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**Developing Edu-Tourism In An Urban Indigenous Community:
The Case Of Aldeia Bananal (Brasília – DF – Brazil)**

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Mittuniversitetet

MID SWEDEN UNIVERSITY

“The importance of different ways of knowledge is to make us realize that we can think otherwise” Da Cunha (2013)

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DEVELOPING EDU-TOURISM IN AN URBAN INDIGENOUS COMMUNITY: THE CASE OF ALDEIA BANANAL (BRASÍLIA – DF – BRAZIL)

Department of Tourism Studies and Geography (TUG)

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ABSTRACT

This work aims at developing a tourist visit to the Aldeia Bananal, a community located in Brasília, the Brazilian capital. The community is composed of three ethnic indian groups: Kariri-Xokó, Tuxá and Fulni-ô. The reason of the study is to research and develop Indigenous Tourism. Furthermore, I also wanted to evaluate the present and future benefits to the students and to the indigenous community of a project which relates Indigenous and Educational Tourism. The thesis describes three visits from public school children organized by the government and the official visit organized by me together with the leader Cacique Tanoné. The visitors or student-tourists were mainly from the 4th semester of a Tourism bachelor course. While developing the Educational Tourism visit we mostly focused on three concepts: Geotourism, which tries to enhance the cultural and natural characteristics of the indigenous group through participatory tourism; Ambience Generation, which relates to changing the learning environment of the students as a mean of catalyzing their educational process; and Staged-Authenticity for Community Empowerment. The thesis is developed in three phases: first, the description of the area; second, the development of the visit together with the community; and last the analysis of the visit based on the community leader's and the students' view. The most important fact that affects the community's daily life and consequently the present tourist visitations is the construction – started in 2007 – around their land of the newest and most expensive neighborhood in Brasília, the Northwest Sector. Some conclusions of this study were: the community was at all times very positive towards the research; they received a fair amount of money and were satisfied with it; they spread their culture in a tense political moment; and enhanced their cultural heritage, although I think the visit did not enhance the natural environment as it could. For the students the project created a unique contact with the indigenous group which led to a higher knowledge and valorization of their culture; it also showed a practical example of indigenous tourism to Tourism students. The data did answer the question regarding to the benefits to the students and to the community; and the method for developing and evaluating an indigenous tourism practice is still in progress and can reach an ideal level with further research.

KEYWORDS: Indigenous Tourism; Educational Tourism; Geotourism; Aldeia Bananal; Santuário dos Pajés

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By

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INTRODUCTION

Indigenous communities around the world have been living for decades or even centuries close to urban areas. If we look at urbanization in Central and South America and think about Machu Pichu, in Peru, it is obvious that indigenous people were living in cities even before the Spanish and Portuguese Colonization in the XVI century. In other parts of the world, the Maoris in New Zealand had the highest rates of urbanization after World War II, reaching 84%; in 2006, 54% of aboriginals from Canada lived in urban areas; in Brazil, Bolivia and Chile over half of the indigenous population live in the cities; other examples are the Sami people in Scandinavia and Russia and American Indians or Alaska Natives in The USA (UN-Habitat, 2010).

There is a trend of indigenous people to live in urban areas and, therefore, their lifestyle is influenced by urban ideals. Due to this mix and the variety of examples, urban indigenous populations cannot be reduced to a blanket classification of peoples within either their 'Aboriginality' or their 'Urban-ness', since many of them keep a great range of their cultural values and spiritual linkage to the land, while the opposite is also true.

The usual contact with urban values makes tourism among these indigenous populations more possible than for non-urban indigenous groups. Moreover, they may benefit from tourism by presenting their indigenous heritage to society, which usually sees them as non-indigenous merely because they have acquired some urban practices, which are nonetheless essential for their daily survival in cities.

While looking for an indigenous community near Brasília – DF, the only one found was Aldeia Bananal (Bananal Village) (Figure 1)¹. However there is a current urban issue influencing the future of the community and which this study has to deal with: the new neighborhood, called the Northwest sector (Figure 2), which has been built around their land since 2007. Since then the real estate investors have tried to expel the community from the area the Indians have lived from 1969, using the argument mentioned before that they are not real Indians due to the urban habits acquired.

The Bananal Community in Brasília – DF is an interesting case of an urban indigenous community. It is presently composed of three ethnic groups Kariri-Xokó, Tuxá and Fulni-Ô Tapuya, with about 15 families, around 40 Indians. Their original land is located in the state of Alagoas (Kariri-Xokó and Tuxá) and Pernambuco (Fulni-ô) (see Brazilian Map – Figure 3). It is said that these three groups moved for two reasons: first their lands in Pernambuco and Alagoas

¹ The other indigenous community from Brasília is the Avá Canoeiro, located in the cities of Minaçu and Colinas do Sul, 367 km from Brasília.

were “donated” to the Catholic Church, and second due to the policy of indigenous land lease executed by the SPI (Indigenous Protection Service) in the 50’s and 60’s. However, Cacique Tanoné, the present leader of the Bananal Community, has her personal reason for having immigrated: she did not accept having to divide her husband with other women, a common practice among some Brazilian Indian groups.

Figure 1: Red: New Condominiums; Green: Burle Marx Urban Park; Yellow: Bananal Community
Source: Terracap

Figure 2: Location of the new Northwest Neighborhood
Source: Google Earth

Figure 3: Brazilian Map with the Kariri Xokó route from Alagoas to DF
Source: <http://lucasegeography.blogspot.com.br/2010/08/mapa-do-brasil.html>

Regarding the first groups to establish in Santuário dos Pajés, two different leaders in the community tell different stories. On the one hand (Oliveira, 2011), Santxiê (from the Fulni-Ô Tapuya) says that the first Indian group who immigrated to Brasília was the Fulni-Ô Tapuya, in 1957, followed by the Tuxá and finally the Kariri-Xokó in 1969. The latter is now the main

group. On the other hand, Cacique Tanoné (Kariri-Xokó), whom this thesis is based on, contradicts this argument saying that there was just a small group of Fulni-ô here during the construction of the city and the first ethnic group to actually establish here were the Tuxá and then the Kariri-Xokó in the late 60's.

The Northwest Sector is the last urban area available for construction in Brasília. Since 2007 many buildings have been developed as a result of real estate speculation. There has been built the newest and most expensive neighborhood of the city and maybe the country, as a result of real estate speculation. At that time, when the news started to come out in the media, the *brasilienses*² hardly knew about the existence of Indian groups living in the city (Schvarsberg, 2009).

Under the context in which the Aldeia Bananal is involved, it is inevitable to discuss the present situation of the community, which has faced pressure since 2007 and was forced to move away, however the main purpose of this research was to develop and evaluate the Educational and Indigenous Tourism project in the community, and examine its possible benefits or not for the indigenous people themselves and for society overall.

The **general question** that arises for this research is:

- How to develop Edu-tourism in an Urban Indigenous community?

Furthermore, I point out one more question to guide the research:

- What are the present and future benefits of acquired by the students and the indigenous community in this project, which relates Indigenous and Educational Tourism?

The hypothesis for the general question would be in Anthropological work and in the following concepts: 1 - Geotourism (National Geographic, 2010), which focuses on active tourists who can help to enhance the cultural and natural characteristics of the host group; 2 - Ambience Generation (Rego, 2010), a *praxis*, which aims at catalyzing the learning process of the students through the creation of a specific ambience based on three points: modifying the learning environment (in this case from the classroom to the community's land), a dialogic practice, which confronts different values and last the interpretation of the experience aiming at personal and social changes; 3 - The concept of Staged Authenticity developed by Maccannell (1973), which I have broadened by developing the Staged Authenticity for Community Empowerment.

The **hypothesis** for the second problem statement is that the tourism practice may lead to a higher valorization of their cultural heritage by the community members; a fair economic

² Citizens from Brasília

gain; and the expansion of society's knowledge about the community resulting in broader support. As for the students, they may experience a unique real contact with the indigenous culture enabling them to learn more about their history, cultural values and artifacts, guiding to a higher cultural heritage valorization.

The **general objective** of this research is:

- developing Edu-tourism in the Bananal Community;

While the **specific objectives** are:

- characterizing a possible method to research on Indigenous Tourism;
- analyzing the benefits of an Educational and Indigenous Tourism project for the Indian group and for the students.
- identifying the cultural artifacts, the historical facts and spiritual values of the Bananal community;

This thesis is then presented through the following points: 1 Literature Review; 2 Study Area - The Bananal Community; 3 Method; 4 The Bananal Project; 5 Analysis, which is based on the visitors' and Cacique Tanoné's view.

1 LITERATURE REVIEW

In order to do a literature review on Education-Tourism in Indigenous communities in general and specifically in the Bananal Community, I will discuss the concepts of **Indigenous Tourism** (Butler, 2007; Swain, 1989), **Staged-Authenticity for Empowerment** (Macannell, 1973) as well as **Edu-Tourism** (Ritchie, 2003). After that, based on the concepts of **Geotourism** (National Geography, 2010; Buckley, 2003) and **Ambience Generation** (Rego, 2010), the concepts previously debated will be brought together to discuss how to develop edu-tourism in an indigenous context.

1.1 Indigenous Tourism

At first I will present the **concept** of Indigenous Tourism (Butler, 2007; Swain, 1989), issues regarding **which group** can be considered as indigenous community and the **Indigenous Tourism System** (Butler, 2007). Moreover, some questions related to the concept of **Authenticity** and **Staged-Authenticity** shall also be presented (Urry, 1995; Hall, 2005; Wood, 1989; Macannell, 1973).

Indigenous Tourism is the “tourism activities in which indigenous people are directly involved either through control and/or by having their culture served as the essence of the attraction” (Butler, 2007, p.5). Swain (1989) refers to the commercialization of the tourist attractions inspired by the indigenous way of life. Therefore having the **culture** as attraction is a primary indicator of indigenous tourism.

Another relevant issue is concerned with **which groups can be considered as indigenous**. Two main characteristics must be stated: first the “group was present and occupied a given area prior to the creation of modern states and borders” (Butler, 2007, p.5); and second the groups are “seen to be distinct in terms of their culture and social identities and institutions relative to dominant groups in society” (Butler, 2007, p.5).

Regarding to the possibility of building a model of the **Indigenous Tourism System**, although each indigenous tourism experience is unique in terms of time, space and participants, and thereby must be studied separately, there are some common patterns which enable the creation of a framework, such as the role of culture, the dynamic between the generating and destination region, the interaction between cultures, the intermediaries of the tourism market, government, media, and economic, social, political and physical world (Butler, 2007).

First, the central role of **culture** within the system must be highlighted. Then there is the basic travel dynamic between the **generating region** and the **destination region**. This flow in

human traffic is accompanied by a variety of additional flows, including financial resources, information and image. Another central point is the **interaction** between cultures, which can be of at least four types: the host indigenous culture; the main-stream culture of the region; the global culture, which influences the tourism industry; and the multiple cultures that make up the international market for the indigenous tourism. Moreover, there are the various intermediaries, part of the **tourism trade**, that make up the travel trade: travel agents in the origin; transportation companies; and outbound and inbound tour operators. **Governments** also tend to be active participants in indigenous tourism, which has the role of meeting the needs of the community. **Media** is also a major player in the indigenous tourism system. Last, the indigenous tourism is impacted by trends in the **economic, social, political and physical world**. These trends represent external influences largely beyond the control of either the indigenous or global tourism industry. (Butler, 2007)

Due to the growth of tourists' interest in indigenous communities there are at least four **stakeholders** who are interested in indigenous tourism. First, the own communities, most of them aware of the earning possibilities through tourism activity, although usually not knowing how to manage it; then the tourism industry, always eager to make a big profit of the tourist activity; thirdly there are the public sector and the NGOs, whose task should be mediating the last two; and finally there are the tourists, some interested in the indigenous culture and others just interested in the attractive natural landscape where the indigenous people live. Therefore, the question that arises is: how do we cope with all these interests?

Regarding the **reasons for researching indigenous tourism** it is possible to point out at least four. The first and main reason is related to the need of empowering the communities giving them the necessary linkage tools to the tourism industry. The second reason is related to assisting the public organizations and NGO's to develop this kind of tourism – reason which is still related to the first one. Thirdly, although many studies on this issue have been undertaken, such research projects must be an ongoing process, as each community is inserted in a different context and needs thereby a particular approach. Finally, considering the international academic community – publications in English –, “there are still significant parts of the world not represented, particularly in South America and parts of Asia and Eastern Europe” (Butler, 2007, p.320).

1.1.1 Staged Authenticity for the community empowerment

The discussion around the concept of authenticity or verisimilitude is relevant when there is an interest in researching the question of the **tourist experience** – as the tourism scholars have been doing since the 70's – as well as when the **culture** is the main tourist attraction (Grünewald, 1999). Moreover, now we add a third aspect so as to study authenticity, namely that of **community empowerment**.

Following the tendency of global cultural and spatial homogenization, the tourists' fascination of what constitutes the difference emerges, showing a new interest towards the local. But what does the post-modern tourist search for? Is it the real difference – unchanged culture or – the staged one?

Hall (2005) states that the post-modern tourist in the post-modern culture is not a collector of **authenticities**, but a conscious intruder and a demanding consumer. The tourists are aware that the tourist space is a constructed one and they even have their demands on it. Therefore, it would not be correct to affirm that the search for authenticity is the base of the tourism organization.

