



## PORTRAITS FOR UNESCO FROM GOYAZ CERRADO BIOSPHERE RESERVE: ITS CULTURAL LANDSCAPES AND TERRITORIAL IDENTITIES

RETRATOS PARA A UNESCO DA RESERVA DA BIOSFERA  
DO CERRADO – RESBIO GOYAZ: SUAS PAISAGENS  
CULTURAIS E IDENTIDADES TERRITORIAIS

PORTRAITS POUR L'UNESCO DE LA RESERVE DE BIOSPHERE GOYAZ  
– CERRADO: PAYSAGES CULTURELS ET IDENTITÉS TERRITORIALES

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### Resumo

Neste artigo preocupa-se em averiguar paisagens culturais e identidades territoriais que se vinculam às apropriações diversas dos atores e sujeitos na Reserva da Biosfera do Cerrado. A paisagem cultural é concreta, material e factualmente percebida pelos sujeitos e assimilada afetiva e culturalmente pelos homens. Simultaneamente, buscaram-se as identidades territoriais mediante a aplicação de algumas tipologias. Na investigação recorreu-se aos procedimentos qualitativos e quantitativos e à cartografia. Conclui-se que a Reserva da Biosfera do Cerrado – Resbio Goyaz –, apesar de seus 25 anos, carece de vontade política para sua implementação. As paisagens culturais são dinâmicas e sinalizam a precarização da Resbio Goyaz, diferentemente do que concebe a Unesco. E as identidades territoriais são reveladoras de conflitos e disputas empobrecedoras do valor da Resbio para a conservação ambiental do Cerrado e a sustentabilidade.

Palavras-chave: Políticas ambientais. Uso da terra. Agronegócio. Populações tradicionais. Fragilidade ambiental.

### Abstract

At Goiás state, the Reserve occupies the most conserved Cerrado's space and is of great importance for biodiversity. This essay centers upon the cultural landscapes and territorial identities that attach spatial marks by the mans of the appropriation effected by diverse actors and subjects present at Goyaz Cerrado Biosphere Reserve. Cultural landscape is materially concrete and factually perceived by subjects and, in this sense, this object is affectively and culturally assimilated by humans. Simultaneously, territorial identities were searched by the use of typologies. In the investigation, qualitative and quantitative proceedings were used alongside cartography. It is concluded that Goyáz Cerrado Biosphere Reserve, 25 years after its creation, still demands proceedings for its implementation. These cultural landscapes are dynamic and their historicity indicates the precarization of the Biosphere Reserve, contrarily to what Unesco conceived; and, territorial identities are revealing of conflicts and disputes that lowers the values of Resbio for environmental conservation and sustainability.

Keywords: Environmental policies. Land use. Agribusiness. Traditional populations. Environmental fragility.

### Résumé

Dans cet article le but est d'étudier les payages culturels et les identités territoriales vinculés aux appropriations diversifiées des acteurs et sujets de la réserve de la biosphere Goyaz-Cerrado. Le paysage culturel est concret, materiel et factuelment perçu par sujets et en plus assimilé par leurs sentiments et culture par les hommes. Au même temps les identités territoriales avec quelques tipologies. L'investigation par les quêtes quantitativs,

qualitatives et cartographie a permis quelques conclusions. Malgré les 25 ans d'existence il manqué la volonté politique pour mettre en place les buts de l'Unesco. Les paysages culturels dynamiques signalent la precarization de la Réserve au contraire du conçu par l'Unesco. Les identités territoriales signalent conflits et bagarres appauvrissants de la valeur de la Resbio en tant que moyen pour la conservation environnementale de savanne et la sustentabilité.

Mots-clé: Politiques environnementales. Utilisation du sol. Agro-alimentaire. Populations traditionnelles. Fragilité environnementale.

## Presentation

Cerrado, since the 1990's, is considered not only as a land for exportation-focused agriculture, but also with the Convention on Biological Diversity (CBD) signage, as a biome of new paradigm, that of sustainable development. And, in this same decade, Unesco identified Cerrado as a singular environment due to its representative biodiversity, worldly recognized for its value and necessary environmental conservation, recommending it as a Biosphere Reserve (UNESCO, 2008)

Policy planners have continually ignored Cerrado's important role as an emitter of greenhouse effect gasses, provoked by its high rate of deforestation. This was further demonstrated by Katia Abreu, Agribusiness' Minister from 1<sup>st</sup> of January 2015 to 12<sup>th</sup> of May 2016, and members of the *ruralist front*<sup>1</sup>, which stimulated agricultural expansion into Cerrado. It should be noted that the area denominated as MATOPIBA, in an agricultural frontier between Maranhão, Tocantins, Piauí and Bahia, although considered as part of Cerrado Biosphere Reserve, has a growing deforestation rate that allowed it to become the biggest soybean producer at this biome.

