others, is the direct contact one must achieve, the direct interaction with smaller groups of peoples that request living side by side with individuals that are so close to what the researcher is used to (Canclini 2005: 23). In summary urban anthropology is concerned with the origin, development and growth of cities as well as with the understanding of urban life and culture.

Since the 1950s research from the *Institute of Community Studies* represented a major influence in urban research. Their studies are related to policy and planning research on the slum clearance and replacement of housing in London (England), and in Lagos (Nigeria). This perspective understands the city as series of urban communities, based on extended family relations and kinship networks. But "the most important theoretical transition occurred in the 1980s with the introduction of the study of the political economy of the city" (Low 1999: 3). For this perspective the city should be studied by examining the social effects of industrial capitalism and deconstructing the confusion of urbanism with inequality and alienation. Those who wanted to understand the impacts of urban environments in human life focused on investigating migration processes. Social change of rural to urban communities was definitely the major topic after the effects of industrialization around the globe. Then one saw the increasing interest of

scholars regarding network analysis to understand social organization of city residents.

Over the 1970s and the 1980s urban investigations emphasized strongly on urban poverty, as well the interconnections and interdependencies of family and household relationships among the urban poor. Studies of the design of new towns to investigate conflict over planning goals were other topics concerned by anthropologists. Examples of this trend are researches about Brasília conducted by Epstein (1973) and later by Holston (1989). Later a variation of this perspective appears as anthropologists investigated studies of urban renewal and community rebuilding after natural disasters, as well as conflicts among government, planners, and local communities regarding land tenure rights; studies of planning and architecture as instruments of social control; studies of *favelas*, shantytowns, and *tungurios*, and the informal economy in Latin America; Japanese studies that focus on work organization; Chinese studies that emphasize urban hierarchies (Low 1999).

For sure today one of the most controversial topics in urban studies is the classification of suburb and the explanation of the suburbanization development. Suburb means literally a place outside the 'urb', something that was created as a consequence of the original city. For urban planners, this outskirt space may represent a solution for urban problems since it be to isolate people regardless of reason. Or else it might be classified as a reflex of abnormal growing development, something that was not meant to happen. Byrne (2001: 113) understands this process as "the beginnings of the gentrification and the impact of urban renewal on the spatial location of working-class people in the UK, and ethnic minorities, especially Afro-Americans, in the USA." This phenomenon also happens elsewhere, with different names and shapes, but deep inside representing the same need of segregation.

Undoubtedly there are countless ways to understand urban communities, one of them is to reflect on places of well defined social function, or the sense of identity a place might create among its users. According to Low (1999: 21) "the dominant research trends in urban anthropology are currently post-structural studies of race, class, and gender in the urban context; political economic studies of transnational culture' and studies of the symbolic and social production of urban space and planning."

Gilberto Velho (2003), a renowned Brazilian anthropologist, uses the expression 'proximity challenge'[2] for ethnographers to describe urban anthropology. At first anthropologists were focusing their studies in network analysis, in squatter settlements, but Velho proposed to investigate *Copacabana*, his own neighborhood in the city of Rio de Janeiro. It is the anthropologist studying his own environment, as an insider, which creates a very complex and indeed interesting new subjectivity perspective.

Another hot topic in urban studies is commoditization. Real estate investment is a current and growing business force that gains even more strength in cities, and anthropological investigations have demonstrated resistance strategies created by local communities against this powerful market place. Russell Sharman (2006: 201) recently published a book about New York East Harlem residents, in which he investigated peoples and the changing dynamics of each immigrant community created after they settled there.

Yet another different approach is presented by Zeitlin (1994: 216) regarding 'endangered spaces', or "local establishments and neighborhood institutions with demonstrable significance in community life". He thinks that these spaces are important because they translate memories, and what puts this

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[2] *O desafio da proximidade.*

investigation in a different position is the types of spaces this author references: leisure and entertainment spaces, such as Coney Island in New York. These researches show that urban anthropologists have shifted focus lately, what began as a necessity to understand migratory processes and poverty, now is much more diverse and democratic.

2.1.2 Public spaces – concepts

Definitions of public space can be very broad, and they also differ in time and place. The most straightforward way of understanding a public space is by contrast to what is private space. This idea is not only overly simplistic and vague, but also questionable. Broader notions of the public space relate on its abstractedness quality, including in this category non-traditional places such as cyber space and political arenas and defining it as "the range of social locations offered by the street, the park, the media, the Internet, the shopping mall, the United Nations, national governments, and local neighborhoods" (Low and Smith 2006: 3). Other approaches assume a sort of existential vision of what constitute the public space, as "open spaces in cities as places to celebrate cultural diversity, to engage with natural processes and to conserve memories (…) where one can transcend the crowd and be anonymous or alone (Thompson 2002: 70), which includes at least two very common units in cities worldwide: parks and plazas.

Plaza, found in many different urban environments around the world is another controversial concept because it is commonly related to the model brought to the Americas by European colonizers. Regardless its structure, morphology, or size, the plaza is the major open public space of an urban environment, it is a space where one finds social interaction among different genders, ages, political and economical status individuals. In theory it is a

space of heterogeneous relations. According to Low (2000: 32) the plaza provides a physical, social, and metaphorical space for public debate, cultural expression, and artistic interaction.

Parks are open spaces for all kinds of activities, usually related to leisure and contemplation. More than just a pre-delimited leisure area, parks are public spaces, in case of cities urban parks are spaces shared by users of all races and social classes (Low, Taplin and Scheld 2005). Some authors have questioned the public character of these spaces in contemporary cities worldwide. The current controlled character of public spaces represents a shift in paradigm. Public spaces, as well as public life, should incorporate the full spectrum of the urban scenery, including the skyway, and represent basic collective values that have been lost to economic stratification and social segregation (Brill 1989). Approaches on the politics of public spaces ascribe this issue to liberal and neoliberal principles due to the negative influences of private interests in the shape of today cities, in addition to the excessive controlling nature of the State, aiming less and less the collective good and harming to the real function of the public space (Low and Smith 2006).

For Thompson (2002: 61) urban open spaces or public spaces are "a vital part of urban landscape with its own specific set of functions [that] should be conceived of as an outdoor room within a neighborhood". Moreover, "public spaces work better when they establish a direct relationship between the space and the people who live and work around it."

In a less pessimistic approach, scholars and planners could see the so called decline of public space and public life simply as a new form of physical appropriation, in accordance to current realities, needs, or interests (Carr et al. 1992: 6). For these authors there is a new typology of public spaces since the second half of the twentieth-century, which actually confirms resurgence of a public space that satisfy "the needs of an increasingly stratified and

specialized public". They advocate that instead of understanding the rapid and increasing investment in commercial spaces as harmful and collectively excluding, urban planners could see this new pattern as new opportunities for choice to local communities, without necessarily abiding to a socially shallow design. Besides, if the public spaces representative of the European lifestyles ruled city design in the New World for such a long time, it is about time to adapt not only to the increasing effects of privatization and social segregation, but also to the actual needs of city dwellers, despite of criticisms or moral judgments.

2.2 Methodology for Qualitative Research - Data Collection and Analysis

Understanding what a variety of stakeholders think about a cultural heritage so foreign to their everyday lives is definitely a challenge. The proposed methodological approach intended to dig deep into the real reasons why the public might find to care about cultural heritage. Using quantitative methods would not be as efficient in exploring peculiar and diverse answers, because here the objective was to seek stimulus and meanings in context rather than distribution. Therefore, data collected focused in qualitative methods on three distinct sources of information about the everyday life of ARIE JK and its cultural heritages: people's opinions, press and land use.

The methodology used mirror the Rapid Ethnographic Assessment Procedures (REAP), a very efficient data collection method for ethnographic research at urban parks that consists on the combination of interviewing, participant observations and eyewitness documentation (Low, Taplin and Scheld 2005). However, due to the great size of the Park, due to its conflictuous public space character (discussed further on this chapter), and due to the random usage of this area (issue further discussed on Chapter 4), it

was not possible to fully apply this methodology inside the Park itself. During walking surveys understanding how social exchanges and daily uses of the material setting actually transforms the public space into a meaningful reality was key to recognize human activities as a whole at ARIE JK and its surrounding spaces. These processes leave material evidences in the urban space, conveying information that can be analyzed in order to understand human behavior. They translate physically, historically and conceptually social relations and social practice in space, showing "people as agents constructing their own realities and symbolic meanings", also defined as the social production of space (Low 2000:127).

For the public's opinions a total of 29 individuals were interviewed in two 2008 field trips, which resulted in almost two dozen hours conversational record. The chosen respondents were divided in two groups, and later in four subgroups according to their place of residence and to their linkage to institutions related to the case study. A selection of 18 journal reports published between the years of 2004 and 2008 from the two major Federal District's newspapers were analyzed, as well as unpublished field and laboratory reports, academic publications, and regulations directly linked to the case study. As for the physical evaluation over 900 pictures and film recordings on 85 UTM locations inside and surrounding the Park were registered during surveys that took place in different days and times on April, May and November of 2008 (Figure 2-1). Analysis of the combined data represented by up- to-date land use maps (as of 2008 when the fieldwork was done), text analysis for written data as well as for the recorded interviews is distributed on each of the following chapters.

2.2.1 Individual interviewing - understanding varied perspectives

One of the strategies used for data collection was to interact directly with individuals through semistructured open-ended interviews. Also known as person-centered interviews, this method is ideal to assess different points of view. According to Bernard and Hollan (1998), there is no manual or more reliable technique for person-centered interviews, and indeed each interview was unique even though following the same basic structure. Semistructured method contributed to broaden the range of themes included, which varied according to each interviewee. Open-ended also widen the opportunity for encouraging the individual to speak up beyond just answering a question, which provided additional and enhanced data since specific choices of subject or even lack of reaction added information to the actual responses.

The purpose for choosing this method was to understand people's connection is to ARIE JK and then to investigate their opinions regarding archaeological heritage. The questions made during the interviews concerned mostly with their personal experiences and own opinions, treating this person as a respondent, "as an object of study in him- or herself, it explores what he or she makes of the procedure." (Bernard and Hollan 1998: 336). For specific subjects, the experts and other individuals who had information about punctual but important events were also valued as informants, and those instances are explained along this work.

Inquiry explored respondents' opinions mostly on three case study related subjects: their personal link to the Federal District (excluding one subgroup of specialists that do not live in the DF); the large park ARIE JK; and archaeological heritage in general but focusing on the heritage from the DF and when possible on the Park's archaeological sites. The interviews focused in two main questions, but also followed a previously designed

interview guide, which according to Bernard (2002: 205) is "a written list of questions and topics that need to be covered in a particular order". Other questions and remarks were made to incentive conversation around issues depending on each respondent's answers and comments between the two major questions.

As for the quantity of individuals interviewed, according to Guest, Bunce and Johnson (2006) six is the actual number of interviews that usually reach data saturation for nonprababilistic sample sizes. With that in mind each subgroup of respondents followed the number six as the one to reach, and the final result is among 29 individuals divided in four subgroups, each one is formed respectively by seven (A1), eight (A2), eight (B1) and six (B2) individuals.

2.2.1.1 Respondents profile

As the goal of the interviews was to assess and contrast varied opinions the respondents were chosen following two broad classes of stakeholders: residents (Group A) and outsiders (Group B). The ones classified as residents had to fall into one of the categories: to live inside the park; to live surrounding ARIE JK or walking distance from it; or to live in one of the neighboring cities (Taguatinga, Ceilândia or Samambaia). The outsiders are individuals related to the study case for any reason[3], which included people related to local institutions that deal with cultural heritage and environmental preservation (including government administration and NGOs) and professionals or students working with local tourism and for the local press, as

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[3] Individuals who have used, visited, studied, managed, publicized, or used worked with; or those who have cared for the archaeological heritage of the Brazilian Federal District not exclusively from ARIE JK.

these institutions are classified as those capable of changing public opinion (issue discussed on Chapter 1). All 29 respondents are referred throughout the dissertation in codes related to their subgroups to ensure anonymity.

Group A was exclusively formed by a set of 15 local dwellers that do not necessarily have institutional linkage to the case study subjects; none of them works directly with cultural heritage preservation but some are active members of environmental and governmental institutions. From those five live inside the park (A1-2, A1-3, A1-4, A1-5, and A2-1), four live in walking distance from it (A1-1, A1-7, A2-4 and A2-6), and six live in one of the three neighboring cities (A2-2, A2-5 and A2-8 in Taguatinga and A1-6, A2-3, A2-7 in Samambaia). Later they were subdivided into two subgroups: A1 formed by seven individuals that were not linked to any institution related to the park, to environmental preservation or to archaeology; and A2 formed by eight respondents that had connections with related institutions, such as local environmental NGOs (A2-1 and A2-5), college education system (A2-3 and A2-4 were tourism major college students), media and tourism business (A2-8) and public administration (A2-2 and A2-6 are IBRAM/park employees and A2-7 works for Samambaia administration as an architect).

Group B gathered 14 professionals, also later subdivided into two subgroups. Subgroup B1 corresponds to eight professionals that live in the Federal District but not in any of the three neighboring cities, and is formed by: a journalist (B1-1), two tourism professionals (B1-2 and B1-3), two employees hired by local development agencies (B1-7 is an archaeologist at Eletronorte and B1-4 is an engineer at CAESB), one employee of the local environment preservation secretary (B1-5) and two employees of the federal agency for cultural heritage management (B1-6 and B1-8). Subgroup B2 is formed by six professionals that do not live in the Federal District comprising five archaeologists responsible for previous archaeological fieldwork inside

the case study area (B2-1, B2-2, B2-3, B2-4 and B2-5), and a pedagogy professional(B2-6).

Among 29 people of both groups the majority interviewed was male (62%), between 40 and 50 years old (37%), with college degree (68%). Individuals under 18 years old were not considered, and none of the respondents was illiterate. Each respondent's link to the case study area is also an important characteristic taken into consideration during analysis of responses. Group A individuals already had the neighboring distance relationship to the park, characterized according to their place of residence as: live inside the park; live in walking distance to it; or live in one of the three neighboring cities. However some of those also work in or with the park itself and when this was the case they fell into another category named work, because it is expected their link to the park is somewhat different to those who simply live close to it. In total five individuals were identified as such: subject A2-1 who also lives inside the area; subject A2-6 who lives walking distance and subjects A1-6, A2-3, A2-4 who live in one of the neighboring cities. The work with or in category was the only way of defining linkage with the park for individuals of Group B, since all of them already lack the proximity relationship.

Respondent's connection to archaeology is also taken into consideration while evaluating responses. In this case both groups have individuals classified as having no relationship; archaeologists or individuals that have worked with archaeology; and individuals who advocate for archaeological heritage preservation in general and or for the preservation for the sites located inside the Park.

2.2.1.2 Interviews' dynamics

Each interview has its own story, but all followed the same structure, providing different results as to length and content, which was actually the goal of the data collection. All respondents received a copy and signed the Interview Consent Form, and each interview took place within the period authorized by University of Florida Institutional Review Board (UFIRB approval protocol #2008-U-0080), which from February of 2008 to January of 2009.

The majority of the interviews happened in calm controlled environments chose by each respondent, and in private. The most varied interview location occurred with individuals from Subgroup A1 since most of those happened on the spot, the only exceptions were interviews A1-6 and A1-7 because of previous planning regarding location and time set. In general the most common environment was the respondent's work place (58%), followed by public spaces inside ARIE JK (24%) and respondent's home (18%).

The criteria for reaching each person varied according to convenience, availability to participate and relationship to the case study. The majority of the respondents were contacted before the fieldtrip via internet (41% corresponding of 12 persons), selected by indication or simply for being linked to ARIE JK or to archaeology in the Federal District. This strategy was especially effective for Group B individuals and for some exceptions of Group A who were publically advocating for environmental or archaeological preservation at the region (A1-7, A2-1, B1-3, B1-4, B1-6, B1-7 and each one of B2). The ones contacted during the fieldwork (9 individuals) were indicated by previous respondents for various reasons, and in most cases they agreed promptly to participate (A2-3, A2-4, A2-5, A2-7, A2-8, B1-1, B1-2, B1-5, and B1-8). For those approached by chance (8 individuals), in all cases the

interview took place inside or on the surrounding of ARIE JK and immediately after approach (A1-1, A1-2, A1-3, A1-4, A1-5, A1-6, A2-2, and A2-6).

As for recording procedures, on 90% of the interviews pictures were taken by the end of each event. The plan was to use voice recording in every interview for cataloging and assistance on data analysis but some exceptions occurred. Four interviews were not completely recorded each for a different reason (A2-2, B1-4, B1-5 and B1-6). B1-5 interview was not recorded because this respondent did not authorize it, respondent B1-6 requested parts of the conversation not be recorded because of the content they considered confidential. With A2-2 and B1-4 a malfunction of the voice recording device occurred in both instances. These punctual issues did not hurt data collection or analysis since all interviews followed the very same structure and were also registered by hand notes during the field.

Length of interviews varied, on average lasted 50 minutes, and the absolute extent of recorded data is 21hours, 38minutes and 16 seconds. The shortest interview is from subgroup B2 and lasted 12 minutes; the longest is from subgroup B1 and lasted over 3 hours. If considered the estimated length of unrecorded interviews the sum period of interviews coincided for subgroups A1 and B2 (4 hours), as well for subgroups B2 and B1 (7 hours). The average length[4] for each subgroup interview is: A1 41 minutes, A2 54 minutes, B1 58 minutes and B2 45 minutes.

The interviews comprised two main components: the respondent's opinions about the Park ARIE JK; and finally the respondents understanding and opinion about local archaeological heritage. For the Brazilian Federal District inhabitants (subgroups A1, A2 and B1) the interview usually started

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[4] Considering the length of unrecorded interviews as well.

with other kind of inquiry, created to enhance personal understanding and to assist on the actual inquiry, which consisted on questions about personal linkage to ARIE JK and/or to the Brazilian FD.

These were the guidelines for each inquiry, starting with personal questions (for subgroups A1, A2 and B1), questions about the park and only after these subjects achieved saturation the latest questioning was proposed. The reason for not stimulating questions about heritage from the get-go was a strategy especially important that intended to experience firsthand to what extent the respondents really value or recognize ARIE JK's archaeological sites. Not stimulating the respondents' thoughts about cultural heritage from the beginning enhanced the potential to receive a less biased opinion supported by their genuine individual experience. In general questioning varied depending on beforehand knowledge about each respondent, depending on interviewer and respondent bond, and mostly on respondent's compliance.

The official question about the park was: 'in your everyday life do you use the park known as ARIE JK for any reason or activity? If yes, please explain.' Some variations occurred to facilitate bonding and conversation, including questions such as: what are some of the things you like or dislike about ARIE JK?; what kind of activities do you do there?; is it close to your house?; how do you get there?; usually how long do you stay there?; do you see it as a leisure space?; do you see it at a vacant space?; in your opinion, what would be the best use for ARIE JK?; would you use it more often if it had better access and equipments?; would you enjoy it better if it was safer?; do you recommend others to visit ARIE JK? If so why?

As for the inquiry about archaeology, the main question was 'does it matter for you to acknowledge the archaeological sites inside ARIE JK? Why?' This question was not possible to pose right away in many of the interviews because some respondents did not understand what an

archaeological site is, or because they were not aware of the local sites. Whenever necessary auxiliary questioning was proposed to incentive respondent's thoughts about this subject, and in few instances a short explanation was required. It was expected that sometimes clarification would be needed, so when necessary a short and very simple definition was provided, always seeking not to influence the respondent's opinion. Some of the additional questions made were the following: what do you think an archaeological site is?; are you aware of any archaeological site at the Federal District?; how did you find out about it?; what do you know about the archaeological sites at ARIE JK?; how did you find out about these archaeological sites?; what do you think about them?; have you visited them or any other archaeological site, or a museum with archaeological collections? Why? When?; to what extent do you think archaeological heritage benefits the local communities? Why?; to what extent do you think local communities should be involved in the management of archaeological heritage? Why? How? All additional questions were part of the interview guide.

As the development of tourism was part of the hypothesis, for the residents and the experts who live in the Federal District (Group A and Subgroup B1), when possible questioning on personal preferences for leisure, as to preferred places and activities, intended to explore to what extent these individuals would be up to using the Park for recreation. This intended to explore deeper their expectations and opinions on developing tourism at the sites, issue further described in Chapter 4.

As explained before, for individuals on subgroups A1, A2 and B1 another type of inquiry was proposed, always depending on their apparent willingness to share personal information. The ones from subgroup B2 do not live in the Federal District so their personal background would not facilitate interpretation of their opinions about the park itself. Since all of them have

worked with the park's archaeological heritage, inquiry was directed to their opinions about the park as outsiders and to their archaeological and outreach knowledge as experts.

Questions about identity and personal link to the Federal District intended to explore respondents' attachment with these new urban environments, to assess where they are from and how they value these places, and if cultural and/or environmental and cultural heritage play a role on that relationship. Questioning about this subject varied as following: where do you live?; how long have you lived there?; do you like living there? Why?; would you live somewhere else? Why?; where is your family from?; how do you identify yourself?; do you identify yourself as a *brasiliense* or *candango*?; can you explain how attached are you to where you live (emotionally, politically, family ties, community ties)? Assessing self-proclaimed personal and cultural identity and how they relate themselves to Brasília was a powerful tool to assist analysis, as a way to get a better knowledge of each individual and to understand better their opinions.

As each person disclosed their opinions and/or responded to questions, throughout records examination data was detached and organized into the following topics for later analysis: the Park itself (ARIE JK); archaeology; media; institutional and legal systems; tourism; identity and personal information; religious activities inside the park; and non-related subjects, also considered a separated category for later respondent's profiling and interview results' conclusions. The topic religious activity was chosen due to the presence of ceremonial areas close to the archaeological sites.

The interviews were not transcribed, since pauses, common expressions, and other sorts of linguistics phenomena were not to interpret as part of response content, therefore they would not be used for investigation. And the responses were not translated but rather interpreted for their meanings, as

suggested by Hodder and Hutson the transformation from spoken Portuguese to English text was "a hybridized form of meaning produced by fusing the horizons of the interpreter and the informant" (2003: 161). When necessary the contents were transcribed as is to the analysis subject tables. The identification of themes and creation of analytic categories made the data interpretation less biased, as well the possibility of using direct quotes makes the analytical process more straight forward and comprehensible. The goal during analysis was to understand public's perceptions for each selected subjects by comparing each person's response first within subgroups, and later among groups.

The recognition of actual activities that take place inside the park that are not officially signed as land use was the most important criterion for evaluation during walking survey, and therefore the spontaneous mentioning of them or the lack of comments on them were also an important evaluation procedure as to identify public understanding, current land uses and their connection to the sites themselves. In many instances responses felt into more than one of these categories, and in those cases the same answer was considered for as many subjects as necessary. Each topic analyzed considered all responses, including absent responses. Individual responses were confronted among the subgroups, and later among groups, to reach conclusion about each topic.

For each interview there is a comment on the spot, in regards to atmosphere, disturbances, respondent's behavior towards the interview itself, toward the interviewer, and towards the questions and comments made during the conversation. After data content review each interview has also received an after comment, as to what kind of issue presented more importance to that person, repetition and reinforcement of specific subjects, and failure in asking or having responses, details that might have jeopardized the interview, and so

on. These comments were later part of a respondent profile table that assisted during the analysis for each topic chosen for scrutiny.

As exposed before comprehending each respondent origin and how they relate to Brasília was a criteria to assist on interpreting their answers. Besides all subgroup B2 respondents, A2-1, B1-3, B1-6 and B1-7 did not provide a direct answer or simply were not questioned about identity because the direction took during their interview made it uncomfortable to enter in this matter. Therefore 19 is the total number of respondents for the questions related to local identity, origins and/or migration. In all three subgroups there are individuals who were born somewhere else and migrated to the FD (11 individuals), as well as individuals who were born there (8 individuals).

Out of these 11 individuals five migrated during childhood and six as adults. The 11 migrants were from every region in Brazil.[5] Subgroup A1 have individuals from the states of Rio de Janeiro, São Paulo, Ceará, Goiás and Tocantins (located in regions North, Northeast and Southeast); subgroup A2 from Minas Gerais and Goiás (regions Midwest and Southeast); and subgroup B1 from Rio Grande do Sul, Santa Catarina, Paraná and Minas Gerais (regions South and Southeast). This diversity mirrors Brasília's population and its migration process, as it was occupied not only by federal employees and politicians but also by people that came from all parts of the country for different reasons and on different occasions since its construction in the late 1950s.

Those who were born in the Federal District mostly agree with self-identification as *brasiliense[6],* with one exception (A2-8) who identified

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[5] Brazil is divided into 5 regions: North and Northeast are considered the least developed in terms of income distribution and infra-structure; Midwest, which is where the Federal District is located; Southeast and South regions, considered the most economically developed.

[6] *Brasiliense* is how the people born in the Federal District is known. *Candango* is a nomination used during Brasilia's construction for workers, also understood nowadays as the pioneers. But

himself as *ceilandense* (or from Ceilândia). One respondent explained that there is no such thing as a different nomination for place of birth for any individual born in the Federal District because maternity hospitals are all located in the Pilot Plan area.

All 19 respondents admitted to have strong bonds with Brasília, and none would like to move somewhere else. This parameter gave me a better understanding as to public's appreciation of Brasília as a whole, and how all of them one way or another developed individual and strong place-making ties to newly created urban spaces. Therefore respondents from Group A and subgroup B1 were considered always insiders, and had their opinion scrutinized as such for every subject.

2.2.2 Written newspapers material

As for the written newspaper report data, the two most significant local journals were chosen for this analysis: *Correio Braziliense* and *Jornal de Brasília*. They represent different venues the great public in the Federal District have access to printed daily news. A total of 18 reports were analyzed, 12 from *Correio Braziliense* and 6 from *Jornal de Brasília*, all published between 2004 and 2008 and located by the key words 'ARIE JK' and/or *'Arqueologia'* (archaeology), both online and on each of the journals archives.

Correio Braziliense is the biggest newspaper in circulation on the Federal District, also considered one of the most important newspapers in Brazil. It is actually the very first printed newspaper of the federal capital, named after the *Post Braziliense Warehouse Literature*, a newspaper published in London in 1808 by Hipólito José da Costa. In April 21st of 1961 a well-known press

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since this name carries some negative underline meaning for locals some people avoid or do not appreciate being referred as such.

magnate in Brazil called Assis Chateaubriant accepted a personal invitation of President Kubitschek and founded the first newspaper of Brasília in the very same day of the federal capital dedication. *Jornal de Brasília* was for long time the second newspaper in number of circulation on the Federal District. Founded in 1972 this newspaper lost its position to a tabloid created in 2006 called *Aqui DF.* [7] Considering its profile and the data collection period this newspaper is indeed the second most important locally, and for that matter it is the only possible exemplar capable to be contrasted to *Correio Braziliense.*

The period searched is four years, from 2004[8], when the case study began to be investigated, to 2008, representing the end of this dissertation field work. The key words searched were "ARIE JK" and "Archaeology", the same division proposed for the interview research design. The data was collected in each of the newspapers archives as hard copy, and some were also collected online. The years 2004 and 2005 mark the period in which the most extensive archaeological fieldwork was done in the entire Federal District, mobilizing two government administrations, local and federal, in an area known to host the biggest population of the Federal District, which is the very case study site of this research.[9] Choosing 2004 as a start until the end of data collection in 2008 provides a reasonable range of time, considering the great probability of change in an urbanized area over 4 years that provided a broad overview of the local dynamics, without overwhelming the qualitative analysis. On top of that, there were other archaeological fieldworks conducted during the same

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[7]Personal communication with local journalist Alfredo Bessow in November of 2011 about the most important local newspapers in the Brazilian Federal District.

[8] By January of 2004 this case study began to be investigated, while I was part of a research team that conducted a major archaeological mitigation project and ended up excavating four sites inside the Park.

[9] Prior to 2004 the other archaeological work inside ARIE JK that might have incentive press publication took place in 1997, and if chosen such a far back starting year for data collection would not improve results due to the outdated information and difficulty to reach records.

period, among those two that took place inside the case study park in 2007, enhancing the possibility of reports about the park, about archaeology, and specifically about the archaeological sites of ARIE JK.

Correio Braziliense presented the biggest sample of reports (12)[10], out of 18 reports analyzed, and it also showcased archaeology more times. Out of all 12 *Correio Braziliense* reports[11] analyzed only one did not mention archaeology, the one published on 12/17/2005 about the new legal limits 5 parks inside ARIE have since then. Another interesting remark is that most of the archaeology reports from *Correio Braziliense* were all signed by a single reporter, which deserved special attention (issue further discussed on Chapter 5).

On the other hand, only half of the *Jornal de Brasília* reports analyzed mentioned archaeology, but all of them had to deal with ARIE JK and its current issues. The eight reports analyzed from *Jornal de Brasília* have the main subject related to issues in ARIE JK, mostly on wrong land use and illegal housing use. Out of this sample only three reports mentioned archaeological heritage, and only one of those is indeed about archaeology.

The process for analysis was the same adopted for the audio data; content of every report was assigned to each of the chosen subjects. Afterwards the divided data was compared to respondents' responses on that matter, and with the mapping usage registered for that specific subject. Since the written material did not provide the same range of subjects as those provided by interview responses, the lack of reporting for each topic is also considered.

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[10] *Correio Braziliense* reports analyzed were published on 07/22, 08/02, 08/15, 09/14, and 10/31 of 2004; on 03/05, 03/20, 09/24, and 10/17 of 2005; and on 04/06, 05/08 and 08/24 of 2008.

[11] *Jornal de Brasília* analyzed were published on 02/29 and 08/15 of 2004; on 08/14 of 2007; and on 01/14, 01/20, and 01/27 of 2008.

Other local written media has been examined but their sample is not sufficient for data analysis. For instance *Jornal do Brasil*, another significant daily newspaper of the Federal District, published a report on July 23 rd 2004 and among all reports analyzed it was the only one that actually put ARIE JK archaeological finds and fieldwork in the spotlight by assigning it to a front page headline. Other journal reports from different sources were interested in augmenting controversial issues that concerned areas enclosing the park, such as the landfill construction or illegal settlements, but did not mention the park itself, and therefore could not be part of the sample. Those were used as information sources and as necessary are quoted along this work.

2.2.3 People and settings – walking surveys and observations

Visitations to specific locations in and around ARIE JK created data also used to contrast and confront with information provided during the interviews and the ones reported by written newspapers, as already explained. Locations with rather foreign activities to be found in an environmentally protected space were always registered through geographical location and photograph, and assisted on understanding current activities and their linkage (or lack of linkage) to local archaeological sites. It can also be identified as the walking survey technique, used to find evidences of everyday uses *in situ* not identifiable by the official land use or zoning maps. All visitations occurred during the months of April, May and November of 2008 in order to document every sort of activity spotted inside or surrounding the site, from the smallest piece of trash to a religious ceremony. As a result geographical and visual mapping supported by the extensive amount of pictures taken were used to explain in details human activities and other particularities spotted in and in the outskirts of the Park, presented in each of the following chapters.

The visitations occurred in different days of the week and during different daylight hours to assess variety of usage patterns, during the months of April, May and November of 2008. A car was used for transportation to the site, and in some occasions accompanied by volunteer research assistants. Visitations focused on areas known for public use, such as the five smaller parks in and on the outskirts of ARIE JK, and mostly nearby the three archaeological sites. There is no visibility for material attributes or landscape of the archaeological sites and for that matter none of the activities registered had direct association to the sites themselves, but some indirect usages are noticed later on this chapter.