By contrast, for MacCannell (quoted by Wood, 1998), in a world in which authentic experience seemed to be rapidly receding, tourism was fundamentally about the search for it. However, Urry (1995, p.40) states that MacCannell is aware that although tourists seek authenticity “this is necessarily unsuccessful since those being gazed upon come to construct artificial sites which keep the inquisitive tourist away”.

Therefore, analyzing MacCannell's and Hall's view on authenticity, it can be inferred that tourists do search for authenticity when visiting cultural sites, but being conscious consumers, they know they will find it in a staged way. It was then at this framework of thought that Macannell (1973) came up with the concept of “**staged authenticity**”, which refers to the staging of local culture in order to create an impression of authenticity for a tourist audience. Tourist spaces would be thus organized around a staged authenticity, such as the standardized presentations in fancy hotels or concert halls mixing typical food and dance, like Tango in Argentina, Indian presentations in the Brazilian Amazon Rain Forest or the Maori dance and food in New Zealand. However not all tourism involves the staging of authenticity (e.g. "sun and sand" tourism) nor does the staging of local culture always lead to alienation among local people (Maccannell, 1973) and degradation of the local culture, and it is precisely this practice that I choose to term “staged-authenticity for empowerment”.

To Grünewald (1999, p.40)³:

When one believes that there are unauthentic tourist experiences he does not perceive the dynamic of a society in generative terms, e.g., the communities (with their localized cultures), while facing the tourist experience, can transform themselves from the genesis of new standards, keeping authentic.

Thus, as the tourists are not part of the community and can rarely engage in non-staged representations, it is understood that a cultural representation is always authentic for the tourists. Therefore, in tourism, when we talk about authenticity we mean staged-authenticity. However, the level of how much a staged authenticity – or just authenticity – is valid and accepted depends on the type \ values of each tourist.

The modification of the cultural artifacts – or staged-authenticity – by traditional communities in order to attend the tourists` will is not a new phenomenon.

The uses of indigenous costumes in shows date back to the 16th century when, for example, the Tupinambá people had to **stage** fictitious festival for the court of Von Rouen. In the 19th century was common for travelers and researchers of evolutionary theory to `order` dances and ceremonies generally to confirm their thesis (Seiler-Baldinger, 1988, p.184).

This so called “super valorization” of the local identity can also be observed on the passage below taken from the Auckland Museum in New Zealand (2009), which talks about the Maori culture.

Artifacts for tourist visitors have been produced in the Pacific almost from the time of first contact. Since then, reduced copies of traditional objects have been made to meet the tourist demand for convenient size and obvious meaning. These demands have sometimes led to the creation of innovative items that never existed in the original culture, such as woven pandanus, place mats and salad servers of local wood.

Therefore, the meaning and utility of the objects can sometimes be simplified and modified so that they can be understood and sold to the tourists. Such modifications are also influenced by the introduction of new materials, either from the people who colonized or tourists.

Experience of Western art and industrial commercial interests have been brought major changes to the lives of Pacific people. Both in the home islands and abroad, Pacific people themselves in line with the changing world. Ways of living and new materials from outside have been integrated into the local culture while aspects of the traditional past are often high lightened to maintain the uniqueness of the individual islands cultures (Auckland Museum, 2009).

Seiler-Baldinger (1988) describes the terrible situation back in the 80`s of The Yagua indians, from the Peruvian Amazon Rainforest, who were obliged to stage their rituals in the

3 Translated from: Pensar que existem experiências turísticas inautênticas, é não perceber a dinâmica de uma sociedade em termos gerativos, isto é, as comunidades (com suas culturas localizadas), ao se defrontarem com a experiência do turismo, podem se transformar a partir da gênese de novos padrões, permanecendo assim autênticas.

western resorts of the region in exchange for trifles⁴ and alcohol. “The ‘show’ is similar in all the tourist villages: before the visitors arrive the Indians take off their westerns clothes, paint themselves and don their ‘typical’ dress which is highly photogenic” (Seiler-Baldinger, 1988, p. 186). Following his analyses, Seiler-Baldinger (1988, p.186) posts a jet setter⁵ saying from The New York:

As we approached the shore, we saw an Indian jump out of his jeans and into a grass skirt...Everyone was standing in a door or at a window, dangling necklaces made of feather, nuts and bones before our eyes. Though they could somehow convert dollars into Brazilian *cruzeiros* and Colombian pesos...our guide...was expert at bargaining the Indians down...He even persuaded an Indian to blow his dart.

Seeing that, the Critical perspective about tourism points out that anti-globalization lobby sees tourism as a mean of advancing the forces of capitalism into more remote places and cultures. While post-colonial authors comment on the allure of the ‘other’ – poverty attracts tourists as poor places are associated with authentic experience of culture and nature, as well as the strong class differences between ‘hosts’ and ‘guests’. On the other hand, the alternative development perspective states that tourism offers poor communities a means of diversifying their livelihood options and the communities can actively participate in tourism and be empowered through their experiences. Last, the post-development perspective rejects reductionist thinking, supporting the view that tourism is neither good nor bad; stressing the need to take a holistic view which sees tourism as a complex system in which local people can exert agency power, being able to resist, subvert, manipulate or transform tourism to their own benefit (Scheyvens, 2011).

Understanding that the Bananal Community has taken in much of the urban values and culture, it may be relevant to discuss and apply the concept of Staged Authenticity.

Therefore, the reason for researching the concept of staged-authenticity for the tourist activity is not to find out whether a cultural artifact is authentic or not, but how it affects the community and how members of the community feel about the way it is represented.

The visit based on staged authenticity for the community empowerment can affect the community in two ways: it can degrade or empower them.

It will degrade them when:

1 - They do not give a fair economic return; 2 - It changes the cultural artifact \ representation to a point that the own community does not identify themselves with it; 3 - The

⁴ Something of little importance or value

⁵ An international social set made up of wealthy people who travel from one fashionable place to another.

members of the community do not enjoy performing it and they are obliged to do it against their will.

By contrast, staged authenticity will **empower** the community when these three factors above are the opposite: fair economic return; identification with the cultural artifact presented; and the members enjoy performing.

Having said that, the following questions must be answered by the community in order to evaluate and apply the “staged-authenticity” concept:

1 – Does the visit give a fair economic return? 2 – Does the community identify themselves with the cultural artifacts presented? 3 – Do they enjoy performing the presentations?

At present, Tracy (2007) and Weaver(2010) point out education as a mean to empower the indigenous communities. Tracy (2007, p.33) says that tourism education must develop a curriculum that “responds to the threats and challenges posed by globalization, as well as placing it in the socio-economic and cultural context of the group.” Moreover rather than just showing the importance of the tourism practice, the education to the community must show them the possibility of employment and career. Following the same thought, Weaver (2010) defends that the present stage of the indigenous tourism development, after empowering the community in their land (in situ), is now empowering them ex situ, preparing some members to understand and act in the tourism industry.

1.2 Educational Tourism or Edu-tourism

In this discussion I will present the concept of edu-tourism, then the difference between ‘tourism first’ and ‘education first’, and also between tourists and excursionists. Secondly I will discuss the role of segmentation in this context, the relatively old but still relevant concept of Special Interest Tourism; the central role of Nature-Based Tourism and Cultural Heritage Tourism in the practice of edu-tourism and finally, I shall cite the impacts of this type of tourism.

Educational Tourism is a segment used by institutions as a tool aiming to make the learning process more interesting (Perinotto, 2008). The Grand-Tour is recognized as the beginning of educational tourism; at present, however, it includes school trips in terms of study abroad or fieldtrips inside or outside the city. The main interests of edu-tourism are related to Nature-based and cultural educational tourism programmes (Ritchie, 2003).

An appropriate concept of edu-tourism is given by Ritchie (2003, p.18):

Tourist activity done by those who are undertaking an **overnight vacation** or an **excursion** for whom education and learning is the **primary or secondary** part of

their trip. This can include general educational tourism and adult study tours, international and domestic university and school students' travel, including language school, school excursions and exchange programmes. Educational tourism can be independently or formally organized and can be undertaken in a variety of natural or human made settings.

There are two different ways to see this type of tourism, as **“tourism first”** or as **“education first”**. It is regarded as “tourism first” when the main motivation to practice it is tourism itself, and secondly comes the learning ; as an example we can think of a visit to a natural or a cultural heritage site in a package trip. By contrast, “education first” refers to when the educational purpose comes first, such as school excursions, language schools and university \ college students' experience. In this case, even if the members of the group do not perceive themselves to be tourists they are qualified as tourists (or excursionists) due to the tourism impacts they cause (Ritchie, 2003).

The participants can be of two types, **educational tourists or excursionists** (or same-day educational tourist). The first type is the person who is away from his home or country overnight, while the latter is related to the person involved in any educational \ learning activity which does not include overnight stays.

Regarding to the edu-tourism project proposed at the Bananal Community it is classified as **“education first”**, as the main purpose \ motivation of the trip is an educational activity and not a tourist trip. Moreover, because the Bananal project aims at domestic students who will overnight in the community, the groups are classified as **excursionists** rather than tourists.

Why does segmentation is important to discuss? At this stage of the project **segmentation** does not play a central role, as tourism is intended to be a non-profitable activity. However I can shortly discuss this issue.

When studying edu-tourism there are several characteristics than can be studied in the individual (Ritchie, 2003):

1) socio-demographic (age, gender); 2) geographic or location (where they live); 3) psychographic characteristics (attitudes and opinions).

In the Bananal Project the target group has the following characteristics:

a) From 20 to 40 years old; Live in Brasília and its outskirts – DF (Federal District). Most study Tourism and few Anthropology. b) Due to their young age and financial limitation they usually do not have a large experience in tourism. Being young tourism students, most of them showed a positive attitude towards the adventure of visiting an Indian community in the middle of a big city. Also there were 2 Anthropology students and a 40-year old architect.

Edu-tourism can also be qualified as **Special Interest Tourism**. It is defined as “travel for people who are going somewhere because they have a particular interest that can be pursued in a particular region or at a particular destination. It is the *hub* around which the *total* travel experience is planned and developed”. (Read, 1980, p.195). I personally choose to summarize this kind of tourism by the notion of REAL travel, which stands for Rewarding, Enriching, Adventurous and Learning experience. This relatively old notion of alternative tourism will then be likened to the new concept of GeoTourism, later discussed.

The two tourist practices, which play the largest role in edu-tourism are **Nature-Based Tourism** and **Cultural Heritage Tourism**. It is said by the former Australian Office of National Tourism (ONT) that the educational elements of ecotourism, which enhances understanding of natural environments and ecological processes, distinguishes it from adventure travel and sightseeing (ONT, 2007, quoted by Ritchie, 2003). While for the Cultural Heritage Tourism the World Tourism Organization (1993, quoted Ritchie) states that “it is small, well-managed, educational and frequently upmarket tourism, 2003...involving music, the arts and ethnic exchange.”

For the Bananal community project, Cultural Heritage Tourism is the central focus, as the main attraction is the indigenous ethnic culture, such as its history, dance, food, costumes, handicrafts and knowledge. Nature also plays an important role, as the surrounding nature is preserved and the local agriculture and phytotherapy reserve is developed; however their land is located near the urban area and a big and expensive condominium has been built right beside them, considerably affecting the preservation of the natural environment.

At last, regarding to the edu-tourism impacts issue, it is well stated that “educational tourism attractions not only can have an impact on the economy of the region but also can provide personal benefits to individual visitors and local or national community” (Ritchie, 2003, p.63). However, eco and cultural heritage tourism are considered to have low negative and high positive impacts, it is relevant to research these, as it may not always be true. These impacts are classified as environmental, economic, social (on the community) and personal (on the tourists).

1.3 How to Practice Edu-Tourism in the Indigenous Context: Contributions from Geotourism and Ambience Generation

“[...] the places which make us are
also places made by us”.
(Marques, quoted by Rego, p. 53,
2010)⁶

6 Translated from: “[...] os lugares que nos fazem são igualmente lugares feitos por nós”.

The field work of this project started with two main concepts, Geotourism and Ambience Generation. In this section I shall present both concepts, their importance, applicability and their relations.

The first concept of geotourism was related to the geological tourism segmentation, “travelling to see rocks” (Buckley, 2003). However a new meaning of the term has been informally used since 1997 and formally presented in 2002 in the *Geotourism Study*, sponsored by *National Geographic Traveler* magazine and conducted by the Travel Industry Association of America. The concept refers to a “*Tourism that sustains or enhances the geographical character of a place — its environment, heritage, aesthetics, culture, and the well-being of its residents.*” (National Geography, 2010).

This type of tourism practice must not be understood just as sustaining but also as **enhancing** a specific characteristic. It is similar to sustainable tourism and ecotourism, however it differentiates from the first by building on a destination's geographical character its “sense of place”, to emphasize the distinctiveness of its locale; and from the latter it extends to culture and history, giving deeper contribution to the locals. geotourism is not just about where places are, but **what places are**; thereby, geotourists are interested in a *specific* cultural and/or natural characteristic of a place (National Geography, 2010). While practicing geotourism, tourists have previous knowledge and want to contribute to the community by doing specific activities, such as helping with the daily tasks or improving the infra-structure, rather than simply paying to the visit.

