

# **Exploring Environmental Place Attachment of Tourists and Caiçara in Paraty, Brazil**

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This Thesis is dedicated to Mike and Audrey.

While working through the process of researching and writing on the symbolic attachments people come to develop with places it was impossible not to reflect on my own relationships with the people I have known and places I have been and the places I've yet to go and people I've yet to meet. While I have still not found a place to call my own (both figuratively and literally speaking) the depth of my own life experiences over the years, both good and bad, have bound me to Lockport. My place may not be with either of you in Lockport but you both will always hold a place with me wherever I may be. Mike, among numerous other qualities I am the embodiment of your tenacity and resilience, both qualities that served me well through the arduous process in completing this work. Audrey, you have given the gift of your tolerance and patience which, more often than not, keeps my pride in check; something that posed a substantial risk to preventing me from finishing my thesis if left unchecked

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## **Abstract**

Within the Juatinga Ecological Reserve, located in the south of Rio de Janeiro state, lies a small indigenous community of Caiçara known as Praia do Sono. The community of Praia do Sono has recently become an area of considerable interest due to an increased tourism presence and the desire to protect the rich biodiversity within the fragmented Atlantic Rainforest. This study explores the concept of Place Making Theory and how tourists and the Caiçara develop symbolic relationships to nature and the community. The results of this work introduce the idea of two new concepts associated with Place Attachment theory: Depth of residency, as the driver behind the development of these relationships, and place detachment, as the means by which these relationships breakdown over time.

Keywords: Caiçara, Place attachment, Place detachment, Depth of Residency

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# Chapter 1: Summary of Research

## 1.1 Introduction

Globally the tourism industry has emerged as a significant source of income with estimated expenditures of US\$1,030 billion annually from international tourists alone (UNWTO, 2012). The natural environment is widely believed to be a major factor influencing tourist movements (Lim & McAleer, 2005). Consequently, nature tourism and Protected Areas are often interrelated due to their obvious overlapping interests in rare and unique environmental landscapes. However, the interests of tourists and conservationists regarding these unique environmental landscapes can be thought of as in opposition to one another. Tourists seek to occupy and use such spaces for personal experiences while conservationists attempt to preserve and protect these unique and sensitive environmental landscapes from human disturbances. There is no better example of the overlapping interests between tourism and environmental conservation than Brazil. International tourism in Brazil generated US\$6.6 billion dollars in 2012 (UNWTO, 2012); the highest tourism revenues of all South American countries. From an environmental conservation perspective Brazil has received considerable attention over the vast amount of tropical rainforest coverage throughout the country and the high rate of deforestation of these rainforests (Fearnside et. al. 2009; Ferretti & Miranda de Brites, 2006) and has hosted the United Nations Conference on Environment and Development (UNCED) in 1992 and the follow up United Nations Conference on Sustainable Development (UNCSD) in 2012.

Over the past several decades there has been a strong push towards establishing protected areas throughout the globe; Brazil is no exception in this regard. Many protected areas have been

enacted in Paraty since the 1970s due to the ecological importance and high level of biodiversity of the Atlantic Forest, and as a consequence of its degradation in other regions within the country; mainly related to the exploration of commodities (Metzger 2009). A study conducted by Ribeiro et al. (2009) shows that Paraty holds the most conserved portion of the Atlantic Forest in Brazil comprising 36.5% of its original vegetation within the country (Metzger 2009). Due to the aforementioned facts and the proximity of important metropolitan cities such as Rio de Janeiro and São Paulo, Paraty has been considered an attractive region for tourism development. However, many conflicts arise between local communities and the Brazilian governments due to the enforcement of protected area regulation. Numerous local communities of Caiçara reside within the geographical limits of Protected Areas that have been informally accommodating tourist's interests in the region. The Caiçara have been identified as descendants of indigenous, African and European groups whose subsistent strategies were initially based on fishing and forest-related activities such as hunting. (Begossi, 1998; Diegues et al. 2000; Hanazaki et al. 2007; Hanazaki et al., 2013). The geographical range that the Caiçara inhabit stretches along the coast of the southeastern states of Espírito Santos, Rio de Janeiro, and Sao Paulo through the southern states of Parana, Santa Catarina, and Rio Grande do Sul. Collectively the Caiçara can be characterized as being highly marginalized politically and socioeconomically speaking. The degree to which the Caiçara suffer the detrimental effects of being politically/socioeconomically marginalized range considerably from one community to the next. In the areas surrounding Paraty many Caiçara have shifted their focus from artisanal fishing and forest-related activities, such as agriculture and hunting (partially due to park restrictions) and are showing more interest in tourism-related activities such as the establishment of small guesthouses and restaurants (Teixeira 2006).