Observations involved an intricate procedure due to current usage characteristics inside ARIE JK. Security conditions were a major disruption, most areas inside the case study site offers high risk for crime and harassment because of their visual isolation conditions and their closeness to urban areas, and due to the range of illicit activities that take place inside it, such as irregular housing and illegal garbage disposal, therefore accessing some places was not an option. The accessibility was also an issue because the infrastructure composed by dirt roads is not mapped; especially those located close to irregular housing, and many of them had bad conditions.The access by foot happened in few occasions when accompanied by more than one volunteer, [12] even though local dwellers have always advised against it for safety reasons. For the areas visited length of stay was also an issue, because the presence of strangers and a parked car were at risk for attracting wrongdoing, including inside and on the vicinities of some local parks. Fortunately, besides possible hindrance of participant observation goals,

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[12] All research assistants volunteered for the job, five were Archaeology major college students from PUC-GO, a History major student from UnB assisted on archival research.

nothing else happened during fieldwork beside a leg injury on one of the volunteer students.

In addition to smaller parks' activities and occasional passing by, three sorts of use were satisfactorily observed: rural activities registered in different farms, especially those at *Sítio Gerânium* in Samambaia; different religious manifestations; and drug using. The last two took place in a single location in the city of Ceilândia known as *Morro da Guariroba*. Other types of use such as ritual offerings, constructions, garbage disposal and illegal natural resource removal were photographed and mapped as spotted. A meeting inside one of the smaller parks was also observed in November of 2008, detailed in Chapter 3 and further evaluated in Chapter 4.

2.3 ARIE JK and its Contrasts: Data Analysis

Many times referred along this work as "the Park" ARIE JK has been formally presented as holding significant ecological function, and also has been acknowledged for its original rural function (the rural properties still maintain their addresses as part of the Rural Taguatinga quarter). However, rhetorically these classifications alone do not define ARIE JK holistic character. For that matter and based on prior understanding this research has always characterized ARIE JK as a large park, which by definition is an extensive landscape "integral to the fabric of cities and metropolitan areas, providing diverse, complex, and delightfully engaging outdoor spaces for a broad range of people and constituencies" (Corner 2007: 11). The urban character of the case study site has always been considered to be more prominent, including during the construction of research design, data collection and analysis. Nevertheless it is indeed a complex space among

densely occupied urban areas and the other characteristics are not taken for granted.

ARIE Parque JK, or simply ARIE JK, is an environmentally protected area created on 1996. It has 2,306 hectares and is part of the *Descoberto* River watershed, comprising the rivers *Cortado*, *Taguatinga*, *Melchior*, *Valo*, *Gatumé* and numerous river streams and springs (NCA 2006). This park is currently located among the highest populated region in the FD. Together the three satellite-cities around it host over 30% of the population of the Brazilian Federal District . Taguatinga from the late 1950s, Ceilândia from the 1970s, and Samambaia from the late 1980s nearly suffocated its surroundings with urban infra-structure and development, transforming its original agricultural character into a mixed used state that suffers from all of the developments inherent of major cities, including squatter, garbage and sewage disposals and many sorts of unusual activities.

Even thought it was only institutionalized in 1996, this space has history linked to the construction of the new capital, as one of the areas chosen by then President JK for rural development in order to create means for local food supply (Dato 2006). Although there was a lack of planning to develop the rural section in the Federal District (Epstein 1973: 86), Japanese and Japanese-Brazilians farmers invited during the late 1950s were the first rural dwellers there (Freitas 2007). Probably the very first family officially settled in that area was Saburo Onoyama's, immigrants from Japan encouraged by emperor Hirohito to help with rural development in a land known to be poor for planting (Pedra 2010). The Onoyamas and other nippo-Brazilian rural producers[13] are still living in ARIE JK but most of them gave up due to the

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[13] Unfortunately it was not possible to interview local Japanese community. Two attempts were made during fieldwork and although they allow entrance to their property they were not willing to be interviewed.

proximity of urban development and the consequent lost of area to city growth.

One of the respondents (A2-1) acquired a 14 hectares rural property from a nippo-Brazilian family in 1985, because their original farm area had been considerably reduced when the GDF decided to create Samambaia and they did not want to live near to an urban area. Four years later she could see the urban development approaching her unit. Since then she states that there is a strong pressure toward conurbation, and that the real state value of that area has increased so much that "if one planted gold there the land would not value as much" (in her own words). Nowadays she says that for local rural dwellers it is no longer possible to maintain a family only out of agricultural activities. She transformed her property into an eco-friendly rural business, selling organic produce, promoting events and environmental preservation courses (further described on Chapter 3). Besides all the odds the rural landscape is still very noticeable.

Respondent A2-7, who is an architect and urban planner and claims to be the very first inhabitant of Samambaia (he was the first dweller to received a plot and moved there on August 2nd 1985), while employee of Samambaia city hall administration and as an expert stated that around 1995 urban development started to pressure the park limits. Indeed that was the period in which all three cities expanded their limits. Samambaia recently created attracting a great number of families receiving plots as an acquired right; Taguatinga planning for expansion (archaeologist Eurico Miller was hired to evaluate areas proposed for Taguatinga's urban expansion during the early 1990s, including the area later proclaimed as ARIE JK); while *P-Sul* sector, an enormous housing development in Ceilândia very close to the park, remained in full growth until this day (followed by its neighboring sector recently legalized inside the Park limit *Condomínio Pôr do Sol*).

As the Park is surrounded by three densely populated cities, urban infra-structure has grown in and around it over the years. Following several types of development are described. The connective traffic tissue is the first aspect to consider. The roads that enclose the park are *Estrada Parque Taguatinga*/EPTG (or DF-085) Northbound, connecting Ceilândia and Taguatinga; and *2ª Avenida Norte* in Samambaia (Southbound). EPTG also crosses the park in Taguatinga, and the subway rail is located along it up to the municipal division with Ceilândia.The subway rail crosses the park on a second location in the route Brasília-Samambaia, which means there are two different rails crossing the park and the river eastbound.

There are other roads also crossing the Park**.** The most significant in terms of daily traffic is *Via de Ligação Samambaia Taguatinga*. The second road with potential to carry the most traffic is DF-459 connecting Ceilândia and Samambaia, still under construction in 2008. The others cross smaller portions and carry less traffic, one is located south of Cortado Park and the other is DF-460 situated north of Boca da Mata Park.

Around the Park in Taguatinga one finds built facilities that potentially attract considerable amount of public, such as the soccer stadium Elmo Serejo, also known as Serejão, Taguatinga's regional bus station and two subway stations, a college campus, and the local Police Academy. Also in the outskirts of the park's limit in Ceilândia there is location signed to be a future University of Brasília campus, and the power sub-station and expected power lines this time crossing the park. There is also an area planned to receive a new campus of University of Brasília/UnB, in a location close to DF-PA-15 archaeological site.

In Taguatinga, in Ceilândia and in Samambaia one can find housing developments inside and/or very close to the Park limits. And there have been other sorts of developments in place, such as the sewage and water pipeline

(crossing the park east-west) and plant; a recycling plant in Ceilândia; and a brand new urban landfill still under discussion to be located outside of the Park.

2.3.1 Interviews

Throughout the interview analysis on the respondents' perceptions about the Park, the content of the information provided by each respondent at first has been confronted between subgroups and groups, and later the content variation has been contrasted among respondents classified according to their link to ARIE JK. Therefore the analysis on this subject also considered comparing responses from those classified as insiders, or those living in one of the three neighboring cities (individuals from Group A); the experts who live in Brasília but not in one of those cities (subgroup B1); and the outsiders mostly composed by the archaeology professionals (subgroup B2).

While current land uses of ARIE JK are predictable, not all of them were expected. People provided convergent points of view as for their general perceptions of this park, as to a significant but poorly maintained space. Mostly the respondents agree with the ecological importance of the Park. On the other hand the majority of respondents cited at least one wrongdoing activity they've experienced, or heard of, being the most common (in order of number of citations): pollution, illegal housing, deforestation and illegal usage or natural resources, hostility (related to robbery or rape), followed by drug using, and even corps and robbed cars disposal.

Those living closer to it displayed more affection and used adjectives to describe it, such as "beautiful", "outstanding" or "God's creation". However people that live closer to it is much more aware of violence and lack of state care, and expressed sorrow due to the unsafe conditions of its public spaces,

on the opposite of those living inside it, who directed their concern more to new housing and infra-structural developments.

In the subgroup of local dwellers that have institutional linkages to the Park (A2) seven out of eight individuals[14] were mostly concerned with environmental preservation and aware of the area issues. This group is more aware of ARIE as a whole, even though some still focused their attention more on specific public spaces. In general a stronger environmental discourse is present, they are more aware of the short term effects of deforestation, urbanization, pollution and the lack of law enforcement.

In the subgroup of experts who live in Brasília (B1) four individuals have never been to ARIE JK: three respondents have no attachment whatsoever with ARIE JK but would like to visit it; and one deals with it for work although have never been there in person. Responses in general are vaguer about personal opinions. Excluding the three respondents with no attachment, all of them mentioned urban development as a big concern, and all of them agree with its preservation but complained somewhat about its protection. Two respondents that have had the most professional contact with it mentioned local inhabitants as a problem for conservation, and one of them was clear about being against human occupation inside the Park.

In the subgroup of archaeology professionals (B2) all respondents have not been to the area before working on it. When I asked about their first impressions responses varied because most of them were more concerned in explaining the place in regard to the job they developed there, and clearly established no personal attachment to it. Although they all clearly agreed on

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[14] In this subgroup there is one exception, a single respondent (A2-8) was unaware of ARIE JK itself and its issues; he lives Taguatinga but was born in Ceilândia, even though he never lived close to it.

the park environmental significance, the subjects that mostly appear on their perceptions about it were related to urban expansion and its consequences.

With two exceptions, the insiders (respondents from Group A) presented a personal relationship with ARIE JK. With one exception all expressed concerns with its protection, and pointed out wrongdoing. Surprisingly one inhabitant was absolutely unaware, which is a sign the Park is not understood as a public space, or maybe due to dweller's lack of appreciation of their urban environment. The biggest resemblance among the experts (Group B) respondents is the lack of personal attachment with the area, with exception of couple respondents from subgroup B1. The respondents from subgroup B2 had a more personal discourse about what they've experienced, even pointing out some peculiar situations, in contrast with subgroup B1 that expressed a more distant and technical outlook, even though in general they were more knowledgeable about the park itself.

2.3.2 Newspapers

Media reports on the Park also called attention to its ecological significance and wrongdoing, but the two sources had different outlooks on those subjects. *Correio Braziliense* does not criticize directly environmental degradation inside the park and even provided wrong information on it, while *Jornal de Brasília* assumes a strong opposition to this matter and informed more about its ecological significance. As part of the institutional analysis on Chapter 3 each publication political and economical perspectives are discussed further.

Correio Braziliense published four reports about the construction of the new sewage collection and treatment system, and three of them never mentioned the park ARIE JK (selected by the key word *arqueologia* and not

ARIE JK). Mostly reports refer to the area relating it to the Melchior River and to the benefited cities around it. In one of them the reporter even misspelled the acronym ARIE for "ARIA", and wrongly explained it "as a park close to Três Meninas Park". *Jornal de Brasília* is more concerned with environmental preservation and generally condemns human acts inside protected areas. It likes to display criminal investigations as a way to call attention to this issue. All reports but the one (talking about the new road DF-459 connecting the cities and the subway system) showcase criminal cases, as if this newspaper only understands the environmental function of ARIE and ignores other purposes. Special attention given to a strong discourse against housing dwellings inside the park by *Jornal de Brasília* published on three different reports in January of 2008 (but rather similar in content). Other interesting information was published by this journal on 02/29/2004: a short note on a list of illegal acts then current park administration caught red-handed, specifically about over 12 individuals fined and a truck loaded of construction debris apprehended. All suspects were booked and paid bail of R$2,000 (approximately almost one thousand dollars).

However, the number of newspaper publications exclusively on the Park is too low in the period of 4 years, especially because on this period a considerable number of development and mitigation projects were on. On top of that the reports are usually motivated by other issues, such as development, being them in favor of or against them. Out of five *Correio Braziliense* reports that showcased the Park only one was exclusively about it and not motivated by other issues (published on 12/17/2005 about the new limits of its recreation and ecological parks). All *Jornal de Brasília* reports showcased the Park, and out of six none were exclusively motivated on ecological character of the park but rather on reporting illegal activity and need of better law enforcement.

2.3.3 Walking survey

While visiting the Park in several occasions, many were usage types observed. Although its leisure character at the recreational areas (subject further discussed on Chapter 4), not many people were found using the area for recreation, which reinforces the discourses on the lack of maintenance and violence respondents provided during the interviews; and the illegal acts publicized by *Jornal de Brasília*. During fieldwork recording it was possible to see that besides leisure some people used the area as shortcut, others for contemplation, but the human activity that could only be seeing through material remains was the one that carried the highest meaning as to how people in fact use the Park ARIE JK. And yet not all of them were reported by the public, or by the media.

The irregular sewage dumping had been a public problem for this Park, and the construction of a sewage and water collector and treatment system might not be enough to solve it because domestic waste dumping is still increasing due to the enhanced number of regular condominiums and irregular settlements in and around the park area. Together with irregular sewage, illegal garbage and debris disposal and criminal sand and dirt removal are also enhancing the environmental degradation of the Park; since this area has been used for rural purposes since late 1950s the effects of these activities, such as deforestation or road constructions, are not discussed. And the issues of regular and irregular housing and other occupations are discussed on Chapter 3.

Although violence and illegal natural resources exploration were never caught red-handed, at least 15 different location of irregular disposal of plain garbage, debris and other sorts of hazardous waste had been spotted, in all three cities. Ironically in one of these locations a big sign written "prohibit to

dispose garbage or debris according to municipal law 972/95" shares the spaces with the very materials it is supposed to educate the public not to dispose there. Usually the rubbish is found close to dirt road accesses, to residential or other sorts of occupied locations; but elsewhere it is also possible to find it, sometimes in quantity and close to the river or next to leisure areas, and trash is also easily spotted in locations known to receive random visitors, indicating other sorts of isolated activities.

Another serious issue found inside the park was related to areas explored for removal of sand and dirt, activities that inevitably create huge landscape transformation and need extensive planning to avoid environmental degradation. They were usually located close to dirt roads in good conditions, and already associated with debris and waste disposal (Figures 2-2). At least one was located inside a rural property, with no public access, a situation that can be ongoing and creating a much worse picture than the one registered during fieldwork in 2008. These acts are so common that one spot is popularly known as "areal", due to being used for sand removal.

But a significant practice has been spotted during walking surveys and never cited by the media, and poorly mentioned on interviews: the religious activities. During the very first day of fieldwork a distinctive character was identified on many buildings surrounding the park: religious houses. Together with residences, services and commercial places, it was remarkable the amount of small Christian churches that are located neighboring the Park. On top of that three distinct locations were catalogued as Christian religious sites and many afro-Brazilian religion related ceremonial remains (referred here as *despachos*) have been located in areas in and around the Park.

Places for Christian worshiping notably not catholic and not linked to specific religions have been located in two different areas inside and surround the park in Ceilândia, areas known as "Monte do P-Sul" or "Monte do

Crentes", and "Igreja do Monte" or "Morro da Reza", the second one in the location referred along this research as *Morro da Guariroba*. And in a neighboring area in Samambaia a location called "Monte" also carries the same physical characteristics as the two described above: places with walking areas in which people walk in circles around a kind of pile of prayers and wishes, these three also are in open air surrounded by green areas (Figure 2-3).

On November 25th 2008 I observed a "Igreja do Monte" service at *Morro da Guariroba* in Ceilândia, a sunny morning, from 8:30AM to the its conclusion on 12:30 PM, the same day the main minister was interviewed (respondent A1-1), by making field notes, taking pictures and eventually footage for image and sound catalog. Until the primary minister arrived after 10AM no other minister agreed to talk or to authorize recording, which he promptly authorized afterwards. According to respondent A1-1this ceremony happens every Tuesday morning from 9:30AM to 12:30PM since 1985, and has gathered as much one thousand people on a single day, and has no specific faith orientation and do not discriminate other religions and participants from other locations. The ceremonial activity at the other location known as "Monte do P-Sul" started before this one, still according to respondent A1-1.

Two ministers conducted the service before the principal pastor arrived (respondent A1-1). The cult is simple and has no special ornamental arrangements, the pastors preached and read the Bible, played instruments and sang, since the beginning of the ceremony assisted by microphones under a small tent, while the public participated sometimes sitting in improvised areas (Figure 2-4) around the main circle, and some or walking in circles. People arrived slowly, and many left pictures and letters on the center of the praying place, a sort of ceremonial pile of wishes and prayers. Some participants I talked to admitted being there for the first time and that it was hard to find the place. After 10AM many more individuals arrived, and by the end of the

ceremony around 20 people participated, mostly women but also children and men.

Morro da Guariroba was visited during fieldwork several days and times, on April 26th, May 2nd, and November 12th, 14th, 15th and 25th of 2008. The goal was to identify different uses since it is an accessible area close to the archaeological sites, with great views of the Park and of the three cities that notably has been used for over two decades. In 2009 this place was registered as a prehistoric lithic site named *Bela Vista*, issue further explained in Chapter 5. Besides Christian ceremonies other activities were registered at this location and on locations close by: alcohol consumption and sexual acts (registered thought trash found); drug using; and the remains of afro-Brazilian ritualistic activities referred here as *despacho* and described next.

On November 12th I registered some drug using activity, and talked with the two young men conducting it (no formal interview of visual record was done). They alleged going there for smoking marihuana often, even during "Igreja do Monte" ceremonies. They said they have chosen this spot because it is "a mystical place" ("*um lugar místico*"), but sometimes others go there to smoke other illegal substances (referred as "merla"), which bothers them. Although drug using is not considered spiritual, the described reason for using *Morro da Guariroba* is somewhat related.

The other religious activity registered inside the park mostly around *Morro da Guariroba* is associated with the African-Brazilian religions *Umbanda* and *Candomblé*, and is popularly known as *macumba*, *despacho* or *trabalho*. It is a ritualistic activity in which people leave specific sets of gifts to African-Brazilian religious entities in order to achieve something desired, and it is understood as a magic activity that can be directed to good or bad intents. These gifts varies, from flowers and perfumes, food and alcohol and even animal sacrifice and blood rituals, and they are usually done secretly

during the night in locations known as *encrusilhadas,* which are places close to isolated cross roads that can be located in highly occupied urban areas to more recluse locations. These ceremonies were introduced by the African slaves in Brazil; as their religions were prohibited in Portuguese plantations as a way of destroying their communication, the perpetuation of these practices acted as tool to keep traditions alive (Marinis 1996).

During fieldwork these ritualistic remains were registered inside the park on several occasions (in April and in November of 2008), mostly on the roads that connect *Morro da Guariroba* to the archaeological sites DF-PA-15 and *Pedra Velha*, and one was spotted at a different location in the beginning of the fieldwork on April 13th. Because many were already deteriorated and it is not possible to count the exact number of those remains registered, at least 15 different *despachos* were catalog, and some chosen to show diversity and conditions of them during fieldwork (Figure 2-5). One of the young males using marihuana I talked with when asked gave his opinion about them, one that reinforces the negative stereotype outsiders have of these cults. He said it is usual to find these remains there and when this happens he usually kicks or runs over them on purpose. If the goal of the fieldwork was to find *despachos*, certainly many others would be located. The ones registered were always spotted by chance, on locations boarding the Park in Ceilândia.

Although not located during fieldwork, there is at least one house of worship, also known as *Terreiro*, inside the Park area, which reinforces the reason for so many ritual vestiges found in Ceilândia. This place is called *Terreiro do Pai Jorge*, located close to a public school in *Condomínio Pôr do Sol*, one of the settlements recently legalized in Ceilândia (subject of discussion on Chapter 3). In 2008 during an extensive inventory IPHAN (Mader 2010b) has cataloged 26 houses of worship of this kind in use in the Federal District and neighboring cities, usually located in distant rural areas.

Like the testimony described before, these places are yet misunderstood by many. Popularly the houses of worship and their ceremonies are not well accepted socially because general public see them as related to harm-doing, prejudice that might change in time due to recent state recognition.[15]

On the opposite side of the evidences related to wrongdoing, none of the newspaper reports researched acknowledges this characteristic, and very few respondents were aware or had opinion about the religious activities ongoing inside ARIE JK. With exception of respondent A1-1 (since he is the principal minister and founding of "Igreja do Monte") none of the respondents classified as local dwellers (Group A) spontaneously commented about that. Two respondents from the subgroup of experts living in Brasília (B1) were aware of "Monte do P-Sul" when asked but had never heard of the other locations, and another one demonstrated to be completely surprised with this information.

Three archaeologists had some information about religious activities; one of them knew about the *despachos* but was unaware of the Christian ceremonies (B2-3). Respondent B2-1 had been in one "Igreja do Monte" ceremony in 2005 while he was conducting archaeological excavations, a place which he referred as "Morro da Reza", and he also provided information about religious usage of caves inside the Park in Samambaia, but he was not sure about it. Respondent B2-2 was not aware of any activity described before, but he provided information about a different one that he observed in a located very close to the site DF-PA-11. On the backyard of the household where he stayed on during his fieldwork in 1997, which was located inside the Park, where today is the recently legalized settlement called *Condomínio Pôr do Sol*, the woman living there conducted sessions of baptism and a great amount

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[15] IPHAN has officially recognized some of these places nationwide as part of the Brazilian Intangible Cultural Heritage over the last decade.

of people gathered during this activity. He could not explain further about the ritual itself, but he found it somewhat awkward.

2.3.4 Conclusions on data analysis

It became obvious that the religious usage of ARIE JK is not acknowledged by the individuals interviewed or by the media; as if these activities are somehow private in public space. None of the newspaper report analyzed accounted for this usage, and the people interviewed had little to nothing to say about religious practices inside the Park. However they seem to carry something in common with the archaeological sites, because they are the uses located closer to all three sites focus of this research (DF-PA-11, DF-PA-15 and *Pedra Velha*), and yet the ones that create the least amount of land-use disturbances among the ones described along this chapter.

The Outsiders (Subgroup B2), as expected, demonstrated no emotional connection to the Park, and also displayed a negative connotation as to what was their opinion about it. Words such as smelly, polluted, and violent were present in virtually every speech, although all of them recognized its environmental potential. As for the Insiders, their opinions varied. The experts living further from it (Subgroup B1) have mixed opinions, as some have never been there. On contrast the Residents (Group A) have more objective comments. The ones living in or in walking distance to the Park were more concerned with unwanted new neighbors attracted by all the ongoing development, but on the other hand were not completely against development. Those living in one of the neighboring cities displayed deep concern with violence and criminal actions.

One characteristic proven on many instances during the interviews is that the local dwellers did not acknowledge the sites, their location, or their

features, therefore related usage is impossible. The only type of use different than rural at one of the sites are the religious activities at *Morro da Guariroba* in Ceilândia, now registered as a lithic site under the name *Bela Vista* (situation further explained on Chapter 5). However, these current uses share space unconsciously with archaeological landscapes, which cannot be linked as related usage.

Understanding how these various actors connected to this Park was eye-opening. Its character as a large park, or assemblage of small urban parks, was missing in every respondent answering, as well as on the media reports. The rural character and the perceived character as vacant space were much more in the people's mind than this Park as part of the urban environment. In summary, in practice the local public does not understand ARIE JK as a large park, therefore is not aware of their civil rights as merely beneficiaries of this area. The institutional aspects are stronger than its urban character as a public space on the people's perceptions.
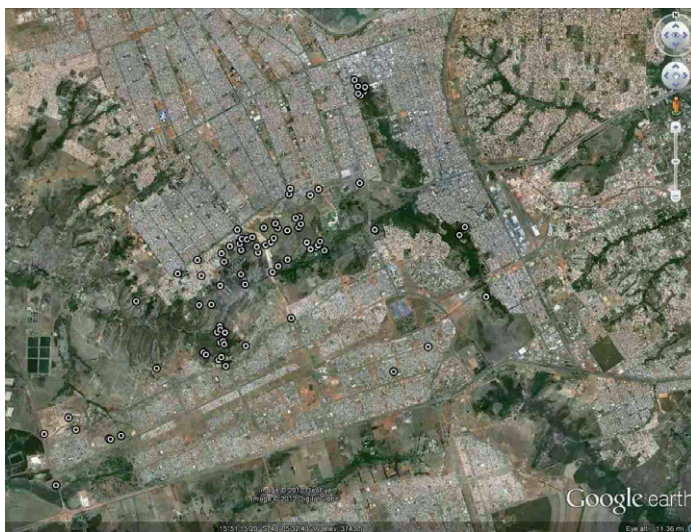
Figure 2-1. All locations registered during fieldwork in 2008

Figure 2-2. Crater created by dirt removal with debris associated

Figure 2-3. Religious site in the outskirts of the Park known as "Monte"

Figure 2-4. Religious site known as "Igreja do Monte" during service

Figure 2-5. Example of *despacho* found between the archaeological sites

CHAPTER 3
ARCHAEOLOGY AND INSTITUTIONAL VALUES

In this chapter discussions surrounding the institutional values generated by the cultural heritage are discussed, which represents the ethos and behavior of heritage organizations linked to the case study area in Brasília/Brazil. Understanding how much they influence various stakeholders' opinions about this specific heritage is the main goal. The analysis centered on people's opinions about institutional and legal aspects of the case study they found necessary to comment, contrasted with subjects that guided the media discourses about this Park. Management issues are also focused on this analysis, as the institutional settings surrounding the case study are expressively complex, involving public powers (federal, districtal and the three regional administrations), non-governmental organizations, public and private development agencies and research institutes, added by recent regularized housing that do not fall into the actual zoning acceptance.

Worldwide the 20th century represented a change in paradigm in regards to heritage conservation; all the resolutions created by UNESCO are evidence for this global change in mindset about how the past is officially valued. This shift means that it is no longer available for professionals or academics an unbiased social or political position while working with, thinking about, or deciding upon the life or death of cultural heritage. Most of these judgments are taken within an institution setting, which many times (if not all times) influences deeply the end results. A brief historical overview of cultural legislation in Brazil, since its genesis in the beginning of the 20th century until these days, focusing on archaeological heritage laws is presented following.

3.1 Cultural Management Heritage in Brazil – Overview

Until recently part of the economic periphery of the western world, and kept roughly apart of global conflicts, the Brazil of the 21st century is no longer just a continental country known for its corruption and poverty. As a growing global economy preparing to host major international sport events over the next years such as the Olympics and the Soccer World Cup, nowadays the amount of development in this country is considerable. Current federal administration continues investing on a nationwide acceleration growth program proposed by former President Lula (2002-2010), known as PAC.[1] Constructions of river dams, roads, railways, electric power lines, urban infra-structure, and all kinds of development projects are in all time high, demanding an extensive amount of law-enforced environmental mitigation strategies, which fortunately many times includes the archaeological heritage as well.

Although culture is still a minor part of its federal budget, significant changes were made in Brazilian federal regulations in regards to protecting and publicizing its cultural heritages, including intangible and tangible remains. When one thinks about Brazilian heritage preservation the first institution that comes to mind is IPHAN. Some might also think about legal problems, the impossibility to modify your own property, loose of property rights, all negative aspects that especially developers insist on associating with heritage preservation not only in Brazil, but all over the world. What should also come to mind, however, is nationalism.

As in most countries of the world, Brazilian cultural heritage has been a tool put in place to help defining local and national identities. In Brazil the cultural paradigm to reinvent national identity was officially represented by

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[1] *Programa de Aceleração do Crescimento.*

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Modern Art in a national event know as The Week of 1922, or "*Semana de Arte Moderna de 22*", when a group of intellectuals gathered to express what they thought to be the real Brazil, shown in arts and literature a new symbol of identity of this country, attempting to deny all foreign influences and celebrate what they believed to be a genuine Brazilian culture.

During the 1930s the same group of intellectuals headed by the writer and leading intellectual Mario de Andrade finally shaped the federal institution that would be responsible for enforcing and giving the headlines for cultural heritage preservation in Brazil until this day (Laraia 2006: 7). At first the intention was mainly to stop the destruction caused by lack of maintenance in colonial buildings, by recognizing them as national heritage, and also by making these buildings visible to the rest of the population. During this decade major advances were created in attempt to protect the cultural heritage. The Brazilian Constitution of 1934 contemplated for the first time historic sites in the juridical plan. Since this constitution, for instance, the indigenous peoples have right among property and natural resources of their lands (Santilli 1986). In 1936, Mario de Andrade even prepared a draft bill seeking protection to cultural assets (Funari 2005). A year later the official law of protection for the cultural remains was regulated on November 30, 1937 (Fonseca 1997), the same year of the creation of the National Agency of the Historical and Artistic Heritage, first called Secretary (SPHAN), and later changed to Institute (IPHAN) (Silva 1996; Funari 2005). This institution is currently still the major agency that deals with tangible and intangible cultural heritage inside Brazilian territory.

3.1.1 IPHAN - institutional setting and archaeological management

IPHAN is within the Ministry of Culture and until this day is the federal agency responsible for enforcing illegal traffic of cultural resources, management, monitoring, law-enforcement and permissions to every action related to tangible and intangible archaeological, historical and artistic vestiges in national territory. Although the political and economical reality has changed, after almost eighty years preservation of the architectural heritage from the Brazilian colonial period still is the major target of this agency, including investments on human resources and sponsorship.

Regarding of any historical building the legal protection process starts with official request, goes through meticulous inventory for the resource to be recognized in the final stage as a national monument (*bem tombado*), and to be included in a list called *Livro do Tombo*, a legal proceeding also known as Decree-law nº 25. The proposal to include intangible cultural heritage on the cultural heritage list exists since the IPHAN foundation in 1937. However it was only in 2000 that the Decree nº 3.551 became a reality, and the recognition and registration of immaterial patrimony has increased considerably since then (Cunha 2004).

The birth of a law only for archaeology was not a fast process. According to Silva (1996) the very first attempt to create a legal proposal to protect archaeological heritage happened in 1920, even before the creation of IPHAN, a initiative of a group of intellectuals from the Society for Brazilian Arts which intended to expropriate properties located in the same area of archaeological sites. However, this proposal was against private property rights, protected by the Constitution of 1891, therefore it was denied. In 1930 there was another attempt to create legal protection to the National historic and artistic heritage, which was once again unsuccessful. After the

institutionalization of Brazilian cultural heritage in 1937, until 1961 major efforts had to be made in order to improve material culture preservation. In 1951 a decree intending the research of shell-mound sites was produced in the state of *Paraná*, and in 1952 seven individuals formed a committee to discuss the elaboration of a federal legislation to protect archaeology in Brazil.