Applying this concept to the Bananal Community means that the cultural artifacts and the natural setting should be enhanced through the tourism practice. For example, we know the local agriculture has diminished over the last years due to the real estate occupation nearby. If the community wished to provide typical food for visitors they would have either to buy or to plant more. If they planted they could bringing back this practice. Although in the urban area it is hard to do so, there is still some land for them to cultivate. The reason for them not to do that is because Cacique Tanoné is negotiating to move from there; although Santxiê is against this negotiation. For the Bananal Project I had to buy two chickens and one fish for them to cook for the visitors.

The second concept is related to Education and is directed towards the students' learning process. It stems from the idea of *praxis* that the concept of ambience generation rises to contribute to edu-geotourism. The generation of ambiances are moments created to catalyze cultural exchanges; they are specific moments that even being of a short duration may remain trapped in the memory of each participant. They are not theoretical but practical experiences, as

highlighted by Rego (2010, p.52): "the three concepts that articulate the concept of Ambience Generation belong in fact to the realm of *praxis*, because they are *dialogic* partnerships constructions."⁷

The concepts are: the relation environment surrounding \ environment among; the establishing interpretation; and the dialogical relation.

In our edu-tourism project, the usual **environment among** the students is the school and the classroom, while the **environment surrounding** them is the western and urban values, which condition their way of being and thinking. Through the project, the environment among will be changed to the **indian community setting**, while the surrounding environment will be the theme related to **indigenous values vs western values**.

The second *nexus* is establishing interpretation (or establishing hermeneutic). In order to explain this concept Rego says that there are two types of hermeneutic, **archeological and establishing**. The first interprets a symbol, text or idea emphasizing what was prior \ past to that. A good example of this type of hermeneutic is psychoanalysis, as it sees in a dream, writing, language or the patient's narration, symbols which are results – symptoms – of a previous history. By contrast, **establishing hermeneutic** follows an inverse direction, it takes these specific symbols and sees them not as a final point, but as a starting one, that is it proposes an interpretation for the future, instead of a fixation on the past (Rego, 2010). Two examples may describe this type of hermeneutic, first the abstract artist, who is open to new interpretations, expects the viewers to tell their diverse opinions and feelings; and secondly the students of a peripheral public school, who use their own socio-economic situation as a vehicle to their educational process, and, without neglecting the understanding of the historical genesis of their existential condition, establishes efforts to have an active understanding towards it.

Dialogic is the third nexus that composes the ambience generation practice. It has been used interchangeably with the term dialog, which narrows and obliterates "the consciousness of another possible meaning for the term". (Rego, p. 51, 2010) Both terms present in their meaning the prefix *di*, which means division, divergence; therefore, *di-alog* means divergence of *logos*⁸ and *di-alogic* means division of logics or opposition of reasons. Therefore, the **dialogic practice** does not intend to persuade the other part, but taking the divergences as a possibility to momentary conciliations (*ibidem*).

7 Translated from: Os conceitos que articulam o conceito de geração de ambiências pertencem, de fato, ao domínio da praxis, porque são construções de parcerias dialógicas.

⁸ Persuade by the use of reasoning.

A concrete and practical base for the logic of the dialogic is the logic of the dialogue; not any dialogue, but the ones based on practices, which will be the vehicles to effective actions towards some life issues.

Therefore, through the **dialogic relation** between both new environments, the ambience created may contribute to the learning process by trapping the moment in the students' mind and changing the students' view on the Indians culture and on their own society. This change will then come through an **establishing interpretation**, which is a hermeneutic for the future. As stated by Da Cunha (2013) "the importance of different ways of knowledge is to make us realize that we can think otherwise."⁹

Ambience Generation is just the perfect concept to describe what happened with the students when they first stepped on the community territory and saw something different from what they pictured as an Indian tribe, but still got impressed and enjoyed it.

Regarding this particular project, the dialog between the two logics – the students' and the indigenous' values – will be based on practices which give feedback, completing or opposing one another, bringing up a new way to see the world. These dialogues will take place both in the new environment among, the indigenous setting, as well as back in the classroom; and they aim at changing the students' view on the Indians and on their own society.

Other themes which can be discussed by the students are related to the cooperatives – the communitarian associations' way of producing –, managing the property and the formal and informal education.

After having presented these three nexus which build up the ambience generation concept, "if we think with minimum attention, they implicit each one in the other two?" (Rego, 2010, 52)¹⁰. The environment round is represented by our knowledge, which must clash with a different one, in this case the indigenous knowledge, and when interpreted through the dialogic in an establishing way, it will create active individuals able to criticize and see their environment round and environment among from different and active perspectives.

Taking the students to visit an indigenous community *in-site* is by itself already an appropriate way to generate ambience; however, with the practice of the geotourism, this other *praxis*, the ambience generation, can be further developed by giving the students a closer perception to what being an Indian really is.

9 A importância de modos de conhecimento diferentes é nos fazer perceber que se pode pensar de outro modo.

¹⁰ Translated from: Se pensarmos com um mínimo de atenção, os três nexos ideativos não estão, na verdade, implícitos, cada um, nos outros dois?

2 FIRST PHASE: STUDY AREA - THE BANANAL COMMUNITY OR SANTUÁRIO DOS PAJÉS¹¹

This research was based on the thesis of Schvarsberg (2009) and Magalhães (2009); the anthropological report of Oliveira (2011); news from the internet; and talks and informal chats with Cacique Ivanice Tanoné.

The Bananal Community is located in the area called Santuário dos Pajés and is composed of about 15 families of three ethnic groups: Kariri-Xokó (originally from Alagoas, Tuxá (originally from Bahia) and Fulni-Ô (originally from Pernambuco). Cacique Tanoné says:

We are three people, but one *Aldeia* (reserve), Bananal Indian Reserve. We are Fulni-ô, Kariri-Xocó e Tuxá. Tuxá has two families. Kariri-Xokó nine and Fulni-ô just one. Santxiê.

The community is surrounded by the Parque Nacional de Brasília (300 meters from its entrances) and the Burle Marx Urban Park (Figure 2), created in 1990 aiming to be an ecological corridor. The hydrography is constituted by the Bananal creek and by two streams called *Acampamento* and *Poço Fundo*. On the community land, the Cerrado (internationally known as Brazilian Savana) native vegetation is preserved (See Figure 3 and 4) due to the community's cultural and religious habits, and presents more than twenty different species types of plants (Magalhães, 2009). "Biologist found many species from Caatinga, [ecosystem of the Northeast region, where they originally come from] in the middle of Cerrado, which the Fulni-ô Santxiê as well as the other ethnical groups contribute to the preservation" (OLIVEIRA, 2011, p.22).

Figure 4 - Cerrado Vegetation
Source: Magalhães, 2009

Figure 5 - Vegetation in the Bananal Community
Source: Magalhães, 2009

¹¹ Sanctuary of Pajé – In the indigenous tradition Pajé is the cure and spiritual leader.

Regarding land use history, based on anthropological studies which examined rock paintings, the presence of the Indians in the Cerrado Region dates from 8000 years ago. At least from 2000 years BC until the arrival of the colonizer in the region, in the 18th Century, (known as the *bandeirantes*¹²) the indigenous family group known as Macro-ge occupied the territory, having special agriculture techniques and ceramic production (Magalhães, 2009).

The official view (Oliveira, 2011) states that the first group who moved to Brasília was the Fulni-Ô in 1957, who would be Santxiê's parents (Santxiê, together with cacique Tanoné, is one of the present leaders), who came together with millions of Nordestinos¹³ aiming to work on the construction of the city. From 1969 onwards other members from the same group as well as other ethnic groups came to join them. With no governmental support they gathered together in the Santuário dos Pajés and helped each other to survive.

On the other hand, the present leader, Cacique Tanoné and the researcher Schvarsberger (2009) disregard this view, saying there were no Indians at all before the end of the 60's, and adds that the first to come were the Tuxá.

Actually the first to arrive were the Tuxá, in 1969.

During the construction of Brasília the people did not come from Alagoas. There were no Indians here in Brasília, nobody has ever come. Santxiê did a deceptive video. It is not true.

Santxiê, with the people from UNB (Brasília National University), wrote this. It was the Tuxá, (in 1969). Santxiê arrived in the 80's and bought a shed.

Tanoné explains how it used to work whispering the words: "We live here and you stay there, from the other side. Make your shed there."

Schvarsberger. (2009, p.24) states that "based on a field research and information from the official site, I got information that the Indians occupy the land since 1969 from the arrival of the Pajés Santxiê and Towe, both from the Fulni-ô ethnic group".¹⁴

Seeing that, I believe that Santxiê's parents arrived with his son to work in the construction of Brasília and then came back right after the end of it. Then, at the end of the 60's, the first ethnic group to arrive was the Tuxá, followed by Kariri-Xocó and finally Fulni-ô, with Santxiê arriving in 1980. From the 1969 to the 1990 other relatives and ethnic groups arrived and

¹² Adventures and landowners employees who since the XVI century travelled inwards Brazil searching for silver (common in the Spanish colonies), exterminate the *quilombos* (African communities formed by runaways slavers) and to capture Indians to enslave them.

¹³ People from the Northeast region.

¹⁴ Translated from: A partir de uma pesquisa de campo e de informações do site oficial, organizado pela frente de luta em defesa dos índios e do Santuário, obtive as informações de que os índios ocupam a terra, localizada na Reserva do Bananal, desde 1969 a partir da chegada dos Pajés Santxiê e Towe, ambos da etnia Fulni-Ô, originária de Pernambuco.

in the beginning of the 90's the first children were born in the community from the mix of different ethnic groups (Magalhães, 2009).

Beyond all this discussion, the most relevant point of the process of territorialization is well expressed on the passage:

Indeed, the fact is that Santxiê's parents and other Fulni-Ô allies though have not initially established permanent housing in the area, when started to attend it at intervals to practice religious rituals, contributed in a practical and symbolic way for the humanization of that space by adapting gradually to its way of life. That's because in the comings and goings between Brasília and Águas Belas, they and other indigenous established a network of social relations beyond the ethnic and territorial borders of the Fulni-Ô and closer to the central power of the country based in the Federal Capital. In such networks began to circulate ideas, information, people, products, etc... And also seeds and seedlings of plants from the Caatinga, as Juá (*Ziziphus joazeiro*) and Ouricuri (*Syagrus coronata*), among other things (Oliveira, 2011, p. 21)¹⁵.

From the Tourism point of view it is relevant that Cacique Tanoné has taken the front in organizing the community, while Santxiê perhaps is not participating in a collective way to fight for their rights, although he is the part that sees as the only alternative their permanence in the land. In the end, the community is already very small and this division weakens them even more. The leader Santxiê passed away in June 2014.

The violence towards the Indians has been occurring for a long time. In 1986 an Indian was stabbed while trying to oppose the cutting of trees to produce coal. In 2007 and 2009 the houses of two members of the Kariri-Xokó ethnic group, Korubo and Towe, were burned, both on the ritual's day, while Claudio Fulni-Ô's house was put down without injunction. Many of them have come back to their region waiting for a better situation (Magalhães, 2009). In 2014 one of the two central huts of the community was also set on fire.

Regarding to the regularization of the land, the first attempt to regularize the land came in 1996 when the Pajé Santxiê, from the Fulni-ô Tapuya ethnic group, sent a document to FUNAI (Fundação Nacional do Índio - the Indian Governmental Organization).

The official anthropological documents highlight at least five main points showing the traditional elements of their land:

1 - The first ethnic group to come was the Fulni-ô ethnic, from Águas Belas indigenous land in Pernambuco, descendents from the Carijó or Carnijó people, with the Yaíthê language,

¹⁵ Translated from: Com efeito, o fato é que os pais de Santxiê e outros aliados Fulni-Ô, ainda que inicialmente não tenham estabelecido moradia permanente na área, ao passarem a frequentá-la com periodicidade para a prática de rituais religiosos, contribuíram de maneira prática e simbólica para a humanização daquele espaço, adaptando-o gradualmente ao seu modo de vida. Isso porque nas idas e vindas entre Brasília e Águas Belas, eles e outros indígenas protagonizaram a constituição de uma rede de relações sociais para além-fronteiras étnicas e territoriais dos Fulni-Ô, e mais próxima do poder central do país sediado na Capital Federal. Em tais redes passaram a circular ideias, informações, pessoas, produtos etc., e também sementes e mudas de plantas originárias da Caatinga, como o juá (*Ziziphus joazeiro*) e ouricuri (*Syagrus coronata*), dentre outras coisas. (Oliveira, 2011, p. 21)

from the Macro-jê linguistic branch. They were then followed by Tuxá and Kariri-Xocó, composing the Bananal Indigenous Community. All these three groups moved to Brasília because their land in Pernambuco was “donated” to the Catholic Church and due to the policy of indigenous land lease executed by the SPI (Indigenous Protection Service) in the 50’s and 60’s.

2 – The historical use of the land dates from 1969 when other groups and members came to live with Santxiê’ uncle, who already lived in the land since 1957, when he arrived to work in the construction of the city.

3 – The use of the territory assures the daily indigenous cultural practices, such as the use of the language, the traditional education of the children, the sacred rituals and the annual mandatory return to Ouricuri¹⁶, cult of the *Juazeiro*.

4 – The territory assures the subsistence of the group through small plantations of vegetables and fruit¹⁷, medicinal herbs sold downstairs the Funai building in Brasília, the use of the Cerrado products used to make handcrafts and the straw to make the typical houses. They also inform that some members of the group work in the public service as well as some temporary services.