This Goal can be interpreted as a license to Cerrado deforestation in the maximum allowed by the Brazilian Forest Code (as such, 80% of the property). It must be observed that 400,000km<sup>2</sup> would become, thus, susceptible to become legally deforested, among which 112,000km<sup>2</sup> were already recognized as proper to soybean cultivation in Cerrado.

This essay's focus is on Goyaz Cerrado Biosphere Reserve and its recent context, which allows the verification of its actual conditions. The objective is to observe how its diversity of landscapes maintains a significative percentual of Cerrado in protected areas even though coexisting with grain farming and other enterprises that spread out in the interior of deforested areas of Goyaz Cerrado Biosphere Reserve. There are exceptions where soil and morphological conditions retard agribusiness

occupation and allowed for a traditional community, specially Quilombola locally known as Kaluga, there constituted a territory of Cerrado's peoples (Almeida, 2005, 2010).

Goyaz Cerrado Biosphere Reserve came to highlight the communitarian purpose of Cerrado conservation in the north and northeast regions of Goiás and, also, its populations. However, herding and soybean production aggressive expansion is fast, which leads to the governmental strategy of creating a mosaic of Conservation Units – CUs –, since the production in Cerrado's fragments restricts the total deforestation of the most conserved area of Goiás' Cerrado. It appears that diverse CUs are a protection for the Biosphere Reserve.

Therefore, it is important to comprehend the existences and how their territorial identities and cultural landscapes impact on Goyaz Cerrado Biosphere Reserve. Cultural landscapes of interest here are an imprint of diverse landscape fragments in Cerrado Biosphere Reserve's heart.

For the analysis and results, diverse semi-structured interviews were conducted in five Quilombola communities, settlers of sixteen agricultural settlements in Alvorada, Buritiópolis, Cavalcanti, Colinas do Sul, Damianópolis, Jaciara, Flores de Goiás, Mambáí, Nova Roma, Posse, Teresina de Goiás municipalities, in the period comprised between 2013 and 2018. There were also interviews with association leaders and representatives of companies that operate technical assistance in the area settlements, such as Senar and Coopera-DR, technicians of federal institutions (Incra and ICMBio Chico Mendes, at Mambáí), the State (Emater, at Posse) and municipal (Agriculture and Environment secretaries). Based on IBGE's Agricultural Census (2000 and 2010), land use cartograms were elaborated.

The discussion based on this information is spread out in three topics: the first, which has a presentation of Goyaz Cerrado Biosphere Reserve with a general description of its complexity; an in-depth look into the reserve is carried out in the second part through a presentation of its cultural landscapes; in the last topic, territorial identities are delineated.

### Goyaz Cerrado Biosphere Reserve

Biosphere Reserves are defined as “representative environmental areas worldly recognized for their value to environmental conservation,

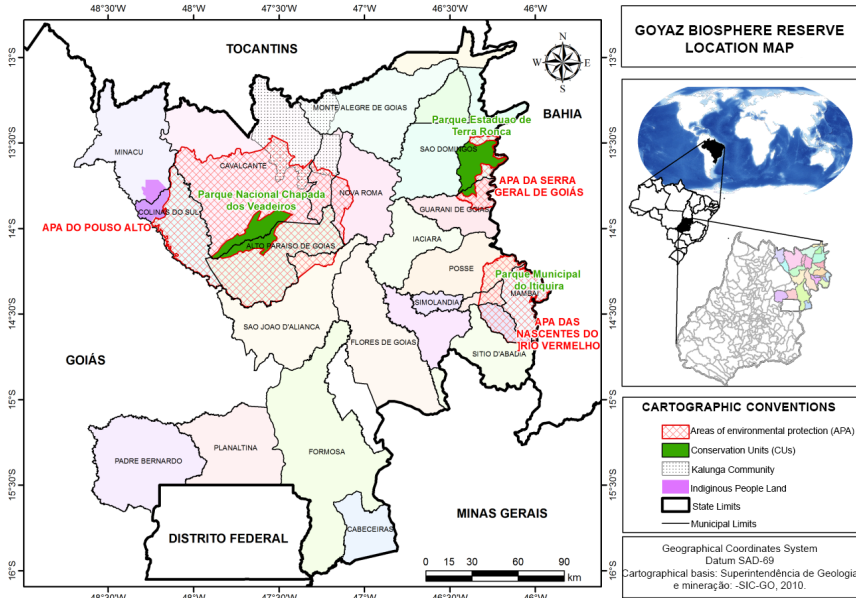
scientific knowledge, experience and human values with the objective of promoting sustainable development”, in the terms of Unesco (2008). In Goiás state, Goyaz Cerrado Biosphere Reserve is located at one of the most conserved regions of Cerrado, with great importance to its biodiversity. It corresponds to 13,45% of Goiás state area and has 7,84% of the total population of the state, 470,574 inhabitants (IBGE, 2010). If the Federal District (DF) is included, Goyaz Cerrado Biosphere Reserve becomes the most expressive in population.