Almost a decade later the wreck of cultural remains was the definitive justification to create the actual law for archaeology in Brazil, a motivation similar to the one for preservation of colonial buildings. In case of archaeology the destruction of shell-mound sites known in Brazil as *Sambaqui*[2] mostly due to economic exploration of cal mineral resources, made the creation of a strong legal mechanism to stop the destruction almost inevitable. Know as the Sambaqui Law, and created in July 26th 1961, the federal Law nº 3.924 is still the major legal tool in Brazil to protect archaeological heritage (Silva 2007).[3]

After the 1960s other tools are put in place to supplement legal protection, including mechanisms suggested by the Constitution of 1988 that truly reinforced the official safeguard of archaeological sites. The 1988 Constitution declares that archeological or prehistoric monuments in the national territory and all of their elements are under the safeguard and protection of the federal public power, in agreement with what was established by the federal Law nº 3.924 from 1961. In sum the Federal Constitution of 1988 ratified the terms of the "*Lei do Sambaqui*" (Atas 1997: 203).

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[2] Sambaqui is a word from Tupi, a native language spoken by indigenous groups that inhabited the Brazilian coast before the European domination five centuries ago.

[3] Some consider that the Decree-law nº 25 from 1937 can be considered the first legal tool this country had to protect its archaeological heritage, because it protects the entire cultural heritage of Brazil, which includes the ones that have archaeological value Caldarelli, S. B. and M. d. C. M. M. d. Santos 2000. 'Arqueologia de contrato no Brasil', *Revista USP*, 44: 52-73.

These legal instruments for protection of archaeology used in Brazil are largely based on the recommendations proposed by the *Letter of Lausanne*, which first and foremost advices that the protection of the past human remains constitutes every human being's moral obligation, as well as a collective public responsibility (Souza 2006). That responsibility should be translated in the adoption of an appropriate legislation and in the warranty of enough resources to finance, in effective way, the programs of conservation of the archeological patrimony (Curry 2000: 305).

Infra-structure development itself is still in place in Brazil. Although the construction of one of the largest hydroelectric damns in the world such *Itaipu* took place over forty years ago, it took a while to be regulated in terms of cultural and environmental preservation. It was only on January 23rd, 1986, that this reality started to change in Brazil, with the creation of CONAMA Resolution nº 001, a very important legal apparatus that forever changed the very practice of archaeology in Brazil. It establishes the basic criteria and the general guidelines for the implementation of environmental impact evaluations, which foresees that for the licensing of damn projects and other sorts of large civil enterprises have to pursue an environmental impact study followed by the presentation of respective report, called EIA/RIMA, including in its 6th Article historical sites and archeological monuments. In other words, material and immaterial vestiges presenting cultural value or those that integrate the group of the cultural goods, as they are relevant to guarantee the healthy human quality of life and/or the maintenance of the life in all its forms, also characterized as environmental resources (Reisewitz 2004: 99). However, despite contemplating the defense of the archeological heritage, the CONAMA Resolution only demands environmental studies for projects with area above 100 hectares, which excludes many developments with potential to destruct sites, especially if considered for those on urban areas.

In 2002 another important legal amended was created, known as *Portaria nº 230*, which obligates all contract archaeology projects to include public education strategies in their programs (Piolli and Dias 2003). However, this instrument is considered very ambiguous because it does not specify which kind of educational activity, or who is the target, or even how many people it should benefit, among other issues. It has been strongly criticized since its very beginning.[4] On the other hand at least it opened this matter for debate, and for better or worse demands outreach activities for environmental impact developments. Before its creation the massive majority of the contract archaeology projects were not providing any kind of information to the general audience whatsoever.

Until recently the legal protection of archaeological heritage was exclusively a responsibility of the Federal government through IPHAN. About a decade ago few states and municipalities decided to include preservation of archaeological heritage in their own regulations. An important and new legal tool in Brazil is The Cities' Statue (*O Estatuto das Cidades*), a Federal Law created in 2001 that guarantees all cities have to abide by a minimum of regulations to assurance communal use, security, and environmental balance, which includes its cultural and archaeological heritage (Rodrigues 2006). Municipalities are now responsible for providing solutions to achieve social, economical, and environmental sustainability. In regard to cultural heritage, the Cities' Statue says that they should be included as special zones of social interest, and any modification should be followed by environmental impact assessments at least (Cunha 2004).

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[4] For exaustive debate I advise reading Pennin, A. 2010. 'Academia, contrato e patrimônio: visões distintas da mesma disciplina', *Museu de Arqueologia e Etnologia, Programa de Pós-graduação em Arqueologia*, 156. São Paulo: University of São Paulo/USP.

Regarding regulations on municipal levels, proposals on archaeological charts have been created countrywide, as an attempt to increase legal protection for urban areas and prevent instead of mitigate impact, although most of them have never been considered in practice by local city halls. Other more successful examples consider monitoring for urban developments in cities such as Porto Alegre/RS, Curitiba/PR, Joinville/SC and Florianópolis/SC in the south region, or Rio de Janeiro/RJ, São Paulo/SP and Santos/SP in southeast region Other (Tocchetto and Thiesen 2007).

In Brazil archaeological remains are a state good and only IPHAN has the power to decide who can study it, and where it should be curate. In addition only teams related to educational institutions in the level of college or universities may receive permission to perform archaeological research, and the institution must have the safeguard responsibility of the material culture. It is important to explain a particularity of this context. Meneses (2007: 38) explains well the traditional patriarchal whole of the Brazilian state, the Provider, or the 'State in Action', ideas directly connected to any public policy. This is one reason that justifies how the power is still so concentrated on the federal level.

By contrasting the cultural legal systems in Brazil and in the US present many similarities. Although much older since in the US the creation of this very same sort of federal legislation began in 19th century, it was only along the 20th century that some regulations became laws (King 2004). The National Historic Preservation Act (NHPA) with its important amended Section 106, that requires Federal agencies to take into account the effects of their activities on historic properties, and to afford the Advisory Council on Historic Preservation a reasonable opportunity to observe the effects that could destroy or modify the historical property. These guidelines are very similar to the ones found in IPHAN's system for inclusion on federal heritage list. The National

Environmental Policy Act (NEPA) can be compared to the CONAMA Resolution in Brazil. Regarding all the economical and timing differences, both legal processes are similar.

Among Brazil and the US the significant differences are related to private property and indigenous rights. The private properties status is very unique for the United States, in comparison to most of the western world. In Brazil any building or property can be listed as national heritage, does not matter if the owner is against it. Any archaeological site is a federal heritage, even before its formal registration, because everything underground is a state property in Brazil.

As for native communities, with few exceptions, indigenous peoples in Latin America still seek recognition of rights long ignored (García. 2003). Initiatives to address this issue have begun in Mexico, Peru, Argentina and Brazil, but there are still many problems to overcome. Chile is one exception mostly due to a cooperation agreement signed in 1996, "aimed at working out joint strategies and projects related to the heritage of indigenous people" (Cabeza 2003: 128). Recent achievements to enhance the rights indigenous populations have over their past are found in the United States federal laws. The notorious Native American Graves protection and Repatriation Act/NAGPRA (1990), together with the American Indian Religious Freedom Act (1988) and the Native American Languages Act (1990) "not only create a framework that protects indigenous rights, "but also opens the doorway for [them] to become much more active in the preservation process" (Warner and Baldwin 2004: 137). These are important achievements to Native-American's sovereignty, and despite flaws or excesses from both parties, they display an increasing recognition of indigenous rights by modern states.

3.1.2 Brazilian Archaeology – current scenario

Archaeology is a developing science all around the globe, and not differently in Brazil. It has experienced stages of development very similar to the ones acknowledged in most western countries: curiosity, amateurism, looting. Now in the 21st century Brazilian archaeologists are in all time high urgency for mitigating the great amount of infra-structure development over the last 20 years. However, to be an archaeologist in Brazil does not mean that much on paper, since this is not a legally recognized profession so far. And yet the demand for skilled field archaeologists overwhelms the current professional training structure, as well as the law enforcement system and the storage capacity of safe-guard collections and museums.

As in most of the world, archaeology in Brazil is still a very new discipline, struggling with society acknowledgment, but for this country another issue is to worry: lack of expertise. As up to today, there are less than 500 members registered at the Society for Brazilian Archaeology/SAB, and many are still reluctant to abide.[5] This society was funded in 1980, and by the time it had 48 members, who established bi-annual meetings and its Statute, and in 1981 they've also established SAB's first Regiment. Its Statute and Ethics Code have been altered during the 2007 Conference, and its Regiment is in process of renovation due to recent changes on the human resources reality (both in number and in profile of archaeologists), as well as due to rapid social and economical development experienced in this country (SAB 2010).

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[5] For the first time ever SAB required membership for presenters at the 2011 Conference. Although there were many new memberships, about 300 previous members stopped payments and they were cut off from the list, which has now 450 active members. Source: pSymanski, L. C. P. 2011. 'Personal communication about the current situation on SAB's membership '.

After the changes on environmental enforcement regulations during the 1980s, the practice of archaeology in Brazil has changed considerably, and up to now the environmental impact assessment industry is by far the most welcoming market for archaeologists. Caldarelli and Santos (2000) argue that the vast majority of Brazilian archaeologists, even the ones hired by museums and other institutions, did or have done what is called contract archaeology.

By the early 1990s SAB had "130 active associates" (Schmitz 1994: 23), but these professionals are still struggling to regulate their own practice. In April 5th, 2011 SAB's Board of Directors publically proposed professional self-regulation guidelines to define levels of practice based on curriculum, which would exclude many professionals with no proper training currently engaging in contract archaeology, as well as limit the activities newly college graduate archaeologists could perform (MPF 2011). This proposal was viciously refused especially by undergraduate students, because it would go against the legitimism of the degrees they are seeking, and the very validity of the new undergraduate programs in practice all over the country over the last decade.

On contrast, the number of individuals presenting themselves as professionals or archaeology students online grows in fast speed. Internet can be a dangerous tool to understand professional profile, but the data from a reliable social network named *Arqueologia Digital*, or Digital Archaeology, is remarkable. Created in 2008, today this network has over 3,000 members, from 16 different countries (Brazil, Argentine, Uruguay, Chile, Peru, Bolivia, Colombia, Cuba, Puerto Rico, Mexico, USA, UK, Italy, France, Spain, and Portugal), and gathers about 2,500 Brazilians (followed by 237 Portuguese associates, the second ranked country in number of members). The number of affiliates self-identified as interested in amateur activity is considerably low (2%), and those in the professional (58%) or academic (27%) categories are

the absolute majority.[6] To understand this scenario a brief history of the institutional practice of archaeology in Brazil will follow.

Several authors make a clear distinction from practice of archaeology in Brazil up to the 1950s, because before that there were individuals working with archaeology, but most of them were known to be trained in other disciplines, or else not up to date with the techniques developed at that time (Melatti 1984; Prous 1992; Barreto 1998), which one can describe as an early stage of archaeology in Brazil, nonetheless less important. The earliest records of some of archaeological activity was during the 19th century, due to interest shown by the Portuguese royal family while living in Brazil since 1808 while Napoleon Bonaparte threatened their rule in Portugal. As described by Silva (1996), the oldest official document regarding protection of archaeological remains was written by king Dom Joao V, stating that no monuments or buildings presenting Phoenicians, Greeks, or Arabic styles could be destroyed by anyone, in any condition. After this episode emperors Dom Pedro I and his son Dom Pedro II, the second a Portuguese monarch born in Brazil, who demonstrated special interested for antiquities (Barreto 2000).

Used as the Portuguese real family's residence in Rio de Janeiro from 1808 to 1889, the building that hosts the *Museu Nacional*[7] since 1892 exposes Ancient artifacts from different parts of the world collected during the 19th century, Most of these artifacts *D. Pedro I* bought from an Italian merchant during an action at *Praça XI*, downtown Rio de Janeiro, in 1826. Later his son *Dom Pedro II* and daughter-in-law *Tereza Cristina Maria* added Greek, Roman, and Egyptian pieces to this collection (MuseuNacional 2011a). To

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[6] Personal communication in September of 2011 with Diogo M. Costa, Brazilian archaeologist and creator of the social network named "Arqueologia Digital" about its membership profile.

[7]National Museum, one of the most prestigious museums and research institutions of Brazil, linked to the Federal University of Rio de Janeiro it is the oldest scientific institution of Brazil, and the biggest museum of natural history in Latin America.

this day its   Egyptian collection is the biggest in Latin America (MuseuNacional 2011b), which proves how big was the Portuguese monarch's interest at that time. In fact Andre Prous (1992: 7) affirms that *D. Pedro II*'s curiosity about anthropology was the great force on the creation of this institution. He also brought to its collection African pre-historical material originated from some of the oldest excavations in the world.

By the Republican Period (1889/1930) other institutions gained straight, especially the *Museu Paulista* (a rival of *Museu Nacional* based on the neighboring state São Paulo), and *Museu Paraense* based in northern Brazil at Belém/PA, in which Emilio Goeldi was already reorganizing the collection, to this day the most important for Brazilian Amazonian archaeology. The institutionalization of the archaeological research happened in Brazil with the creation of these three museums, all of them influenced by Evolutionism, Positivism, and Naturalism thought from the end of the 19th century (Barreto 2000). *Museu Nacional*/RJ, *Museu Paraense*/PA, and *Museu Paulista*/SP combined carried the whole of support scientific research in what is considered by Prous (1992) the beginning of Brazilian archaeology, from 1870 to 1910.

Another important historical event to understand the early stages of archaeology in Brazil was performed by Danish botanist Peter W. Lund, considered an amateur paleontologist who collected extinct fauna and human fossils between 1834 and 1844 at a region known as *Lagoa Santa*, in Minas Gerais state. At that time Lund found a human skeleton too old to be true, and his Christian background also added to his doubts, causing his silent about this discovery (Prous 1992). Over a century later, in 1974, scientists dig there "Luzia", the oldest human remain in South America to date.

During the 20th century archaeology as institutionalized systematic research endeavor started to happen in Brazil with the help of foreign scholars,

particularly French and North-Americans. The first foreign mission occurred during the 1950s, headed by French scholars. During the 1960s this country received probably the most influential of the international missions, headed by North-American scholars.

> Two foreign groups provoked the recent increase in archaeological studies: the Europeans, especially the French, that gave continuity to the studies of shell mounds, Pleistocene humans, and rock art, important themes in the past decades; and the north Americans that gave continuity to the study of Amazonas and turned to the Archaic and horticultural populations of the Planalto, of little interest in the last decades. (Schmitz 1994: 23)

On one side French scholars interested in pre-colonial sites such as Musée de l'Homme Paul Rivet, and later Joseph Emperaire and his wife Annette Laming introducing the most refined methods of decapagem and reconstruction of occupational floors and providing the first radio-carbon dating in Brazil; and on the other hand the North-American influence from Wesley R. Hurt Jr. (University of South Dakota), who among other contributions assisted with the creation of new research centers in the South (*Museu Paranaense* and *Museu de Antropologia*/UFSC), and later Betty Meggers and Clifford Evans (Columbia University) who finally introduced guidelines on site surveying, in attempt to define stylistic horizons by dating and analyzing materials from entire regions. Over time both schools' approaches presented issues. The single-site French approach for a large and archaeologically unknown country as Brazil was too narrow; and the broader regional approach introduced by the North-Americans was too ambiguous[8] (Melatti 1984; Prous 1992; Barreto 1998).

However, the most important contribution French and Americans left was definitely the training of local archaeologists. Annette Laming-Emperaire

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[8] Specific theoretical-methodological critiques are not the intent of this overview

stayed in Brazil for years promoting field schools and seminars that deeply impacted archaeologists, especially the ones from Universities of São Paulo and Minas Gerais. Evans and Meggers administrated a long-term co-operative research project from 1965 to 1971 called PRONAPA[9] and personally advised each of its 12 directors. Their methods are still in use by some local archaeologists attempting to investigate regional areas (Melatti 1984; Prous 1992; Barreto 1998). Prous (1992: 14) even affirms that almost every noted archaeologist performing research at the most prestigious research centers in Brazil since 1966 follows Laming-Emperaire's guidelines to study lithics, and Evan-Meggers' to study ceramic materials.

For the Brazilian institutional system, the legacy left by these international missions was also the growth and creation of new research centers linked to private and mostly to federal universities, such as the *Instituto Anchietano de Pesquisas*/Unisinos and *Centro de Ensino e Pesquisas Arqueológicas*/UFPR in the South, the *Instituto Goiano de Pré-História e Antropologia*/PUC-GO and the *Museu Antropológico*/UFG both in state of Goiás, Midwest region. On late 1990s there were at least 20 institutions conducting regular archaeology research across the country (Barreto 1998). Today it became virtually impossible to count the actual number of private companies dedicated to contract archaeology, but the two pioneers and still top ranked on size and business expertise based on São Paulo (*Documento Patrimônio Cultural* and *Scientia Consultoria Científica*. As for research centers and/or courses linked to universities, at least 54 can be traced: 19 in the South region (6 Federal, 3 State, and 10 private universities); 13 in the Southeast (6 Federal, 3 State, and 4 private universities); 5 in the Midwest (3

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[9] PRONAPA is an acronym for Projeto Nacional de Prospecção Arqueológica, a project which main goal was to obtain quantitative data from different archaeological complexes in Brazil in a short time (1965-71), focused on ceramic sites. It was promoted by two national and one international institutions (IPHAN, CNPq and the Smithsonian Institution).

Federal and 1 State, and 1 private universities); 13 in the Northeast (9 Federal and 4 State universities); and 4 in the North region (3 Federal and 1 State universities), according to Costa (2011).

Regarding archaeological law-enforcement, the challenges are still on. Although IPHAN hired more technicians, the number of actual archaeologists is very still low for the size of the country, even worst due to the amount of work created by major infrastructure developments that Brazil has received over the last decades. Up to the year of 2005, when IPHAN had a public selection process, there were only seven archaeologists hired by this agency. In 2008 IPHAN offered more temporary jobs for archaeologists, which improved the scenario but did not completely solve the issue (Pardi and Silva 2008).

As for professional training, it seems Brazilian archaeology can dream about a better future. During the early 1990s, one of the pioneers and still working Dr. Pedro Ignacio Schmitz, a priest responsible for carrying on major investigations and creating important research centers countrywide, believed that "Brazilian archaeology has a long way to go before it reaches maturity and homogeneity" (Schmitz 1994: 22). By this time there were only four institutions offering graduate level degrees (UFPE in the northeast, USP and UFRJ in the southeast, and PUC-RS in the south region). Almost twenty years ago, on this issue Schmitz concluded that

> the scientific community is preoccupied now with the reproduction of its social body. This is because in 1989 there were not more than two dozen doctoral students and three dozen masters degree candidates for practically two dozen institutions of investigation. (Schmitz 1994: 29-30)

It is long recognized that Brazil is in need for well trained archaeologists, and the lack of those formed in centers of excellence. Few scholars have been invited to lecture in Brazil, and else "to leave the country for a Doctorate have

been difficult and, if there are some that go to France, very few study in the United States" (Schmitz 1994: 23). By the late 1990s Barreto (1998: 582) stated that "the breakthrough of a new generation has now begun through the training of students overseas (mainly in the USA) and in the alternatives created outside mainstream academic programs in Brazil", but she also stated that local archaeologists were not too eager to move abroad for education.

On the issue of professional training a dramatic change has been in place over the last years, at least in the matter of quantity. From late 1980s until 1996 there was a single college program in Rio de Janeiro, at a private university called *Estácio de Sá*. In 2003 the first undergraduate program in a public university[10] was created at the University of São Francisco Valley/ UNIVASF, northeast region, headed by Dr. Niéde Guidon, on a new campus located next to *Parque da Serra da Capivara*/PI. One year later a private institution started another undergraduate program, the Catholic University of Goiás/PUC-GO in the Midwest region. Up to this day, at least other 6 federal universities are offering Archaeology in their college level programs, and at least three new master and one doctoral level[11] courses are offered also by public institutions, which proves that the demand for expert archaeologists in Brazil is high, and although it is still not officially recognized as a profession, the necessity for training is acknowledged.

Another major change in perspective regards foreign training. The Ministry of Science and Technology, through its agency CNPq, opened a

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[10] In Brazil the public university system, mostly sponsored by federal budget, is known to be the best institutions that finance scientific research. Besides the federal institutions, states also sponsor universities, and the best example is the University of São Paulo, top ranked in Latin America. The students are accepted through very competitive national exams known as vestibular and recently some are opting to use a similar system to the SAT's for admittance. For those institutions all the education is sponsored by the Sate, including graduate programs.

[11] The number of new archaeology programs increased exponentially over the last nine years also because of an expansion sponsored by the former federal administration. The number of college and graduate programs increased for every field.

special program to enhance number and quality of PhDs in archaeology and other two fields in need of high level trained researchers (Combustion and Design). The calls for archaeology were active from 2001 to 2004, and offered four-year full-scholarships for PhD students to study abroad, signifying institutions in the US, in the UK and in France. Another change experienced in Brazilian archaeology is the increase in number of students attending graduate courses in Europe, mostly in Portugal. Only time will show if all these efforts actually improved the quality of archaeology practiced in Brazil, and if the new alternatives for education indeed produce respectable theoretical-methodological discussions in a continental country in need of urgent mitigations for the rapid destruction of it still unknown vast and rich archaeological heritage.

3.2 Brasília's Institutions and its Archaeological Heritage

As a city planned to be the new marvel of Modern art, Brasília was born to be a cultural heritage, unlike other places. Only 26 years after its dedication Brasília was designated a World Heritage Site. It is considered by UNESCO a landmark in the history of urban planning, being the only 20th century city in the world to achieve such recognition. For Brasília, two criteria were cited for its inclusion: criterion (i) – "to represent a masterpiece of human creative genius;" and criterion (iv) – "to be an outstanding example of a type of building, architectural or technological ensemble or landscape which illustrates (a) significant stage(s) in human history" (UNESCO 2008b). It is certainly a place celebrated for Modern architecture and town planning, but somewhat forgotten about its own past.

A quick search on museums and cultural centers in Brasília reinforce this characteristic. The Brasília Convention and Visitors Bureau web site provides

for free downloading a museum guide (BCVB 2008) showcasing 58 places, 42 are named museums, but none specify displaying pre-history or archaeological collections. Out of these 42 possibly three have some archaeological artifacts on their displays, two of those located on other cities of the Federal District (Planaltina and Brazlândia), and only one in Brasília, which is exclusively for ethnic collections (*Museu dos Povos Indígenas*).

Differently from the national historical scenario described before, in central Brazil the earliest archaeological investigations only began in the early 1970s (Bertran 2000). The first long-term and systematic archaeological research at this region took place between 1971 and 1974 in the state of Goiás (Oliveira and A.Viana 2000), where the Federal District is located. Although it hosts the federal capital, the Brazilian Federal District to this day does not have a research center in archaeology, nor college or graduate level courses exclusively for archaeology. The major institutions studying archaeology today are located at neighboring states, such as Goiás and Minas Gerais. Fortunately the lacking of academic institutions, however, has not been a complete obstacle for environmental mitigation in Brasília. It is possible to find online brand new contract archaeology private companies working on developments at Brasília, such as *AL Consultoria*, and *Fronteiras Arqueologia*, to name a few.

At this moment on the Federal District there are 26 archeological sites officially registered on IPHAN database (out of 18,995 for the entire country). However, on a close investigation, at least five of those were mistakenly registered, such as two shell-mound sites and one isolated flaked stone artifact occurrence; and on five forms it was not possible to identify category. Out of the 16 remained, six are classified as pre-colonial, and 10 as historical sites, and at least one of those is a 20th century site, the location of the first official

residence for the president known as *Catetinho* (SGPA 2011).[12] Even though its small territory, this number should increase with the time, since the area is still archaeologically unknown.

According to respondent B1-8, an archaeology technician for IPHAN by the time of his interview, most collections dug up from the entire DF are safeguarded by institutions from other states, some from the neighboring state Goiás (IGPA and Museu Antropológico/UFG), and he cited an institution in the southern region of Brasil as well (Federal University of Santa Maria/RS - UFSM). Some collections are also safeguarded at the local IPHAN, including those dug up during the 1997 project this Institute sponsored, but they do not have display areas.

In 2011 two new events combined took place there (May 4-6), which is a clear proof of rapid change on the scenario described above: the first meeting of Brasília's Archaeology[13] and the first meeting of SAB's Midwest Section.[14] During these meetings a council called *Grupo Arqueologia Brasília* was presented as a new association of local archaeologists and related professionals concerned with the local archaeological heritage protection, with the development of this field locally and seeking to contribute for enhancing the knowledge on Brasília's earliest occupations and outreach initiatives (SAB 2011). This association has been under construction over the last two years, and is composed by various individuals[15] and institutions, including: the

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[12] Unfortunately, in general this database is not accurate in presenting the current situation of registered sites, due to delay in providing data both from archaeologists who should feed the system in a more regular fashion, and from IPHAN that takes a long time to make available online registration data.

[13] *Encontro de Arqueologia de Brasília.*

[14] *Reunião da Regional Centro-Oeste da Sociedade de Arqueologia Brasileira* entitled: *Panorama da Arqueologia no Centro-Oeste: linhas de pesquisa e interfaces sociais.*

[15] Gustavo Chauvet, Wilson Vieira Junior, Luiza Alonso, Marta Imperial, Andrea Considera, Luiz Rios Aquanautas, Deusdedith A. R. Junior, Luan J. P. R. Leite were presenters at the Conference.

Federal Public Archive, University of Brasília/UnB, Catholic University of Brasília/UCB, Ministry of Culture among other, and by the archaeologists Daniele Lima Luso, Adriana Finamor, Eurico T. Miller and Maria Lúcia F. Pardi.

3.3 Institutional Heritage Value for ARIE JK' Archaeology

The setting of archaeological sites in an environmentally protected area involves public and private institutions that many times are in conflict of interests, as generally expected for similar circumstances anywhere in the world. Specifically for this case study, public institutions from federal, state and municipal levels are also in conflict. Along this analysis the relationship among federal institution that provide licensing for environmental (IBAMA) and cultural heritage (IPHAN) impacted spaces, agencies that manage and also provide licensing in the state level (IBRAM), developing companies linked to state government (CAESB and DER-DF) and local city halls land use apparatus are major actors in the institutional venue that is discussed following. On top of public institutions, a private research institute from the neighboring state who currently holds safeguarding for most archaeological collections excavated in Brasília (IGPA) adds to the complex scenario discussed, criticized, and sometimes praised by the stakeholders interviewed, as well showcased on the newspaper report sample analyzed.

3.3.1 The Park's institutional settings

Given that the case study is sited among three growing cities, the dynamics of their urban spaces are undoubtedly major influences for shaping public opinions in regards to land uses, hence current heritage values. While walking in and around the Park one can easily see the legal problems

generated by a public and environmentally protected land around urbanized spaces, through various signs advising of penalties for irregular usage and ecological degradation (Figure 3-1).

By the time of the field research in 2008 discussions on updating the Master Plan for Territorial Planning of the Federal District (PDOT) and consequently the local master plans were in the spotlight, so opinions about land use rule changes were common during the interviews, especially because it was directly linked to the case study as it could legally affect zoning designations in and/or in the immediate surroundings of the Park. Other proposals were in the spotlight at that period. The most significant was the transference of the district government (GDF) from *Palácio dos Buritis* in Plano Piloto to the location where the Police Academy is located at the immediate surroundings of the Park in Taguatinga, a proposal also known as *Centro Metropolitano de Taguatinga* that might never get off the ground. Strong positioning about other projects located in and around ARIE JK emerged on collected data, such as the construction of DF-459,[16] a road that will connect Samambaia and Ceilândia crossing the Park; the new landfill location to be removed to a space out of Park's limits; and the new University of Brasília (UnB) campus. The all present housing pressure is also a major issue talked about, especially cited was *Condomínio Pôr-do-Sol* located very close to site DF-PA-11 (Figure 3-2).

As a created space to host the federal capital, the Brazilian Federal District has some peculiar characteristics in comparison the other Brazilian states. The satellite-cities themselves are unique among this country's spatial

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[16] The road under construction named DF-459 has over five kilometers of extension passing through ARIE JK and required the construction of two bridges over the Melchior River. The goal is to reduce the travel period between the two cities and also to allow public transportation users integration with the metro system.

and legal territorial organization, they are not defined as municipalities but as Administrative Regions. Its singular designation of public and private property has been implemented so the state planning agency (NOVACAP and later TERRACAP) controls all the land meaning there were no private-property owners by the time of the capital dedication and this situation is still blurry currently. According to Scott (1998: 120)

> it was created to be a city for civil servants, many aspects of life that might otherwise have been left to the private sphere were minutely organized, from domestic and residential matters to health services, education, child care, recreation, commercial outlets, and so forth.

The valley comprising rivers Taguatinga, Cortado, Gatumé and Melchior has been officially recognized as ARIE and named after the former President who invented Brasilia JK in 1996 by Law nº 1.002. Its official limits were only defined years later in 2002, with total area of 2.306,43 ha (NCA 2006). Respondent A2-1 was the one who knew about the stories behind the creation of ARIE JK.[17] She said that one of the first projects proposed by the recently created Legislative Chamber[18] was the conception of a gigantic recreational park of 800 hectares in the location where ARIE JK is, but all local dwellers should be removed. Aware of it local rural producers got together to fight this proposal by creating a Bill supported by most of the current councilmen and

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[17] "*A estória da ARIE é cabeluda! Antigamente Governador era indicado, depois criaram a Câmara Legislativa. Um dos primeiros projetos da Câmara foi de criação desse Parque, com nome de JK pelo peso do nome. Um parque monstruoso de 800 hectares, mas quem iria administrar isso? Desapropriar todo mundo, trilhas, pedalinho, a modelo do 'Parque da Cidade', olha só que devaneio!! Depois que tirassem todo mundo iam fazer a farra do Modernismo. Os chacareiros se mobilizaram e fizeram um projeto para criar a lei de proteção dessa área, numa data que eu não lembro direito. Foi aprovada por unanimidade de madrugada. Todos os deputados estavam cientes que tinham que proteger essa área, e só seriam a favor se chamasse ARIE JK, porque ARIE não pode ser parque. Esse deputados continuam comendo pelas beiradas com invasões e desapropriações, e a área continua vulnerável.*"

[18] The first Legislative Chamber of DF mandate was in 1991. This Chamber is known as *Câmara Legislativa do Distrito Federal* (CLDF), aka *Câmara Distrital*.

secretly approved during the night. The only solution they found at that moment was to legally designate it as ARIE, because then it could never be adapted and transformed to a simple park. Until this day the politicians behind this maneuver are benefiting from it, by directly or indirectly incentivizing the local irregular real estate market, according to respondent A2-1.

The competences for enforcement and licensing of this space are confusing and changing more than the usual even for Brazilian patterns, probably due to the increasing necessity for housing in Brasília, and mostly due to the high economic real estate value of this area. The Park has 96% of its area overlaying the *Área de Proteção Ambiental* (APA) *do Planalto Central*, and is located within the Taguatinga River watershed (Figure 3-3). The APA do Planalto Central comprises 40% to 60% of the entire Federal District area and was also created in 2002 in order to restrict land uses and protect ecological resources, and especially to protect great limestone's outcrops located in the west portion of its territory (NCA 2006). However, in 2009 a decree established that the competence to approve land uses licensing changed from Federal (IBAMA) to state power (IBRAM), and in 30 days a simplified licensing (*licenciamento simplificado*) can be executed independently of federal approval, including for new housing developments (Mader 2010a).