5 – The conserved Cerrado ecosystem in the Santuário dos Pajés, due to the traditional handling of its natural resources, contrasts with the degraded vegetation and soil of its surroundings. The following actions contribute to the conservation of the Cerrado ecosystem: herbarium used as medicine and reforestation and mobilization to fight the criminal forest fires caused in order to scare the Indians.

While the process to regularize their land was slowly going on, Terracap was treating the Indians as public land invaders, despite the Funai document showing the need for land regularization. Terracap is the Government Real State Company of Brasília, also known as the Federal District Development Agency. This Public organization has its capital divided between the Federal State and the Federal District government and is responsible for managing the public lands and developing infrastructure services and road works in Distrito Federal.

The final result of all these years of conflict, which started around 2008 with the first news about the condominiums constructions, came in October 18th, 2011, when all families of the Bananal Community but one accepted to be relocated to the nearby area called Área Especial Cruz, which is located in a National Park by the community¹⁸. The only family – only one member – who did not accept was the pajé Santxiê, from the Fulni-ô Tapuya ethnic group. (Cleo, 2011) This break

¹⁶ Every year in the month of May many members of the community come back to their original land in Alagoas. There they take part of the spiritual rituals, keep contact with the other members and bring back some typical materials, such as the herb to smoke their pipe and seeds to manufacture their handcraft.

¹⁷ Since the beginning of the constructions of the neighborhood the agriculture is not being practiced.

¹⁸ The relocation process is still in debate and uncertain.

in the community affected the Bananal Project, as Pajé Santxiê as well as his land was excluded from the visit.

The proposal to relocate them was made by three organizations: Terracap, Funai and Ademi (Association of Business Executives of Federal District Real Estate Market). The area of 12 hectares will be donated from Ademi to Terracap, which will give it to Funai so they can create an official indigenous land. (Cleo, 2011)

While the government claimed that there was not indigenous territory, over the past four decades many citizens, indigenous ethnic groups and foreigners attended the Santuário dos Pajés seeking spiritual reference and treatments with traditional Indian medicines. Moreover, students and professors from the Brasília Federal University (UNB), as well as teachers and pupils of elementary and high schools of the whole Federal District established partnerships to develop activities aimed at learning about the indigenous way of life, crediting the Indians autonomy over their knowledge, culture, social organization, rituals, dances, myths, food, language, and finally their uses, customs and traditions.

After describing some aspects which contextualize the Bananal Community, I now describe the method used to think and evaluate the visit.

3 METHOD

In this section, I discuss the reasons as to why anthropological work is so relevant when dealing with Indigenous Tourism phenomenon. Second, I present the methods used to prepare and evaluate the visit to the Bananal Community, and lastly I describe the activities of the official visit to the Bananal community.

This study is based on the Participatory Paradigm and Social Constructivism, because I understand that reality is collectively constructed via interactions (Jamal & Robson, 2009). The ethnographer rather than just describing tries to interpret the facts as they appear for the researcher as well as for other actors involved in the phenomenon, analyzing it from multiple perspectives. Furthermore, the ambience generation applied in this thesis intends to lead the visitors to an establishing hermeneutic that creates interpretations for the future rather than a classical psychological interpretation that searches in the past the reasons for this or that phenomenon. Doing that, indigenous members and visitors shall establish transformation interactions through a dialogic praxis that take the divergences as a possibility to conciliations. This pure qualitative research gives space to the researcher creativity and reflexivity, pointing out the different voices and interpretations, such as the authors, the visitors, the community as well as the researcher.

3.1 Anthropology in Indigenous Tourism Developing

In many studies anthropologists were compared to tourists due to the nature of their activity of getting in touch with new cultures and the need to move away from their usual residence. Within this study and this text I am interested in the comparison between the indigenous tourism developer and the anthropologist's *savoir faire*, their different ways of researching. The development of a tourist product in an indigenous context must be based on the anthropological *praxis*, however there are some differences between these two activities.

The first question that must be answered is whether the community wants to work with tourism or not, and just then, if the answer is positive, start working on it. Obviously the answer for such a question must come from the community, but how does one persuade them to respond? Only then, after the community responds, does the anthropological work begin.

The first step, which is usually done previously to the first real contact, involves researching the community's characteristics, and this will already give some clues whether they are prepared to work with tourism or not. It is possible that at this point the researcher already

comes to a negative answer, due to different reasons – such as realizing the community members are not prepared to deal with westerners; the community is not organized enough; the visit may be dangerous for the visitors; or the community does not need money or any service coming from the tourists; just to cite some answers that would indicate an indigenous tourism project should be halted. The conclusion may be that either the community does not want to work with tourism or they will not benefit as they should, realizing that the negative aspects would overcome the positive ones.

However, if the answer is positive toward tourism, the second step is to **slowly** get in touch with the community leader and explain the proposal of the work by trying to point out the positive and negative aspects of tourism practice.

Anthropology *praxis* is very much about the researcher background, personality and feeling; it is also about the historical context, the theoretical options and the unpredictable situations between researcher and local actors that happen daily in the study site; moreover each community requires a different approach. All these aspects have led some Anthropology experts to say that it is not possible to teach how to do ethnographic work. (PEIRANO, 1992) Therefore, some people have the “anthropologist mind” while some others would not, while pure anthropological knowledge does not make anyone a good ethnographer. Some characteristics required for an anthropologist are: open mind to new world views; willing to listen rather than talk; willing to do good; and understanding that when you look at someone, someone is looking at you.

Regarding to the first step - the research on the Bananal Community done prior to the first contact – three relevant aspects were uncovered, two positives and one negative, related to whether to start the project or not. The positive was that the Bananal community can be considered an urban indigenous group, with all members of the community inserted in the western culture. Therefore, tourism was not a new concept to them and it seemed a perfect combination. It can then be said that urban indigenous communities are better suited to have tourism activities within them. The second positive aspect was that it was the only indigenous group in Brasília – DF and surroundings¹⁹, and because of that I considered that it should be valorized. Concerning the negative aspect, the Bananal community is located in what is currently a construction area, where since 2007 has been built the newest Brasília neighborhood with some of the most expensive properties in the entire country (See Figure 6). This is seen as a negative point because the community was not too much engaged in developing any project, as they are actually waiting to be removed to an area nearby; however, during the field work it was found

19 The nearest indigenous community from Brasília is the Avá Canoeiro, located in the cities of Minaçu and Colinas do Sul, 367 km from Brasília.

that it also could be seen as a positive aspect, as the indigenous people have the opportunity of showing and spreading their culture among the Brasília citizens and by doing this, this may help them to get what they are fighting for.

Regarding the second step, the first real contact with the community leader was through a phone call, as at this point I was living in Sweden and needed to know whether I should start researching on them or not. On the first phone call I talked to Cacique Ivanice Tanoné (See Figure 7) and got a positive answer from a very enthusiastic person: they were willing to work with Tourism.

Figure 6: Students arriving for the visit with the buildings under construction on the background
Source: Otávio Vieira, May, 19th, 2013

Figure 7: Cacique Tanoné and me
Source: Otávio Vieira, May, 13th, 2013

The main motivation for doing ethnographic study is due to the need to describe and understand the culture of the Bananal Community so to use this knowledge in the elaboration of the visit. Moreover this study documents their history and cultural heritage besides spreads the Brazilian Indian culture in English language.

The interdisciplinary characteristic of the Tourism phenomenon does not make Tourism researchers experts in Anthropology. They may not know neither all the historical phases of the anthropological field nor the philosophy behind it, but, as said before, not knowing these aspects in depth does not impede them from practicing ethnography. Nevertheless, it is relevant to base on the **ethnographic praxis** knowledge and have some influences in order to guide it, rather than being guided merely by **intuition**, which is also a highly relevant characteristic of a good ethnographer. Therefore, besides my intuition and good judgment, my ethnographic work was

influenced by the following anthropologists: Geertz (1997), the phenomenologist Merleau-Ponty (1984; 1999), the Brazilian urban anthropologist Magliani (2000) and the father of ethnography Malinowski (1978).

From Geertz (1997, p.15) it is understood that ethnography is not only a method whose *praxis* means "establishing relations, selecting informants, transcribing texts, raising genealogies, mapping fields, keeping a diary, and so on"²⁰, very important elements in the field work, but mostly the kind of intellectual effort it represents, which would be developing a "deep description". Geertz understands it as a process of interpretation that intends to acknowledge the structures embedded in the least significant human gesture. It is through the deep description, classification and a systematic and methodical descriptive work, that ethnography differs from common sense. Regarding to Merleau-Ponty (1984, p.199), ethnography is "the way of thinking when the object is the 'other' and requires our own transformation. Thus we become ethnographers of our own society if we move away from it"²¹.

In the case of Magliani, an urban anthropologist, because the Bananal community is located in an urban area and can be seen as urban Indians, his philosophy on ethnographic work and his research tools are relevant for this work. Urban anthropologists, since the Chicago School from the 30's, say that although the object is now different – for them the object became their own reality – they still use the same research tools as the first ethnographic studies, such as Malinowski.

Although no longer accept – rightly so – the opposition between "simple societies" (even less primitive) *versus* "complex societies" to establish the cutoff point between those groups traditionally studied by anthropologists and urban-industrial societies, it cannot be denied that the *modus operandi* of this discipline, whatever the context of their study, inevitably bears the marks of the first forays into the field. What are nonetheless particularly felt - either as an advantage or difficulty - when it is facing are the issues, objects and themes within contemporary societies, in its scale and complexity characteristics.²² (MAGNANI, 2000, p.20)

Therefore, the ethnographic tools used along this research were the fieldwork notebook, photography and recordings – both far more explored nowadays due to technology –, cartographic representations, participant observation and ethnographic writings – texts produced

²⁰ Translated from: estabelecer relações, selecionar informantes, transcrever textos, levantar genealogias, mapear campos, manter um diário e assim por diante. (1997, p.15)

²¹ Translated from: a maneira de pensar quando o objeto é 'outro' e que exige nossa própria transformação. Assim também viramos etnólogos de nossa própria sociedade, se tomarmos distância com relação a ela" (MERLEAU-PONTY, 1984, p.199)

²² Translated from: Apesar de não mais se aceitar – com razão – a oposição entre "sociedades simples" (e muito menos primitivas) *versus* "sociedades complexas" para estabelecer o ponto de corte entre aqueles grupos tradicionalmente estudados pelos antropólogos e as sociedades urbanos-industriais, não se pode negar que o modo de operar dessa disciplina, seja qual for o contexto de seu estudo, carrega inevitavelmente as marcas das primeiras incursões a campo. Que não deixam de ser particularmente sentidas – seja como vantagem ou dificuldade – quando o que se tem pela frente são problemas, objetos e temas próprios das sociedades contemporâneas, na sua escala e complexidade características. (MAGNANI, 2000, p.20)

on the field, texts based on the photos taken on the field, transcripts from recordings made by the own ethnographer perceptions on the field as well as the local actors sayings, and finally the texts produced by the interviews.

Regarding to Malinowski (1978), he states that the ethnographer should not go to the field with too many concepts in mind nor try to prove them, but rather refuse them if necessary. Moreover, it is relevant to go to the field with a number of questions that will direct the sight and create new ones along the study.

[...] preconceived ideas are pernicious in any scientific study, the ability to pose question, however, is one of the largest scientific virtues.

Being familiar with the scientific theory and aware of their latest findings do not mean to be overloaded with preconceived ideas. If a man goes on an expedition determined to prove certain assumptions and is incapable of constantly changing his point of views, abandoning them without hesitation under the pressure of evidence, no doubt his work will be useless.²³ (MALINOWSKI, 1978, p.26)

At this moment, it is enough saying that I started the field work with two main concepts in mind: Ambience Generation and Geotourism – which have to do respectively with Education and Tourism. Regarding the questions in the field, the main one was related to the development of a tourist product that would benefit the community as well as fit to the tourists' needs.

One more relevant point related to the Tourist Ethnographic Work in an indigenous context is the need to authentically enhance its cultural artifacts, so tourists can become interested and the community proud of their “show”, rather than deeply writing and documenting the community culture, as the typical ethnographic work demands. Therefore, what we will see in this research is not a precise and long description of the community cultural artifacts, but a short one, with the main focus on enhancing and presenting them as authentically as possible.

For instance, the main attraction of the community was undoubtedly their dance presentation, therefore, we do not intend to show here in details the lyrics and their meanings, but discuss how to think of a presentation that in a short time – maximum an hour – will get close to the real spiritual rite and touch the hearts of the audience. In order to do that, besides understanding the community culture and preferences, the developer must understand the tourists and their needs. In a short analysis, during our visit, the community ended up prolonging the dance presentation significantly. This and the fact that they performed under the Brasilia midday sun, were two points visitors complained most about.

23 Translated from: [...] as idéias preconcebidas são perniciosas a qualquer estudo científico; a capacidade de levantar problemas, no entanto, constitui uma das maiores virtudes científicas.

Conhecer bem a teoria científica e estar a par de suas últimas descobertas não significa estar sobrecarregado de idéias preconcebidas. Se um homem parte numa expedição decidido a provar certas hipóteses e é incapaz de mudar seus pontos de vista constantemente, abandonando-os sem hesitar ante a pressão da evidência, sem dúvida seu trabalho será inútil (MALINOWSKI, 1978, p.26).