This was one of the reasons for its inclusion in the “Man and Biosphere” program by Unesco, becoming part of Goyaz Cerrado Biosphere Reserve<sup>2</sup> since 1994.

Localized in the north and northeast portions of Goiás state (Brazil’s Center-West), Goyaz Cerrado Biosphere Reserve has a territorial area of 54,392km<sup>2</sup>, considered as transitional zones (Figure 1). Important to highlight that the Goyaz Cerrado Biosphere Reserve also comprises the Avá-Canoiro indigenous reserve, at the northeast region, and the Historical and Cultural Heritage Site of Kalunga’s Quilombola traditional community, at the region northside.

The Ministry of the Environment (MMA) recently proposed a revision and actualization of Cerrado Biosphere Reserve Limits, which was approved in 18<sup>th</sup> of September 2018, in Brasília-DF, which is considered as a fourth stage of its delimitation. Its new format prioritizes Cerrado’s connectivity with Caatiga, Atlantic Forest and Pantanal biomes. It comprehends close to 74 million hectares, including Bahia, Minas Gerais, Mato Grosso, Paraná and São Paulo states, alongside Federal District, Goiás, Piauí, Tocantins and Maranhão, that were already part of the Biosphere Reserve. The technical document, with this purpose, was submitted for evaluation and had Unesco’s (2019) approval.

**Figure 1 -** Goyaz-Cerrado Biosphere Reserve situation, with focus in its diverse Conservation Units, Environmental Protection Areas and protected lands



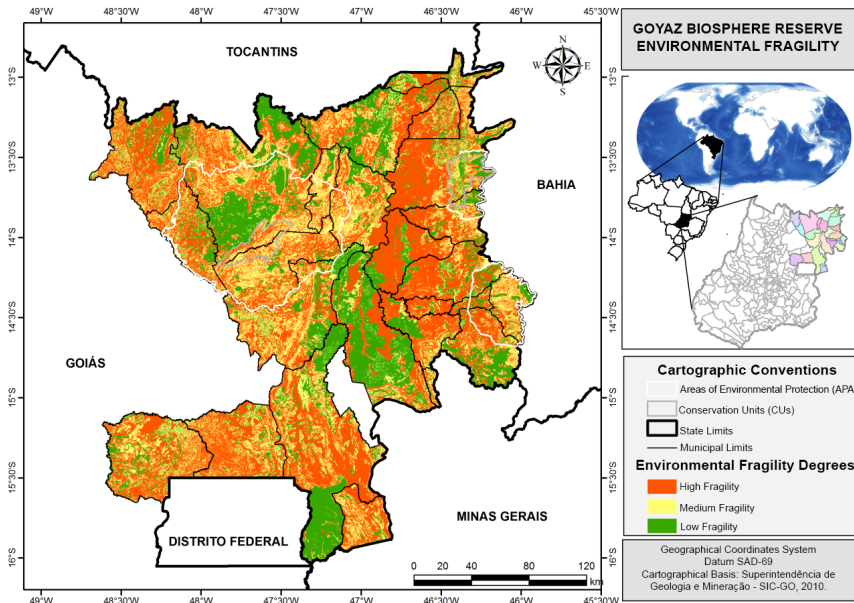
In opposition to what is seen in other parts of Cerrado biome, Nascimento et al. (2016) concludes that Goyaz Cerrado Biosphere Reserve still has 64% of its area with natural vegetal cover, whereas agriculture, pasture and urban areas represent around 35,5% of its total area.