The current situation of rural dwellers inside the park is problematic. Although they live in the Park area since late 1950s, their right over the property is through temporary contract with TERRACAP, which enables them to use portions of the land to produce goods. Respondent A2-1, a local rural producer who manages a property named *Sítio Geranium*, explained that she signed a transfer of property right contract for 5 years in the mid 1980s. Later they renewed her contract for 15 years, but as of 2008 her contract was

expired. She stated that 90% of rural lands of the entire district are in the same situation, their formal contract for concession and usage is outdated and unlawful.[19] Nowadays she admits it is hard to survive off the land in a site so precious for its market value, and that it is common to see local rural dwellers illegally parceling their original plot. Her property can be considered unique among the others inside this park not only because they are productive, but also because they participate actively in local environmental preservation. *Sítio Geranium* is a regional reference of ecological agriculture and started a pioneer movement pro sustainable and organic agriculture. They also manage an environmental NGO named *Mão na Terra* that promotes environmentally oriented outreach courses and receive people from all parts of the world interested in learning their techniques.

As for the urban dwellers and urban expansion the future seems promising. Soon after its creation in late 1990s, the reformulated PDOT in 1997 already considered the Park within a proposed zone for urban enhancement (*zona urbana de dinamização*) and establishes each Administrative Region to define local zoning, even though this territorial plan reinforced the need to maintain current environmental and rural areas (NCA 2006). After that each city created areas of special usage in the immediate surroundings of the Park, such as the *Centro Regional* supposed to host the new GDF headquarters in Taguatinga, or the *Centro Metropolitano* in Ceilândia (Figure 3-2).

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[19] By 2011 complying to a promise made during the electoral campaign the current Governor Agnelo Queiroz started the regularization of rural public lands, which will benefit over 3 thousand producers. The plan is to created long-term contracts for 30 years, and give the property right owner the option to buy the land after the contract is done. Source: AgênciaBrasília 2011. 'Regularização de terras rurais - Governador Agnelo Queiroz entrega títulos de concessão de uso para produtores', Brasília: GDF.

Ceilândia, the most populated of the three cities surrounding the Park, is the one mostly criticized for promoting urban development in its outskirts (Dato 2006). One example is ADE, acronym for *Área de Desenvolvimento Econômico Centro-Oeste*, a space for urban development to host industrial activities (Figure 3-4). It is also in Ceilândia where the most controversial newly legalized housing development inside this park is located, the *Condomínio Pôr-do-Sol* (Figure 3-5). Highly criticized by local media, these spaces have been part of new phenomena called periphery of periphery ("periferia da periferia") in which 85,000 people, or almost 25% of Ceilândia population live in the even poorer and with no infra-structure margin areas (Mader 2008). Still under administration of Governor José Roberto Arruda,[20] in mid 2007 the *Condomínio Pôr-do-Sol* was officially legitimated, being it the first of his administration to be legalized. The state administration secured the right of free plots to dwellers in order to inhibit land swindlers opportunities (Fonseca and Caraballo 2007), a practice very common for the entire District. As of 2011 there were around 12 thousand people living in this quarter, and over 60% of the housing is still considered irregular because the constructions are located within the park limit (Mader 2011).

This housing problem and the popular demand for inclusion of surrounding preserved areas have pressured for a new limit definition for ARIE JK, issue probably in discussion since the original definition in 2002. Current GDF's Secretary for Urban and Environmental Development (SEDUMA) and the Environmental and Water Resources Institute (IBRAM) proposed a new demarcation in 2010 through Public Hearing (Seduma and IBRAM 2010). By considering federal environmental and cultural heritage

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[20] Due to being accused of corruption the Federal District Governor José Roberto Arruda was arrested in February of 2010, and later had his mandate revoked. He proposed the transference of GDF to Taguatinga. He was elected in 2006 in the first round and should be in the administration until the end of 2010.

laws, local master plans, recommendations from the Park's Management Plan, and the guidelines proposed by the Cities Statute, which is a Federal Law from 2001, combined with another federal law from 2009 part of the social program called "Programa Minha Casa Minha Vida" that advocates for regularization of illegal housing areas, a new delimitation for ARIE JK is in discussion. They proposed inclusion of areas with potential for environmental protection, and exclusion of areas already in use by housing, such as the housing quarters *Pôr-do-Sol*, *Primavera* and *Vida Nova*. According to both federal laws cited above these spaces are now characterized as Areas for Special Social Interest and are up to regularization in order to receive state benefits, such as sewage and paving (Figure 3-6).

By far the most influential and controversial institutional setting related to the Park's archaeological heritage was provoked by the federal prosecutor's office (MPF) embargo of the water and sewage enterprise in 2003. This event gathered Federal powers through IPHAN and MPF, and state level through development company CAESB, which together complied with an agreement supposed to mitigate for the impacts caused by the construction of this enterprise without proper impact studies (IPHAN 2004).

3.3.2 Data analysis

For the analysis of the institutional value generated by ARIE JK's archaeological heritage the data consisted of interviews content, writer newspaper reports, and other related documents. Although it is also part of the institutional phenomena that affects the value of cultural heritage, the subject Media was analyzed and presented in detail separately. It was also part of the analyzed data an observation carried out on November 11th of 2008 during a meeting of MAPE, acronym for "*Movimento Amigos dos Parques*

Ecológicos", a community-based association of citizens who care about local parks protection and management. And observations carried out in April of 2008 on different occasions inside one of the rural properties of the Park called *Sítio Geranium*, in Samambaia.

Two documents in particular have been detailed scrutinized. The Park's Management Plan (NCA 2006), which also provided significant information about this Park. The second document is the Conduct Adjustment Agreement or TAC (IPHAN 2004) signed by the state's water and sewage company, the federal heritage preservation agency and the Public Federal Prosecutor's Office (CAESB, IPHAN and MPF) due to a federal embargo that demanded mitigation for possible damaging caused by the water and sewage pipeline construction in areas already known to host archaeological sites inside the Park without previous impact studies, issue discussed further on the interview analysis.

The document published in 2006 entitled "*Zoneamento Ambiental e Plano de Manejo da Área de Relevante Interesse Ecológico Parque Juscelino Kubitschek ARIE Parque JK*", or simply referred as the Park's Management Plan has pushed for public discussions on management issues inside this Park, as stated previously. This document has been cited by individuals of subgroups linked to case study institutions and who live in Brasilia (A2 and B1) as an important tool of protection for the Park (respondents A2-2, A2-4, A2-5, A2-6, B1-4, B1-5, B1-6, B1-7).

On top of promoting means to improve ecological protection and management this document also has reinforced the necessity to promote local archaeological preservation. ARIE JK Management Plan was produced by NCA, a local engineering and architecture company and DER-DF, the Federal District department of roads, as part of the mitigation procedures demanded by IBRAM in order to permit the construction of DF-459, a road connecting the

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cities of Ceilândia and Samambaia. These studies went through 2003 to 2006 and presented a zoning with varied land uses inside the park as final product, as well as several guidelines to be followed in the near future, most of them related to land use and adequate discrimination for management responsibilities. This document also clearly acknowledged and reinforced the protection of archaeological sites, presenting site registration forms and the Law 3.924 as appendixes, and included as one of its guidelines the construction of an archaeological museum and related infra-structure for visitation (NCA 2006).

3.3.2.1 Interviews

Throughout the interview analysis on Institutions the content of the information provided by each respondent at first has been confronted between subgroups and groups, and later the content variation has been contrasted among respondents classified according to their link to any institution connected to the park or to archaeology, including governmental and non-governmental organizations. Therefore the analysis on this subject also considered comparing responses from those classified as individuals with no formal linkage to related institutions, or those that would be neutral on advocating for any institution, also refereed as "unbiased" (A1-1, A1-2, A1-3, A1-6, A2-8, B1-1, B1-2,[21] and B1-3); individual linked to a development company (B1-4); a city hall urban planner (A2-7); individuals linked to environmental preservation such as active participant in parks protection (A1-7), participants of MAPE (A1-4, A1-5, A2-3 and A2-4), active members of related NGOs (A2-1 and A2-5), park employees (A2-2 and A2-6), and

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[21] Although this respondent is currently part of the organization named *Grupo Arqueologia Brasília*, by the time of his interview he had no formal attachments to related institutions.

environmental heritage manager (B1-5); and finally individuals linked to archaeological heritage such as archaeology professionals (B1-7 and all individuals from subgroup B2), and cultural heritage managers (B1-6 and B1-8).

Among all land use conflicts there are also those entities linked to environmental preservation, such as the NGO described before and many others part of the everyday scenario of this Park. During the interviews by far the most popular subject is land use conflict, stated by all respondent but three (A1-1, A1-6, and B1-2) from the subgroups of Brasília inhabitants (A1, A2 and B1), followed by environmental degradation and management issues. Subjects related to archaeology appear in every subgroup, but comments on specific sites were more common for those living closer to the Park (Group A), while institutional matters such as laws, enforcement, licensing, research and safeguarding although appeared in every subgroup were more detailed by individuals of Group B, classified as experts in many fields. The archaeology professionals (B1-6, B1-7, B1-8 and all from subgroup B2) cleared focused more in institutional subjects than the other respondents.

Respondents classified representatives of the local community without institutional linkage (subgroup A1) presented great discourse variation when the issue is the Park and not its archaeological heritage. Only two respondents stated nothing on local institutions related to the case study, neither on laws related, and both are unaware of the park as a legally protected space as well as about the local archaeology (A1-1 and A1-6). The majority is aware of the archaeological sites and the legal implications they carry (A1-2, A1-3, A1-4, A1-5 and A1-7). The main issues vocalized by respondents spontaneously and attentively are related to land use, either pro or against them. On the other hand two respondents (A1-4 and A1-5) currently living in the immediate surroundings of the Park did not comment on the legal issue regarding their

own dwelling, but are particularly conscious of how works the environmental licensing.

For the subgroup of local inhabitants linked to related institution (A2) the main issues stated were land use and environmental preservation. With the exception of one respondent (A2-8) who did not comment on any institutional issues related to the case study, all respondents complained more or less on the lack of maintenance of the local parks, as well as on the confusing administrative system for the care of them. As for archaeology, the majority is aware of the sites but only three commented on institutional aspects, such as the prohibition (A2-2) or the difficulties for visiting the sites (A2-4), lack of information on the local archaeological heritage and lack of local universities doing archaeological research (A2-5). As for their heritage management through IPHAN, distinctive opinions emerged, as some clearly stated frustration and criticism (A2-2 and A2-5), and others actually praised IPHAN actions toward providing information on the sites (A2-4) or acting in favor of their protection (A2-1).

Among the experts some respondents were absent in providing information on institutional powers, such as B1-2, and surprisingly one of the archaeologists (B2-3). While the respondents who live in DF stated other institutional issues related to the Park, mostly linked to land use regulations and environmental preservation, the outsiders focused only on the archaeological institutional venue. Even those associated as archaeology professionals acknowledged other subjects on subgroup B1, while the subgroup B2 exclusively composed of archaeology professionals had 100% of their discourse related to institutional situations that facilitated or jeopardized their performances in the field.

Among the eight individuals classified as "unbiased" only three remained absent from the discussing any issue related to archaeology (A1-1, A1-6, and

B1-3). The remaining cited issues related, which actually enhances the institutional value of archaeology among lay public. Three respondents are aware of archaeological heritage procedures and local sites (A1-2, A1-3 and A2-8), and two criticized the lack of archaeology information on school didactic books (B1-1 and B1-3). Among the ones expected to display more or less information on institutional aspects of archaeology, responses exclusively linked to their profession or to personal interest were noted as the main influence on chosen topics, such as the respondent who is an urban planner and only mentioned land use (A2-7).

Among the ten individuals linked to environmental preservation only one displayed no concern for the archaeological sites' protection (A2-6). For those included as active ecological protector (A1-7), MAPE participants (A1-4, A1-5, A2-3 and A2-4), and active members of environmental NGOs (A2-1 and A2-5), it became clear that more or less all of them care for the local archaeological heritage preservation, but this awareness is due to other intentions, nonetheless still legitimate. MAPE participants all seemed genuinely concerned but their motivations are somewhat feed by personal agendas. And those actively fighting for the Park's protection understand that the presence of archaeological sites increase greatly its legal opportunities, being it for the simple sake of preserve the environment (A1-7), to enhance the legal protection of local watershed and river sources (A1-5) or to increase the chances of maintenance of current land uses (A2-1). Park employees focused more on explaining and on criticizing the difficulties of their work environment as the parks maintenance in general suffer with lack of care and financial support. One of them had a more personal discourse while regretting the park's environmental degradation as a whole and the difficulty to access the archaeological sites (A2-2), while the other (A2-6) had a wider understanding on the management system but did not care about the local

archaeology. The remaining 10 respondents, including the environmental manager (B1-5) and the archaeology professionals provided specific opinions on management, licensing, research and market.

Among federal and state managers there is clearly a lack of dialogue, confirmed by both parties. The environmental manager (B1-5) displayed a technical knowledge about the park, and he acknowledges even detailed legal aspects related to its archaeological sites, being in favor of their protection and actually stating the sites facilitated the acceptance and elaboration of the Management Plan. But he admitted the relationship among institutions is difficult, and implied IPHAN does nothing to facilitate this process. Among the two individuals classified as cultural heritage managers there was one of the first archaeologist hired by IPHAN with over 30 years of experience (B1-6) and one recently hired archaeology technician (B1-8). They provided different points of view to explain the same issue, which is the lack of political and institutional support for archaeological protection in the Brazilian Federal District. Respondent B1-8, however, stated more directed and bold arguments, and named institutions that do not respect legislation or the very function of IPHAN as a cultural heritage preservation agency. B1-6, on the other hand, has a much deeper understanding on the institutional system and expectedly provided a more personal judgment.

Among the seven individuals classified as archaeology professionals two respondents did not provide information on specific institutional actions for ARIE JK, one simply had no comments on this matter (B2-3) and the other focused on institutional levels related to her experience as an educator (B2-6). The archaeologist who lives in Brasília (B1-7) complained about the contract archaeology system in general, and he provided a more personal opinion on the estate market pressure on ARIE JK, regretting the current situation and the rapid human occupation of the areas in and surrounding the park. Other

respondent complained on the urgent nature of contract archaeology in general, not specifically about the Park (B2-5). On the other hand this second individual explained that not having a mitigation action behind the archaeological field research actually created other institutional problems with local authorities and with the local community, because apparently there was no justification for that field research and people became suspicious of their intent (B2-5 while explaining issues they had in 1997 when she was hired by IPHAN to evaluate site DF-PA-11 scientific potential).

On IPHAN some archaeologists actually praised their actions, such as while commenting on their current enforcement compared to enforcement in the past being virtually absent (B1-7); on their initiative to understand better the local archaeological scenario (B2-5); and on their promptness and wiliness to facilitate the researchers' job (B2-4). Two archaeologists discussed about the stronger and more present political nature on decision-making strategies by the local IPHAN agency due to their location (B2-1 and B2-2), as explanations for some situations that occurred while they conducted research at the Park. Opinions about this embargo appeared along some interviews (A2-1, B1-4, B1-6, B1-8, , B2-1, B2-4, B2-5), but the information about it is not convergent as some understand it as politically motivated (for instance respondent B1-8) and others as a legitimate public request (for instance respondent B1-6).

Respondent A2-1 was part of the group who reported the construction to the MPF, and she told details of the event, clearly motivated by other goals. She stated that at first CAESB started a good dialogue with the rural dwellers on financial compensation for the sewage pipeline impacts in their properties, but after they agreed with the company's terms this dialogue stopped. During a meeting of the Environmentalist NGOs Forum ("Fórum das Ongs Ambientalistas") local dwellers were advised that there were archaeological

sites inside the park impacted by the sewage construction that were not subjected to mitigation procedures, and that they should formally report CAESB in order to stop the sewage construction. A2-1 said "if CAESB is not complying with the agreement they should at least pay attention to the archaeological sites and build a museum", but their actual goal was to force the company to be more attentive to the local communities affected by the enterprise. The local rural dwellers association "Aprontag", together with the Environmentalist NGOs Forum wrote a simple letter ("uma cartinha simples") to IPHAN and to MPF reporting CAESB, which resulted in the TAC. Until the day of her interview CAESB has not financially compensated the dwellers, according to her.

Although TAC was not cited not by many respondents (B1-4, B1-5, B1-6, B1-8, B2-1, B2-4), all of them more of less involved with this agreement as enforcers, compliances or simply as experts on legal matters related to the Park, this document also influenced the guidelines of the Management Plan, and probably indirectly enhanced public opinion towards the creation of a local museum. The company in punishment ended up complying with all its terms due to their urgency in concluding the construction, but most the demands were not followed through. CAESB paid for proper archaeological mitigation research, including survey, excavation and monitoring. And a 11 minute DVD movie was also produced as part of the educational strategies for publicizing about the local archaeological heritage. But the construction of a local Museum or the publication of a book to be distributed locally is still pending.

The ones personally involved in compliance or with the research at this instance had personal opinion about its efficacy. Respondent B2-1 who coordinated the CAESB sponsored archaeological research stated that it jeopardized the field research normal pace, logistics and deadlines due to

bureaucratic obligations and excessive IPHAN pressuring and demands. He stated that on the other hand CAESB was very helpful and created all means possible to facilitate fieldwork, due to IPHAN enormous demands on them. For the two cultural heritage managers opinions are strongly opposite. The one who personally participated on its formulation (B1-6) explained that today in Brazil there is a general misunderstanding of the cultural laws, so the easy solution is to elaborate a TAC. But there was a heavy political dispute in place during its elaboration and it made more difficult the fact that the local IPHAN agency (15ª SR) head chief had no knowledge on archaeology, and on archaeological legislation. But respondent B1-8 stated that he thought it was neither objective nor specific enough on who should be responsible for implementing the actions. He thinks it should not require financial compensation, or use the deadlines of contract archaeology, that it should focus mostly on educational program in an academic approach. Foremost this document can be considered a positive action from IPHAN, since it contributed to a better knowledge of the local archaeology reality and obligated the company to provide sufficient means for proper survey and excavation of four sites, including those considered more significant (issue further discussed on Chapter 5). However, considering the reality of the DF with no formal archaeology institutions and absolute lack of tradition for outreach or display of pre-colonial material remains some of its demands can be considered excessive.

3.3.2.2 Newspapers

As for newspaper data analyzed only one out of the 12 *Correio Braziliense* reports did not present the key word *arqueologia* and half (5) were about or mentioned the archaeological sites at ARIE JK. Presenting a different

scenario *Jornal de Brasília* sample had three reports (out of six) located by key word *arqueologia* and all were about ARIE JK's archaeological sites. The subjects that guided both samples were mostly linked to environmental licensing, excluding some examples from *Correio Braziliense* exclusively about looting and law enforcement issues.

Out of 11 reports from Correio Braziliense that had the key word arqueologia along the text half (5) were about or mentioned the archaeological sites at ARIE JK, and all of them specifically mentioned environmental impact mitigation procedures. Four of those reports were published in 2004 and specifically explained the fieldwork done to mitigate environmental impacts caused by CAESB Project (07/22, 08/02 and 08/15), and one mentioned TAC but focused more about the sewage enterprise (09/14). In 2005 another report mentioned the sites while exposing environmental mitigation results but its major focus was on praising the benefits of this enterprise for local inhabitants (09/24). Three out of the other seven remaining reports about archaeology from Correio Braziliense cited archaeological mitigation for other local enterprises and the other on the mitigation procedures in general.

As for the Jornal de Brasília sample of three reports about archaeology two of them were about mitigation procedures due to CAESB sewage enterprise (08/15/2004), and due to construction of road DF-459 (08/17/2009). The third one mentioned a threat to local sites protection due to illegal parceling of the Park by land swindlers (01/20/2008). The other three reports were all related to local land use issues, one about law enforcement praising then district secretary responsible for parks administration COMPARQUES (02/29/2004), and two notes published in 2008 specifically condemning the actions of land swindlers inside and in the immediate surroundings of the Park (01/14 and 01/27). Correio Braziliense and Jornal de Brasília both reported on the lack of local research and safeguarding institutions, but again Correio

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Braziliense displays much stronger criticism and also mentioned this issue more often. Correio Braziliense's reports are more direct in criticizing IPHAN for lack of care and Law enforcement and in some instances even blame their licensing process as an obstacle.

For both newspapers the major institutional character of archaeology is enforcement of environmental impact regulations, since the majority of reports on the Park's archaeological sites specifically related heritage preservation to compliance of mitigation requirements (8 out of 11 reports from Correio Braziliense and all reports from Jornal de Brasília). On the other hand Correio Braziliense had nothing published about local environmental preservation or land uses legal problems, only one report about the smaller parks new official limits. This newspaper acknowledges the case study archaeological institutional matters as associated with ARIE JK, but it does not relate illegal and controversial land uses, or environmental degradation such as river pollution and water resources maintenance to the Park. While Jornal de Brasília uses the environmental significance of the Park to enhance the destructive power of illegal activities related to local land swindling, even used the Park's archaeological heritage to increase the pejorative judgment on the acts and to increase urgency on the need for enforcement. Hidden agendas of both venues have to do with their positioning and publication of such matters.[22] It is ironic that the newspaper which clearly presented a bias to GDF administration (*Correio Braziliense*) by publicizing the many benefits and outstanding technology of the new sewage system constructed crossing the park is also the one with the most criticism towards other institutional levels,

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[22] Respondent B1-1 explained the affiliations of both newspapers as an expert journalist working in Brasilia for over 20 years, when questioned on his opinion on why these venues displayed such distinctive institutional related messages. *Correio Braziliense* has strong connection to current government administration, especially true during Arruda's administration. And *Jornal de Brasília's* owner had personal interest related to the Park's estate market.

while reporting on the lack of safeguarding and research institutes, the "lost" of archaeological collection to other states and the lack of a museum.

3.3.2.3 Walking survey

As part of the fieldwork the observation of a meeting promoted by a local organization of inhabitants worried with the Park's protection called MAPE, acronym for "*Movimento Amigos dos Parques Ecológicos*" also displayed public upsetting with land use problems and some institutional issues involving archaeology. In November 11th 2008 I observed one of their weekly meetings that take place at Três Meninas Park in Samambaia. It lasted about an hour and there were about 10 people present by the end of it. The main issue is environmental preservation and the problems of all the smaller parks and ARIE JK as a whole. There were Park's urban dwellers, park employees and some individuals with some interest on the local park present. Among the subjects discussed during the meeting there were complaints on rural and urban land uses, discussions on how to continue a project for construction of a cultural facility inside Três Meninas Park called "*Tenda Cultural*" (although constructions are currently illegal inside the Park), but mostly complaints on limited usage inside this park.

During this meeting I observed the positive reaction toward a popular subject that has also been spontaneously proposed during several interviews: an archaeological museum. The data compared among the meeting observed, media reports and the public opinions gathered through interviews prove that there is a great popular demand for a museum, and mostly for the return of the collections. The lack of a local museum is also a popular subject in virtually all newspaper reports analyzed that mentioned archaeology. 11 respondents (A2-4, A2-5, B1-1, B1-2, B1-4, B1-5, B1-6, B1-8, B2-1, B2-2, B2-4) from

three of the four subgroups and with different backgrounds have advocated in favor of creation of a local museum to display and host the archaeological collections.

One of the participants of the meeting and later respondent (A2-4) is the author of a proposal shaped as her final course project (with major in Sustainable Ecology and Tourism) of an archaeological museum to be implemented in one of the facilities of Três Meninas Park in Samambaia, which should display and safeguard the collections excavated so far and boost local archaeological research. Although she guaranteed that both IBRAM and IPHAN have been very receptive to her project there were some disturbing acknowledgments throughout her interview. There is no clear solution as to maintenance and management of this museum. She sells her project as the first one of this kind in the entire Brazilian Midwest ("*o primeiro museu arqueológico do Centro-Oeste*"), which is not accurate since there are other established institutions in this region, for instance the one currently holding the collections safeguarding. And I could clearly perceive during the meeting and during her interview that some individuals actually believe the sites are located within *Parque Três Meninas* limits. No other respondent officially responsible for licensing (B1-6, B1-8), safeguarding (B2-4) or implementing (B1-4) such an institution is aware of this proposal. The public will is genuine but the institutional support is unfortunately questionable, and so far the construction or adaptation of a museum is yet to be achieved, subject discussed shortly.

3.3.3 Media and Archaeology – a not so harmless relationship

Archaeology is a subject of interest in all kinds of media. Indiana Jones, one of the most well-known Hollywood characters ever is a big example of

how this subject has the power to attract major attention to all kinds of public all over the world. Unfortunately most times this attention is far from authentic. A formally trained archaeologist digging a real site most likely would not translate into what the audiences want to discover by coming out to the theaters and paying to learn what happens next. Media, being it for the big or small screens, written or spoken, need the element of excitement and fantasy that rarely transcribes into scientific research. Hardly ever novelty is enough to catch the attention of the public through media.

3.3.3.1 Interviews

As happened to other subjects, during the interview analysis on Media the content of the information provided by each respondent at first has been confronted between subgroups and groups, and later the content variation has been contrasted among respondents classified according to their link to media or to archaeology. Therefore the analysis on this subject also considered comparing responses from those classified as the "newspapers readers" (all individuals from subgroup A1, A2-1-, A2-2, A2-3, A2-4, A2-5, A2-6, A2-7, B1-2, B1-4 and B1-5), media professionals (A1-8, B1-1 and B1-3), and archaeology professionals (B1-6, B1-7, B1-8 and all individuals from subgroup B2).

Questions about the interaction among media and ARIE JK and local archaeology have been posed as possible, but responses often reflected a misunderstanding on the subject as a whole among those classified as "readers". Some people commented only on TV (A1-7, A2-3, and A2-5), or on internet (A1-4 and A1-5), others on written media (A2-1, A2-2, A2-4, B1-4, B1-5), some were not specific on which kind of media (A2-2 and A2-6), and others had no response whatsoever to the subject (A1-1, A1-6, A2-7, B1-

2). The responses from the archaeologists and the heritage managers provided more understanding on how they perceive media attention to the subject. Surprisingly only one of the respondents classified as media professional (B1-1) provided critical opinion on issues such as mistaken information about archaeology and frequency.

Overall the information provided by the "readers" group on archaeology portrait by the local media was vague. Accounts on online information were always spontaneous. Those living closer and with no institutional attachments (subgroup A1) provided fewer details on this issue than those linked to institutions who live in one of the three surrounding cities (subgroup A2), but on both subgroups it was not possible to detect a unanimous opinion on how often this issue if presented by media. Those living in Brasília and linked to related institutions (subgroup B1) provided more critical but rather contrasting opinions on this matter, such as respondent B1-4 who believes that nowadays the press is giving more attention to archaeology and environmental preservation, versus respondent B1-5 who complained on the lack of mass media interest on environmental issues in general.

Probably due to a recent broadcasting two respondents provided information on a negative connotation archaeology had been presented on local news (A2-3 and A2-5), and another respondent could provide detailed information on another TV report denouncing poor maintenance condition of one of the smaller parks inside the area (A1-7). Interesting information provided spontaneously by two respondents gave me a better picture on how archaeological heritage has been received by local community in Ceilândia. Respondent A1-5 commented on a website that publicizes about Ceilândia's fossils ("fósseis"). And respondent A2-6 told me about *Cinecei*, a film group from Ceilândia that contacted her as a Três Meninas park employee due to

their interest in registering and even repatriating the material, but not much more information about that.

Those classified as media and archaeology professionals clearly portrayed both sides of a fight that seems to be ongoing and never ending among science and media. On one hand media professionals complaining on the lack of interest of the academia to made their results public and understandable for the general audiences. On the other hand archaeologists upset with mistaken data and lack of care by the journalists. But two accounts were not expected. One provided by the journalist (B1-1) complaining on how mass media does not care for history and scientific matter with due respect. And the other came from an archaeologist advocating for more media exposure as a way to promote public support for archaeology (B1-6). However this was a popular issue among neither archaeologists nor media professionals. Or even to the so called general public, otherwise when these individuals were questioned they would not misunderstand the inquiry, and probably would be able to provide more personal opinion on it.

The journalist (B1-1) was very straightforward to point out causes of problems among the problematic relationship of science versus media in general, and surprisingly blamed and assumed blame on the lack of care and interest of the media for this matter. The other media related professional (B1-3) works for a media company and he blamed both media and archaeologists for the lack of report on this matter. Among the three professionals linked to archaeology two gave straight answers about one newspaper that showed interest during the sewage construction (B1-8 about *Correio Braziliense*), and the other on one journalist that always seek him as an expert (B1-7). The archaeologist who is also acting as a state heritage manager had a more personal and methodological discourse on this matter, and displayed more care for this issue (B1-6).

It became clear that the media interest towards archaeological projects is not a memorable issue for researchers, given that only two respondents from subgroup B2 gave specific data on events that happened while working at ARIE JK. Maybe this is also due to their position as experts and outsiders, therefore not at all used to the local media venues or involved with local politics. However it is not a coincidence that both respondents who provided detailed information on this subject remembered it due to annoyances created by media reports during their work. One situation that was not as problematic was reported by respondent B2-2, who simply recalled great media attention to the point of being interviewed afterhours at his hotel during the excavation field work. The other statement, however, also jeopardized the archaeological research at that time because the media reported erroneous information that ended up in an institutional disagreement (B2-1). This respondent also complained on the mistaken scientific information displayed often by local media, and demonstrated some disappointment with how media displays archaeology in general.

3.3.3.2 Newspapers

For some reason most of the reports on archaeology from *Correio Braziliense* are signed by a single journalist, and incorrect information is often reported. For example in August 8th of 2004 this reporter signed a two page colored article on a Sunday paper, reporting looting, abandonment and lack of Law enforcement in which not a single archaeologist was interviewed, provided mistaken and amateur opinions about migration and human behavior, and portrayed an actual looter as contributing to archaeological preservation of cave sites in a nearby city named Formosa/GO. In August 24th 2008 this reporter published another two page article, this time after interviewing

archaeologists, but right at the beginning he stated that human occupation in Central Brazil is at least 43.000 years old, and surely none of the archaeologists interviewed for that article would make such a statement. Of course most of these mistakes are apparently harmless, but others have the potential to jeopardize the actual field research, especially because most of the newspaper reports are published or broadcasted while the team is still in the field.

The reports on both newspapers analyzed for this case study also carried a negative discourse on cultural heritage being against or in the way of development. With regret this was not the only problem identified on the data sample. Wrong information, one article advocating for amateur research, and incorrectly reporting of institutional responsibilities unfortunately also play a dangerous role. This is not a speech against media, nor does it intend to ignore the academic need to find better channels of communication. It is supposed to be a two way street, and even having experience firsthand a bad situation with a reporter in the past, the goal here is to seek balance.

3.3.4 Conclusions on data analysis

It is unfortunate that for many stakeholders this process generates twofold criticisms with such negative implications in the public realm. Heritage and environmental conservationists versus advocates for urban and regional development are constant targets for manipulation, sometimes in defense of preservation but mostly to blame for unsuccessful projects. Media statements such as "archaeology jeopardizes road construction" or "development causes damage to protected areas"[23] are sadly usual in newspapers and have enormous potential to distress both parties. One editorial

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[23] Actual headlines from newspapers analyzed.

report from the state of New York even ascribed "the high sensitivity for historic archaeological sites" as foundation for "suburban sprawl and the lack of downtown development" (Kuhn 2002: 205). Press coverage and public opinion can influence mitigation strategies and policy decision-making.