Last, the final tourist ethnographic text is the fruit of many voices and lives' experiences: the ethnographer, the researched authors, the tourists, the community members and the readers. Seeing that, the literature aspect of the text is explicit, "Geertz talks about fiction, Crapanzano about novel, for considering that their text is plurivocal by essence"²⁴ (DUARTE, 2008, p.104). Nevertheless, we understand that the function of the ethnographer is not just reproducing all these voices, but interpreting them.

3.2 Method to Prepare and Evaluate the Visit

After deciding to go on with the project, the next step, called here as the **first phase**, is describing the area (Table 1). Therefore, this is the first phase of the Bananal Community visit project, a deep research on what has already been written. These data were mostly pointed out in Part 2 – Study Area.

Table 1. Phases of the research

Phase	Aim	Type of data
1 st	Describing the study area	Secondary: previous academic works, governmental works made by anthropologist, newspaper news. (Cleo, 2011; Magalhães, 2009; Schvarsberg, 2009)
2 nd	Developing the visit with the community and the visitors	Primary: visit and talk to the community members in order to decide the activities during the visit. Think about Geotourism, Ambience Generation and Staged-Authenticity for empowerment Contacts with the students and other possible visitors. Motivational talk at the university. Making a contact to organize the transport of the students.
3 rd	Analyzing the visit	For the community: Observation, informal talks, photos, recordings and semi-structured interview with Cacique Tanoné For the students: Observation, informal talks, photos during the actual visit and written questionnaires (open questions)

The **second phase** of the project is related to how the visit was developed. The main point here is that the visit should be considered together with the community, as they are the ones who know what and how things must be presented to the visitors. However, it is relevant to

²⁴ Translated from: "Geertz fala em ficção, Crapanzano em romance, por considerar que o seu texto é plurivocal na sua essência"

understand that the community does not know too much about the visitors, and I, the developer, have to be the one who intermediates in this process.

The aim is to develop a visit that attends the community's and the visitors' expectation. Therefore, during this phase I tried to influence both of them towards three concepts: the Geotourism approaches – benefit to the community through an active tourism, more than just observing; the Ambience Generation, which has its focus on the students and how to catalyze their learning process; and Staged Authenticity for empowerment.

Therefore, the second phase consisted of: observation: five visits to the community before the actual visit; informal talks with the community members in order to decide what can be improved for the next visits; photos and recordings; previous visit to the university in order to give a talk aiming at motivating and giving knowledge on the community; looking for more visitors in order to try to complete a group of 40 visitors; and contact with transportation companies to take the students to the community land.

Last, **the third phase** of the data collection aimed at analyzing the results of the visit both to the community and students. First, for the community the visit was analyzed through the following methods: Observation, informal talks, photo, recordings during the actual visit and interview after the official visit with the tribe leader Cacique Tanoné.

The following questions were asked to her: 1 – How do they feel when people take photos of them?; 2 – What does your mother, Murá (84 years old), feel about being visited and having the pictures taken?; 3 – How different was the dance presentation from the real ritual?; 4 – Can the visitors help you to produce the handicrafts?; 5 – How did the community feel about preparing the food for the visitors?; and 6 – What did you do with the money? Was it a good amount?

Then for the students the methods used were: observation, informal talks and photos during the actual visit; written questionnaire after the visit to evaluate what they learned, how they enjoyed the visit, what could be better?

Some days after the visit there was a debate in class between the professor and the students aiming at sharing their experience. Before the debate 21 students answered the following questionnaire: 1 – What did you learn with the visit?; 2 – What could be better in the visit organization?; 3 – How could the visitors contribute to the community besides moneywise?; 4 – What do you think about the situation of the indians who live in the Northeast sector (neighborhood), called Aldeia Bananal?; 5 – Do you consider the Indians of the Northeast sector (neighborhood) real indians? Why?. The interview with Cacique Tanoné and the students' written answers are discussed in the Analysis section.

4 SECOND PHASE: THE BANANAL PROJECT

First it is presented the preparation for the visit and last the description of the official visit.

4.1 Preparations For The Visit

This section begins by showing why the Bananal Community is ready to receive tourists. Then the issue related to the project funding is demonstrated. Thirdly some reflections are presented on what was inferred by the three elementary school visits which I followed and how they influenced the edu-tourism visit project.

4.1.1 Reasons for developing the Bananal Project

The literature and internet research about the community pointed to an urban indigenous group going through a complicated land legalization issue.

First the close relation between the Indians and the urban space since the year 1967 showed a community who has taken in some western way of life ideas or habits. For example, young members of the community study in schools and universities and the elder ones take part of political acts. The internet research led to the discover of videos and texts of the leader Cacique Ivanice Tanoné talking about the Kariri-Xokó community history and culture as well as her political acts towards the defense of the territory which they have lived in at least since 1967. These aspects may indicate they are ready to receive tourists and talk about their culture and history.

Second, regarding the question of land legalization, it could be inferred two point of views from the community perspective: either they would not want to develop tourism because that would show how westernized they were, so people might not support their land legalization, or they would be willing to receive tourists in their community in order to spread their culture and history, thereby bringing more people to support their cause. The second option was pointed out by Cacique Tanoné as the community point of view.

Two phone calls were made in February 2013 and I heard a very motivated, energetic and intelligent woman. During the first call I suggested to her that I take 10 elementary school classes there. She agreed, saying that two years ago they received some school groups. After this talk I got the second indication they were ready and willing to receive tourists \ students in their community. Then I sent her granddaughter – who studies nursing at the federal university – an email explaining the project and offering 200 reais to the community (600 Sek) per visit. Two

weeks later I called Tanoné for the second time and now she said it was not enough money. I got a little disappointed and doubtful about the concretization of the project. It was then that I realized it was now time to look for funds to develop it.

4.1.2 Funds for the project

The primary idea was developing 10 visits to the community, therefore funds would be needed. There was an attempt to create a partnership between Mid Sweden University (MIUN) and Faculdades de Ciências Sociais e Tecnológicas (FACITEC), a private university located in Taguatainga – DF, a city in the outskirts of Brasília, where I worked as an instructor in the previous semester – 2012\1 – before moving to Sweden. The idea was that both universities would equally contribute to the project and I would present the results in both institutions. The proposed partnership can be found on Appendix D.

For different reasons I did not get a positive answer from either university and the funds came from the visitors. Thus, realizing the difficulty to develop a project with 10 visits I adapted it to two visits and due to financial issues it ended up being just a one-visit project. Nevertheless, both universities were still part in this project; MIUN with the intellectual support and FACITEC with the student visitors. In the end the project was paid by the visitors, who paid for the community and for the transportation, as well as from my own financial aid.

I dealt with Cacique Tanoné that the visit would cost 800 reais (2.400 Sek). The transportation cost 300 reais (900 Sek). Therefore, the total for the visit was 1.100 reais (3.300 Sek). Each visitor paid 20 reais for the community and 10 for the transportation. There were 30 visitors, and just 20 paid the transportation, because the others did not come with the hired bus. Therefore, the total collected was 800 reais (2.400 Sek). I added more 400 reais (1.200 Sek) to develop the project.

4.1.3 Reflections on the three elementary school visits previous to the project

“The indian life was hard but today we are urban Indians. Imagine if I go out with this costume.”²⁵ Cacique Ivanice Tanoné

First time I went to the community I did not announce Cacique Tanoné I was going and decided I decided not to record anything. Arriving in Aldeia Bananal we see each other from a

²⁵ Translated from: A vida de índio era difícil. Mas hoje somos índios de uma aldeia urbana! Aqui, imagina se eu saio com essa indumentária.

distance and with no words we recognize each other. She invites me to her home and we have our first talk. At this moment, we start creating intimacy and trust.

In this first talk she tells me about the situation with Santxiê, the history of the community and their present situation. We talk very little about my project but I now know that it is going to happen. She invites me to follow some visits of public school children and that was what I did, and these visits helped me a lot to understand the community as well as elaborate a different and more complete visit.

From the day 22nd to the 29th of April 2013 the Aldeia Bananal received elementary schools in two shifts, morning and afternoon. Each visit had between 30 to 70 children, ranging from about 8 to 10 years old, students of schools from the cities located in the outskirts of Brasília. This project was a partnership between the local government and the leader of the community, Cacique Tanoné. She explained the community was not receiving any money from the government for the visits and she was doing that as a favor for the help they sometimes give to them. This help usually comes as donations, such as material for construction or food shared in the community. She says that money is not everything and although she is not getting any financial support to receive the schools, she could not say no. This is a passage of her talk to the children:

It is good to be with you, who have never seen an indian sacred place, just on television. Now you are here, under an indian typical house, very weak because we do not have the proper straw, made of Uricuri which comes from Northeast. Also our costumes are made of this straw, but as we do not have it we dance with shorts; the important is our paint and our sacred songs. On the inauguration day (of the new land), everybody will see what is traditional of the Kariri-Xokó.

As the government did not pay anything for these visits, it was perceived that Cacique Tanoné although at all times talking very excitedly about the community also wanted to finish the visits as soon as possible. Hence, most of the visits lasted from one to one hour and half and some students complained about how fast and somehow incomplete it was. For example: some days there were few dancers; Cacique Tanoné did not show them around the land; she showed the handicrafts or the typical food just in some visits.

Figure 8 shows a possible entrance to the community land and the construction site right after that; the Figure 9 depicts a piece of the fence that surrounds the land put down. The Figure 10 is my view when I first get to the community and see the dance presentation.

Figure 8: One possible entrance to the community on the left and the site construction on the right
Source: Otávio Vieira, April 24th, 2013

Figure 9: Fence put down
Source: Otávio Vieira, April 24th, 2013

Figure 10: Dance presentation
Source: Otávio Vieira, April 24th, 2013

She asks: “Who has already visited an Indian tribe?” Nobody answers. Although the Indians are the indigenous people in Brazil, unfortunately it is not common for the children or the Brazilian people in general to be in contact with their culture or even visit them. There is just the Indian day, on April 19th, when the schools make some special parties to show their culture, but there is no real contact with the present Indians. We celebrate this day like they did not exist anymore. It is here where the **tourism has a relevant role**, to make a closer contact of the “white man” with the present Indians, valuing not their ancient culture but the present remaining culture and groups.

During the receptive talk Cacique Tanoné talks to the students about the history, culture and religious aspects. She ends it thanking the government and saying that the community is with open arms waiting for the visits. This shows how open is Tanoné’s position regarding to collaborating with the public sector and to the visits.

Showing that she is expecting the community to be removed from there to a new land, she ends the dance presentation with the following sentence:

The ones who did not like can say and the ones who liked thanks very much. There will be a new presentation at the inauguration of our new village, the government secretary will be there with some schools, I hope so, so we can do our complete party and you will get to know many songs.²⁶

After her initial talk, the second part of the visit is the dance presentation. In each visit they presented different songs, usually they danced between three or four songs.

She asks if they all want to see their dance, and the children get all excited.

Here are two examples out of the seven songs I transcribed:

Chant 1: (See video on DVD – Chant 1, April 24th, 2013)

Tanoné: “Chant of the big Father Zé, who gives us strength, light and courage to remain where we live, on Mother Earth. This is a cure song, because the diseases want to invade us and we have to be prepared with our sacred chants and grab what is ours. So let’s sing the cure chant.”

**La no pé do cruzeiro Jurema
Eu danço com meu maracá na mão
La no pé do cruzeiro Jurema
Eu danço com meu maracá na mão
Pedindo a Padre Zé
A nossa proteção
Pedindo a Padre Zé
Contigo no meu coração²⁷**

**Rearoe oerea arrearoe
Rearoe oerea arrearoe
Rearoe oerea arrearoe**

Tanoné: “Each song has a meaning. This song is Mother Earth’s song, that’s why we dance bare foot. The Earth gives us energy.”

Chant 2: (See video on DVD – Chant 2, April 29th, 2013)

**(whistles)
Ni ô canindé
Ni ô canindé

Oh ne ti é canindé
Ni ô caninde
Reia ei Reia eio**

²⁶ Translated from: “Quem não gostou pode falar, e quem gostou muito obrigado. Uma nova apresentação na inauguração da nossa nova aldeia, a secretaria do governo vai estar lá com alguns colégios, espero, que é para agente fazer nossa festa completa, que vocês vão conhecer vários cantos.” Cacique Tanoné, 24th of April, 2013.

²⁷ Translation: There on the foot of Jurema Cross \ I sing with my Maracá (Figure 27) on my hands \ Asking to Father Zé \ Our protection \ Asking to Father Zé \ With you in my heart

After the dance presentation, the final talk and the photos with the Indians (Figures 11 and 12), in one of the visits she also took the children into her hut to show the handcrafts (Figure 14, p.44).

Figure 11: Cacique Tanoné and her mother Murá taking pictures with the students
Source: Otávio Vieira, April 24th, 2013

Figure 12: "The warriors" taking pictures with the students
Source: Otávio Vieira, April 24th, 2013

Once I mentioned her that the students thought the visit had been too fast, she “just” talked and then presented the dance; in the next visit she showed the handcrafts to the visitors. I do not think she did that just because of what I commented, but maybe it had an influence. On the other hand, once I mentioned that the space of her hut was too tight for so many people and that she would not sell as much as she could. Then I suggested her to put the handcrafts somewhere outside where the visitors could see them. She agreed, but during the official visit she did the same and, different than what I said, did sell a good number of objects.