The Reserve has also a rich drainage basin, with higher density in its south portion and expressive volume of hydric bodies in its northwest portion – represented by Lagoa de Cana Brava and Serra da Mesa, situated in Goiás northern municipalities, both used for electricity generation. Those are predominantly natural landscapes, with exception of the one of drainage, where there is a greater presence of transformations resulted from social relations with hydric resources. These hydroelectric power plants are atypical signs (COPETA, 2009) of modernity, which conflicts with landscapes valorized as local heritage.

By means of an integrated analysis of natural components in face of human interventions, Figure 2 indicates units of high, median and low environmental fragility at Goyaz Cerrado Biosphere Reserve. In general,

are precarious landscapes marking the Reserve's territory. It is concluded that landscape analysis can't relinquish a brief description in search of historical anthropization sign interpretation. The description evidences the constants, built signs and also landscape quality by combining primary and secondary functions.

**Figure 2 - Environmental fragility units at Goyaz Cerrado Biosphere Reserve**



Low fragility areas can be found in sparse spots seen in south, central and northern portions of the Biosphere Reserve, corresponding to elevated parts of the Central Plateau. It also incur in chapadas and steps in the Reserve west portion and plateaus in the central portion and fragmented northeast portions, with a considerable fragment at Pouso Alto Area of Environmental Protection. In its turn, areas of high environmental fragility are concentrated at the southern portion, in a longitudinal strip at northeast, corresponding to Vão do Paranã, and in fragmented portions in northwest due to animal husbandry and rice, corn and eucalyptus monoculture.

There is a high pressure exercised by high fragility unities at Conservation Units surroundings and its respective Areas of Environmental Protection. However, there is still considerable low fragility areas, mainly in Pouso Alto and Serra Geral de Goiás APAs. Even inside those areas, there is the occurrence of median and high fragility unities without governmental practice towards the existing policy for Cerrado Biosphere Reserve. Thus, degradation signs are manifested in distinct manners and by means of complex and articulated processes, from which there are few studies of effective territorial repercussion. Nonetheless, this essay searches a way to sketch a brief reading.

Geoenvironmental characterization and environmental fragility mapping are important tools towards Goyaz Cerrado Biosphere Reserve management, monitoring and operation. Its existence as a special unit, worldly recognized for its value to environmental protection and scientific knowledge, could transform it into object of attention and special policy to attend Unesco's expectances and the interests of environmental conserving politics.

Doyle (2009) highlights that RESBIOs are not conservation units. They are part of territorial spaces essentially protected (ETEP), which include CUs. Thus, it does not have the exigence of elaborating a management plan to orient its operation. The council has the attribution of approving and coordinating the Reserve management system structure. It also has to elaborate action plans and propose strategic projects to consolidate the delimited area.

However, only in 2018, by means of the 275<sup>th</sup> Portaria<sup>3</sup>, of 5<sup>th</sup> of July, the Ministry of the Environment (Brasil, 2018) created and defined the composition of Goyaz Cerrado Biosphere Reserve Deliberative Council. As such, this only occurred twenty-five years after it was created, period at which there was an animal husbandry and agribusiness fast expansion into areas of Cerrado, offsetting biodiversity conservation and Reserve use, which are backed by the sustainable development discourse.

Although instituted, changes in the political scene after 2018 presidential and state elections affected the Deliberative Council. Its members were, in its majority, exonerated and, in the last three months have not been renovated. Furthermore, twenty-five years of existence were not enough to give visibility to Cerrado Biosphere Reserve. Municipal management and community leaders ignore what is in fact a RESBIO.

Effectively, Unesco's intention in protecting the biome as a heritage, with Cerrado Biosphere Reserve implantation and operation, is still an innocuous and devalued proposal.

### Biosphere Reserve territory – Goyaz Cerrado Resbio – and its cultural territories

In general, developmental policies and environmental policies have ample and contradictory objectives. They are conflictive due to allowing a coexistence of different land use and biodiversity patterns and, at the same time, establish effects of one over the other. The often-called socioenvironmental policies intend, *roughly*, to control agribusiness activities, create new protected areas and facilitate the implementation of tools toward traditional biodiversity knowledge valorization and protection. These policies have implications concerning cultural landscapes and identities, as is disserted forward.