One instance that directly influenced me on this research was an incident caused by one incorrect account displayed by the media, and the power of this institution to harm or to boost archaeological research. This story was spontaneously told by respondent B2-1 during his interview, as a sour situation he had to face as project manager. A *Correio Braziliense* reporting published on August 2nd 2004 during the fieldwork sponsored by CAESB due to the MPF/IPHAN embargo showed various methods used during the excavations. One of them, displayed in the center of the page also in a drawing, was reported as performed by the archaeologists, and therefore by IGPA/PUC-GO, the same institution hired for the mitigation project. However, it was the Geology Department from University of Brasília the one conducting the GPR survey, hired as consultants. This reporting had a major exposure locally, and due to this mistake an irreparable upsetting caused the geologists not finish the survey. The Geology department chair personally complained about this situation, and refused to get paid for the job they've already done.

IPHAN received a lot of criticism, which is understandable given that it carries a large responsibility with short resources. The engineer (B1-4) stated that it should be their obligation to advise developers on the presence of archaeological heritage in construction sites, and that at least a sign or a fence should be in place to help that communication. The journalist (B1-1) feels that IPHAN is absent from important decisions and is more concerned with minor issues related to architectural conservation. One of the archaeologists also criticized IPHAN for not providing the necessary human and financial

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resources to care properly for the archaeological heritage. The institutional involvement is very short-lived, and the media has the power to influence public opinion but because of the low profile character of the sites it has not created such distress in the long-term.

However, what seems to be the real problem in this discussion is the very absence of a single research institute in the Brazilian Federal District. By listening to all parties the most relevant explanation takes that into account. Respondent B1-6 explained that the biggest obstacle as a heritage manager is the absolute lack of public acknowledgement by local institutions, which reflects on public opinion and on public support. She said that after decades working for IPHAN it was only after she was transferred to Brasília that she really understood this agency. And she regretfully stated that there is no space or visibility for archaeology inside this institution, even compared to the recently recognized intangible heritage.[24]

As for the institutional value generated by the archaeological heritage of ARIE JK, the extensive amount of data collected specifically about this subject is the undeniable proof that at least for a setting of non-descendant public it does carry a lot of importance and definitely shape public opinion about this issue, even if the opinion is negative. The data collected on interviews, newspapers and documents although scattered and overwhelming in other subjects directly and indirectly referred and employed the cultural heritage as boost for environmental preservation, and to help on legal recognition and land use definitions.

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[24] "*O brasileiro é festeiro, não se identifica com passado humilde e indígena.*"

Figure 3-1. Sign advising for penalties for environmental damages to ARIE
JK and APA do Planalto Central around the Park.
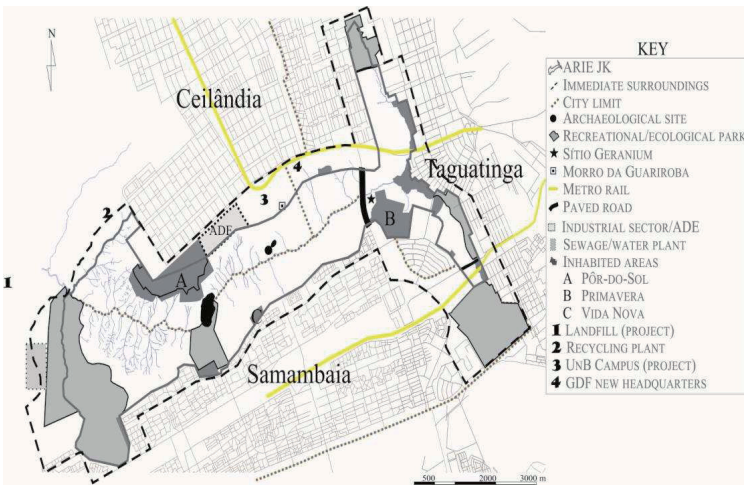
Figure 3-2. ARIE JK's legal, recently legalized and illegal land use
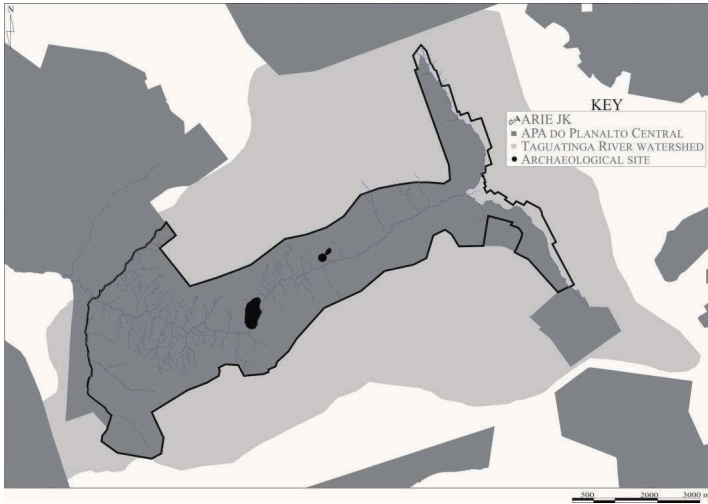
Figure 3-3. Taguatinga River watershed and *APA do Planalto Central*

Figure 3-4. General view of industrial sector ADE

Figure 3-5. Lack of urban infra-structure, *Condomínio Pôr-do-Sol*
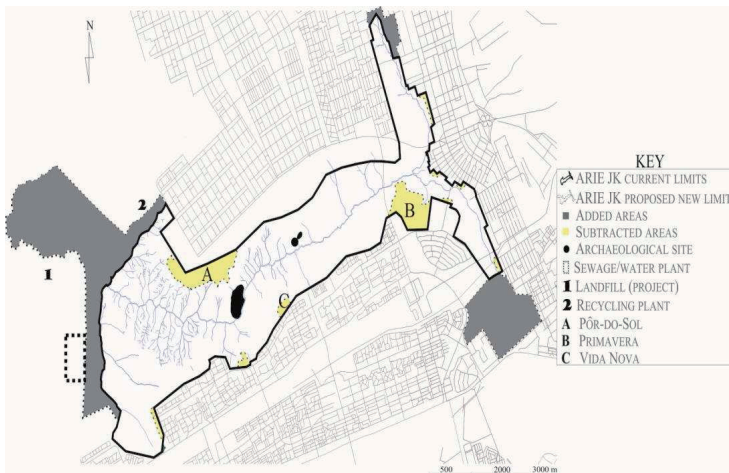
Figure 3-6. Change of limits proposal for ARIE JK

CHAPTER 4
ARCHAEOLOGICAL TOURISM IN BRAZIL: AN IDEOLOGICAL
ENTERPRISE

Instrumental values are also anticipated as influencing on decision-makings about archaeological heritage in Brasília, and tourism is proposed as a source for economical and social enhancements. The goal on this chapter is to investigate if the possibility to implement cultural tourism at ARIE JK's is motivating the public's opinion to urge for local archaeological preservation. In order to achieve that a comparison among people's outlook and aspirations with the media reports about this matter was contrasted with the Park's actual tourism and leisure potentials, presented in details later in this chapter.

Archaeology as a common view is an adventurous and mysterious activity, as exciting as a science fiction movie. General audiences usually picture archaeologists exploring dinosaurs, or looking for startling hidden civilizations and their incredible (and lost) treasures, including the bad guys and the thankful natives that are present in blockbuster Hollywood stories. However, although there is this spread idea of excitement, archaeology is nothing but a field of social sciences and its practice can be boring, slow and full of not so interesting discoveries. On a very opposite approach, Tourism is business-oriented sector, as an activity that requires extensive planning and marketing. After all, can the goals of tourism and archaeology really merge?

As a source for financial boost, Tourism is unquestionably a major Instrumental Value. According to Slick (2002: 219) "tourism is economic development" and its industry in this millennium should become the number one in the world. Developing archaeological tourism has been very popular for famous monumental sites worldwide, which recently has become a major topic concerning long-term preservation of cultural remains. Today it is common to find articles indicating tourism as a solution or as a problem

regarding archaeological heritage management in specialized literature, sometimes meaning an answer for sustainable development, at times indicating the damage overcrowding and uneducated tourists cause.

In Brazil tourism has been a popular theme for archaeologists over the last decade. A quick research online using the words '*arqueologia*' (archaeology) and '*turismo*' (tourism) reveals several venues, such as books edited by renowned scholars specially dedicated to this matter like "Turismo e Patrimônio Cultural" (Funari and Pinsky 2001) and "Turismo e Arqueologia" (Scatamacchia 2005), as well as numerous online articles (Alfonso 2009; Machado, Lopes and Gheno 2009), academic thesis (Onuma 2007; Miranda 2010) just to name a few, not considering several web pages, which certainly shows how this question has caught the attention among scholars and general audiences in this country. This find is especially remarkable for a country know to have few monumental archaeological sites to appeal to tourists attention for visitation, and which has yet to include pre-history or archaeology on school programs.

Despite all the attention given to this matter, Archaeology and Tourism in Brazil is a partnership still to come. Although many recognize the strong necessity to bring both together, in general the archaeological community is yet not integrated into the tourism industry with a coordinated approach: "archaeologists can, and should, play an important role in this process, which should involve looking at the resource from a local, regional, national, and perhaps even an international cultural perspective" (Pinter 2005: 9). In fact tourists have long being invisible for anthropologists in general, even though the obvious and perpetually current contact between host communities and visitors, which causes a different sort of social interaction definitely worth to be investigated (Nuñes 1989).

4.1 Tourism at Heritage Sites – the Challenge of Sustainability

Ethically speaking, to explore any sort of archaeological heritage as an explicit cost-effective good can only be placed in a growing segment in the tourism industry known as Cultural Tourism, characterized by cultural assets as the foundation for attracting or motivation individuals to visit a destination. This segment includes a variety of assets, from performing arts to traditional festivals, to sites and monuments, special character of places that include both tangible and intangible cultural heritage attractions (McKercher and Cross 2002).

Some authors define heritage and cultural tourism as synonyms, both "as showcasing what is unique and special about a place in a way is agreeable to its residents" (Caldwell 1996: 126), characterization excessively broad and vague. Others understand heritage tourism as a branch of cultural tourism "concerned largely with the interpretation and representation of the past" (Smith 2003: 37). Some complain it is unfortunate that the tourism industry defines cultural tourism "by the dominant perspective of culture in the high-arts sense (…) often reduced to a form in which the focus is upon an experience of museums, theatre, architecture and the like" (Robinson 1999: 4). Nevertheless, "it is generally assumed that culture and tourism are interdependent" (Aas, Ladkin and Fletcher 2005: 32).

Defining Heritage Tourism seems at first straightforward, as a kind of tourism activity in spaces categorized as heritage sites. As many definitions, it has numerous variations. Swarbrooke (1994: 222) defines it as "tourism which is based on heritage where heritage is the core product that is offered and heritage is the main motivation factor for the consumer." Poria, Butler and Airey (2003: 248) define heritage tourism as a category of tourism "in which

the main motivation for visiting a site is based on the characteristics of the place according to the tourists' perception of their own heritage."

Another segment of tourism that can be linked to archaeology, Ecotourism is concerned with the balance between nature and living communities, considered to have low impact and to be directly associated with sustainable development (Gutierrez et al. 2005). Discussion about heritage tourism concept can vary, but the principles associated with it are very much the same as those advocated by sustainability tourism and ecotourism, and some might see the last as an umbrella concept that includes the cultural heritage product as well.

Identifying types of heritage tourists is also a controversial task. Smith (2003: 35) classifies as heritage tourists individuals educated and intellectually motivated, generally opened "to experience new and different places, and part of the pleasure of their experience will be derived from the process of travelling itself". For Cogswell (1996), heritage tourists are concerned with an authentic high quality cultural experience, willing to travel great distances for that. Robinson (1999: 4) states that heritage tourists are mostly characterized as "independent travelers rather than mass tourists."

Mckercher and du Cros (2002) agree that demographic and behavioral information gathered to assess the types of visitors in a cultural destination can be unreliable, mostly because many did not consider the main purpose for that visit. Yet, they identified five types of cultural tourists, as follows: 1. purposeful, showing the highest importance of cultural tourism in the decision to visit a destination; 2. serendipitous; 3. sightseeing, also giving high importance to cultural sites for deciding trip location ; 4. casual; 5. incidental. Types 1 and 2 seek deepest experience, and type 5 gives low importance for the heritage site, seeking the shallowest experience.

Poria, Butler and Airey (2003) believe that visitors at heritage can be categorized by a variety of stimulus, from those individuals visiting a setting just because, to those looking for amusement, to those who wish to learn. Perceptions and behaviors are not always related to authenticity and reality, therefore acknowledging the subjective nature that bond tourists and the heritage site is actually the core of heritage tourism. This approach differs from what is usually found in the literature because for them "heritage tourism stems from the relationship between the supply and the demand. It is not so much the attributes themselves, but the perceptions of them which is critical." (Poria, Butler and Airey 2003: 249).

The ability tourism has to bring together diverse ethnic groups that are not accustomed to each other's culture, and moreover who are not aware of the situation they are producing, demonstrates the great potential for cultural conflicts in heritage attractions (Boniface and Fowler 1993; Boniface 1999). Finding ways to mitigate this conflict is challenging, which could be achieved by development of Community-based tourism. To integrate local communities as stakeholders of their cultural heritage might the best, if not the only solution to the various issues involving heritage management and tourism.

Community-based tourism can be achieved supported by a variety of methodological frameworks. For instance, Stakeholder Theory has been used to understand collaboration in local tourism policy making, and to assist integrated planning or management of diverse groups (Easterling 2005). Stakeholder Collaboration is a framework that combines heritage management and stakeholder involvement during the tourism development process, considered a cost effective solution because of its potential to minimize social conflicts in the long term. This initiative is being introduced mostly to developing countries, using the economic benefits of tourism as a local resource, combining social and economic forces in search for more balanced

and sustainable long-lasting solutions, "in line with the objectives of Agenda 21" (Aas, Ladkin and Fletcher 2005: 29).

According to Jamal and Getz (1995: 187), another effective strategy to minimize conflicts is presented by Collaboration Theory, described as "a dynamic, process-based mechanism for resolving planning issues and coordinating tourism development at the local level". Collaboration is one of those concepts that can easily fit into the political-correctness discourse, many times more a philosophical ideal than a practical tool. These authors understand it "as a process of joint decision-making among autonomous, key stakeholders" (Jamal and Getz 1995: 188), and despite its hard to reach goals, it is considered a good strategy for tourism practice. Aas et al. (2005) view collaboration as an equitable approach, not only because it incorporates insights and expectations of various stakeholders, but also because it uses local knowledge to propose solution that are well-informed, more appropriate, giving the opportunity to express concerns and add information to those most affected by the tourism activity. Fragmented nature of tourism needs cooperation and collaboration efforts combined during the planning process, if it is to achieve the goal of sustainable community-based tourism (Aas, Ladkin and Fletcher 2005).

As for setbacks, collaboration theory is not a guarantee that by involving all of the interested parties' power imbalances will be resolved (Aas, Ladkin and Fletcher 2005). Stakeholder collaboration can play a decisive role regarding the development of the interdependence between cultural heritage and tourism, but in practice successfully achieving this goal may be as difficult as it gets. Reid, Mair and George (2004) state that due to a lack of emotional commitment and leadership skills, many times tourism plans do not achieve long-term success. Tosun (2006: 493) also points out that community involvement might be used for perverse ends, "from manipulative

participation to citizen power". Some other issues pointed by the literature are: the additional cost to tourism planning, incorrect identification of stakeholders, lack of capacity of actors to participate, unrealistic expectations, tourism development organized by elites that has economic power and excluding average citizens, apathy, and the destructive nature of tourism (Araújo and Bramwell 1999; Reid, Mair and George 2004; Aas, Ladkin and Fletcher 2005).

If there is not an actual dialogue between stakeholders and planners this strategy is just a one-way consultation process, in which opinions are collected instead of involving the public in the planning process (Araújo and Bramwell 1999). In addition, to incorporate various interests in the planning process is always a challenge, especially because stakeholders' attitudes usually have a great variation (Aas, Ladkin and Fletcher 2005).

For the case study developed here, to understand the non-descendant public values is crucial for future success, since they are also part of the community and will be influenced by the tourism activity. Their legitimacy is unquestionable, and if they feel excluded from the decision-making process the potential for failure is imminent. Some authors agree that more research needs to be done to discover better models to meaningfully involving the larger community in tourism planning (Selin 1999; Reid, Mair and George 2004; Tosun 2006).

In Brazil, a pioneer project was investigated in the state of Alagoas. Although there is a current trend encouraging public participation in shaping public policies, community participation was described as problematic in this country Government and policy-making are still very centralized, and the military dictatorship legacy is still strong. Not surprisingly, this study showed that most of the stakeholders frequently attending planning meetings were representatives of the public sector. Other constraints observed by them were:

individuals largely concerned with economic benefits instead of long-term impacts; stakeholders purposefully ignoring meeting despite being invited, and the difficulty in assessing quality of stakeholders' involved (Araújo and Bramwell 1999).

4.2 Archaeotourism - a Viable Idea?

Nowadays it has been more and more difficult to ignore the archaeologists' responsibilities to the public, which are closely related to ethics and values, to economy, politics and ideology. Archeological tourism plays a major role in this debate. Despite its negative and even destructive natures, consciously planned heritage tourism can provide not only financial support cultural preservation, but also help improving public awareness.

Visitors are largely motivated by interests in archaeology and cultural heritage. In fact, "tourists turned their attentions to archaeology long before archaeologists sought to codify tourist's actions into theory" Lovata (2011: 195). The leisure value of archaeological monuments is long known, even the ones that are less publicized are still "highly prized by visitors as attractions in their own right, as points of interest of walkers, hikers or pony trekkers, subjects for photographers and artists, and as themes for recreational enterprises" (Darvill 1995: 45). Little and McManamon (2005: 12) present impressive numbers to support findings that the public is interested in archaeology: in comparison to the 2003 annual visitation at the Washington Monument (529,985), at least 100,000 more people traveled that year to visit Montezuma Castle National Park, in the Verde Valley of Arizona.

Archaeological Tourism is one of the segments of Cultural Tourism, defined by McKercer and du Cross (2002: 6) as an "umbrella term for a wide range of related activities, including historical tourism, ethnic tourism, arts

tourism, museum tourism, and others. They all share common sets of resources, management issues, and desired aspirational outcomes." Some authors use the expression Archaeotourism to describe this interaction, what simply coins a segment of heritage tourism when the central attractions are archaeological remains (Manzato 2005; Bawaya 2006). Archaeological Tourism is considered a hopeful tactic as well as perhaps dangerous activity at the same time. Tourism might play a role that cultural heritage managers need in order to make the past available and attractive for general audiences. It also may create means for sustainable approach regarding archaeological heritage management. However, tourism means marketing as well, and one of the biggest problems concerning heritage is to make it a commodity, to give economical value to it.

In regards to the tourism in anthropological research, Barreto (2003: 20) states that even though the number of scholars and publications has increased, it is still a marginal topic of research, mainly focused on ethnic impacts, acculturation processes and the issues with authenticity. In archaeology shift has happened recently. Archaeologists are willing to understand tourism sites as a new area of investigation (O'Donovan and Carroll 2011). New historical archaeology studies are now focusing on tourism professionals, making them the new excluded voice in the archaeological record (Camp 2011; Graff 2011), worried and willing to understand related behavior and consumption through studying traditional tourism sites, an area of investigation framed as the Archaeology of Tourism (Corbin and Russell 2010; O'Donovan 2011; Wurst 2011).

As far as archaeological tourism, today it is the norm to find references indicating tourism as a solution or as a problem regarding archaeological management in specialized journals and books, sometimes meaning salvation for sustainable development, now and then indicating the damage

overcrowding and uneducated tourists have caused after years of unregulated visitations. However several professionals are still afraid of this strategy because of the nature of the archaeology itself: it is a non-renewable cultural resource and fragile cultural resource, which usually cannot support unprepared crowds. In addition, the oversimplification of the archaeological explanations are a norm in media accounts, which many times translate to what visitors get as information, and many scholars find difficult to improve this prejudiced knowledge to the general public, especially to audiences not ethnically related to the heritage.

On the other hand, future projections seem promising due to the increasing number of new publications, discussions and research concerning this relationship. The Society of American Archaeology, in its magazine *The SAA Archaeological Record*, dedicated an entire issue to discuss Heritage Tourism in May 2005. The International Congress in Archaeological Tourism has held four meetings by 2009, a conference organized in partnership with Icomos and UNITWIN/UNESCO,[1] among other institutions. There is a significant growth in related publications, an overwhelming amount of research points out a great deal of effort and concern on this matter among both archaeologists and tourism professionals. Manzato even advocates that the archaeotourism currently is the segment presenting the biggest growth in the tourism travel industry (2005; Manzato 2006; Manzato 2007).

Like every strategy, using tourism as a tool to enhance preservation of any archaeological site possibly will cause it benefits or impacts, and many times good and bad results at the same time. Perhaps the successful and the problematic attempts have something in common. The sites that receive higher levels of visitation, which seems to be the biggest problem for archaeological

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[1] University Twinning and Networking Programme.

preservation, are the ones we know as monumental, with massive or remarkable structures.

UNESCO's World Heritage List contains some of the most notorious "archaeological sites in the world, such as the Pyramids of Giza, Stonehenge and Avebury, the Parthenon, and the Great Wall of China", sites known to attract visitors from all over the world (Pomeroy 2005: 301). It is almost inevitable that WHS become prestigious tourism destinations. Visitor management issues are particularly difficult because of the quality expected by visitors at WHS, in addition to "an increasingly high media profile" that influences augmentation of visitors numbers (Shackley 2006: 85).

A major criticism to the idea of world heritage is due to the value-added by the designation, many times used by national states on behalf of their need for prestige, "selecting some of their preferred heritage (…) and asking for a World Heritage certificate" much more in a chase to attract more tourists than the desire to guarantee conservation (Howard 2003: 179). Operational management issues are also problematic. UNESCO provides international standards but lacks enforcement power, transferring to local government the responsibility for maintaining a site's integrity. Stakeholders and community participation has always been very problematic in heritage sites (Millar 2006), almost impossible mission in a WHS.

Melanie Pomeroy (2005: 301) has done research in two of the most celebrated monumental sites in the world: Avebury and Stonehenge in England. According to her together they attract just over a million visitors annually. In her study she concludes that "visitor management has become a major issue at the majority of the archaeological sites, whose fragile remains are under threat from increasing number of visitors". Accordingly one of the main solutions to mitigate the negative impacts of tourists in sites is to control the visitation. For some sites this strategy is absolutely impossible to achieve,

but for those which visitation is yet a plan, it is an important aspect to be considered in the planning.

But what about the non-monumental sites, with buried material culture? The majority of the sites are literally underground, they are considered non-monumental sites. They constitute the vast majority of the archaeological heritage on the planet, and although they seem not to have tourism potential, they for sure have a considerable informational value and they are also remains of mankind on Earth. Even these sites can be planned for tourism end, but they usually are not the local main attraction, and receive a controlled amount of visitation. It is necessary to be a professional to understand its remains, and visitation may be frustrating when the visitors cannot see anything but the cultural landscape, which needs a specialized guide to explain how it was transformed by men and women in the past. Of course this problem has a relatively easy solution, which is display the archaeological material in museums. Easy to think, complicated to apply, especially in developing countries. Create and maintain a museum is expensive, and demands also a long-term project. In addition the display may not attract as many visitors.

Another issue regarding managing an archaeological site for visitation is its access. Many sites are located in isolated locations and have bad or no roads to connect them to cities. One example is a site called *Caracol*, in Belize. It is the biggest site of this country, one of the most significant Maya settlements in Central America. Despite all its historical and scientific significance it will hardly become a major tourism attraction because of its remoteness and the condition of the road to arrive there (Bawaya 2006: 163). A large infra-structure investment is necessary, which possibly could boost its visitation. In the other hand the archaeologists responsible for its conservation are afraid that it perhaps grows to be too successful and its delicate structures

may collapse due to massive visitation. Even today, according to Bawaya (2006), despite the few tourists *Caracol* gets, they have already cause damage to the structures and trespassed restricted areas.

Authenticity, commoditization and manipulation of the past are common and unfortunately much deeper issues linked to tourism in archaeology. Manipulating and creating "authentic" past(s) is very popular when a site or a collection is displayed for general audiences. Johnson (2011: 301) advocates that touristic locations often "are the locus of interests, and are controlled by bodies, that are not always publicly accountable or open to a democratic evaluation and participation."

Sadly, traditional communities are the most prejudiced. One example of how this relationship can harm descendant groups is how Mexican archaeology has been misused, where indigenous peoples are constantly excluded from the use of their past. In Mexico foreign tourism at archaeological sites are a growing business, and "the economic benefits of this $6.4 billion dollar per year industry are small for local Maya communities" (Ardren 2004: 104). Yet, archaeological monuments are used as symbol of Mexican identity "by appropriating the cultural symbols of indigenous groups that have often had contentious or conflictive relationships with the state."

Another mode of manipulation is choosing to recreate specific periods of the past by reinventions and reconstructions of remnants and events, which can assume twofold circumstances for anthropologist and archaeologists alike. Reconstruction is debatable as a fake reality, given that they represent "elements that had previously been there but have since ceased to exist. Ruination may be an acceptable characteristic of the authentic archaeological site; however, historic sites are usually more valued for tourist purposes if there are identifiable structures that are fine, furnished, and even populated with re-enactors." (Pope, Sievert and Sievert 2011: 209).

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However, invention should not always be treated as an evil destructive issue for heritage preservation, but more as a result of public needs. According to Lovata (2011: 195) "tourists have had such strong affections for past cultures that people have repeatedly recreated, reconstructed and even faked archaeology sites and archaeological finds in order to peak tourist's desires and sate tourist's demands". Even if an archaeology site entirely built for tourism offer, as the case of the cliff dwellings at Manitou Springs, Colorado, it can be beneficial for tourist and professionals alike, because they offer a hands-on experience for visitors, which most times is not the case on authentic places. This place is "product of nineteenth- and twentieth-century processes that promoted an ideal of prehistoric culture, encouraged heritage tourism as economic development, and connected Southwestern archaeology to a specifically American sense of identity. Their continuing prominence is predicated on offering visitors an interactive and unambiguous experience with the past" (Lovata 2011: 145).

As for other positive outcomes, a well-planned archaeological tourism might represent much more advantages than negative impacts for a site, if sustainable development and collaboration strategies are considered from the get-go. McKercher and du Cross (2002: 12) say that "although both tourism and cultural stakeholders may have some divergent goals, they also share much in common. Both can benefit from building on this common ground". Archaeology and Heritage Tourism are activities that not only match, but also complementary, consequently future guess is that they should become more and more related to each other.

Today any anthropological ethic code however advocates that everyone has the right to access the past, it does not matter the expectation of the public, even when one seek for the fantastic or alternative discoveries. It is an important task to educate the public about their heritage, and for sure making

the archaeological remains reachable by visitation is a way of achieving this purpose. Pinter (2005: 10) argues that "interpretation and education are fundamental components of heritage tourism programs and require appropriate planning and management". In addition to inform the visitors about that specific heritage, it also provides a foundation to enhance protection and preservation of the site, which are the two main goals of any archaeological management project.

Using a more positive approach to this matter, Pope, Sievert and Sievert (2011) understand the partnership of archaeology and tourism has the potential to inspire multi-vocal interpretations, albeit authenticity issues. In 2004 they conducted archaeological project at the Spring Mill Sate Park, at Mitchell, Indiana. The archaeological research proved that the site is earlier and has a much richer story than the one presented to the public since the 1930s, marketed as the Spring Mill Pioneer Village. By displaying new information about diverse occupations, they believe that "archaeology at the park will contribute a broader and inclusive interpretation that engages a wider public and professional community in dialogues about heritage, preservation, and public memory" (Pope, Sievert and Sievert 2011: 219).

Currently we cannot escape from the commoditization concept relating to heritage, especially for tourism heritage is a product to be consumed. Smith (2003: 11) argues that "culture has become a commodity to be packed and sold just like any other". Bower (1995) presents a very actual discussion about this issue, showing that heritage as a commodity does represent a lost in its cultural value, but it actually means thinking of it as a product which needs to be presentable to the consumer, more likely to be related as museum or site visitor. Making archaeology salable means finding what is appealing for the consumer, and besides the general concern it does not necessarily means harm. Hollowell (2006: 145) says that it is more and more necessary "to

balance and integrate longstanding and vital economic interests with emerging cultural heritage interests", what might succeed when economic alternatives are created in local decision-making for archaeological site protection.

Successful cases of the interaction between archaeological management and heritage tourism can be found regarding non-monumental sites, proving that previous planning and dialogue between stakeholders may indeed be the solution for this feared partnership. Tourism has been a tool to increase ethnic pride and communities' economic development in some Native American groups, such as the White Mountain Apache Tribe from eastern Arizona (Welch, Hoering and Raymond Endfield 2005); has helped to discovered and reconstruct the lost Native American past at Sunwatch Indian Village at Dayton, Ohio (Kennedy and Sawyer 2005). Fortunately there are several cases of the valuable interaction of tourism in archaeological sites.

One excellent example of how using heritage tourism can improve the people's knowledge and moreover critical thinking of the past we find in the US, at the colonial city of Annapolis, Maryland. With the creation of a public interpretative program named 'Archaeology in Public', a city wide research project sponsored by different stakeholders one could visit several sites inside this city and not only to understand the archaeological process, but also to have the information tools to make a critical link between the present and the past. Initiatives such as this project proves that nowadays there is no reason "why a contract archaeologist cannot think about who would be likely to visit the site, how visitors would get there, what they would already know, and what they would want to learn" (Potter 1994: 175-76). Being a small historic town, tourism in Annapolis is a big deal: "each year over 1,000,000 people visit Annapolis, a city of only about 32,000" inhabitants (Potter 1994: 188-89). So protecting the heritage is a real business in this town. However, like in many places, the relationship between locals and outsiders is delicate, and the

heritage tourism is managed there in order to attract the 'quality tourist', who spends money and does not disturb the city before leaving.

Tourism might play a role that archaeologists need in order to make the past available and attractive for general audiences. For that matter tourism seems to be a brilliant strategy, since it offers the possibility to do so for lots of people, with different educational backgrounds, gender, age, and ethnicities. To use the right strategies means attempting to integrate cultural activities closely related to economic and cultural processes for the local population, and most importantly, to encourage peoples to recognize their own rights.

4.3 Heritage Tourism in Brazil

There is no doubt that Brazil has a huge ambition for tourism. It will host two major sport events in the next years, the World Cup in 2014 and the Olympics in Rio de Janeiro, in 2016. In the land of optimism and big hopes for the future, nothing will stop this country. Not even its own issues with violence and poverty. And it is no secret the lack of infrastructure still in place to receive such an overwhelming amount of foreign visitors. In the eyes of the world it is still advertised as the land of the future, as the enterprise of its capital construction from scratch over 50 years ago.

Brazil is a prosperous destination for all kinds of tourism. Today, it portrays a large market for international tourism in shorelines and natural destinations. Carnival in Rio de Janeiro is definitely a top event to gather peoples from around the globe. Unlike our neighbors in Latin America, in Brazil there are no ancient pyramids. Still, we have an astonishing cultural diversity that makes this country unique in the Americas. The fifth largest country in the world, the largest country of Latin America, Brazil is

internationally recognized as the land of *Samba* and rain forests. It has 26 states and the Federal District (where the capital Brasilia is located), divided in 5 regions, where more than 180 million people live. Unfortunately, this country is one of the most social unequally on Earth, despite recent economic growth.