Inside her hut she explains where she sells them; how long it takes for her to make the more detailed ones; that she can make by request; she sometimes exchange handcrafts with another indian so they can sell both. The children look amazed with all the colors and seeds. Finally she talks about the special tobacco leaves which they bring from their original village in Alagoas to smoke the pipe. Then outside her house she talks about the type of plants they use to do the body painting (*Jenipapo and Urucum*) and trees and herbs which they use as medicine as well as for the handcraft. (Jatobá for skin spots; Wood Wax to cure sinusitis; and Jataí Wax, a type of indigenous bee without prickle to cure catarrh).

After the children leave I used to sit with Cacique Tanoné, her mother, Murá, and her niece around the fire, we smoke the pipe and have an informal conversation. (Figure 13)

Figure 13: Fire place with the grandmother Murá relaxing on the hammock
Source: Source: Otávio Vieira, April 26th, 2013

Figure 14: Tanoné showing the handcraft in her house
Source: Otávio Vieira, April 29th

The following is parts of the transcript of this conversation.

Cacique Tanoné: Sit here that I will have a good puff.

Me: It is good the smell of this pipe.

Her: Where is my cell phone?!

I mention the material I have, photos and video recordings, and that she can use it at any time.

Her: This is our history Otávio. I just want what is mine and what He wants to give me, this is my real history, who wants to clear the doubts can come here. Here everybody explains everything. Here the children get curious, ask. In the morning I talked more, now I talked less, I'm hoarse. Some presents came to me, I have to divide with the community. I do not even ask, the phone rings and the donations come. This people supported me the whole year. There was also donation of water filters. It arrives here and I do not take anything. We divide. Each one takes one part and if there is something left I take it.

Everybody works with the handcraft, here we cannot plant anything.

She continues: There are 8 warriors working at the moment. It is here in the community just the ones who work with the handcraft and study at night. Saturday and Sunday are good days because everybody is here.

Me: Can I come tomorrow in the afternoon again?

Her: Yes, you can.

At the end of the conversation I ask permission for two things, to sit and to come on the next day. I have in my mind that I must ask permission for everything, first because I do not know their customs and second because I am just a new intruder there and I must create a deeper trust feeling in these first contacts.

She wants the government to find a land where they can live in and do their presentations. She does not consider the present land a sacred place because "the sanctuary where white people enter is not sacred".

Regarding the Geotourism concept and the present situation of the community, it is not possible to do too much because they are waiting to be removed from there. She says that the Northwest neighborhood was not inaugurated yet and just when people start living there things will change. She is waiting for that. At this moment I think that the way we could help them was

either donating food, refurbishing the roof of the central hut by bringing straw or helping them to make the handcraft.

The warriors are all in the community just on the weekends, that's why the visit took place on Sunday.

I have heard in a youtube video (Herbário Fitoterápico, 2013) that there is a phytotherapeutic herbarium in the community, and as I found that would be very interesting to show to the visitors I asked her about that. At first she answered like she did not know about it, but then she said that Santxiê owned it. She told very little of their history, limiting to say that they were not talking anymore. Santxiê was the only member who did not sign a contract with the government for them to be removed from there to a nearby area. On my next visits she will tell me more details about their relationship.

Figure 15: A warrior with his Cocá observing the arrival of the children
Source: Otávio Vieira, April 26th, 2013

Figure 16: Children arriving
Source: Otávio Vieira, April 26th, 2013

Figure 17: Dancing place with grandmother Murá in the center
Source: Otávio Vieira, April 26th, 2013

In the other visits Cacique Tanoné talks about different subjects, such as: how the Indians cure from snake bites by smoking a special tobacco leaf; the importance of some symbols, such as the Cocá – see figure 15 and 19 – (symbolizing the head) the *Paulié* (the heart) and the *Maracá* – see figures 18 and 19 – (the sacred music and dance); the history of the Indians in general and in specific about their community; she explains the non-materialistic point of view

of the Indians, saying that “all these things are not wealth for us. You die and do not take anything. We are rich of what? Of health, culture, full belly, traditional culture, freedom”.

Figure 18: Maracá is one of the few instruments used by the Indians
Source: unknown

Figure 19: Indian with Maracá
Source: Unknown

Moreover she explores the moral aspect of the Indians and how they have to behave in a society dominated by the white man. “Let’s be humble, let’s make the union, the friendship, and let’s help the ones who are in need.” She says that it is the young Indians’ destiny to go to the school with the white man, and teaches the young Indians to behave in the school:

I am among the white, I am not in the wood. Can you see? You can’t see, you are blind. You can’t talk? No because I am mute. We leave it like that and that is it. We leave them behind, because further there, he will be punished, you know how? Another will make fun of him for something else. Here you do here you pay.

She says that the Aldeia Bananal today is not the same as before, there was no buildings, no noise of machines. Nowadays it is possible to listen to the sound of the machines in the construction site by it.

It was just us here, nobody knew we lived here. We were happy. Our closed Cerrado; full of Jatobás, the Sucupiras that do not exist anymore [both typical trees], they put down everything. You just see the buildings, and we are hidden here pressed down. See our suffocation, there has never had a mosquito to bite us, now the poor ones got homeless and are now attacking us. All this we are passing through.

Aiming to have the final talk with Cacique Tanoné before the official visit I go to the community. However she was giving an interview as well as talking to her lawyer, so I almost did not have the opportunity to do so (Figures 20 and 21).

Figure 20: Tanoné giving interview with warriors on the background
Source: Otávio Vieira, May 13th

Figure 21: Last talk with Tanoné before the Official visit
Source: Otávio Vieira, May 13th

The moment that I found to talk to her about that was on the day of the visit. I arrived earlier at the community because I had to take the fish and chicken for them to cook. At that moment we talked for about 5 or 10 minutes; I mentioned the order of the visit that I thought would be the ideal. She agreed with it. Shortly it was settled that the order would be: first talking; second walking around and presenting the community area; third dance presentation; forth eating; and then showing the handcraft. Besides that I asked if she could send one of her “warriors” to receive the students and guide them along the track; she kindly does it (Figure 24, p.49). That was how the day of the official visit started.

4.2 The Official Visit

The one visit project took place on **May 19th, 2013** and the target public was 22 University students of tourism ranging from 20 to 25 years, 1 professor, 1 anthropology and 1 sociology student, 1 architect, 3 other visitors and me, totaling 30 visitors.

One week before the visit, on **May 13th, 2013**, I went to the school to give a Motivational Talk (Figure 22). This initial contact with the students aimed to:

- create curiosity and motivation;
- give an initial explanation about the community and about the two types of tourism (indigenous and educational) which will be practiced;
- tell about the practical activities which the students will do together with the members of the community.
- indicate issues that may be observed during the visit, such as the differences between the indigenous and the Western values and knowledge; “The importance of different ways of

knowledge is to make us realize that it is possible to think the world in another way. (DA CUNHA, interview, 2013)²⁸

Figure 22: Motivational talk one week before the visit
Source: Otávio Vieira, May, 13th, 2013

The visit on the community was held from 10 am to 2:30 pm and the activities developed can be seen on Table 2.

Table 2. Visit Schedule

	Time	Activity
1	10 – 10:50	Talk on History of the community and land legalization. It takes place in the Central community Hut made of straw.
2	10:50 – 11:20	Walk around the community land
3	11:20 – 11:40	Use the bathroom inside the houses, some visitors smoke the pipe and paint the body
4	11:40 – 12.10	Talk on spirituality at the Secondary Straw Hut
5	12:10 – 13:20	Typical Dance – Many Indians dance outside under the sun
6	13:30 – 14	Lunch – The community offers lunch to the students
7	14 – 14:30	Handcraft – The students walk into the Cacique's to see and buy handcrafts

The meeting point of the student tourists was in front of Leonardo Da Vinci School, a private and expensive school located about 2km from the community. There in a circle I explained the schedule of the day. (Figure 23) To arrive at Aldeia Bananal we walked along the track guided by an adolescent indian on his small bike. (Figure 24)

²⁸ Translated from: “A importância de modos de conhecimento diferentes é nos fazer perceber que se pode pensar de outro modo.”

Along the track the student-tourists walked through the constructions of the newest and most expensive neighborhood of the city. (Figure 25) The transition from the urban to the rural area is felt when we arrive at the entrance of Aldeia Bananal. (Figure 26) There Cacique Tanoné receives and invites us to enter into the community. We pass under a tree which she tells is the caregiver of the land and warns them about everyone who passes by.

Figure 23: Meeting point
Source: Otávio Vieira, May 19th

Figure 24: On the way to Aldeia Bananal guided by a member of the community
Source: Otávio Vieira, May 19th

Figure 25: Northeast new neighborhood
Source: Otávio Vieira, May 19th

Figure 26: The entrance of Aldeia Bananal
Source: Otávio Vieira, May 19th

The **first event** takes place in the central hut where Cacique Tanoné gives the initial talk (Figure 27). She address the following subjects: 1 - Brazilian Indigenous History in general and their own; 2 – Sacrate ritual's: the Oricuri annual ritual in their original land, Alagoas, and the rituals they practice each 15 days here in the community; 3 – The way she deals with technology, which is with the help of the other community members who study; 4 – Her personal history. Three of her six sons and daughters passed away. At 23 she could not have children anymore, and then she got separated because Indigenous women just are valued when they have many children, mainly boys. 5 – How the indigenous men can have between 3 or 5 wives. However

she was different from the others and never accepted that. 6- She also talks on spirituality. 7 – Their language – Desebuquá from Macro-ge indigenous language root, which is also shared by the following indigenous groups: Kaiapó, Xerente, Xavante, Kaio, all these groups have similar chants. She teaches some words: *Serepauí* (mom, where is the pipe?) and *Serequetsã* (mom let's eat, I'm hungry).

The **second event** is the walk around the land. We come back to the entrance gate and from there start walking in the surrounding of the community, in an area that I had not seen before. We see some people who are not part of the community but who are also living there. There is some construction garbage there, which clearly comes from the construction site. (Figure 28)

Figure 27: Initial talk
Source: Otávio Vieira, May 19th

Figure 28: Second event – walk around the community
Source: Otávio Vieira, May 19th

After finishing the walk Cacique Tanoné shows us the kitchen (Figure 38, p.53) and invites us to some of the members' hut (Figure 29) where we can drink some water. Some of the visitors get their body painted and try the pipe (Figures 30 and 31, p.51). Some girls take pictures with the young Indians (Figures 32).

Figure 29: Inside a member's home
Source: Otávio Vieira, May 19th

Figure 30: Painting the body
Source: Otávio Vieira, May 19th

Figure 31: Trying the Pipe
Source: Otávio Vieira, May, 19th, 2013

Figure 32: Girls taking picture with the Indians
Source: Otávio Vieira, May, 19th, 2013

Figure 33: Talk on Spirituality before the dance presentation
Source: Otávio Vieira, May, 19th, 2013

Before starting the dance and chants presentation there is a talk on Indigenous Spirituality (Figure 33). The first chant took place under one of the central huts and all the others were presented under the warm midday sun (Figures 34, 35, 36 and 37). See chant 3: Buzios

Dance (See video on DVD – Chant 3, May 19thth, 2013) and chant 4 (See video on DVD – Chant 4, May 19thth, 2013)

Figure 34: Dance presentation with grandma Murá smoking the pipe at the front
Source: Otávio Vieira, May, 19th, 2013

Figure 35: Dancing together with the Indians
Source: Otávio Vieira, May 19

Figure 36: Typical dance called The Bozo Dance
Source: Otávio Vieira, May 19th

Figure 37: Men's dance
Source: Otávio Vieira, May 19th

After that there was the lunch which we ate at an improvised small table (Figure 39). Finally some of the students got into Cacique Tanoné's hut to see and buy the handcraft (Figures 40 and 41). She did not put the handcrafts outside as I had suggested. At the end I gave her a typical tree from Cerrado (Ipê) at the same time that I preceded the payment (Figures 42, p.53).

Figure 38: Cacique Tanoné showing the kitchen to the visitors
Source: Otávio Vieira, May, 19th, 2013

Figure 39: The fish being served to the kitchen
Source: Otávio Vieira, May, 19th, 2013

Figure 40: Professor Gabriel buying a Maracá the typical instrument
Source: Otávio Vieira, May, 19th, 2013

Figure 41: Visitor posing for a photo with Cacique Tanoné
Source: Otávio Vieira, May, 19th, 2013

Figure 42: Last moment of the visit – Donation of a typical tree symbolizing the visit
Source: Otávio Vieira, May, 19th, 2013

A brief analysis of the visit is: as the dance was presented from 11 to 12 o'clock, it could have been shorter and under a protected area due to the sun; the kitchen was not in a good condition to cook and serve, there was no proper place to serve the food and the Indians did not get too involved in the serving service. She showed no interest in letting the visitors help her in producing the handcraft. She did sell some handcraft; therefore this activity is enhanced with the visitors.

After this brief analysis of the visit, more details about the students' and Cacique Tanoné's view on the visit will be pointed out.

5 ANALYSIS

This analysis first explores the students' opinion based on an open questionnaire and then Cacique Tanoné's opinion based on a semi-structured interview. The concepts of Geotourism, Staged-Authenticity for the Community Empowerment and Ambience Generation permeate the analysis of the answers.

5.1 The Students' Views

The following questions were answered by **20 students**.

1 – What did you learn with the visit?