Why the cultural landscapes? Cosgrove (1998) explicated that it was possible to have a new way of seeing the world trough landscape, as a rational ordered creation, which has structures and mechanics accessible to the human mind. To understand and interpret landscape implicate, thus, a world vision of whom made it. Landscape, in cultural geography's conception, concerns our position in nature, how its elaboration is related to human perception and reason and how it is always connected to culture. Sauer ([1925] 1998) affirmed that, in cultural formation, culture is the agent, natural landscape is the medium and cultural landscape is the result.

Cultural landscape is a concrete, material, physical and factual object perceived by subjects by means of the five senses. Therefore, it is an object affectively and culturally assimilated by men. Cultural landscape is, thus, the sensorial, affective, symbolic and material image of territories, in Beringuier's (1991) opinion. This definition contemplates the concepts of visual landscape, valorized landscape and perceived landscape. Also, landscapes reveal the historicity of society and nature relations and the world conception of men that constructed them.

In Santos (1997, p.83) phrasing, landscape is “[...] transtemporal, joining present and past elements. It is a transversal construction”. These configurations, the economical logic participates, but is history and memory that counts with all its weight. Landscapes emerge according



to each individual perception and experiences. All these readings reveal cultural landscape in its sensorial, historical, cultural and symbolic dimensions, however reflection each subject world vision. Thus, it is important to be careful when referring to cultural landscapes (Almeida; Vargas; Mendes, 2011).

Cartographic representations present in this essay represent nature, use forms and agricultural and environmental activities in its temporal dynamic. If the economic logic is the chosen dimension, it can be affirmed that landscape witness man adventure on Earth's surface, and any mark by him introduced has a different cultural value. Technics, ideologic beliefs, world visions are present in any landscape, that's why landscapes have symbolic significations. Landscape diversity in Goyaz Cerrado Biosphere Reserve distinguishes herds, temporary tillage, and soybean extension municipalities delimitate spaces of power, also full of ideologies. Those landscapes are recognized as witness to creativity, sociocultural diversity, social exclusion, capital's domain, scenes of life, and become subjects of national and international policies. Cultural landscapes are transformed into objects of value-active, conservationist, and even touristic attraction policies.

Landscape, as much as territory, are dimensions marked by heritage elements, trajectory signs of society that activate memories and situate groups by defining their identities. Those dimensions are products and, simultaneously, societies social and cultural natures producers. With that, it is not affirmed that men actions are determined by environmental material framework, but highlight imbrications existing and permeating cultural landscapes. They reflect a superposition of human powers and symbols (Gandy, 2004).

If the landscape dynamic is observed in this period of Cerrado Biosphere Reserve existence, intense marks of Cerrado exploration activities are noticed. It is the case, i.e., of pastures. Meticulous analysis by Nascimento and Silva (2014) concludes that areas occupied by pastures in Goyaz Cerrado Resbio municipalities presented a reduction of 8,7% between 1995 and 2006, consisting in a loss of 251 thousand hectares in the observed period. However, this land use is still present in this territory, corresponding to 37,6% of Goyaz Cerrado Resbio area in 2006. The existing dynamic between 1995 and 2006 indicates that southern and eastern municipalities in this area of the Reserve showed a pasture area

lowering tendency, whereas some southeastern, center and northeastern municipalities revealed a pasture growth.

Even with this reduction, Formosa still is the municipality that holds the biggest pasture area (266,206ha), followed by Flores de Goiás (220,498ha) and Cavalcante (201,587ha). Those landscapes result from economic power, technology and sociocultural condition of its actors and subjects. Particular emphasis must be given to the substitution of pasture areas for corn, soybean and eucalyptus agricultural areas seen in the concentrated municipalities at Federal District surroundings. This fact might suggest an influence of the federal capital into land use dynamics of neighbor municipalities, just as in those situated at Goyaz Cerrado Resbio northeast, where Vão do Paranã is located, a depression that in its eastern portion, in Bahia's division, abruptly presents a higher altitude encountering Chapadas of São Francisco River, fact that hinders animal husbandry.

Nevertheless, a recent data analysis reveals a lowering tendency for pasture areas to give place to tillage implantation not only at Resbio, but also Goiás state, as backed by Table 1 data. In it, it is demonstrated that between 1995 and 2006 there was a decrease of 3,879,997 hectares of pasture areas; in the period between 2006 and 2017 this decrease was of less than 466,052 hectares; between 1995 and 2006 there was an increase of 1,415,726 hectares of tillage covered areas, dynamic that remains between 2006 and 2017. Albeit this conversion, pasture areas remain greatly superior to those of tillage in Goiás state.