The Brazilian Ministry of Tourism was created in 2003 during President Lula's government, and since then has promoted considerable growth in revenue and job offer for this segment, especially due to the creation of new public policies and the increase of government investments (Farias et al. 2008). "Results so far show a promising future, as the sector's top 80 companies had R$ 29.6 billion in turnover in 2006, up 29% over 2005 (Brasil and MTur 2006: 5). The government goals for the last four years included developing high-quality products, promoting social inclusion and fostering competitiveness nationally and internationally, focusing in decentralized management throughout public and private partnerships through the country. As a promising note for heritage tourism, one of the specific goals of the Ministry is to "increase and diversify tourist consumption options for the national and international markets, encouraging longer stays and higher per-capita tourist spending" (Brasil and MTur 2006: 16).

Even though the country presents great potential for this sector, Andrade et al (2008) understand that tourism is still a poorly known economic activity in this country. In Brazil or elsewhere, public and private sectors along with host communities need to start developing tourism as a business-oriented venture in order to be successful, both as a profitable industry and also as a vector to promote heritage conservation, a special concern for this research. Despite its qualities, Brazil still has to develop an important market for both domestic and international visitors: the rich potential to develop cultural destinations as tourism sites. It is not a question of development alone, most

importantly it is about which heritage is chosen for the marketplace. There are numerous heritage sites developed for tourism, built monuments representing European settlements are unanimously the ones to visit. Colonial architectural heritage is cherished in this country, has had special attention since the first initiatives of federal policies for heritage preservation in the early 20th century. This preference is reinforced by the monuments enlisted as World Heritage Sites in Brazil, automatically publicized worldwide as main tourism destinations.

4.3.1 World Heritage in Brazil

Since 1972, the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization/UNESCO approved the 'Convention concerning the protection of the world's cultural and national heritage', which came into force in 1976, when twenty countries decided to abide (Leask 2006). The aims of this initiative were at large to encourage identification, protection and diffusion of natural and cultural sites considered to have outstanding universal values. They also wanted to create "a sense of collective global responsibility via international cooperation, exchange and support" (Leask 2006: 6), as these exceptional locations "belong to all the peoples of the world, irrespective of the territory on which they are located" (UNESCO 2008a).

To be designated World Heritage Site, cultural, natural, or mixed sites must be evaluated against a set of ten criteria. Specifically for cultural sites, UNESCO establishes six criteria in which a site, a monument, or a group of buildings, can be included in the World Heritage List. Each site must meet at least one selection criterion. To enter the List means worldwide recognition, as approval stamp of value. However, after decades of recognition, a varied set of problems also emerged. Managing a WHS can be a very complicated. If

the site is recognized as having universal value, it should also be managed regarding various interests, and not only those usually considered for a regular heritage site, subjected to local social and economical instabilities and mind-set changes. It is not only a cultural representation of the host country, but should be cared as something the rest of the world is proud of, and its upcoming generations have the right to enjoy in the future. Other issues that proved to be problematic after nominations are over-usage or contested use (Stonehenge in the UK is a good example for it), and negative social and environmental impacts of tourists are especial concerns for managing any WHS, especially for the ones located on developing countries with poor infrastructure and/or traditional communities not prepared to deal with the commoditization of their culture.

Brazil has been a member of UNESCO since 1946, and signed the World Heritage Convention on 1977. Considering the extension of the country, and its cultural and natural resources potential, the number of Brazilian World Heritage Sites is modest: 11 cultural sites and 7 natural sites (UNESCO 2011). The majority of the cultural sites are remains from colonial urban occupation, such as Salvador/BA and Ouro Preto/MG. Only three out of 11 do not follow this pattern. Two of those are archaeological areas: the collection of prehistorical archaeological sites in *Serra da Capivara* National Park, Northeast; and the Jesuit mission ruin of *São Miguel das Missões* in the South Region.

Brasília is an exception on the List as a whole, since it is recognized for Modern architecture and urban planning, being the only 20th century city to be a WHS. Its inclusion also forced Brazilian government to create a mechanism to protect the Pilot Plan as state heritage before the enlisting on 1987, and later on in 1990 as a federal heritage, since before that only remains of the colonial period were to be considered as such by IPHAN. To be a WHS the site has to

be legally protected by the local government, and this initiative influenced a discussion on heritage values and concepts in Brazil (Silva 2003).

Contrary to what seems to rule other countries, WHS in Brazil are generally valued as important places. This meaning is carried first and foremost through institutions, although generally there is still poor quality and quantity of public-outreach programs for cultural heritage. On the other hand, Brazilian media and the government propaganda often enjoy using the magnitude qualities the term '*Patrimônio Cultural da Humanidade*' encompasses; publicizing it to individuals that would have no other means to learn about WHS, WHL, and even UNESCO as a vector to enhance the meanings of a preserved past.

Although the obvious the manipulative nature assumed by these discourses, on a positive note this label helps boosting communities' self-esteem by celebrating preservation of cultural heritage, memories and identities. However, as other developing countries, Brazil finds difficulties to follow UNESCO guidelines, especially regarding enforcement, and this country experiences enormous challenges to protect its heritages properly.

4.3.2 Current perspectives for archaeological tourism

Specific literature about Cultural Tourism in Brazil is usually concerned generally with historic sites and architecture, colonial cities (Portuguez 2004; Almeida 2007; Paes and Oliveira 2010) or museums (Tamanini and Peixer 2007), mostly using case studies in the Southeastern region of Brazil to demonstrate their point, but still often criticizing the sub-utilization of tourism potential (Pires 2002). However, in regards to archeological heritage, most authors leave it between the lines when defining cultural heritage by using terms such as vestiges and material culture (Rodrigues 2007: 24), or openly

characterize archaeological sites without any special consideration to it (Costa 2009).

Even on archaeotourism pieces the presence of pre-historical sites as case studies are rare, as discussed before for international studies. The prevalence is for the more monumental sites for tourism consumption, such as the ones presenting ruins, buildings, historic towns. For instance, in the state of São Paulo, Southeastern Brazil, there are 20 sites with tourism potential, all of them are colonial sites, and 50% are located at the shore. There is no pre-historical site in this state offering visitations, and most of them are poorly developed for visitation (Manzato 2005). The pre-historical cases are exclusively rock art sites, and always proposing extensive planning to ensure safe visitation and preservation, as well as proper outreach initiatives (Manzato 2007; Pereira and Leite 2011).

One example is described by Scabello (2010). She analyzed the tourism conditions and the visitor profiles at *Parque Nacional das Sete Cidades*, a national park created in 1961 in which there are 43 registered cave paintings archaeological sites in the state of Piauí. She observed that the tourists receive fringe information about the sites during visitations, such as the paintings being done by Vikings or Phoenicians, popular fantastic archaeology myths in Brazil. She also states that there are no studies regarding the negative impacts of visitations, and there is no capacity limits either, resulting in lack of quality archaeotourism at the park.

Alfonso (2009) describes a different approach on archaeotourism, developed by a private contract archaeology company named *Zanettini Arqueologia*, on small towns at western Alagoas state, hired by the local IPHAN agency to develop a diagnosis seeking to bring economical development through tourism for this area. This project considers UNESCO's concept for cultural landscapes, and considered that developing sustainable

tourism would be also beneficial for the preservation of the sites, since the presence of visitors incentivized the local community to be interested and to care about them.

Moreira (2010) proposes sustainable tourism to help protect and to boost local economy at a small town in the state of Pará, a rich area for archaeological sites in the Brazilian Amazon forest, North region. Even in this context, the site chosen to be planned for tourism is not pre-historical, but a sugar mill occupation from the 17th century. The author interviewed members of the local community, state authorities and scholars and all of them were pro tourism, because it could benefit them socially and economically.

Probably as an evidence of the lack of education about archaeology in Brazil, it is also easy to identify mistaken information publicized on tourism literature. One example is a book wrote to educate tourism guides (SENAC 2002) that only relates pre-historical archaeological sites as natural places. And sadly the very few cases related by this publication expose much worse information: it shows *Pedra do Ingá*, one of the most well-known archaeological sites in Brazil, as a geological formation and paleontological site with "inscriptions until this day unidentified" (page 104); and it illustrates *Serra da Capivara*, which is a WHS due to its hundreds of archaeological sites containing the largest rock art collection in the world in number of paintings, as a natural site with traces of archaeology (page 107).

Not surprisingly the truth is no formal archaeotourism is being developed in Brazil, and only recently the government has considered it as a possible market to be developed (Alfonso 2009). Assuming a more optimistic approach in terms of management Pardi (2007) considers a success the perspectives of archaeotourism at the Piauí state, Northeastern Brazil, where the *Parque Nacional Serra da Capivara* is located, mostly because distinguished archaeologist Dr. Niéde Guidon is in charge of the visitation and tourism

marketing and planning strategies at this park, and also because this state is proposing a local plan to regulate capability, use and access to archaeological sites, which she considers a well-done policy but still not in place. She argues that initiatives not idealized and coordinated directly by archaeologists are less successful and tend to aim much more profit than the preservation of the material cultural remains.

Most authors agree that tourism is a helpful strategy to ensure heritage preservation if it is properly planned and always includes outreach initiatives (Manzato 2006; Onuma 2007; Miranda 2010; Moreira 2010). Scabello (2010) also understands the archaeotourism can be beneficial because it is an instrument that can help to boost information and emotional bonds with the public.

4.4 Tourism as the Instrumental Value for Archaeology at ARIE JK

Brasília is indeed a unique destination in the world. It is the only 20th Century city enlisted as a WHS, and according to a non-profit private foundation named *Brasília e Região - Convention & Visitors Bureau* it is also the largest urban area among WHS in the world, with 112 Km² (BRC&VB 2008). This organization, through a web site, offers a free touristic guide for download, showing the many opportunities the city has to offer for visitors. They advertise that the city invites for walks since the distances are short (which is definitely not the case), it has the third busiest airport in the country and expressive hotel facilities. To invite different kinds of visitors they list the following attractions: a focus on unique modernist buildings, urban landmarks and related sightseeing attractions; arts and culture, which refers to intangible heritage and arts in general; various religious churches and places; leisure and entertainment referring to malls, bars, restaurants, nightclubs, zoo and parks;

water sports at the artificial lake built together with the city in the 1960s called *Paranoá*; ecological and rural tourism mostly related to a savannah like environment named *Cerrado*; gastronomy and shopping, the last one related to open fairs and craft fairs.

Campos (2005) argues that even though Brasília is a city born with touristic potential, and even though it is a WHS, cultural tourism is poorly developed so far. She argues that the cultural heritage is misunderstood in Brasília, and proposes outreach as a solution to make it possible to use fully the potential this city has to offer for heritage tourism. Given that most of Brasilia's visitors are motivated by various events, and stay on average for 2 or 3 days, the potential to increase their stay is great due to the many underdeveloped cultural opportunities this city has to offer.

It is expected that over the years DF satellite-cities have established their own identity and independence from the Plano Piloto[2] (Silveira 1999: 150). But according to local inhabitant's perceptions and habits expressed during the interviews this is not true for recreation. The Brazilian federal District also presents a huge discrepancy in relation to its 800 recreation and public places. The problem has been noticed in Ceilândia Romero (2005: 134), who stated that while 34,3% of recreation places are located in the Pilot Plan, which means one for each 736 individuals, Ceilândia has 60 recreation spaces, 7,5% that have to be disputed among 5,700 individuals. On top of that, Ceilândia has no movie theaters, parks or gymnasiums.

Rhetorically the three cities have their own recreational places, and by 2005 their websites publicized many of them, including the archaeological site

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[2] "*Ao longo dos anos, cada cidade-satélite foi estabelecendo uma identidade própria e um significado no contexto do território do Distrito Federal. A dependência em relação ao Plano Piloto era intrínseca; porém, a necessidade urbana de várias atividades econômicas, que não podiam ser contempladas no perímetro do Plano Piloto, levou-as a trilharem caminhos e a criarem novas dinâmicas próprias complementares à função da capital, desenhando novas perspectivas.*"

DF-PA-11, a fee-fishing (*Pesque-pague Fortaleza*) and a ranch (*Fazenda Recreio Dinizlândia*) inside ARIE JK as a tourism locations in Ceilândia, and Samambaia publicized about many facilities no longer in place inside the Três Meninas Park (Barbosa and Costa 2005). Today each city only officially publicizes few sightseeing options, and none of them are located inside the Park. Taguatinga's website shows a park called *Taguaparque*; a plaza named *Praça Central*; a historic landmark known as *Caixa d'água;[3];* and two cultural leisure options, a center that hosts plays and films called *Centro Cultural SESI* and a city sponsored theater group called *Teatro da Praça* (GDF 2009c). Ceilândia's website showcases a soccer stadium known as *Abadião*; a historic structure known as *Caixa d'água;[4] Casa do Cantador*, which is the only Oscar Niemeyer's building in DF outside of Plano Piloto specifically created to host northeasterner regional poetry readings and musical concerts;[5] a project for a carnival arena and cultural center called *Ceilambódromo*; a cultural center called *Ceilândia Norte*; a plaza (*Praça do Cidadão*); and two farmer markets one known as *Feira Central*, which is a place very dear for local *Nordestinos* (people that migrated from Northeastern states to Brasília)[6] and another market called *Feira do Produtor* (GDF 2009a). Samambaia's website only cite three places: a catholic church shaped like a vessel named *Paróquia e Santuário de Santa Luzia*; a local soccer arena called *Estádio Regional de Samambaia*; and *Estação Terminal do Metrô*, which is actually the local metro station (GDF 2009b).

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[3] Currently demolished and originally built to serve as the water tank.

[4] A water tank noted for its unique architecture and also because it is located in the cornerstone of this city.

[5] Cordel Literature and music styles such as *Repente* or *Embolada*.

[6] According to their website Ceilândia holds the second largest Northeastener migrant population in Brazil after São Paulo/SP.

4.4.1 ARIE JK as a tourism destination

Inside and on its immediate surroundings there are five ecological and recreational areas, or as referred in this work smaller parks (Figure 4-1). Cortado and Saburo Onoyama parks both have recreational purposes and are located in Taguatinga. Boca da Mata is an ecological park located in the border with Taguatinga, but in Samambaia municipal limits. In Samambaia there are other two parks, Três Meninas Park created as recreational and Gatumé conceived only for ecological protection. And in Ceilândia, although there are no parks, there is one in project named *Parque Metropolitano*, created as a mitigation and conservation strategy due to the construction of road DF-459 (NCA 2006). Only three of them had visitation and leisure facilities by 2008.

Even though most parks creation dated as far back as 1991, it was only by December of 2005 that the six smaller parks of ARIE JK had their limits officially recognized by GDF, including *Parque Metropolitano* that is still on paper (Ferri 2005). By 2006 ARIE JK's Management Plan states that currently DF's 66 ecological and "multiple-use" parks cannot be treated as other parks in Brazil because of their urban characteristics and/or because of their destination proposal as leisure, recreation, and enjoyment and closer contact with the natural environment (NCA 2006).

Indeed local park's creation and administration seem to be out of character for Brazilian patterns, considering that two new parks are added to the list between 2004 and 2006, for instance. Respondent A2-2, who worked at Saburo Onoyama Park administration by the time of her interview, explained that the parks administration is decentralized, but the same manager cared for Saburo Onoyama, Cortado, Boca da Mata and Três Meninas Parks. The one he visits less is Boca da Mata Park according to her, and his job is to

evaluate destruction, fires, and new land grabbers within parks' limits. There was a general criticism towards parks' maintenance, stated always spontaneously by respondents during the data collection.

However the Park's archaeological sites and archaeological collections tourism potential is questionable. The sites do not present significant above ground structures that could be attractive for visitors, meaning that their cultural remains have no visibility, and the material culture is mostly comprised by lithic instruments with not much aesthetic appeal, which is a serious obstacle even though their undeniable scientific significance (issue further discussed on Chapter 5). However there are stakeholders claiming to develop archaeological tourism, as well as official demands from TAC for a local archaeological museum. On top of public expectations by 2005 the archaeology research team conducting mitigations due to the water and sewage enterprise embargo projected an Archaeological Park, as an alternative option to attend the TAC requirement for a museum.

The proposal of creating an Archaeological Park intended to enhance protection for the both quarry-based sites and to the historical site associated to DF-PA 15 called *Pedra Velha* by establishing recreational function to spaces nearby currently vacant and vulnerable. It would not have any built facilities since legislation prohibit them inside the Park, but integrated leisure options such as soccer fields and an adapted river beach area, as well as designed trails (Figure 4-2) and visual signposts with information so the public could visit and learn about the sites without impacting the landscape (Barbosa and Costa 2005). This idea was never really considered by the responsible company CAESB, and among other demands IPHAN specifically requested a museum to be constructed inside the Park, which due to legal, management and financial problems is still pending.

As for the Park's ecological tourism potential compared to heritage tourism the opposite scenario is expected. The Park comprises numerous river sources and riparian areas, and preserved flora and fauna characteristic of a savanna like biome called *Cerrado*, which is considered one of the world's biodiversity hotspots and has received attention from NGOs and international funding agencies for development of sustainable economic alternatives, including ecotourism (Klink and Machado 2005). Although its extensive degraded areas due to urban and rural development and pollution, it is possible to spot several potential places inside the Park that can be adapted for ecotourism activities, and also visually outstanding landscaping (Figure 4-3).

Respondents B1-2 and B1-3 who are personally involved in development of tourism in Brasília provided me an overview of local tourism from public and private settings. Respondent B1-2, who works for the local state tourism company *Brasiliatur* explained that this agency was currently developing a major tourism project for the entire DF, not associated with the World Cup he reinforced. They divided the district in four regions according to potential for tourism and this proposal should be in place by 2010. The region in which the park is located was categorized as mainly for rural tourism and its products, such as arts craft, organic agriculture and agro-business. They are interested in developing rural tourism but he explained that their approach is to involve local producers and communities not only exploring local resources. As for the profile of tourists in Brasília he said that 80% of the local public does not acknowledge the local potential for rural tourism, but out of them 65% would like to visit and experience these attractions, corresponding to more than one million people.

Respondent B1-3 develops archaeological circuits for a private company in a nearby city named Formosa/GO, where there are prehistoric cave sites with paints located in rural properties in which ecotourism is also explored.

The visitors' profile in Formosa varies, some go exclusively for the falls, others for fishing, but some go only to see the archaeological sites according to him. He feels there is no respect for tourism because it is considered a smaller enterprise, especially for cultural tourism that encompasses outreach programs. In 2008 he was developing a project of this kind had entitled "*Caminhos do Brasil*", seeking to explore colonial roads in the state of Goiás. Through an agreement with *Brasiliatur* they've receive financial aid to produce 12 minute-films (48 videos in total) as a way to promote tourism, culture and history all together. However none of them was aware of the ARIE JK's archaeological heritage, and provided somewhat different perspectives on their potential (issue discussed further in this chapter).

4.4.2 Data analysis

In order to evaluate the instrumental value generated by this heritage, physical vestiges of recreational usage inside the Park were contrasted to public opinions on this subject collected on interviews and analyzed through newspaper reports selected by key words 'ARIE JK' and '*arqueologia*'. These information focused on subjects related to the Park, in this case its ecological tourism potential since it is an environmentally protected area; and on the local archaeological tourism potential.

In regards of the written newspaper data it became clear after scrutiny that tourism and leisure are not related subjects to ARIE JK or to archaeology for the local media. None of the *Jornal de Brasília* analyzed reports referred to any sort of touristic or leisure activity related to the Park or to archaeology. Less than half (5 out of the 12) from *Correio Braziliense* referred to tourism and/or leisure, in which all but one on archaeological tourism for places elsewhere. The single one on tourism at the Park did not mention archaeology,

but its potential for ecotourism and leisure by explaining about each park located there and their new legal limits, officially dedicated on December 12th, 2005 (published on 12/17/2005 and also cited along this chapter as Ferri 2005). Although its criticism on the degraded conditions of these parks this report praised the GDF initiative by comparing their 1,7 hectares of combined areas as four times bigger than *Parque da Cidade*, which is a well-known park located at Plano Piloto.

4.4.2.1 Walking survey

The walking survey considered visiting all the smaller parks; registration of isolated spots known for being used for leisure inside the Park such as river springs or ponds, and the river itself;[7] and also observing any sort of usage related to leisure. Although some activities and places were not registered, specifically sporadic dog walking and fee-fishing businesses, they have been spotted in previous visits. Many times areas identified as recreational had trash as vestiges and no users around. Accesses to areas inside ARIE JK are poor in general; the dirt roads in place vary in conditions and maintenance, as do the trails, deeper into the river valley both become worse for driving or walking. Very few isolated activities could be found during the survey outside the smaller parks, indicating that random leisure and recreational usage is of low density, and probably performed only by local residents.

Cortado Park or the *Parque Lago do Cortado* has 45 hectares according to Ferri (2005), and is located in the northern region of Taguatinga. The name is due to the Cortado River, in which its sources are also located. It was first recognized as an ARIE in 1989 in order to protect this river sources, local

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[7] Of course that in a polluted river the usage is reduced, but nevertheless still potential, due to lack of other options and or pure acknowledgment. After the construction of the sewage pipeline and plant the condition of the water improved but is still inappropriate for fishing or swimming.

fauna and flora from the highly urbanized environment surround it. By 1993 the park received a great law enforcement operation and activities causing ecological damage have been fined and removed. Up to 1997 the area still functioned as an ARIE, but the district decided to change its status in order to promote better public understanding and usage, though implementation of leisure infra-structure and recovery of degraded areas. Since the local communities started to use it for recreational purposes the GDF officially changed its legal status to ecological park in 2002. This park's mission is to incentive sports and physical activities, as well as cultural, educational and artistic programs (NCA 2006).

Visitation at this park occurred on April 14th 2008 and was accompanied by respondent A1-7, who publically advocates for its preservation and lives in walking distance to it. It was possible to see that the potential for recreational usage is great due to beautiful natural scenery, many ponds, waterfalls, and the Cortado River itself. Unfortunately during the walking survey a significant amount of trash, debris and rainwater garbage has been registered inside this park and very close to the river and to its sources. There are other environmental damages as well especially during the raining season related to river sedimentation and erosion (NCA 2006). Other problems are caused by nearby housing and rural properties, which some believe to be the most dangerous for ecological protection of ARIE JK (Dato 2006).

Saburo Onoyama Park or *Parque Ecológico Saburo Onoyama* is also located in Taguatinga but in the southern area. It was created in 1996 to protect Taguatinga River sources, local fauna and flora, and also to promote recovery for already degraded spots inside the park due to inadequate land use. The creation of this park intended to enhance its preservation through promotion of environmental outreach, leisure and cultural activities directed to ecological preservation In total 26 river sources are located inside this park, an

eucalyptus area, and a Taguatinga River riparian wood area. The park area was part of the property of one of the Japanese families that first settle in that location invited by President JK in the late 1950s, the Onoyamas. Afterwards this family decided to donate the land to implement the park (NCA 2006). Information about its size is confusing, the Park's Management Plan states it to be 33,34 hectares (NCA 2006), but the newspaper article publicizing about the new official parks' limits and another document about local preservation areas say 93 hectares (Ferri 2005; Giustina and Barreto 2008).

According to the Management Plan (NCA 2006) this park is well-known by the local community, and receives around 3 thousand and up to 7 thousand people on a weekend when the pools are working. It also offers five sport arenas, three volleyball and one peteca courts, one sand soccer field, and barbeque areas. Up to 5 thousand local school students per week also use the sports facilities for extra-curricular classes during weekdays. However the local administration employee interviewed the same day of the walking survey (respondent A2-2) stated visitation numbers to be much lower, around 250 people on weekends, and 150 during a weekday, information reinforced by the observation during the survey that could not spot many users that day, which was a Saturday but the pools were closed.

Compared to all the other ARIE JK's smaller parks this one is the best maintained and also the one with the most number of recreational facilities. Respondent A2-2 explained that it was revitalized by mid 2006 but since then maintenance work has stopped. By that time they built bridges, trails and sidewalks. Overall the conditions of park facilities seemed well maintained and this park is by far the one with the most users by the time of the survey. The biggest threats to this park maintenance are the illegal occupations still in its surroundings causing enhancement of river pollution and irregular garbage disposal. One of these areas was known as "*invasão Saburo Onoyama*", a

slum settlement in which over 500 shacks have been registered by 1999, and they were all removed by mid 2000 (NCA 2006).

The Boca da Mata Park or *Parque Boca da Mata* has 196 hectares and is characterized as an ecological park, or an area specially designated for environmental preservation. It is located in Samambaia and boarder the limits of Taguatinga, next to a quarter known as *Setor de Postos e Motéis* (motel and gas station sector) and the Coca-Cola Factory. This park is not inside ARIE JK limits, but as explained in Chapter 3 there are proposals to include it. When its dedication in 1991 it had over 250 hectares, and the main purpose on is similar to the others, to protect Taguatinga River sources, as well as promote recovery of fauna and flora already degraded. There was also a concern in promoting research and outreach programs, and in favoring for recreational and ecological uses. Although the Management Plan (NCA 2006) states that there are walking tracks in nice green areas, it also says that there is no formal security, no fences and no infra-structure to receive visitors, confirmed in the field since it is not open for visitation.

Before this park there was a *favela* in this location that was removed in 1984. Many spaces inside this park present deforestation, the riparian areas are significantly altered and many foreign species can be found around this park. There are still illegal settlers in this park, and another problem stated by the Management Plan is the surroundings of this park receiving garbage from nearby workshops, information also confirmed during interviews (respondents A2-3 and A2-5). Nearby it the city of Samambaia master plan defined a zoning area for economic and urban development named *Complexo Boca da Mata do Subcentro Leste*. Therefore city and districtal ordinances are conflictuous as far as the environmental significance and functioning of this area (NCA 2006).

The Três Meninas Park or *Parque Três Meninas* is located in Samambaia, it has 72 hectares according to newspapers and other local research paper (Ferri 2005; Giustina and Barreto 2008) or 66 hectares according to the Park's Management Plan (NCA 2006).It was created in 1993 for recreational and cultural purposes, and it also was meant to receive a program of environmental outreach and to replant native species by recovering degraded areas. As the other parks it has suffer with nearby occupations and it is visible the pollution at its river sources, waterfalls and fishponds.

The area of the park used to be a small rural property with the same name owned by a federal employee, his wife and their three druthers who moved there in 1958 (according to respondent A2-7), expropriated in 1988 (Giustina and Barreto 2008) or in 1992 (NCA 2006). The original "doll house" buildings that inspired the place's name are still preserved. This park is an important landmark for Samambaia because by the creation of this city GDF used this space to distribute plots among the families previously selected as beneficiaries. Respondents A2-3, A2-4, A2-5, A2-6 and A2-7, inhabitants of Samambaia interviewed and classified as linked to Park's institutions presented a personal attachment with this space and regretted the most its current neglect. Respondent A2-7 for instance, who works as a planner for Samambaia city hall, complained that after the administration of Três Meninas Park changed from city to district level it dramatically affected this park's facilities maintenance. It used to host local public facilities such as the city's library, a small historic museum, sport courts, a pool, a cultural center, and a daycare facility, all still in place by 2004 when I visited it for the first time.

By 2008 this park was visited several times during field work, on 12th, 14th and 27th of April, and on 11th, 13th and 26th of November. Four interviews with individuals classified as those who live close by happen inside it (Group A, respondents A1-4 and A1-5; and A2-4 and A2-6), as well as the

observation of the MAPE meeting, acronym for "*Movimento Amigos dos Parques Ecológicos*", a community-based association of citizens who care about local parks protection and management. This park is the one proposed to host an archaeological museum and there is a general misunderstanding that site DF-PA-11 is located within the park's borders (issues discussed on Chapter 3). The conditions of the original buildings are critical, and they no longer house any public facility. Currently the administration and the only recreational areas of this park are located at its entrance.

During the MAPE meeting they discussed a proposal currently in the spotlight, related to the construction of a public space inside this park's limits to host community celebrations, receptions, local artists plays and concerts named "*Tenda Cultural*", that would be the first facility of this kind in Samambaia. But mostly during the meeting there were complaints about vandalism and lack of maintenance, and one participant even stated that it is better to avoid public use because of safety issues. Most people during this meeting complained on the lack of public acknowledgement about this park, because it is part of the history of Samambaia, and they proposed creating an entity to care about this park since in their opinions it is clearly not part of the government agenda. Overall the participants agreed that this park is a pride and a landmark for the local community.

The Gatumé Park or *Parque Ecológico de Uso Múltiplo Gatumé* has 148 hectares (Ferri 2005) and is located at northern Samambaia, part of which is inside ARIE JK. It was created in 2001 in order to preserve Gatumé River sources and its natural landscape, but it has no sort of visitation infra-structure. Samambaia local master plan ensures public hearing participation for future implementation projects for this park, as well as the maintenance of rural properties inside it (NCA 2006).

The location of this park was visited on November 11th, 2008 on a rainy day with two respondents (A1-4 and A1-5), since by myself I could not locate it. There are no signs, or anything demarcating its location as a park, on top of that the presence of mango trees, which are foreign to the region and do not necessarily indicate a preserved area. Respondent A2-5, who is an active environmentalist, considers its degradation condition as very serious due to illegal usage of water resources, pesticides pollution, and areas under power lines currently in use as housing and leisure spots (fee-fishing area). These occupations are not mapped by the Management Plan, nor have been registered during the walking survey.

4.4.2.2 Interviews

Throughout the interview analysis on Tourism the content of the information provided by each respondent at first has been confronted between subgroups and groups, and later the content variation has been contrasted among respondents classified according to their link to tourism or to archaeology. Therefore the analysis on this subject also considered comparing responses from those classified as lay persons, or could be referred as potential "visitors" or "tourists" (all individuals from subgroup A1, A2-1-, A2-2, A2-5, A2-6, A2-7, B1-1, B1-4 and B1-5); tourism students or professionals (A2-3, A2-4, A2-8, B1-2 and B1-3); and archaeology professionals (B1-6, B1-7, B1-8 and all individuals from subgroup B2).

Even though the goal was to understand how or if the public perceive tourism as a instrumental value generated by the Park's archaeological sites, understanding how each individual perceives leisure and/or recreation was a plus. Questions about how they enjoy their free time seem foreign to the subject, and indeed as a probe strategy the questioning on this theme was

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somewhat isolated during the interviews, usually as a continuum on the personal questioning to have a better knowledge about each person interviewed. The objective was to capture if or how respondents relate archaeology as a tourism opportunity, and to understand if any of them could be classified as heritage tourists. Only individuals classified as "insiders" were questioned about leisure (Group A and subgroup B1). The "outsiders" were questioned about their thoughts on development of cultural tourism at the park (specifically archaeological tourism), or if they agreed on the park's likely potential for ecotourism. Both questioning, tourism and leisure were not possible for each respondent due to timing or interviewer/respondent bond. Some respondents assumed an expert role and made it difficult to introduce this theme.

On the subgroup of individuals living close to the Park with no institutional bonds (subgroup A1) the older respondents had a different opinion on leisure, hardly mentioning parks as their favorite option. A1-7, the younger respondent and also the one more involved with environmental preservation is more aware of the outdoor leisure options, although he listed bars and nightclubs at first as his preferred options. Within this subgroup respondents A1-1 was not questioned about tourism or preferred leisure options, and respondents A1-4 and A1-5 were too involved in discussing matters of Três Meninas Park,[8] which made it difficult to ask about other places.