Some students mentioned that even inserted in the urban context the Indians still search to preserve the traditional culture and in many ways manage to do it. The student 16 said that he “learned to respect and value the indigenous life style and even infiltrated in a modern society they still follow their tradition.” Correlating this observation to the concept of Ambience Generation we have:

Usual Environment Among – school and classroom

Usual Environment Surrounding – western values

New Environment Among – indigenous setting

New Environment Surrounding – indigenous values

Both New Environments led the students to questioning the Usual Environment Surrounding, thereby confronting the western with the indigenous values (See 1.3 for the concepts). When the students see the struggle of the Indians to keep their tradition and values in the middle of a completely different Environment Surrounding, they do question their own western values and rethink it, discovering a whole new possibility. This flow of thinking seems to lead to a recognition of the indigenous values and life style, which would not be achieved if the Environment Among was not swiped to the actual territory of the Indians.

Other similar relations pointed out were: how well the Indians are adapted to western values; and the contrast between the surrounded urban area and the community land, while the latter has not even electricity.

2 – What could be better in the organization of the visit?

Two central issues were pointed out: the hygiene of the kitchen and the lack of infrastructure in general.

It is needed to improve the kitchen conditions so the community can actually cook for the tourists, after that we can start thinking about involving the students in the cooking process; eating together could also be done. Regarding the infrastructure, it was necessary to use the toilets inside the houses, so perhaps a communitarian toilet could be built for the visitors.

Another relevant aspect was the dance, the students pointed out the presentation was too long and under the midday sun of the Cerrado, known as Brazilian Savana. The Indians got so involved in the presentation that they wanted to show many of their typical songs and dances. Therefore the dance can be performed mostly under the hut and perhaps a bit shorter.

3 – How could the visitors contribute to the community besides the financial relation?

Some ways presented by the students are: respecting them; marketing the handcrafts; giving suggestions to better receive the tourists; donating clothes and books; and also not just acquiring knowledge from the Indians' way of life but also the students showing their western values. The student 5 stated that he “learned what is to come for the Indians.” Other visits needed to be done to put some suggestions in practice.

4 – What do you think about the situation of the Indians who live in the Northeast, in Aldeia Bananal ?

Words such as compelling, complicated, precarious, degraded and instable were stated. The reasons for these words were due to the lack of infrastructure, no sanitation, lighting, energy and water.

The student number 1 wrote: “There is a conflict between these two realities, the Indians trying to keep their culture and traditions beside a society that runs against the time; therefore I believe it must be very confusing for both.”

Some positive aspects were also pointed out, saying that “although the public sector forgets them it is possible to note that the Indians show love and respect for the land.”

Some future prospects – Establishing Hermeneutic – showed not very optimistic point of views for the Indians future: “losing the land is a question of time, as they have no power before the capitalist progress.”; “it is a bit compelling as they do not know the future.”; and “they are in an instable situation ‘coz they can be expelled from there at any time.”

5 – Do you consider the Northeast indians real indians? Why?

11 students answered No; 9 students answered Yes; and 1 said in parts.

Some reasons given by the students who answered No were: “No, because they want to keep their tradition and follow the modernity.”; “Because the Funai does not recognize them as Indians.”; “Because they are much more urbanized than Indians.”; “They are considered more urban than us. They are interacting with our technologies.”; “No, because they are very mixed (race) and they are getting the urban costumes.”; “No, because they are different from the other Indians and want to use things that do not belong to their culture, such as internet and cars.”; “No, because they are inserted in the modern life and eager for goods which are not part of their culture.”; “No, Coz they want things of the white man, such as piped water, energy, internet and study at the university.”; “No, because they are urban in every aspect.”

More than half of the students still see them as more urbanized than keeping the indigenous values. Well, immigrants do take in much of the new society values; however they still consider themselves by their original roots. Therefore, in my view, an urban indigenous community can take in much of the urban value, be up-to-date to the new technology and take part of the university or work life and still keep their values; that is how I see the Bananal Community.

On the other hand, some reasons given by the students who answered Yes were: “They do not live as their ancestors due to the lack of resources but they do bring their culture.”; “Because of their origins.”; “Because they try to keep their culture.”; “Because they keep their culture and tradition.”; “Yes but there is already a miscegenation.”; “Because although they are in the urban environment they do have the Indian culture.”; “Because they have not completely lost their costumes, these are still passed through the generations.”.

The student-tourist 11 said: “We are all Indians in a certain way and like them we all should have this determination to defend our culture.”

The student who was in the middle answered: “In parts, because they are already getting urbanized in order to defend themselves.”

After all, a summary of the student-tourists’ points of view is:

- The students got in contact with a community they had no knowledge about before.
- Some learned to value them while another part see them as non-indigenous; still they all learned about their difficult situation.
- Their history and culture were spread.
- The infrastructure of the community can be improved in order to receive visitors (at first toilets and kitchen), but the way it is does not impede it to happen.

5.2 Final Interview with Cacique Tanoné

Two weeks after the visit I came back to the community to have the final interview with Cacique Tanoné. The conversation took place in an informal ambience in her hut and with her mother Murá beside.

The following questions were raised:

1 – How do the Indians feel when people take photos of them?

“We feel fine for it is a divulgation for us. Before we lived invisible, then the people found us; it is open for everybody to know how we live here.” I ask if they were invisible until the construction of the neighborhood. She answers: “More or less that. After the construction everybody got to know about us. There are people who have knowledge; there are others who feel anger towards us.”

Then she tells me that last week they put fire on the side of Santxiê. I mention people have been putting fire here for a long time, long before the beginning of the construction, maybe twenty years ago. She says that while the firemen were putting down the fire the employees of the construction site were saying: “Do not put the fire down, let these miserable Indians burn.”

2 – What does your mother, Murá (84 years old), feel about being visited and having the pictures taken?

“Mommy feels so happy because she has never taken a photo in her life. So when I show her the photos she gets all happy.” At the end of the interview she gives me a CD for me to record the videos and photos for her. One week later I bring printed photos for her as thanks.

3 – How different was the dance presentation from the real ritual?

The aim of this question was to analyze the authenticity of the dance presentation.

She says that all cultural artifacts they use in their sacred ritual in Alagoas – known as Ouricuri, where they go once a year –, such as dances, chants, food and words, they do not show here. “From our ritual we do not take anything, this is just ours. No chants or words from there are played or said to outsiders”

She tells that the reason why the Indians still survive till nowadays is Spirituality. She also states the present better situation of the Indians, when they now have more rights to express their culture. “Today the law gives the right to be free, so we are practicing everything; we are speaking, wearing and cooking traditional food. But what is from Ouricuri, we do not tell even dead [a Brazilian expression].”

Based on her answer we identify that the dances and chants are sacred rituals for the Indians and almost nothing practiced in the rituals are allowed to be showed for visitors. The dances and chants presented in the visits are from Corn Toré²⁹, the dance that can be shown to outsiders. “The Corn Toré is the Bozo Dance (Figure 43), the Bow and Arrow Dance, the Spear and the Warriors Dance. These are chants, nor rituals.”

Figure 43: The Bozo Dance with grand mom Murá on the background
Source: Otávio Vieira, May 19th

4 – How did the community feel about preparing the food for the visitors?

I thought the food theme could be a bit embarrassing to talk about, due to the bad conditions of the kitchen. They used to cook for the visitors some years ago but not anymore. She is the only one who uses the kitchen: “I use it daily to make the fish. We have no motivation to improve the kitchen because we may have to move out soon.” When they cook together they make a fire under the central hut to prepare the fish instead.

5 – Can the visitors help you to produce the handcrafts?

I thought they could have a higher amount of product to sell.

First she says that the visitors do not know how to make, and then she explains that if she teaches for the non-indigenous they will produce a lot and export, because they have the resources and the indigenous would not sell anymore. Therefore she has no interest in teaching the technique. “Just the basic I can teach.” she says. She also complains about the people who copy their handcrafts.

If you are the singer and I sing your song without telling you, won’t you sue me? So how can they make my handcraft and even use different material. The Peruvians

²⁹ *Toré do Milho* – a typical dance to evocate the Ouricuri Secret (Ouricuri is the main annual ritual) and to thank the Big Spirit for one more harvest. This presentation became also a resistance act, therefore it is a dance that can be shown to outsiders. A documentary about that can be found with English subtitles on you tube with the name: **Toré - Celebração e resistência no Planalto Central**

have been doing that. We make with seeds and they make with plastic or bronze, bright things.

In the end I suggested that the visitors could help them when they move to the other land; she agreed.

6 – What did you do with the money? Was it a good amount?

I wanted to know if the money was enough and what she had done with it. I had to remind her they received 800 reals from us (2.400 Sek).

It helped us, because it is so many people, each one gets 20, 30 or 50. It depends. We share it. I do not share, because I am the Cacique, I just hand it to the warrior who counts how many people and give the same to each one, so we do not have any conflict. I want honesty inside my people. If there is no honesty I expel them to the tribe in Alagoas. They already know it is like that. I do not touch it. They divide and what is mine he brings and gives to me.

The money made them feel valued for presenting their culture, therefore it empowered them. On the opposite, the children visits organized by the local government did not give them any financial return. In the end it was clearly observed the difference in quality and good will of the Indians while presenting the community during both visits.

When Murá, the great grandmother, arrives at Tanoné's hut, we greet each other and I finish the interview, so we keep an informal conversation.

5.3 Developing Edu-tourism in an Urban Indigenous Community

In Indigenous Tourism Anthropology, finding the middle term between researching on the cultural artifacts and managing the visitation is key in the process. This research contains relevant parts of the Bananal Community costumes, history and religious thoughts, and the other part of the effort was applied to develop a beneficial visit for both sides. Deeper anthropological studies are found in other thesis – all written in Portuguese.

In any anthropological studies it is relevant the sensibility of the researcher in order to approach the object and gain the confidence of the group. The researcher must listen and learn first, just then the community members will create confidence on you and start listening to you; it will never happen the other way around. With the urban Indians, however, it comes usually faster; and in each visit I talked a bit more than the previous one.

The first visitation is quite relevant for both, me and the Indians. I want them to be satisfied with the practice of tourism so they can have the motivation to work with it. For that,

they must receive a good financial return since the first time, one which they would take longer to gain with handcrafts.

Each of the three children's visits was different from one another. Cacique Tanoné has mostly makes things by intuition. We cannot expect to have formal meetings to organize the visit; the conversation is at all times informal and natural. It is my role trying to organize the visit, however part of the control must stay on the communities' hands. I mostly know what is going to happen: dance, history, handcraft, maybe phytotherapy, some agriculture and typical food. These are the basic activities, but the order, time and how they are presented have to have a less tightened schedule. The "Indian way" of doing things has to be respected.

My observations were most of the time representative for the whole community. Some points related to the history of the community may still be discussed by them, but regarding to the development of the visit, it is aligned with what the community expects as they were the ones who indicated what and how should be presented.

Three were the main concepts in which this visit was planned, Ambience Generation, Geotourism and Staged-Authenticity for the Community Empowerment.

When students visit indigenous communities a new ambience is generated: going away from one's normal learning Space to another where the indigenous culture is alive is a catalyzer, and leads to a deeper knowledge of a different reality.

Along the thesis we named the tourism practiced as Edu-Tourism, as the main aim of the visit was education. Now it can be thought of an Edu-Geotourism, when all the concepts and praxis of Geotourism concept are applied in a student visit in an indigenous context. For that, three main points must be followed: a Special Interest in the community; some knowledge of the community before the visit; and enhancing some characteristics of the visited group at the moments of the visitation. All these done by students may change the usual Edu-tourism practiced towards a more sustainable and meaningful visit for both sides.

Regarding to Special Interest, the unique "philosophical/theological" roots of the indigenous culture and the spirituality of the community – which is according to tanoné the main cohesive force to keep the community together – can be a valuable attraction. Although their spiritual rites are so far kept secret, this wisdom of spirituality could make somehow understandable and comparable with other spiritual traditions and mystic schools (like: Buddha, Meister Eckhart von Hochheim, Francesco of Assisi, Theresa von Avila, and the present philosophers on human ethics, like Dalai Lama, Dag Hammarskjöld (UN general secretary), Carl Friedrich von Weizsäcker, Nelson Mandela, etc.). Perhaps it would be possible, by the aid of philosophers and ethnologist to develop a generic platform to exchange knowledge/wisdom on

human ethics and spirituality, what in turn would trigger a very specific type of tourism and could also help other indigenous communities to engage and build networks and become visible.

The third concept is Staged Authenticity for the Community Empowerment, which we tried to broaden from the concept of Staged Authenticity developed by Maccannell (1973). In this praxis Indians show and perform in an authentic way their natural and cultural artifacts, such as food, costumes, dances, chants and history, even though they are adapted to present to the tourists. In addition, it must also empower the community giving a good financial return since the first visit; enjoyment of the community while tourism is being practiced; and identification, in this regard we try not to influence as less as possible the choices of what is presented by the community.

CONCLUSION

One of the principal reasons for undertaking this study was to apply anthropological research concerning an indigenous community and the way it is affected by tourism. However, the fact that the community I decided to focus on has actually been situated in an urban area since the sixties and the fact that it is currently witnessing pressures from the construction of a new neighborhood nearby make it a particularly fascinating case study since they have allowed me not only to examine how tourism influences indigenous culture but also to see the challenges this culture experiences by being situated in a contested urban region. One issue that was examined was to actually see if tourism can indeed be used as a vehicle for this community to preserve its identity given the extreme pressures it experiences.