The presence of culturally distinct and economically marginalized communities within the Protected Areas of Paraty adds yet another complex element to managing the landscape; namely the needs of these local communities. There are numerous sub-categorizations of tourism, each with distinct structural features that prioritize specific objectives of the tourism initiative in question (Gmelch, 2004). For example, mass tourism is guided by capitalist economics geared towards maximizing profitability, while ecotourism emphasizes the environmental preservation of tourist destinations (Gmelch, 2004). Under informed guidance, tourism initiatives designed to operate within the Protected Areas in Paraty have the capacity to capture a portion of the annual revenue generated by the global tourism industry mentioned above by providing economic opportunity for local communities while additionally serving to protect environmental interests in the region.

With regards to environmental conservation and the establishment of Protected Areas the political landscape of Brazil underwent significant changes in 2000. The Sistema Nacional de Unidades de Conservação (SNUC) was passed into law at this time and was intended to provide the first framework for creating and managing Protected Areas at the municipal, state and federal levels, while recognizing the rights of traditional/indigenous people living within their designated boundaries. SNUC provides two classes of Protected Areas: one which promotes no-take parks and are basically designated for conservation, scientific studies and tourism; and another where local communities are allowed to use resources sustainably and have a voice in decisions regarding the resources that affect their livelihoods (SNUC 2005). In the second class, mandatory consultation with traditional peoples over the development and management of these areas are required prior to implementing management strategies (Almudi & Berkes, 2010). SNUC was

intended as response to complications associated with designating inhabited geographical regions protected areas. For example, the Peixe's Lagoon National Park, which was enacted in 1986, caused several problems for local fishermen, such as restrictions on use of resources and the possibility of eviction from their lands (Almudi and Berkes 2010). However, over the last thirteen years the SNUC has been far from perfect and many adjustments are needed to address local problems of conservation and tourism. Any traditional/indigenous people who live within current or future areas intended as Protected Areas are technically occupying these lands illegally (Almudi & Berkes, 2010). The Caiçara of Paraty are a good example of the failings associated with SNUC and the inability to mitigate conflict among local inhabitants of ecologically sensitive regions and resource managers.

The concept of place making/sense of place has been gaining prominence as a theoretical approach that offers unique insights into various phenomenon, particularly in regard to understanding conflict. For example, Oelofse and Dodson, (1997) have used place making theory to better understand underlying sources of community conflict within the post-apartheid community of Hout Bay. According to Oelofse and Dodson (1997) applying the concepts of place attachment and place identity allowed for a more in-depth exploration of the hostile responses from long-term residents of Hout Bay to the informal settlements established within the city limits. Their research identifies the source of conflict in this setting as one associated with the disruption of established place identities and less to do with racial tension or discrimination. Another example of place making theory used as a tool for identifying and understanding sources of conflict, specifically in relation to tourism and resource management, comes from a study by Brown and Raymond (2007) regarding conflict between land use management strategies of parkland

employed by resource managers and tourists in Australia. In their study, Brown and Raymond (2007) explore the potential to designate specific locations for development and non-development based on mapping tourists sense of place attachment. Identifying and understanding how people develop and maintain their sense of place and ascribe meaning to places is an important step in mitigating conflict between two or more parties; whether such conflict is of a cultural, political, economic, environmental nature, or some other origin is of little consequence.

The overarching interest of this study was to better understand how both tourists and the Caiçara of Praia do Sono, a small community located within the Juatinga Ecological Reserve of Paraty, develop a sense of place attachment to the community and the larger environmental context that community is situated in. This information may then be used by environmental managers to develop suitable management strategies that balance the need for environmental protection, and the rights of the Caiçara to autonomy over their traditional lands and communities. As previously mentioned tourism can be an effective way of generating income from Protected Areas to support the livelihood of local communities, such as the Caiçara. However, to achieve sustainable tourism, one must ensure that Protected Areas are not damaged as a result of extensive profit-oriented tourism. Appropriate, informed policies must be implemented to ensure that tourism does not undermine conservation efforts; without policies to preserve the environmental integrity of an area there is no 'place' to be protected or used.