Among the eight individuals living close by linked to institutions (subgroup A2) there were also three tourism related respondents (A2-3, A2-4 and A2-8). Respondents A2-2, A2-5 and A2-7 were not questioned about personal leisure. Overall it is agreed that among the three cities Taguatinga is

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[8] Their interview happened inside this park right after MAPE meeting.

the one with most leisure options, otherwise people have to travel to Plano Piloto. However outdoor activities or parks were not the first option cited by most respondents as their personal choice. As for leisure options, younger respondents understood leisure as bars and nightclubs, and even though some of them are somewhat involved with ecological preservation their first answer was never related to outdoor activities; their second option are private clubs, and then parks. Older respondents cited exercising or nothing at all. A particular distinctive reaction came from respondent A2-1 displaying more socially and politically oriented discourse while complaining on the lack of opportunities for leisure.[9]

Excluding some personal preferences, among both subgroups there were no discrepancies on the discourses on local leisure options and tourism. Parks were not spontaneously cited as a first preference, not even by those involved with their preservation, or by those working at them or developing research about them. The leisure and recreational places are mostly located in Taguatinga, the most developed among the three cities, or at Plano Piloto, which can be difficult to access because of distance and poor public transportation. All respondents who had information on the smaller parks criticized their poor maintenance. As for tourism, one respondent who is an active environmentalist (A2-5) stated it is poorly developed for the entire DF. Generally they all agree that locally it demands planning, and/or there is no potential for it in any of the cities. The only ones that mentioned archaeological tourism are those aware of the local sites, and specially one respondent who developed a museum proposal for Samambaia (A2-4), and the respondent that made the official MPF complaint and is personally involved with a rural tourism local association called Ruraltur (A2-1). As most

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[9] Respondent A2-1 said: "*Por que só rico tem direito? Pra lá tem Lago Sul e aqui a gente não tem nada?!*"

respondents live in Samambaia the general opinion is that *Parque Três Meninas* is the major attraction of this town, and that it can be a great tourism option if facilities, buildings and maintenance are improved, as well as a museum is integrated.

For the subgroup of experts classified as insiders (subgroup B1) overall it was harder to insert questions on personal leisure preferences, because most of them assumed informant role, or one that provides data as an expert on that matter. As for the potential for developing tourism at the park a single respondent posed a threat due to the property market pressure, but all agreed with the potential due to its ecological and aesthetic attributes. The personal leisure preferences were very similar, and shopping mall was again a popular choice. But since they live off of the park region, the ones questioned about commuting to enjoy attractions there were vague, and one said openly she would not (B1-4). In regards on opinions about local tourism, those classified as lay persons (B1-1, B1-4 and B1-5) have expressed no particular interest for archaeological tourism, and one was against it (B1-5), but he has had a prior acquaintance with the park and knows personally the sites being also one of the respondents more vocal about the need to preserve its environmental resources. However, when asked about their opinions on a local facility to safeguard and display the archaeological vestiges everyone agreed that it would be a great enhancement and that they would like to visit it eventually.

Considering this subgroup gathered two tourism professionals and three individuals involved with archaeological research or management, opinions on archaeological tourism were not equal. The tourism experts (B1-2 and B1-3) provided similar points of view on necessity of planning. On the other hand respondent B1-2 had a much more cautious approach when stating potential for sites with no visible features, probably because he was talking about future projects of the local public tourism agency *Brasiliatur*. The ones involved in

archaeology had different positions as well: one was openly against it (B1-7); the second one was cautious as visitations at the sites could cause a negative reaction from the public due to their lack of visible features (B1-8)' and the last one provided a optimistic response as to archaeological tourism potential, and explicitly defended the construction of visitation and displaying facilities surround the sites (B1-6).

For the subgroup of archaeology professionals classified as outsiders (B2) most respondents agreed on the archaeological tourism of the sites but as an outreach strategy and with great restrictions, and that the local archaeological heritage has tourism potential if used for education and not due to their physical or landscape characteristics. Out of the five archaeologists one (B2-4) did not comment on this matter, and another one (B2-3) stated the sites have any tourism potential. The remaining tree reinforced the need of revitalization of the local natural resources to promote any visitation strategy (especially due to river pollution according to B2-5), and one of them was very concern with security problems (B2-1), even though all three agreed that the number of users seeing at the Park by the time of their research (1997 and 2004/05) was small or even absent. Two of these archaeologists (B2-1 and B2-2) proposed strategies they understand as adequate for developing tourism at these sites with strong outreach approach and construction of replicas, and B2-2 also proposed preparing a digging for displaying on a shed, as has been done elsewhere in Europe. The educator (B2-6) promptly agreed on ecotourism potential for the park, and said the existence of the sites alone carry potential for developing tourism there, as the other she also reinforced the need of planning.

4.4.3 Conclusions on data analysis

There is a nostalgic discourse about the smaller parks, and how their administration has deteriorated over the years. But besides the parks, none of the respondents understand the area as a leisure site, even though most of them points out the beautiful landscape. As observed in Chapter 2, the general cognition of the Park is of a vacant space, one that lack definition on function. This perception is not surprising if the image one sees passing by is of an empty abandoned plot bordering the urban area and with no visibility for the valley underneath it (Figure 4-4).

The questions about leisure did not intend to explore this pattern among *Brasilienses*, which would be considered an arrogant and amateur assumption. My goal was to simply understand if those individuals would use the Park if it had proper accesses, adequate recreational facilities, advertisement and security to invite users, or if it still had a pristine landscape. In fact outdoor is not a popular choice among them, maybe it is not a popular choice among *Brasilienses* in general, which could be due to several reasons. The fact that random and low density usage is the pattern inside the Park, and that the smaller parks are not that popular reinforces that hypothesis. But what was significant from the answers was that not even those advocating for its environmental protection relate it as a preferred personal leisure option, which could be concluded as a lack of the instrumental value of this Park related to tourism as a whole. The media hardly ever relate tourism and leisure to the Park, but extensively publicizes about housing and infra-structure developments, illegal settlement and land swindlers.

Among the experts and lay persons in general the ecological quality of ARIE JK is acknowledged, and all respondents that developed more their opinions on tourism (excluding the B1-5 and B1-7 openly against it) agreed

that it requires extensive planning, much more if directed to archaeological sites. One of the respondents (A2-1) strongly advocated for developing tourism at the Park, but she is member at a local rural tourism organization and promotes it tourism at her ranch (*Sítio Gerânium*, described on Chapter 3). Rural tourism is also the institutional planning for this region according to respondent B1-2, and it could be the most reasonable strategy to encourage sightseeing at the archaeological sites with minimum visitation impacts, by considering them the secondary attraction, assisted and managed by the local communities. But the lack of material culture visibility, public acknowledgement, and institutional support are major obstacles, and tourism at those sites might never be a reality after all.

However the subject never contested by any respondent, and even advocated by the majority is the creation of a local archaeological museum. The museum idea is on the air for a while, probably since the sites registration in the early 1990s. In 1997 when IPHAN sponsored the archaeological research at site DF-PA-11, one of the archaeologists conducting the field work (respondent B2-2) believed a local politician was interested in using the collection to create a museum in Taguatinga. However, once the scientific significance of the site was proved and a long-term costly research project was the better solution proposed by the research team, the museum project suddenly vanished. There are public claims to a museum, but the question now is if this could be considered instrumental as part of tourism marketing, or institutionally based to achieve other goals.
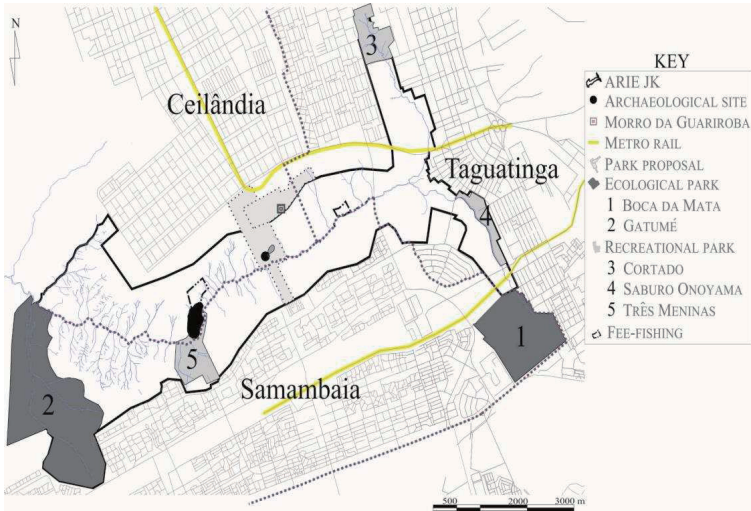
Figure 4-1. Location of the smaller parks and fee-fishing areas

Figure 4-2. Sewage pipes crossing DF-PA-11 archaeological site that would be used as adapted trails

Figure 4-3. Preserved *Cerrado* landscape inside Três Meninas Park
(Samambaia, 04/27/08)

Figure 4-4. View of the Park from the road

CHAPTER 5
THE INTRINSIC ARCHAEOLOGICAL VALUE AT ARIEK JK –
EXPERTS' AND PUBLIC'S PERSPECTIVES

The first part of this chapter focuses in the Intrinsic Value of the sites located at the study case location, and to what extent this quality was important for shaping the local public opinion. For that matter discussions on archaeological quarry research, and on the archaeological context of this case study are presented. Later the data collected through interviews, walking survey, and newspaper reports related specifically to the public cognition of local sites is analyzed and concluded.

A total of three potential prehistoric lithic sites, three quarry-based sites (two prehistoric and one historic), and one historic site have been registered in and on the outskirts of ARIE JK up to now. The ones which were excavated and have their scientific significance proven were the main focus of this research: sites DF-PA-11 (excavated in two different campaigns), DF-PA-15 and *Pedra Velha*, all located in Ceilândia and inside the Park. The existence of other sites registered on surveys, all of them similar to those acknowledged as quarry-based enhances even more the importance of this area to understand early humans in Central Brazil.

As presented in previous chapters, the Park is suffering an overwhelming amount of development, and the estate value of those areas is pointed as the major challenge for its stability as an environmentally preserved space. The punctual but yet relevant public responses towards local archaeological preservation motivated this research to question why do the public care for a heritage that seems so distant to their own, in a location known for lacking institutional research and considering the sites have no physical attributes to motivate touristic initiatives. Yet all three forces represented by their institutional, instrumental, and intrinsic attributes combined created meanings

to justify public reactions. The main result is how important each of the three values is in shaping public opinion pro or against archaeological protection.

5.1 Archaeological Quarry Sites - Scientific Significance and Perspectives

Understanding human behavior has proven to be one of the most challenging goals of the archaeologist. Even more if one chooses to use stone artifacts as tools to interpret past activities. However, it is not a merely matter of choice to embark in such investigation, "not only were stone tools an essential part of the everyday life, but they are also the most ubiquitous component of the archaeological record." (Holdaway and Stern 2004: 1).[1]

The study of procurement and manufacture of lithic materials is definitely one approach to put together a puzzle about pre-historical behavior, as well as more recent practices, and this is essentially what a quarry site has the potential to offer. The assemblages in quarries carry fundamentals to traduce whole sequences of lithic production, as well as past land-use, economy practices, mobility patterns, and raw material usage.

> A complete analysis of the quarry will allow the researcher to reconstruct the processes of extraction, selection, knapping, and on-site activity of the average knapper, as well as documenting the reduction sequences, changes in technology and rates of production over time. The quarry remains the logical site to begin the study of a stone-tool-using culture. (Ericson 1984: 1)

Although definitions tend to be controversial, to classify a quarry site is very much straight forward: "mines and quarries are specific locations on a landscape at which a resource was extracted" (Odell 2004: 2). What seems to be ambiguous is the understanding of the activities carried on a quarry. Banks (1990: 4) realizes that quarry sites were not exclusively used to extraction of

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[1] The reflection presented here is mostly related to pre-historical quarries, but many of the definitions and discussions are also useful for historic quarry sites.

raw material, "but in most instances where this term is loosely used, the site type referred to is, more often than not, a workshop associated with lithic resources."

Quarry sites can be divided into three categories based on zone of lithic production: quarry-based, when lithic production is centered and restricted to the source; local, when production is extended to source and surroundings; and regional when production is dispersed throughout the entire region. And the stages of production can be divided in three categories: terminal, sequential (when the final product is finished near the site of consumption), and irregular (Ericson 1984).

Nevertheless in practice not all investigations start at the quarry area. Whittaker (1994: 76) complains about the little interest quarry sites have inspired in archaeological research. He claims that even though early reports of important quarry sites were produced, "serious attention has only recently returned to quarries and workshops". Purdy (1984: 119-20) has a very interesting claim about why quarry sites have not been subjected to routine archaeological inquiry. First she says that to pursue investigation in quarries the archaeologist should be interested in technology, not only in finished products. Besides that, these sorts of sites often present some characteristics considered deficiencies inside the discipline, such as poor statigraphy, lack of remains to conduct conventional dating and again, the small variety in typological stone remains. *Débitage* analysis is critical to understand the process of lithic production, but it "is seldom analyzed and reported" (Ericson 1984: 2).

Usually studying quarry sites demands great amount of fieldwork, which sometimes is not enough to reach further conclusions. Although being time-consuming and difficult to work, quarry sites researched worldwide have proven to produce innovative and extensive information related to stone

technology and human behavior. Some successful case studies are presented next.

In the Colorado Desert region, southern California, research performed at two quarry workshops proved that it is possible to trace "movements of prehistoric populations by examining the distribution of stone materials from specific sources or quarry-workshop sites", and to demonstrate the utility of geoarchaeological and refitting techniques to reconstruct extinct behaviors or patterns (Singer 1984: 35). In conclusion the author states that it is clear that stone tools became smaller as time passed, and that the final product was consumed away from the workshops.

Using optimization theory, Findlow and Bolognese analyzed procurement of five different raw materials, suggesting that over time the tools became smaller and the raw material variations increased, which "resulted in a reduction of procurement costs through the use of raw materials that allowed more tools per unit of raw material and that allowed other procurement costs to be reduced." (Findlow and Bolognese 1984: 82). It was at the time of publication a pioneer methodology to understand quarry use, considered also an important approach to understand decision-making process and economies of lithics procurement and production strategies.

In Mexico a highly preserved ancient quarry uncovered a detailed record of ancient mining activity, demonstrating that obsidian mines were exploited and traded for thousands of years. This research confirmed the importance of intensive systematic archaeological research in order to confirm speculations "such as the probable existence of pre-Aztec occupations at the mines, and the nature of social and economic organization of the miners" (Stocker and Cobean 1984: 93). In Central America the study of Mayan stone mines proved to be worthwhile the investment in long-term systematic research. The study of the site of *Colha* proved it to be locus of intensive chert tool production for

more than 1,000 years, in which more than 100 workshop sites proved the exportation of chert stone tools (Hester and Shafer 1984).

Considered by Ericson a very important methodological advance in quarry-site analysis is the jigsaw technique used by Leach (1984), making it possible for the archaeologist to differentiate the individual knapper at work. With the goal of understanding adze manufacture Leach presents a research based on reduction sequences at a blade-making East Polynesians settlers quarry site in New Zealand. Her methodology required a three-dimensional jigsaw quantitative analysis, through which she was able to understand details of manufacture at the quarry, reconstructing the event of production.

Quarry research at agricultural sites is also useful. One example was produced in Sweden and intended to study earliest agricultural groups' raw material sources and exchange network. The goal was "to reconstruct a social network within the farming society of the Early Neolithic of central Sweden" by understanding the lithic production of non-flint axes (Welinder and Griffin 1984: 175). Another research related to early agriculture settlement patterns in Europe and use of flint happened in Poland. The goal was 'to characterize the mine field, to study differences between shafts, mining techniques and prehistoric labor organization" (Lech 1984: 188). The author believe that in order to obtain raw material expeditions were organized even to distant areas, and that flint was a commodity of mainly social significance, proving a social system of interaction between early farming communities in Eastern Central Europe.

Another area of investigation is ethnographic research, and contemporary stone tool production. For instance in south-eastern Australia McBryde investigated the social contexts of production and distribution of Kulin greenstone quarries contrasting with ethnographic, linguistic and ethnohistorical data. She believes that Aboriginal exchange cannot be solely

associated with adaptative mechanism for raw material acquisition. Mt William site is a major greenstone quarry recorded ethnographically in the late 19th Century, "questions of ownership, management and rights in important resources are raised by these personal details" (McBryde 1984: 271). In Papua New Guinea highlands one finds study done by John Burton (1984), in which he identifies a recently used stone axe factory by contemporaneous axe makers people named Tungei, in which 25 former quarrymen were interviewed. From the interviews Burton discovered about organization that there was not specific roles of differentiated periods for extraction, all men went together quarrying, gathered in expeditions at intervals of 3-5 years. He also was able to identify symbolic correlation to quarry activity, considered a purity ritual at the same time a dangerous activity that should be separated from women, comparing this social system to the ones of the last stone-using period in Europe.

After reviewing this literature it became clear that besides the lithic technology process, studying quarries and workshop sites is crucial to understand exchange system, social organization and economy of prehistoric and contemporary groups alike. Accessibility to raw material is an important variable to visualize the social complexity of ancient peoples, as much as it is today in our society considered a vital resource. The limits and intricacies for studying large quantities of debitage, or undatable materials, are far less relevant than the informational potential that these sites are able to provide.

> The analysis of the quarry and its workshops provides primary data for determining extraction technology, raw material selection processes, knapping behavior, reduction technology, material products, production rates, changes in technology, and the dynamic stability of production, exchange, and technology over time (Ericson 1984: 5).

Even though archaeological quarries acclaimed scientific significance, what seems to be constant account in the literature is that the study of quarries has been "neglected relative to other types of sites" (Ericson 1984: 2). Singer (1984: 35) argues that "prehistoric quarry workshop sites are viewed as an underexplored resource with great potential for yielding important data on technology and population demography."

5.2 Archaeology in the Brazilian Federal District

The endeavor of building an entire capital from sketch in the late 1950s has also created some confusion regarding previous human occupations in that territory, expressed many times during the interviews, and even found in newspaper reports, as something unexpected and incredible. Two respondents raised in Brasília (A2-5 and B1-3), who now work directly with education complained on the lack of local information contemplating dates previous to the transference in school curriculum, and that they had to find out for themselves about history before the creation of the Federal District.

Located in the state of Goiás, to learn about who lived there before Brasília means to understand better about colonization in mid-western Brazil, directly linked to gold mining expeditions and Portuguese colonization of the uplands, and later urban settlements, beginning in the eighteenth Century. Before the European settlers started exploring the mines, many indigenous groups occupied this region, and left vestiges of agricultural sedentary life in thousands of villages. And before them foraging bands explored natural resources for a living and occupied the very same territory where today many cities are still growing upon, expanding their limits and threatening to erase information still unknown archaeologically. In fact this basic level of common sense information is on didactic publications, or at least on local history

books. But it is not sufficiently developed and many times presenting information not accepted scientifically, probably because the very archaeological researches in Brazil are lacking regional conclusions, and are still very much isolated from other fields.

As previously explained, there are no formal archaeology research institutes in the Federal District. However, research has been done in this region, in which respected institutions and archaeologists from other states have worked at least since the 1970s. Specifically in the Federal District area the earliest research happened in 1979, in the satellite-city Brasilinha conducted by the archaeologist Dilamar C. Martins from the Federal University of Goiás/UFG, in which a prehistoric site with abundant lithic collection, dated 10.600 years BP was the main focus. During the 1980s other places in the DF surroundings are studied, demonstrating high archaeological potential for this region. One example is the group of seven cave painting sites in Formosa/GO, registered by researchers Pedro I. Schmitz and Altair S. Barbosa. Other similar sites are known in locations close by, such as 90 sites at Chapada dos Veadeiros/GO and at least two shelters dating 10.000 years BP at Unaí/MG. In the early 1990s various locations in the Federal District were surveyed by archaeologist Eurico T. Miller, and around 16 sites have been registered around the Descoberto River watershed, including also two ceramic and five historic sites (Bertran 2000).

Lately environmental impacts studies are the ones ruling the local archaeological investigations, situation common for the vast majority archaeological projects currently in place all over Brazil. These researches are usually urgent, and hardly ever have the financial means or human resources necessary to implement the best efforts for collecting, analyzing and dating human remains. The publication of results is also problematic.

5.2.1 Archaeological sites at ARIE JK: context of discovery and descriptions

At least five mitigation projects[2] have been conducted at ARIE JK. These fieldworks were mostly done due to development projects that demanded impact mitigation and consisted mostly in surveying and sometimes excavation. With exception of the 1997 excavation project sponsored by IPHAN, in all cases new archaeological sites have been registered during surveys. Following each research is described briefly.

The first project conducted in and surrounding the Park's limits took place in 1993, coordinated by Eurico T. Miller, who lives in Brasília and works for a power company called Eletronorte, and assisted by archaeologist Paulo Jobim de Campos Mello. This research intended to evaluate areas assigned for urban and rural expansions. According to Miller[3] in the early 1990s then DF Governor Joaquim Roriz started massive urban and rural expansion intensification strategies, and since he was the only archaeologist around the development and management companies always contact him to do impact studies.

For that matter and covering a large survey area, the methods used were previous bio-physical, ethnographic, and historical research followed by pedestrian survey with no ground intervention. In the field their goal was to examine statigraphic profiles at river banks, ravines and eroded areas. During four days of fieldwork they identified four pre-ceramic sites inside ARIE JK, and one outside it, all characterized as lithic and open air (Figure 5-1). A historical site characterized as a nineteenth Century farm was also registered under the name DF-PA-16 outside the Park and close to the Melchior river,

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[2] Other fieldworks may have passed by the Park and its surroundings, since there are power lines around and crossing it.

[3] Information from his interview.

probably located in Samambaia according to the report description (Miller 1993).

During this survey the only site registered due to the presence of archaeological artifacts was DF-PA-11, also known as Taguatinga site. The presence of a gullie on the site undercover a 20 centimeters archaeological strata 90 centimeters under the surface, with occurrence of flaked stone vestiges. The other sites were identified due to presence of similar statigraphic layer, which was categorized as presenting darker grayish organic soil and charcoal.

In that instance they already identified unifacial lithic instruments, described as plan-convex scrappers, as well as flakes, hammers, cores, and plain raw material. And he associated the sites as Paleoindian related to Itaparica tradition, associated to Paranaíba phase, with dating between 6 to 11.000 years BP (Miller 1993). This conclusion already pointed out to the need for further investigations and high scientific significance of all sites within the park. Miller believes the sites he registered at ARIE JK were resulted of small group campsites. He stated to have found many similar sites in several locations nearby, but classified the Park's sites as the most significant.

The second research project was sponsored by IPHAN in 1997, conducted by archaeologists Emílio Fogaça and Lúcia Juliani exclusively to assess the archaeological potential of local sites registered by Miller years before. At that time Emílio Fogaça, a professor at UFMG (Federal University of Minas Gerais) was invited due to his expertise in lithics research, and Lúcia Juliani due to her expertise with urban sites, at that time she worked as manager for the state cultural heritage secretary in São Paulo and as an archaeologist at a private company named *Scientia Consultoria Científica*. The goal was to evaluate the scientific significance of sites DF-PA-11, DF-

PA-12 and DF-PA-15, but the last two were not located due to inconsistencies in the coordinates[4] and descriptions from the previous report (Fogaça and Juliani 1997).

According to their report, the site DF-PA-11 was located inside *Parque Três Meninas* and their project was part of a local initiative to revitalize this park and the Melchior river named "*Programa Parques para o Povo*", sponsored by the local environmental preservation secretary. What IPHAN and the local secretary wanted as a result was an archaeological excavation project to be applied in the near future, and possibly to create a museum for safeguarding and displaying the archaeological collections.

They opened units in the fluvial terrace area close to the gullie that made possible uncovering the statigraphyc profile registered years earlier by Miller. The potential of the site was rapidly proved. In one of the test units they registered a workshop associated to a hyaline quartz projectile point, and the very presence of this tool proven to enhance instantaneously the scientific as well as the public value of this site. This structure contributed for concluding the site presented great preservation and carried undeniable relevance for investigating early human occupation in South America.

Besides the single tool in hyaline quartz, three kinds of raw material were indentified: silex, sandstone, and quartzite for less specialized and sharper edges tools. The stone materials they excavated at that time were characterized as well-finished and improvised tools, and consisted in cores, unifacial plan-convex tools, sandstone retouch flakes, bifacial tools, the projectile point and its related debris, and débitage flakes. By this time the archaeologists already identified intentional flint knapping on local quartzite outcrops, suggesting a quarry location nearby the camp area.

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[4] The Park has a change in the datum reference that occurs between sites DF-PA-11 and DF-PA-15.

The occurrence of this projectile point associated to unifacial tools meant the human presence at this site possibly occurred during the Late Pleistocene and Early Holocene periods, with probable dating between 12.000 to 6.000 years BP (Fogaça and Juliani 1997). Radiocarbon dating samples were collected at that time, but were never submitted.

Afterwards, Fogaça (1997) presented the excavation project for site DF-PA-11 in which a long-term research had been planned due to the high significance of the site, involving other expert archaeologists and academically oriented prioritizing natural excavation levels. According to Fogaça[5] the excavation budget was around US$250.000 if converted to today's currency. He compared this amount as being close to the entire IPHAN budget for that year, and stated that usually their budget prioritizes architectural preservation. IPHAN never personally contacted him after that, and he received a denial letter months later with no further explanations.

In early 2004 a systematic survey and later excavation project to mitigate damages caused by the implementation of a sewage and water pipeline and plant took place. This project resulted from the MPF/IPHAN embargo discussed on Chapter 3. Sponsored by CAESB, the project was coordinated by Mariza Barbosa, a professor at IGPA/PUC-GO, and Diogo M. Costa, at that time a hired archaeologist for *Fundação Aroeira*, which is a foundation that manages external jobs performed by this university (Barbosa and Costa 2005).

During the survey, which consisted in pedestrian walking and systematic shovel pits test along transects following the 14 kilometers pipeline,[6] the researchers located another site also related to the same quartzite outcrops but classified as a historical quarry site, named *Pedra Velha* (Figure 5-1). Built

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[5] Information from his interview.

[6] The sewage/water plant was already in place at that time.

structures associated with a construction and a prop wall were also part of this site, associated with archaeological materials underground dated from the late nineteenth and early twenth Centuries. According to Costa,[7] who is an expert in historical archaeology, this site is important because of its function as a recent quarry used for extraction of construction materials used in local buildings. Above all, its most significant feature is being physically associated with site DF-PA-15, meaning that in thousands years humans have used those rocky outcrops as raw material source for different goals and using different techniques, which can lead to many different questions and provide unique information about natural resources usage through time.

For the already known prehistorical sites the main focus was on mitigating impacts caused by the pipeline, and unfortunatelly the quartzite outcrops would suffer the most with its implementation, compromising prehistorical sites DF-PA-11 quarry area (not the same location dug in 1997), and DF-PA-15, at this time still unknown as a quarry-based site. After extensive diggings assisted by GPR mapping and a mini-shovel that excavated over 2 meters deep, the location registerd by Miller in 1993 as DF-PA-12 has been dismissed as a site due to lack of archaeological evidences (Barbosa and Costa 2005).

At the historical site 13 stone pieces have been collected, including flakes and one finished lithic tool, and four extraction areas have been registered and studied. The excavation at the two prehistoric quarry sites collected over 21 thousand stone fragments and finished tools, including flakes, cores and again the unifacial plan-convex instruments known in Brazil as "*lesmas*". However there were no organic materials associated and the sites presented poor statigraphy, characteristics of quarry sites discussed previously in this

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[7] Information from his interview.

Chapter. All material culture excavated in 2004 presented quartzite as raw material but two pieces from site DF-PA-15 (one quartz and one silex). Again the impressive numbers are from site DF-PA-11 in which over 20.000 pieces were collected, most being unipolar flakes (19.778), but also over 100 cores and 170 finished stone tools (Barbosa and Costa 2005).

Besides TAC's demands this project also resulted in an agreement between researchers and the developer to change the sewage pipeline project in order to preserve the quartzite outcrops at site DF-PA-11. Althought it still impacted the landscape,[8] the enginners agreed on altering the proposed underground to above ground pipeline in specific areas demarked by the archaeologists (Figure 5-2).

In 2007 another mitigation project took place due to construction of road DF-459 (Figure 5-3), this time coordinated by archaeologists Paulo Jobim Mello and Emílio Fogaça, at that time both professors at IGPA/PUC-GO (Mello and Fogaça 2007). They excavated the area close to the quartzite outcrops in site DF-PA-15, recovering similar material as those collected in 2004.[9] During this research another historical site has been registered under the name *Pórtico* (Figure 5-1). This site is described as the entrance of an old farm constructed with quartzite and cement (Figure 5-4). They conducted excavations but no archaeological materials were found underground; glass and dishware fragments collected on the surface are dated as late 1970s. According to the historical report signed by archaeologist Margareth de L. Souza this structure should be preserved because it is a vestige from the first

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[8] At first archaeologists tried to convince the company to change the pipeline route and avoid site DF-PA-11 completely, which would increase the price and delay even more the implementation of the enterprise.

[9] Only partial reports were available by the time I contacted both archaeologists therefore there are no further conclusions for this project.

rural settlement in the area from the mid to late twentieth Century, although she agreed that it has no archaeological significance.

The last mitigation project took place in 2009 as part of the environmental impact studies at the area that would host the *Centro Metropolitano de Taguatinga*, coordinated by Márcio A. Telles and Júlio César A. de Castro, archaeologists from the private company *Griphus Consultoria Ltda* (Telles and Castro 2010). This development is characterized as a multi-functional space to host GDF administrative center, as well as leisure, commercial and residential areas, proposed to be located in the immediate surroundings of the Park between Ceilândia and Taguatinga (Figure 5-1). This would correspond to the locations classified in the local master plans (NCA 2006) as *Centro Esportivo* (Taguatinga), which includes the regional Taguatinga bus station and the Stadium; and *Centro Regional* (Ceilândia), including the new UnB campus.[10]

After walking survey and systematic shovel test pits the location referred throughout this work as *Morro da Guariroba* in Ceilândia is now registered as a prehistoric site named *Bela Vista* (Telles and Castro 2010). This site is similar to the other quarry-based sites registered before, identified by surface flakes and intentional knapping at the quartzite outcrops (Figure 5-5). The team registered the site dimensions as 300x300 meters and severely impacted. However they stated the site location would not suffer impacts through implementation of this project therefore did not have to be excavated. The religious activities were not mentioned in their report, but they pointed out the vandalism at the outcrops as a problem for the site conservation.

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[10] This project also mentions the carnival arena and cultural center proposal called *Ceilambódromo* referred on Chapter 4.

5.2.2 The matter of scientific significance

With at least three quarry-based sites confirmed, and other three similar potential sites registered nearby, combined with the massive presence of the same kind of outcrops all over the Park area, this location can be considered a hotspot for lithic technology research. The collection excavated from site DF-PA-11 in 1997 alone is an example of its rich potential for stone analysis, especially if considering early humans flintknapping techniques. According to Fogaça (2002) the lithic industry from the Brazilian Central Plateau focused in débitage over shaping. All sites excavated presented impressive collections of plan-convex instruments known in Brazil as "*lesmas*" due to their unique shape. Those are mainly identified as unifacial stone tools that functioned for scrapping, cutting, sharpening or drilling with inferior face completely flat and presenting elaborate confection of superior face resulting in a symmetric shape.