This study, as well as others such as Magalhães (2009), (Schvarsberg, 2009) and Oliveira (2011), show that although these indigenous Indians have certainly been influenced by living in an urban environment, they continue to maintain many of their Indian customs and traditions. Therefore, this study negates the arguments made by the real estate investors and politicians that these are not real Indians after all since they have lived in an urban environment for so long.

Regarding the general problem, which was to develop Edu-tourism in an Urban Indigenous community, the thesis presents a solid argument for developing such a project. This is based on describing the main characteristics of the indigenous community and developing a project, which is sensitive to the indigenous group's traditions and needs at all times. More practical work is needed to scrutinize the method and create a kind of "open guide" to Indigenous Tourism developers.

The second problem was related to the present and future benefits of the project for the students and for the indigenous community. It appears from the student excursion that was undertaken that the major benefit to the community was that knowledge concerning the indigenous Indians' culture was spread to these visitors. This means that society in general could benefit by expanding such visits since other people will get to understand this Indigenous group better and could end up supporting it in its fight against the interests of the real estate business. The student excursion generated 800 R\$ (2400 Sek), which at first glance could be regarded as a negligible sum when it is divided in about 20 members. Nevertheless, it is obvious that with proper marketing more educational groups could visit and the community could end up making larger sums over time. The downside I noted from the study was that the money that was raised was equally divided among the Indians who were present when the students visited whereas if educational tourism is to be more beneficial to the community in the future they should perhaps apply the earning to a community-wide project such as refurbishing the central hut or the kitchen.

Specifically with regards to the students they experienced a unique contact with the indigenous culture which led them to a higher cultural heritage valorization through the learning of their history, cultural values and spirituality. In addition to that the Tourism students learned *in locus* how it is to practice Indigenous Tourism. The motivational talk in the university one week before the visit was useful to give some information about the community and create curiosity for the visit.

The development of educational visit is actually still in progress due to two reasons. First similar visits to the Bananal community must be put in practice to multiply the benefits for the Indians. Meanwhile further visits can be developed focusing also on different segments, such as local inhabitants, general tourist, but also the two main tourism segments who visit the Brazilian capital: event and business tourists. Second the visit still has to be improved; the enhancement of specific characteristics of the community, like infrastructure, is one part of the Geotourism concept not put in practice, besides other points.

It is possible to expand this project to other Brazilian indigenous communities as well as in other countries, either financed by the government, NGO's, universities or by private resources such as travel agencies or myself.

A gap in our study is not having interviewed Santxiê personally, one of the leaders of the community who now seems to lack support. This research is based on other academic thesis as well as on Cacique Tanoné's views, and does not support some of Santxiê's points of views and stories. As mentioned before he passed away in June 2014.

It seems to be a common practice among Indigenous cases researchers to finish their work and never come back to the community to present the results and contribute with their future. Therefore it is my duty to write an article out of this thesis and translate it into Portuguese so the community can have access to the research.

It was a pleasure to work with Indians, a dream fulfilled. In the beginning I thought this project could be spoiled due to the urban context where they live, but in the end, seeing the hardship of this unique community, it strengthened me for carrying on with the project.

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APPENDICES

Appendix A

Parceria entre Mid Sweden University (Östersund, Sweden) e Faculdade de Ciências Tecnológicas e Sociais (Taguatinga - DF, Brazil) Mestrado em Turismo - MIUN

Projeto: Turismo Pedagógico na Comunidade Indígena do Bananal em Brasília – DF: transformando ideias em ação

O projeto constitui em 10 visitas entre 15 e 20 anos de alunos de escolas públicas e primeiros anos de universidade na comunidade indígena do Bananal, localizada na área urbana de Brasília – DF. (<http://santuariodospajes.blogspot.se/>) Os membros da comunidade apresentarão sua cultura ao mesmo tempo em que os estudantes participarão ativamente das atividades, tais como dança, produção do artesanato, colheita e preparação do almoço, forma típica de moradia e herbário fitoterápico. As visitas acontecerão no mês de maio de 2013.

Benefícios

- Para a comunidade: valorização do patrimônio cultural e natural através da prática do turismo sustentável e desenvolvimento de um projeto na comunidade com o dinheiro recebido.
- Para os estudantes: entrar em contato com a cultura indígena *in loco*.
- Para o projeto “Barca das Letras”: doação de livros, materiais escolares e brinquedos pelos estudantes. O projeto consiste em doação desses tipos de materiais para comunidade Ribeirinhas da Amazônia. <http://barcadasletras.blogspot.com.br/>
- Para MIUN: publicação de artigo em Revistas Acadêmicas de Turismo e parceria com a FACITEC
- Para a FACITEC: visita a comunidade do Bananal do primeiro e Segundo semestres do curso de Turismo e parceria com a Universidade Sueca MIUN (www.miun.se)

Custos

- 200 R\$ para a comunidade por cada visita. (totalizando 2,000 R\$ - cerca de 6,000 Sek)
- Trabalho de campo de Otávio Vieira – 1) Desenvolvimento do projeto junto com a comunidade; 2) 10 visitas às escolas 1 semana antes da visitação; 3) 10 visitas à comunidade (1,500 R\$ - cerca de 4,500 Sek).

Apoio – Ambas instituições contribuirão igualmente ao projeto

- Da MIUN: Apoio de 1,500 reais (cerca de 4,500 Sek) para o trabalho de campo.
- Da FACITEC: Apoio de 1,500 reais (cerca de 4,500 Sek) como $3\frac{1}{4}$ da renda da comunidade.
- Os últimos $1\frac{1}{4}$ da renda da comunidade (500 R\$ - 1,500 Sek) virá do lucro da Exposição de Arte durante os meses de Fev \ Mar 2013 na Yoga Shala em Östersund, Suécia. Ver detalhes no site: www.otaaugustus.blogspot.com
- Otávio Vieira apresentará os resultados e ambas universidades no mês de Julho, 2013.

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Appendix B

Partnership between Mid Sweden University (Östersund, Sweden) and Faculdade de Ciências Tecnológicas e Sociais (Taguatinga - DF, Brazil) Master in Tourism - MIUN

Project: Educational Tourism in the Bananal Indigenous Community in Brasília - DF: transforming ideas in action

The project consists in 10 visits of students ranging from 15 to 20 years old from public schools and first years of university in the Bananal indigenous community, located in the urban area of Brasília – DF. (<http://santuariodospajes.blogspot.se/>) The community members will present their culture at the same time that the students will take part in all activities, such as dance, handicraft, food growth and lunch preparation, housing, phytotherapy gardening and so on. The visits will be held in May, 2013.

Benefits

- For the community: cultural and natural heritage enhancement through the practice of a sustainable tourism and development of a project in the community with the money received.
- For the students: experience the indigenous culture *in loco*.
- For “Boat’s Letters project”: donation of books and school supplies by the students. The project consists in donating these types of material to Riverine Amazon Communities. <http://barcadasletras.blogspot.com.br/>
- For MIUN: Publication in Journals of Tourism and partnership with the Brazilian University (www.facitec.br)
- For FACITEC: Visit of the first and second semesters of the Tourism Bachelor Course and partnership with the Swedish University.

Costs

- 200 R\$ for each visit paid to the community. (totaling 2000 R\$ - around 6000 Sek),
- Fieldwork of Otávio Vieira: 1) Develop the project together with the community; 2) 10 prior visits at the schools; 3) 10 visits at the community. (1500 R\$ - around 4500 Sek).

Support – Both institutions will equally contribute to the project

- Of MIUN: Supply 4,500 Sek (1,500 R\$) for the fieldwork development
- Of FACITEC: Supply 4,500 Sek (1,500 R\$) as 3/4 of the community revenue
- The last 1/4 of the community revenue (1,500 Sek = 500 R\$) will be provided by the profit of the art exhibition taking place at Yoga Shala in Östersund in Feb and March 2013. See details on www.otaaugustus.blogspot.com
- Otávio Vieira will present the results in both universities in July, 2013.

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Appendix C

When the snake bites, you take the juice of the tobacco leaf (the one they smoke), when you swallow, it does not enter anything on the blood, the poison comes and there is no reaction, that's how we teach the little ones (the children). The white man does not know, the snake bites and they have to take a vaccine and go to the hospital.

Some time ago the white man used to use the benediction. Besides the tobacco leaf there is the *Cocá* (see photos 17, 24 and 28), which is my cause, and the *Paulié*, which is my heart; and the *Maracá*, which is our instrument. In the head, in the heart and our instrument.

The little ones are growing and are learning what they will continue. 500 years of contact with the indigenous and 500 years we are resisting. In the northwest we were the first to be attacked. Along the coast and by the rivers. But the ones who lived along the beaches were all killed. The *Tatuiamuia* there is not even one to tell the story. Why? Because the sea was on the front. We came out the bushes and went straight to take a dip on the sea. Nowadays the beach is for the millionaires. In Alagoas (their original state), the Marauji beach, you see all those hotels and big houses, it is all for the rich. When would the poor indian have Money to build those beautiful mansions by the beach. It is all theirs and we are stuck in the bushes. Because those things are not richness for us. You die and do not take anything; if you died and took all the richness, but you don't take anything. But which richness can we tell today? We are rich of what? Of health, culture, full belly, traditional culture, freedom. 20 million Indians were killed, but they could not kill all. That's why there is the sacred bird and the science bird. The sacred bird is the Cacique, and the science bird is the Pajé. Because all the science is with the Pajé, so he becomes science and sacred, and the Cacique is the sacred. The Pajé cannot leave the tribe land, he is the spy, the watcher, the founded on the tribe, he cannot leave, just in a big necessity he leaves, mas his commitment is with the land. There in Alagoas, our people Kariri-Xokó and the Fulni-ô; it is all the same. Also in the Desa or Caiapó. It is difficult the Pajés to leave, just if there is a Pajes' conference, in Brasília or at FUNAI, then they leave. Then we do that party on Saturday, Sunday, Monday and Tuesday, he says what is going to happen, we just listen, nobody says anything. When I'm there the Cacique looks after the community. This is the mission of the Cacique, representing the community in each community, because he takes care of the sacred, which is the Oricuru (a yearly ritual), when we leave our village and go to the sacred wood. The Kariri and the Fulni-ô. When the Kariri sacred ritual is about to start, the Fulni-ô come, and vice-versa. In the Northwest there are just two sacred rituals, which are kept like money, the people keep it. There is our safe box. Here we are like an arm. Because the river has many arms, but everything is the river.

Let's be humble, let's make the union, the friendship, let's help the ones who are in need. My worry is that my sons work. They go to the school and have contact with the white man. Study and forget the other things, follow your destiny and everything can happen. Then you will be protected, if you don't do like that, you can slip and fall. So let's do the right thing. It is not easy. You are in a school, for example, if I go to the school the way I am – I just know how to read, I don't know how to write, just my name - the little boy, same age as me, says: look, the indian is naked, has no clothes, has no shoes. He is making fun of me, then my will is to punch everybody, kill, tear from inside, but then I will be discriminated. I am among the white, I am not in the wood. Can you see? You can't see, you are blind. You can't talk? No because I am mute. We leave and that is it. We leave them behind, because further there, he will be punished, you know how? The other will make fun of him for something else. Here you do here you pay. Then you say: ohh this and that happened with my friend, he was killed, he died from the nothing. No! He did something, because we cannot run away from His eyes. He sees, the biggest ever. Big or small the fall is the same. The cat on the elephant, it falls the same way. It is a great worry for my people, you just fall when you deserve, when he takes his eyes off you, if

He is looking at you, you get a snake bite, break the leg, the arm, break everything, mas you will have a way, if you know to thank. I saw a woman on the wheelchair, playing with a ball, a happy woman. Look what a happiness. Nowadays, you don't have a bike, don't have a car, don't have a motorbike, you don't have transport you don't go, ohhh, it is too far, I won't go. Here all days the children and teenagers of 13 and 14 years old who study at 115 north and 112 north (an address in Brasilia), they have 3 kms to get there, three to go and three to come back, on foot. You came here by bus right? Is it far? But if you walk 3 kms, will it be near? Have you ever walked 3 kms? Hahahah.. you see how difficult is the Indian's life... the indian is lazy, the indian does not work, he is poor because he does not work. It is not that. Our wealth is different than yours, our wealth is this, to be in peace, no fear. The thief does not come to steal 'coz there is nothing to steal. If he comes I say, you can take 'coz there is nothing, this necklace you can take 'coz I do another, but you will pay the double. So you do not have to charge anything, do not have to revenge from anything, 'coz this will take you nowhere. What takes you somewhere is your heart in peace. Because if it was for me to fight, I would be very bad, 'coz aggressions come every morning here. People come and tell that this and that has happened, I say I don't even want to know. We will see the end, we will wait for the future, 'coz everybody will know the reality on the right day at the right time. It is worthless lying, 'lying has short legs' (a Brazilian saying). It stretches but it shrinks again, so it doesn't go too far, so let's say the reality. Even if it hurts, we have to say the true. Because the only thing the creator does not accept is the liar, because the liar is the thief, he is a bad element. So let's say the reality. So we are not poor, we are rich, we talk, we have legs and arms, we have head to think.

I am talking to give time for the other school to come. Santa Maria is very far right? Ohh, look, they have arrived. She says. (it is incredible her intuition, 15 seconds after she stops talking saying that she is waiting for the other school to come, they arrive. She feels when someone enters in her land.)