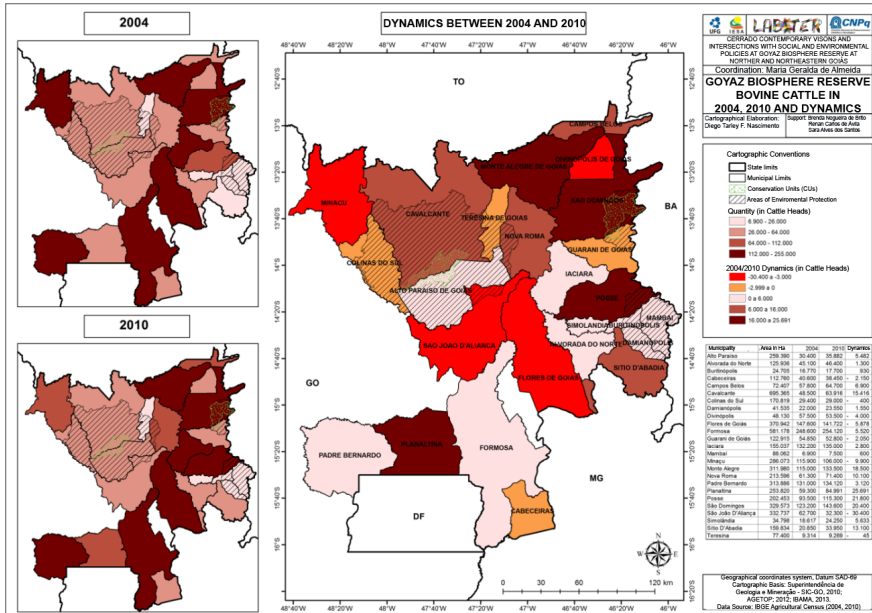
**Table 1** - Land use for tillage and pasture in Goiás state (in hectares)

	1995	2006	2017	1995-2006 Dynamic	2006-2017 Dynamic
<b>Tillage</b>	2.174.853	3.590.579	4.913.602	1.415.726	1.323.023
<b>Pasture</b>	19.404.696	15.524.699	15.058.647	-3.879.997	-466.052

Source: IBGE Agricultural Census 1995, 2006 and 2017.

In relation to bovine herding (Figure 3), there was an increase of 104,019 cattle heads between 2004 and 2010 in Goyaz Cerrado Resbio. In 2004 and 2010 it is noticeable that the biggest cattle herds municipalities were concentrated alongside BR-020 and GO-110 highways, a road network that facilitates milk and meat production outflow.

**Figure 3 - Goyaz Cerrado Biosphere Reserve bovine herding presence**



Data Source: IBGE Agricultural Census (2004 and 2010).

In relation to 2010, what is seen is the growth of bovine herding in almost all Goyaz Cerrado Resbio municipalities.

This herd growth, even with pasture area reduction, suggest that cattle breeding is made in a more intensive manner, as a reflex of a practice predominantly for capitalist exploration. Herding landscape is one of traditional pastures conflicting with Cerrado vegetation and, more recently, animal husbandry developed modern technics, enhanced race selection for slaughtering and use more technology. However, vast pastures mark the Biosphere Reserve landscapes.

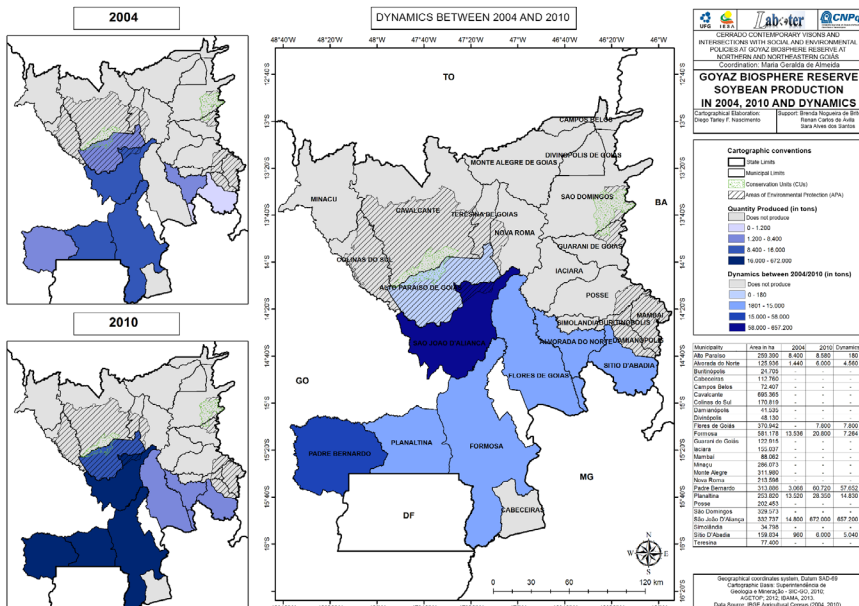
Nonetheless, trough an analysis of agricultural production of the main fields in the region, different patterns and dynamics are evident. In example, rice and sugarcane production are concentrated at northern and northeaster municipalities of Cerrado Biosphere Reserve, whereas corn and soybean production are concentrated in southern region municipalities. This confirms an already highlighted aspect: the conversion of pasture areas into agricultural activity in southern Reserva municipalities