However, the extent of research done so far is far from ideal considering the immense potential these occurrences still have to offer, as rare and still preserved quarry-based sites. Another particularity of these sites is that in Central Brazil most sites presenting the same lithic industry are located in rock shelters, and very few open air sites are known archaeologically, being one of those site DF-PA-11 (Fogaça 2002), and now also site DF-PA-15. As expected for quarry sites datable materials are rare, but at site DF-PA-11 the archaeological layer closer to the river terrace is associated with organic remains, so radiocarbon dating is possible at least for this site. Meanwhile, relative dating indicates these sites to be very old.

Researchers that have contributed to registering and understanding the local prehistoric lithic sites have classified them as Itaparica tradition, Paranaíba phase. Itaparica tradition consists on hunther-gather lithic sites

located in Brazilian Midwest and Northeast regions, represented by all lithic industries that presented unifacial stone tools and no projectile points as a dating toll (Fogaça 1995). The Paranaíba phase is characterized as presenting antiquity between 11.000 to 9.000 BP and plan-convex stone tools particularly big scrappers, always referred as "*lesmas*" (Prous 1992). The presence of the projectile point in site DF-PA-11 means the human presence can be even older, as stated by Fogaça and Juliani (Fogaça and Juliani 1997).

Traditionally it is accepted that the oldest presence of humans in mid-western Brazil occurred in the early Holocene, identified as Itaparica tradition, meaning the groups that occupied this region between 11 to 8 thousand years BP. However, recent researches done in Brazil with consistent radiocarbon dates prove that the earliest human vestiges known in central Brazil are from the transition Pleistocene/Holocene, with early radiocarbon date at 12.000 BP (Kipnis 1998).

Talking about sites with such early dating in South American has the potential to cause great controversy, as well as to attract great media attention. Early human occupation in the Americas is a highly debatable matter. As Schmitz (1994: 33) stated, there is "a true race for the oldest dates" in Brazil, and it is possible to find archaeologists publicizing human remains dated from 13.000 to 200.000 years BP, all of them challenged (Prous and Fogaça 1999). Although it is already accepted that the human presence in South American in the Pleistocene is real (Gruhn 2004), the significant antiquity these sites might present increases their significance even more, to lay people and to scientists alike.

5.3 Data Analysis

This chapter analysis focused in scientific data about local sites, therefore published and unpublished material produced about the Park's sites from 1993 to 2010, already described previously. The interview and newspaper contents considered only the perceptions people and media displayed about the sites. All principal archaeologists that conducted research at the Park have been interviewed (respondents A1-7, A2-1, A2-2, A2-3, A2-4 and A2-5). The only exception is the team that surveyed the area after this fieldwork was done. The walking survey main goal was to identify current usage on and/or related to sites DF-PA-11, DF-PA-15 and *Pedra Velha*. So far the sites are still sharing space with rural properties, and as far as related usage this issue was already concluded as absent in Chapter 2.

5.3.1 Interviews

Throughout the interview analysis on Archaeology the content of the information provided by each respondent at first has been confronted between subgroups and groups, and later the content variation has been contrasted among respondents classified according to their link to archaeology. However, the focus for this analysis is the cognition non-professionals have about the local sites. Therefore the analysis on this subject considered primarily comprehending the local archaeological sites perception of those classified as lay persons with no connection to archaeology (A1-1, A1-6, A2-6, A2-7, B1-1, and B1-2), and of laypersons that during their interview have advocated for archaeological preservation in some extent (A1-2, A1-3, A1-4, A1-5, A1-7, A2-1, A2-2, A2-3, A2-4, A2-5, A2-8, B1-3, B1-4, and B1-5). The goal was to understand if these individuals have a real sense of the archaeological intrinsic

value of the sites, and if this value fundamentally influenced on their behavior towards caring about their preservation.

The individuals classified as Residents, or those living in one of the three neighboring cities (Group A) presented similar acknowledgement and care for archaeological preservation, but the ones linked to related institutions (subgroup A2) displayed a stronger "ownership" discourse, much more related to the collections than to the actual sites. One similar characteristic among them is that rural dwellers acknowledge only "a site", probably referring to DF-PA-11, and urban dwellers understand the sites and a single entity, but in any of these subgroup respondents demonstrated to have a clear understanding about the sites as for the type, size or material culture associated. The individuals classified as experts in related fields who live in Brasília but not in one of the three neighboring cities (subgroup B1) presented huge variation in content about archaeology: some who were expected to be more knowledgeable about the local heritage made strange remarks, while others omitted on discussing the subject further.

The nine archaeology professionals (B1-6, B1-7, B1-8 and all individuals from subgroup B2) expressed no variation about the local sites intrinsic value, all of them agreed on the high relevance of the prehistoric sites, especially site DF-PA-11. Two archaeologists have commented on the scientific significance for the historic sites, B2-1 about the quarry site *Pedra Velha* as a source for understanding resource usage thought time; and B2-3 stressed the fact that site *Pórtico* may be the first rural occupation in that area. Besides these two isolated remarks, there is no discrepancy on their opinions, which is sometimes due to the type of the sites (quarry-based), but mostly due to their probable antiquity. The content of their interviews helped building understanding about the circumstances of their fieldworks, condition of the

sites at that time, and expertise evaluations, acting as informants and not as respondents on this matter.

Among the 20 respondents classified as lay-persons the majority has expressed some worry in preserving local sites (14), while six had no comments or did not care about local archaeology. Considering that not all of them were prepared to talk about this subject due to the probing strategy (not presenting myself as an archaeologist[11] or asking related questions in the beginning of the interviews), this number alone indicates that there is a general concern with sites protection and/or with displaying local archaeological collections.

During the interviews with the 20 individuals classified as lay-persons it was only possible to employ probing for eight; nonetheless there were still variations among them given the fact that half expressed interest and half did not care about local sites, and 10 versus two respondents aware of my goal expressed interest. Among the 14 who demonstrated some interest four did not know my real goal (A1-2, A1-3, A2-2, and B1-5), and 10 were aware before or during the interview (A1-4, A1-5, A1-7, A2-1, A2-3, A2-4, A2-5, A2-8, B1-3, and B1-4); while among the six respondents who expressed no interest four were not aware (A1-1, A1-6, A2-7, B1-1), and two were aware (A2-6, B1-2) of my main goal.

The six respondents who did not expressed especial care for the local sites were not against their preservation, nor displayed any negativity towards the subject. The subgroup of individuals with no institutional linkage (A1) presented only two that did not express interest in site preservation (A1-1 and A1-6), being those unaware of my main goal and both respondents did not

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[11] I presented myself as an anthropology Ph.D. student, but in Brazil rarely both fields are related for general public. When the respondent questioned me further I said my goal was to inquiry about their opinions on the Park, and when necessary I disclosed my main interest.

know what an archaeological site is. On the local dwellers with institutional linkage, two respondents were identified as not caring, one expressively admitted it does not make a difference for her to acknowledge the sites (A2-6), and the other did not show interest in extending the conversation about the local sites. For the two respondents in the expert subgroup that demonstrated no especial interest, it was clear that the type of the sites is not interesting enough to change their minds on significance, one because they are not visually interesting (B1-2), and the other because personally he did not have any reason to care about them, nor believes in human antiquity and scientific methods (B1-1).

As for the the 14 respondents advocating for archaeological preservation the motivations varied. The common sense is always related to the sites antiquity, not to the type of the site or the type of vestige. Those local dwellers not linked with institutions (Subgroup A1) relate sites preservation to maintenance of the Park land uses (A1-2, A1-3), but some also understand they are important tools for building local history (A1-4) and on their potential to uncover information on early humans (A1-5 and A1-7). In this subgroup two respondents expressed especial care about sites preservation (A1-5 and A1-7), and both have a full understanding on what an archaeological site is and on their intrinsic value before their interview. Respondent A1-5 even tried to visit their locations, unsuccessfully.

The local dwellers linked to institutions (Subgroup A2) and the experts who live in Brasília (Subgroup B1) who advocate for archaeology protection displayed opinions sometimes clearly associated to their institutional goals, sometimes related to their personal being. One example of these oppositions is when the heritage is spontaneously linked to identity. Two respondents connect heritage with identity building, one because he recognizes himself as an indigenous descent (A2-8), and the other always linking to local history

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and to cultural identity building (A2-5). Another example is found in responses from the environmental manager (B1-5), who stated as much technical information about local sites as the heritage managers, and as much emotional linkage to their protection as did the archaeology professionals, understanding them as part of the natural environment he daily struggles to enforce and protect as a professional and as a citizen.

5.3.2 Newspapers

The written newspaper sample analyzed presented 14 articles that mentioned or that were exclusively about archaeology (11 from *Correio Braziliense*; 03 from *Jornal de Brasília*), and half of them (7) due to the CAESB sewage and water enterprise mitigation research in 2004/05. Out of all 12 *Correio Braziliense* reports analyzed only one did not mention archaeology, the one published on 12/17/2005 about the new legal limits 5 smaller parks inside ARIE JK. On the other hand, three out of six *Jornal de Brasília* reports mentioned archaeology but only one was indeed about archaeology.

Minor mistakes related to fieldwork information such as dates, correct description of researchers, or staff numbers can only be spotted by those involved in the research, and are not really accountable for creating misunderstandings among readers. Institutional matters such as mistaken information and complaints on the lack of local research and display venues were already stressed in Chapter 3. The objective now is to analyze the quality of the content information related to the archaeological heritage and scientific data presented by writer newspapers.

The information displayed by the press usually is combined with adjectives to describe in a less technical and more appealing fashion the local

sites, issue identified especially on *Correio Braziliense* articles. The use of words "*tesouro*" (treasure) and "*riqueza*" (richness), and "*fóssils*" (fossils) being the most popular, found in reports and in many respondents testimonies also. Since the local sites are Paleoindian, other adjectives that can be considered critical are popular among this newspaper sample, such as "*primitivo*" (primitive), and "*homem das cavernas*" (cave man), and "*rudimentar*" (rudimentary).

   Correio Braziliense had six articles on other archaeological heritage at and nearby DF, which indicates this newspaper pays more attention to this matter. The fact that five out of 11 *Correio Braziliense* related articles are signed by a single reporter (Renato Alves) may be the answer for this pattern. However this journal has presented more double-meaning expressions, incorrect definitions and wrong information, and sometimes reinforces the common sense on the amateur character of archaeology in Brazil by displaying opinions of historians and advocates (many times looters). Personally I can say that even though *Correio Braziliense* displayed information that is not ideal, one has to be in the field to really spot their mistakes, and overall the content did not present critical information to the point of jeopardizing readers' opinions about the local sites. The same cannot be said for the local archaeological researches, issue discussed on Chapter 3.

   The only *Jornal de Brasília* report about archaeology, published on 08/15/2004, presented decent informative quality, no use of double-meaning adjectives. They also explain very briefly about the scientific research, and provided a short guide explaining a little bit about pre-history in central Brazil, well written for the lay public. The other two reports mentioning archaeology were about the road construction but the part they explain about the local sites is accurate, even though it is a minor part of the report (08/14/2007); and about the problem of land swindling in DF and briefly

commented about the archaeological sites of ARIE JK to express how much potential are in danger due to illegal land use of the area, and that MPF is worried with irreversible destruction (01/20/2008).

Jornal de Brasília reports mentioning or about archaeology are less in quantity, but the quality of the information is better, and no double-meaning expressions were found in this newspaper. The data reported actually mirrors information archaeologists would provide for the press, even thought the dating is still blurry. There is a general confusion with the Park's sites dating, *Jornal de Brasília* emphasized 6.000 years old, while *Correio Braziliense* has no consistency and reported 7 to 7.500 (04/06/08), 8.000 (03/05/05); 9.000 (09/24/05); or 10.000 (08/15/04), and "at least 10.000" (08/24/08). For other sites *Correio Braziliense* even considered dates not acceptable scientifically such as 43.000 (08/24/08) and 100.000 years old (03/05/05).

Sometimes the problem is not with the media, but with the very information publicized by archaeologists. The information about a 43.000 years BP site is published in a notorious local history book (Bertran 2000). And the one related to 100.000 years BP is publicized by the most popular archaeologist in Brazil due to her media exposure, Niéde Guidon. A note published on 03/05/05 about an itinerary exposition in Brasília is a great example of how data that is not yet accepted scientifically become a fact through media, and gain a lot of exposure mostly because of the controversy. This exhibition about pre-history displaying archaeological and paleontological artifacts from Serra da Capivara/PI publicized for the public that human occupation in the Americas is as old as 100 thousand years, sponsored by a respected research institution and notarized by a famous archaeologist.

5.3.3 Conclusions on data analysis

There are many threats to these sites protection, even in an area that in theory should have restricted land uses. The housing pressure is inevitable, and unfortunately the future of this Park is uncertain. The recognition of a large urban quarter too close to site DF-PA-11 (Figure 5-3), the construction of a large road connecting two cities passing side by sites DF-PA-15 and *Pedra Velha*, and the large projects proposed in locations surrounding of the Park (Figure 5-1) already point out for the inevitable expansion of urban limits into the river valley, which indeed is a very common pattern in Brazil and in other densified urban area in the world. On the other hand, if considered in a different perspective, the very developments that have sponsored archaeological research are also responsible for their preservation since they funded archaeological research that otherwise would not happen in DF, given the high costs and the lack of local research institutions.

The respondents aware of archaeological sites inside the Park are also aware the sites are old and prehistoric, but not necessarily what type and what kind of artifacts are in their collections. The same conclusion can be reached after analyzing written newspaper reports, even though dating is confusing, the sites antiquity is always the main subject. However, regarding their material culture, the newspapers are more precise in describing them as lithic artifacts, even though they still refer generically to archaeological remains as related to human bones at first, later all reports that commented on the actual collections successfully described them as they are. On the other hand respondents usually do not acknowledge this characteristic, even the ones strongly advocating for the return and display of these collections.

The minority of respondents did not express directly to care about the local sites, two because they do not know what an archaeological site is, two

because of the sites non-monumental character, and two did not express reason. However, none of them is against their protection, because more or less they also acknowledge their significance. Although most respondents did not express directly, many believe digging and displaying is the natural response to heritage preservation. Only two respondents emphasized the need to excavate the sites, one of them expressed big concern with their preservation and only understand excavation as a way to avoid destruction (A2-5) and the other simply understand it is something necessary (A2-4). It is between the lines the collections should be located in Brasília, because it belongs to the local communities and therefore cannot be somewhere else.

Specifically in relation to the flint knapping quarry areas, the two lithic experts interviewed (B2-2 and B2-3) more or less confirmed the lack of interest for this type of site among archaeologists. Respondent B2-3 clearly stated that as an archaeologist he would not care to excavate the shallow areas around the outcrops, but classified the deeper strata with organic material for radiocarbon dating as much more significant. And respondent B2-2 did not comment on the outcrops potential, but stressed the fact that the deep organic remains associated with the stone instruments carry enormous potential. It is not surprising to find these opinions, and the context of archaeology in Brazil still struggling to produce regional conclusions, combined with "technical and methodological limitations imposed by a shattered, overlapping, sometimes shallow, no diagnostic, undatable, unattractive, redundant, and at time voluminous material record" (Ericson 1984: 2) perfectly explain and justify their preferences.

The main conclusion for this data analysis is that probable antiquity is proven to be the most significant feature of local sites, and not their especial and rare type that could reach additional inferences for behavioral, economical or social distinctiveness. Due to the sites outstanding antiquity, and due to the

fact that archaeology was still unknown for the Brazilian Federal District, IPHAN and local city administrations demonstrated interest in learning more about their features, and in creating spaces for display and safeguard the collections, as owners. The antiquity also incentives the experts to investigate these sites closely, not exactly due to their character as quarry-based. Being part of the intrinsic value generated by this heritage, and as proven through data important for general public and for institutions, in fact the intrinsic value play a major role in explaining why they care about this heritage, contrary to first hypothesis. This reinforces ARIE JK archaeological heritage as possessing great intrinsic value for the public, for the media, and for the experts, even though many of them have no idea of what is the material culture associated, or who were the Paleoindians and how they lived.
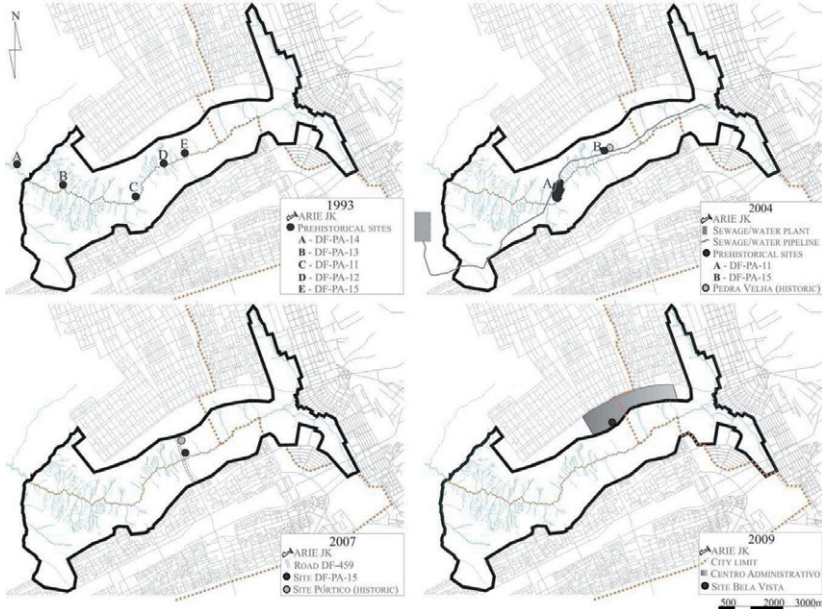

Figure 5-1. Location of all areas registered during archaeological surveys

Figure 5-2. Panoramic view of site DF-PA-11 and the above ground sewage pipeline, *Condomínio Pôr-do-Sol* houses in the back

Figure 5-3. Panoramic view of DF-459 under construction

Figure 5-4. The farm entrance porch remains registered as the historical site *Pórtico*

Figure 5-5. Prehistoric site *Bela Vista*, same location known as *Morro da Guariroba*, in Ceilândia

CHAPTER 6
ARCHAEOLOGICAL HERITAGE AND THE NON-DESCENDENT
PUBLIC REALM: FINAL THOUGHTS

It probably sounds strange for many to see a Public Archaeology research that does not discuss outreach, nor tried to educate the public about archaeology. It is also unexpected to see an anthropological research about cultural heritage in a Latin American metropolitan area that did not focus on the social and political issues that isolate most people physically, socially, and politically; or argued on how the vast majority of the dwellers are usually excluded as stakeholders and marginalized from decision-makings. All of these matters are essential parts of the problem that surrounds the public and the archaeological heritage that is supposed to benefit them.

However, by assuming a bottom-up approach while listening to their opinions from their own perspectives, I intended to understand motivations as to why do they care after all without interferences, independently of their role as a stakeholder who actively fights for the best result, or as a person generally excluded from the discussion, or as an expert that attributes significance, enforce rules, or publicize the information that might not be as accurate, or the one who decides to promote tourism. The fundamental "truth" about this case study is that the archaeological heritage at that Park, among those satellite-cities in the Brazilian Federal District is yet intangible; it is an abstract idea that have taken different shapes to different actors, for different purposes due to different reasons.

6.1 The Role of Cultural Heritage Values in Shaping Public Opinion at ARIE JK

It is interesting to notice that identification with natural settings (Kyle, Mowen and Tarrant 2004) or with cultural sites (Burnett 2001; Howard 2003;

Holtorf 2006b; Synnestvedt 2006) are social constructions and do not have to rely on facts to take place. Simply by recognizing themselves as actors constituent of continual human presence, local communities can find affiliation with the hunter-gatherers groups that used to share the same space they live in today, connecting past, present and future merely by the continuous manipulation of the environment.

What this research discuss is the importance of listening to every actor involved; the ones holding the stake, the ones identified as descendants, and the ones known as part of the communities surrounding these settings, all of them should be included as rightful participants in the decision-making processes. Of course those who do have a cultural linkage should always have their voices heard, and respected, but nonetheless the "others" are also impacted. Identifying the key stakeholders in each situation is the best strategy to discuss long-term benefits, and to understand what the heritage actually means to the public, even if they do not value or care for it, should be the center of the problem.

The Hypothesis was that these actors cared about a past that does not directly link to their own due to the extrinsic values generated by the archaeological heritage. I believed that the institutional and instrumental characters of these sites and collections were the main motivations for the local public responses over the years, since the first discovery in 1993 up to today. As said before, it is very complex endeavor to measure the importance of a heritage value, and the data proved how difficult it is in many instances to characterize what is institutional to what is instrumental because those values are so closely associated.

Nonetheless, what proved to be the main focus for all the actors involved, in which I include the media and the related institutions, is the scientific, historical, and emotional relevance of this heritage as a material evidence of

early humans, independently of the appearance and conditions of their collections, or the sites themselves, or their landscape. What inspires responses from all these "publics" is the proof of antiquity; therefore the intrinsic value is indeed the main reason for public reaction, and directly answers to the "why" question proposed in this work. However, the extrinsic values have been the major reason as to "how" these actors have intended to or actually assumed the stakeholder position in regards to the local archaeological preservation.

On the other hand, today archaeological heritage is not part of the everyday life in Brasília, not for the media, and not for the dwellers. Even though the undeniable scientific relevance of the sites acknowledged by most of the respondents, this character was not in people's minds when I inquired about the Park (Chapter 2). While analyzing the criteria of spontaneous mentioning of the sites it is obvious that archaeology is not a strong character inside ARIE JK given that less than 30% of the respondents took the initiative to talk about it without any sort of previous remark on my part. No one from the residents' subgroup with no institutional linkages (A1) mentioned the sites before being questioned, including the one who was aware of my research goals. Excluding the seven archaeologists and the pedagogue due to obvious reason, out of the remaining 21 respondents 10 knew beforehand that my goal was to learn their opinions about local archaeological heritage and among them only five people mentioned the sites before questioning.

This response is not exclusive for Brasília. The non-monumental characteristics of the archaeological heritage in Brazil, the history of this discipline in this country, and how cultural heritage has played the role of shaping national identity are parts of the explanations for this pattern in Brazil, issues briefly discussed in Chapter 3. Barreto (1998: 579) has already pointed out that "unlike in many Latin American countries, archaeology in Brazil is

seen neither as a touristic resource nor as a means by which its small Native American population affirms ethnic identity". The particularities of cultural heritage settings need to be contextualized and public responses taken seriously.

The case study chosen is unique: it gathered the least visually attractive material culture, around a massive rural and urban population characterized as recent migrants from around the country. Nevertheless, it influenced public responses, and those have a strong relationship with cultural heritage values. The probable antiquity of the sites being identified as the major explanation for the public to care about it is not as straightforward if one decides to ask why antiquity plays such an important role in that community. During data collection, one of the archaeologists (B2-2) said that independently on the archaeological site itself, it means a landmark for local towns to develop a local history speech and claim for protection, which I always agreed.

The instance that actually motivated me to pursue this research is directly linked to extrinsic values: the hyaline quartz projectile point excavated in 1997 that ended up motivating immediate public response through looting. Right after the archaeologists acknowledged the presence of the projectile point they found a gigantic whole in the same location, dug by local dwellers. Both archaeologists understood that the presence of a translucent artifact, easily recognizable, enhanced greatly the locals' suspicions and believes that the artifacts indeed have economical value. It is very popular idea that archaeologists are actually looking for personal profit while digging sites, almost an urban legend enforced by the media, by the lack of proper outreach, but mostly by the actual worth artifacts have in the antiques black market.

The presence of a suspiciously valuable stone tool that by itself attracts public attention was reinforced by a "dream" the lady who lived in that property had, in which the archaeologists found a big diamond there.

Obviously this translucent and beautifully carved artifact fed the locals to look for that treasure, enhancing even more mistrustful of the archaeologists' real intentions. Respondent B2-2 believes there was another person behind that action, and that it would boost a political campaign promise to create a local museum in Taguatinga. Was this incident merely results of an immediate pursue for profit? Was it resulted from an institutional will for visibility? Or else, was it due to the presence of a very low income population nearby? Many can be the answers, probably all those reasons combined explain what motivated them to loot the site. The fact is that it was a reaction directly linked to instrumental values that could have been more destructive if in that site profitable artifacts could actually be found.

In regards to the institutional powers identified as crucial for enhancing the public value of archaeology locally, two instances deserve special consideration here: the local administrations and the media. It is strange that a municipal park has its limits exceeding the city boundaries, defined by the Melchior River as noted for *Parque Três Meninas* in Samambaia (Figure 6-1). In the 1990s the site DF-PA-11 was already officially accounted as part of this park (Fogaça and Juliani 1997), even though its location is actually in the neighboring city Ceilândia. ARIE JK Management Plan also considers this site as part of *ParqueTrês Meninas* (NCA 2006). Even thought this matter was never obvious in the data analyzed, there have always been a dispute as to which city hosts "the site", or "the sites", noted on the incident about the projectile point described earlier, and reinforced by the fact that in 2004 Ceilândia's web site publicized an archaeological site inside the Park as a tourism option (issue discussed on Chapter 4).

This dispute was probably never endured because of the absolute lack of visible features identifiable by lay persons, which is probably the biggest reason as to why these sites are still preserved. And that is the main

explanation as to the minor relevance of tourism for this case study, proposed in this work as the major instrumental value generated by archaeological heritage. Considering the fact that archaeological tourism in Brazil is still far from becoming a profitable market, in fact it did play a minor role in creating public value. However, if the conditions were different and the sites presented singular features, the result should be the very opposite.

As discussed on Chapter 3, the ways the media portray archaeology is a big deal for shaping public opinion. The reporters, as part of the lay persons category, feed a pejorative character by using terms such as richness and treasure, which are synonyms of wealth and easily interpreted as such by readers or viewers, reinforcing the mislead economical value many associate with archaeological vestiges. Primitive and cave man reinforce other negative stereotypes of ancient humans. The use of these words to describe archaeological heritage is somewhat expected for this kind of text, and very common in all kinds of media. However, what proved to be the main problem is the poor communication archaeologists have with the general audiences, which is not simply fixed, and also part of a bigger issue that is not exclusive for archaeology but to all sciences. The fact is that information media displays is many times the only chance a larger number of local dwellers have to learn about local archaeological heritage, and it should be a subject for further investigations before, during, and after archaeological fieldworks, independently of the type of setting.

6.2 The Afterwards of this Public Archaeology Investigation

Throughout this research it became clear that the institutional responses about the Park's cultural heritage eventually fall short. The media focuses attention only during archaeological diggings, the actions from development

and management agencies are strong during mitigation projects, but no long-term actions are in practice so far and life goes on at ARIE JK. The high estate value and the urban sprawling will most likely be the ones noticed in couple years as to what happens next in that case study. The archaeological heritage has not been adapted to promote social or economical enhancement yet, and the public's motivations to care about the ancient sites are basically due to their significant importance as early South-American human occupations.

Up to the fieldwork done in 2008, all the questions proposed during the research-design seem to be answered by the above statements, and this is what the collected data demonstrated after analysis. However, the local scenario changed on the last years, and the very research done for this dissertation might have caused some reactions that were never expected, or intended, topic presented briefly as a final thought.

One of the respondents interviewed in the end of the data collection in November of 2008 is a history teacher at a public school in Samambaia. He is also linked to several NGOs and civil organizations preoccupied with preserving the local water resources, and with implementing local Agenda 21 in several of the satellite-cities surrounding Brasília. Since 2008 he has maintained contact with me by e-mail, letting me know by his own will that he has taken action pro the return of the archaeological collections and the construction of a museum to safeguard them in Samambaia. He is also trying to promote more archaeological fieldwork at ARIE JK. It is a genuine demand, and it could turn out to be very beneficial for Samambaia to host a museum. But there are other issues involved, such as the actual location of the sites being in Ceilândia, the lack of proper management for an archaeological museum, and the lack of visual appeal for the displays. Further excavations will be significantly expensive, and it will not be easy to find a well trained archaeologist to do so. I am not against these initiatives, but I am afraid of the

amount of frustration they might create along the process, and that it turns out to show archaeology, and archaeologists as difficult, and inaccessible.

Another remarkable change happened in regards to the few archaeologists and archaeology advocates creating an organization in Brasília, the *Grupo Arqueologia Brasília,* and the very archaeological conference that took place in Brasília in 2011 (discussed in Chapter 3). This is a proof that the scenario is rapidly changing in Brazil, and in Brasília, and that many of the issues discussed in this work as for the lack of research centers might be transformed sooner than later. The rapid increase in college programs and the high demand for archaeologists nationwide, and the boost in outreach initiatives due to mitigation projects might also motivate dramatic changes in this country, and the public value of archaeology might be transformed into a different meanings.

The public recognition of the archaeological heritage in Brasília is a tool that some these actors clearly have intended to use, even thought the particularities of the context make it difficult to accomplish. And I do believe the uses of heritage by the local communities can be positive for the public and for the preservation as well. What managers and scientists might be losing in this process is the opportunity to assess these possibilities beforehand, and effectively contribute to enhance these benefits while conducting their jobs. The behavior of institutions that deal directly with cultural heritage recognition and protection need to switch drastically in order to achieve this goal, and to establish a dialogue with stakeholders, to involve the local community in the decision-making process needs to consider diverse opinions and expectations. These ideas are not new. What I intend to accomplish by presenting this study is to broaden the discussion. After a deeper understanding of a context that I naively believed to be very familiar to me, it was possible to see that the public reactions are not as inexplicable as they

first appeared to be, but that they are extremely complex to understand when one is not open to listen, to experience, and to pay attention to actions that many times are taken for granted, but that are definitely part of the picture.
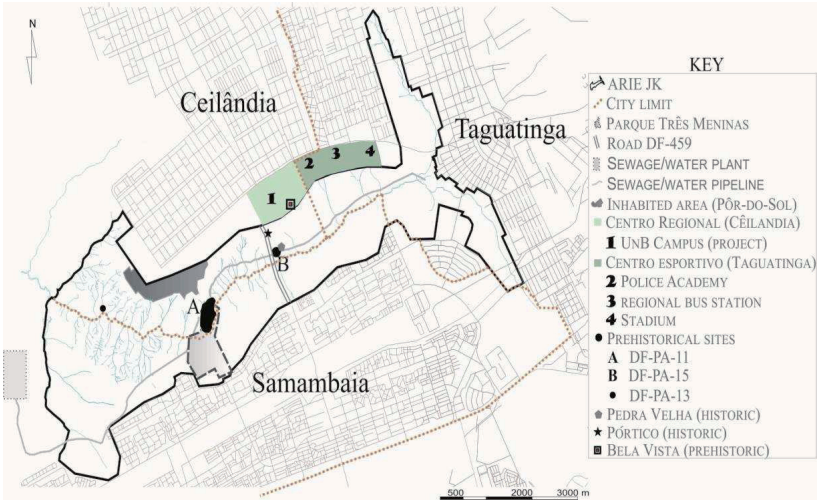

Figure 6-1. Location of all sites currently registered inside the Park in contrast to infra-structure developments, the housing quarter and *Parque Três Meninas*

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