Dan R. Williams has been a leader for incorporating place making theory with resource management and has authored numerous works that have informed the concepts of this research. Dr. Williams work has predominantly relied on quantitative sample surveys to explore the notions of place attachment within parks and protected areas throughout the United States. These parks

and protected areas do not permit permanent residents to reside within their boundaries and the governmental policies of Brazil, regarding managing parks and protected areas mimics that of the United States even though large numbers of indigenous communities claim these areas as ancestral territories. The limitations of Dr. Williams work as it pertains to capturing the sentiments of permanent residents was key factor when selecting Place Making Theory core premise of conducting this work. Additionally, designing this research around qualitative research methods was intended to contribute an alternative perspective to the considerable number of quantitative studies, such as those conducted by Dr. Williams.

## **1.2 Research Purpose**

The purpose of the study was to understand how tourists and residents identify and build relationships with and within a geographical location situated in the Juatinga Ecological Reserve. The study provides critical information to stakeholders interested in the development of tourism initiatives and practical options that may serve to meet the demands, partially or in full, of the tourists, local community members, while respecting their cultural identities and practices, and conservation efforts by various governmental agencies tasked with managing the environmental integrity of the Juatinga Ecological Reserve. The reclassification of reserve areas currently underway in Paraty provides further challenges associated with introducing tourism initiatives into the region as any tourism development must be conducted in accordance with management policies yet to be determined by government officials and local community leaders.

### **1.3 Research Objectives**

1. To examine the current state of tourism development in the community of Praia do Sono which is situated within the Juatinga Ecological Reserve area.

The first objective was to determine if tourism practices are present, and document details pertaining to these tourism initiatives (scale, level of organization, formal/informal, origin of tourists, economic significance etc.).

2. To identify how tourists and local Caiçara ascribe symbolic attachment and meaning to place(s).

The second objective is focused on sense of place and how the perspectives and feelings of place differ between tourists and local community members. Operating under the principles of place making theory and more specifically place attachment, two distinct means by which individuals come to develop a sense of place have been identified; these are place dependence and place identity (Patterson & Williams, 2005). The manner in which tourists and local community members create meaningful connections to places they come to experience and the relationship they develop with these places was investigated.

3. To enhance tourism initiatives in the Juatinga Ecological Reserve by offering insight into how a sense of place attachment is developed among the Caiçara and visiting tourists.

Objective three was intended to provide a more thorough understanding of how the Caiçara and tourists relate to and identify with Praia do Sono specifically and more broadly the environment within the Juatinga Ecological Reserve. Presently some of the Protected Areas of Paraty are under reclassification and consultation between government organizations, such as INEA (the State Environmental Agency) and ICMBio (the Federal Environmental Agency) who are responsible for the implementation of SNUC, are discussing various options with local community leaders (Almundi & Berkes, 2010). While sense of place will invariably be unique on an individual level, the experiences of these individuals that foster a sense of place attachment and meaning sheds light on what is valued among tourists and the Caiçara. There is also a collective element to place making theory whereby these groups, collectively speaking, may overlap in how they develop a sense of place in some respects. Tapping into these shared values provides invaluable insight for tourism initiatives to be built on mutual respect and appreciation of place between locals and tourists.

#### **1.4 Study Area**

The Cairuçu Environmental Protected Area (APA Cairuçu), Juatinga Ecological Reserve (REJ) and the Paraty-Mirim Reserve are located in the south of the municipality of Paraty within the State of Rio de Janeiro (Figure 1). These designated areas represent all government levels of management, APA Cairuçu is managed at the federal level under regulation from ICMBio, REJ is managed at the state level under regulation from INEA and Paraty-Mirim is managed at the municipal level. Management policy is created and controlled by their respective levels of government, however top down management requires that all state level Protected Areas, such as REJ, adopt standards set by ICMBio and all municipal level Protected



#### 1.4.1 Study Area: Description of Praia do Sono

Praia do Sono (translated meaning: sleepy beach) is a small artisanal fishing community situated in the Juatinga Ecological Reserve within the state of Rio de Janeiro, Brazil. Presently the estimated population is approximately 300 individuals, however even this number seems rather excessive given that many of the younger population have, at least for a time, resettled in other communities; some as far away as Sao Paulo. These migrants often return to Praia do Sono regularly throughout the year but make collecting an accurate census of the community extremely difficult. Given the proximity to the much larger city and popular tourist destination of Paraty, Praia do Sono has, in recent years, been exposed to an ever-increasing volume of tourists. Prior to 2012 the community existed entirely off the local power grid, the decision to connect the community to the power grid came largely due to local demands but the interest from tourists, and developing the region as a tourist destination contributed to the overall decision as well. Since connecting the community to the local power grid the lucrative economic incentives that tourism offers has seen a rather rapid development of restaurants, bars, camping grounds, chalets, and a Pousada (roughly translated as an inn) by local community members.