happens to the implantation of those last two crops. Distinct landscapes are reelaborated and are in environmental, economical and cultural progression than those that inhabit those territories.

In what refers to temporary tillage, the 2004 and 2010 dynamic reveals that São João da Aliança and Padre Bernardo municipalities presented the biggest elevations of temporary tillage area occupation, with an increase from 13,117 and 8,995 hectares, respectively. Some municipalities concentrated at the northeast presented a decline of temporary tillage areas.

It is worth noticing that municipalities situated at Goyaz Cerrado Resbio southern portion were those with an increase of permanent tillage and, also, reduced pasture areas. This dynamic, as already referred to, collaborates to a conversion of pasture areas into predominantly agribusiness tillage. Formosa municipality is particular due to the presence of international and national silos alongside BR-020, which reinforces and complements productive activities toward an exportation market.

**Figure 4 - Soybean production in 2004 and 2010; Goyaz Cerrado Biosphere Reserve**



In what concerns soybean, a phenomenon in Brazilian agricultural production among the world market leaders, Cerrado Biosphere Reserve comprehends nine municipalities that respond to this agricultural production. It is important to salient that it was the crop of biggest growth between 2004 and 2010. In both analyzed periods, there was an increment of 754,526tons of its production. It can be concluded that there is soybean concentration, specialization and intensification at Goyaz Cerrado Biosphere Reserve even in the conservation area Pouso Alta APA, with a strong presence in Alto Paraiso municipality, which crop fields touch the borders of Chapada dos Veadeiros National Park.

### Territorial identities

As previously stated, landscapes are also considered as a category of tensional force apprehension at Goyaz Cerrado Resbio. They open up the possibility of territorial analysis to comprehend its identity. Identity means to search *principium individuationis* in difference.

In order to make a portrait of Goyaz Cerrado Resbio, clues were searched as to identify territorial identities in tis variations, considering the identifications of 'constants' that constitute identity structure and nucleus. The first figure, that represents territory and diverse landscapes at which subjects are found and diverse actors act, helps territorial and landscape diversity comprehension.

Studies realized on Goyaz Cerrado Resbio allowed the consideration of how identity as a descriptive category of territory, as an alternative reading, can encounter its utility. Copeta (2009), based on Paba (1998), points out multiple identities by the revelation of difference: differences between individual and individual, place and place, world and world.

Thus, it is a horizontal scale differentiation between identity and identity, and also vertical and intern differentiation. Identity as residue, ontological fundament or as limit, approximation point, horizon and objective. In this sense, based on Copeta (2009), it is possible to understand the difference between settlers and Quilombolas; between cerradeiros<sup>4</sup> place and animal herders place; the difference in Unesco's Goyaz Cerrado Resbio world and soybean entrepreneurs alongside governmental policy-making Goyaz Cerrado Resbio world. There are multiple identities with subjects and actors in the same territory. It is concluded that this concerns

territorial identities that “are dynamic and represent time, world vision and how the social actors see themselves in a given economical a political moment”, as affirms Almeida (2012, p.161).

Besides, in this study, the typology proposed by Bassand (apud Almeida, 2008, 2012) was also considered, which was elaborated based on the attachment or identity level of a given territory inhabitants. This typology is essential to define sociospatial consciousness level. For this author, there are apathic and resigned; potential migrants; modernizers; traditionalists and regionalists.

At Resbio Goyaz territory, those identities were identified according to differentiating magnitudes: traditional populations formed by Quilombolas, settlers in Agrarian Reform Settlement Projects and small squatters were considered as traditionalists. These populations have an historical identity and claim a consistent territorial project to secure their activities in the land they depend upon to their existence.

It is important to remember that Brazilian society ignored traditional groups, such as indigenous and cerradeiros peoples, knowledge. “Local knowledge, that constitute a heritage, have been long disqualified by agricultural modernization, are in decline due to their weakening, once they are not transmitted anymore”, as affirmed Pinton and Aubertin (2007, p.20). Yet, populations that persisted in Cerrado bioma remaining areas have been delineating its configurations and life functions amongst traditional signs and modern values. They persist in the use of natural resources, foremost to secure their difficulted survival due to Cerrado area diminution, on account of frequent deforestation, construction of barrages and implantation of modern agriculture. There is, however, evidences of identity reinstatement related to a valorization of the “traditional”, such as the commerce of Cerrado fruits mangaba (*Hancornia speciosa*), buriti (*Mauritia flexuosa*) and Pequi (*Caryocar brasiliense*).

Two other territorial identities are present at the Biosphere Reserve: occasional migrants and modernizers. The first concern a relevant parcel of Bahia frontier municipalities settled men that migrate, in critical periods, to work on agribusiness farms at Bahia’s west. In their proprieties, land is badly explored and women and children try to produce some aliments for daily consumption. The valorized wok, income generator, is on condition of diarist or monthly wage worker at soybean, corn, cotton and sometimes bean enterprises.

Since the 2000's atypical signs began to emerge at the Biosphere Reserve. Those concern one or more identity variables that have negative impacts for the Biosphere Reserve conservation. Those are modern agribusiness cultivations that use irrigations pivots and grain production machinery; other spaces are used as pasture with intensive creation of selected breeds for meat exportation. The goal is to produce *commodities*. These men and women situated in this *agrotech* landscape are close to the political class, sometimes they become politicians or ministers, and demand constant incentives, particular exemptions and financing, infrastructural enhancements. In Bassand's (1990) typology, they have a modernizer territorial identity with capitalist sociospatial mentality.

### By way of a conclusion

It was to be expected that, as a Resbio, the bioregional management proposal, in a scalar change into biodiversity conservation strategies could bring many benefits to Cerrado conservation and knowledge production.

Favorable aspects to Cerrado conservation would be: a) identification and localization of key-components of ecosystems, how they can be monitored and managed, and how to sustainable explore them (Figures 1 and 2 mapping are examples of tools that can instrumentalize gestion and communities); b) inhabitants and gestors could rethink their activities related to natural resource exploration, water and land usage that, even though are located at the Resbio, become sparse or even inexistent; c) territorial identities create tensions at the Reserve and should be systematically examined in their conflicts.

Ultimately, for Barbosa (2008), communities and entities responsible for management could begin to take care about the many connections and interdependencies in ecosystems between environmental services and resources, their work, aliment supply, material necessities, alongside limits and potentials of their *habitats*.

As far as possible, it attempted to elaborate a construction that enabled evidencing an historical deforesting of Cerrado, atopic signs and degradation signs that impoverish Resbio's value to environmental conservation and sustainability.

Furthermore, it concludes that, *a priori*, it is already evident a vulnerability identity, which is reinforced by the frail identity signs and

the scarce informative intensity, for reasons presented in this essay. It affirms that Goyaz Biosphere Reserve, twenty-five years after its creation, still does not have efficient proceedings to its implementation. There are not enough efficacious policies. Cultural landscapes are dynamic and their historicity signals towards Goyaz Cerrado Resbio precarious conditions, the opposite of what Unesco conceived.

## Notes

1 *Ruralists* (Agribusiness' Farmers), constitute a highly important parliamentary group in Brazil's National Congress. They defend agribusiness interest and stop social and environmental governmental politics that might restrict land access, such as indigenous lands or protected areas.

2 Biosphere Reserves, spread out today into 110 countries, have their sustentation in Unesco's "Man and Biosphere" (MAB) program, which was developed alongside the United Nations Environment Programme (UNEP), the International Union for Conservation of Nature (IUCN), and international development agencies.

3 Special jurisdictive and administrative act conducted by the Executive Power that regulates and inform how to applicate specific laws or regiments. It is a specific normative act of Brazilian law.

4 Term often used to refer to the different traditional peoples present at the Brazilian Cerrado.

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