However, development has been restricted intentionally, through the governmental designation of the region as a protected area and the regulations that are associated with such a designation, and contextually, as the geographical location of the community reduces its accessibility. For example, Praia do Sono is, at present, completely isolated from Brazil's road network, which is particularly interesting given that this was not always the case. Personal conversations with various residents of the community about the history of Praia do Sono revealed

that as recently as the 1970's the community did have road access; an informant even discussed how there is now a rarely used hiking trail that roughly follows the path of the former road through the forest. Through these conversations with the more elderly community members, who were able to personally recollect the history of the former road, it was discovered that a charming and impressionable outsider had come to visit the community and encouraged many family members in the area to sign papers for the man. At this time in history essentially all community members were illiterate and the legally binding contracts that they had signed were not even remotely understood as the visiting man deliberately misrepresented his intentions and what the documents they had signed stood for. After a period of time the man had collected land title transfers signed by the heads of the many families in the regions which legally gave ownership of the Caiçara's traditional lands over to him. When the man attempted to evict the families from their ancestral homelands the Caiçara initially refused to leave as they did not recognize the legitimacy of the documents. When the man returned to claim title over the land he had brought with him numerous law enforcement agents to forcibly evict the Caiçara. In the aftermath of the standoff the community naturally became suspicious of outsiders and a number of families had abandoned their traditional home and permanently dispersed from the area, opting to resettling throughout Rio de Janeiro state and beyond. Those that remained decided that the road (which gave access to their community) was not in their best interest and the road was abandoned; the forest and natural environment gradually reclaimed this road until it became completely overgrown.

Presently there are only two possible routes in or out of Praia do Sono; both of which pass through the community of Laranjeiras. The first of which is by boat, the second is through a maintained hiking trail. Both methods of travel can become impassible under extreme weather

conditions. During stormy weather the waves pose a considerable risk to the small fiberglass skiffs that the local community members use to ferry passengers to and from Praia do Sono. Under similar stormy weather, heavy rains present considerable risk to travelers hiking the trail as excessive water runoff down the steep hills can result in hikers losing their footing or slipping on the wet rocks and falling down the hillside.



**Figure 2:** A section of the trail leading from Laranjeiras to Praia do Sono. Note the rocks connecting the two sections of trail serve as a ‘bridge’ across a shallow stream. After heavy rains this shallow stream can become dangerous to pass as water levels rise and the polished surface of the rocks become particularly slick when wet. Photo Credit: Ian Dupre.

The trip to Laranjeiras is relatively easily accessible, which has an established - and for the most part reliable - bus route to and from Paraty. Traveling from Paraty to Laranjeiras by bus takes approximately one hour. From Laranjeiras, to continue to Praia do Sono visitors have the option to:

- 1) wait for a shuttle bus, which will take them through the gated condominium in the area to the pier where local boatmen are either waiting or can be contacted to transport visitors to Praia do Sono by boat; or
- 2) hiking into the community via a maintained trail.

Traveling by boat takes approximately ten minutes upon leaving the pier, however there is a high probability that visitors choosing this option must wait for the shuttle and/or boatmen to arrive; a wait time that is extremely variable and inconsistent. These wait times vary in length for numerous reasons, such as the availability of the shuttle, the availability of the boatmen, the weather, and transportation demands to name a few. The trail into Praia do Sono is approximately 3.5 kilometers in length and takes approximately sixty minutes to hike (Figure 3).



**Figure 3:** Google map of the path from Laranjeiras (green arrow) to Praia do Sono (red square). The location of the pier within the condominium can be seen in the bottom left corner of the map. Photo Credit: Google Map

## 1.5 Methods

Qualitative research methods were used for gathering data and the study follows the structure of a case study. Participant observation and semi-structured interviews were used to acquire the majority of data necessary to respond to the research objectives. These methods were used in a complementary manner. For example, information learned through participant observation was taken into consideration when conducting interviews. This process has been known to enhance the validity of the data that was obtained as well as fostered a better understanding of the implications associated with that data (Nelson, 1991). The semi structured interviews were designed to understand the relationship both tourists and Caiçara have with the community of Praia do Sono, the beach, and the ocean. Additional questions were asked to ascertain how study participants engage with these places, their opinion on tourism's influence on the community and their insight on the future development of the community. The full interview question guide can be found in appendix I. The field work received approval from the Human Ethics Committee at the University of Manitoba, a copy of the Ethics approval can be found in appendix II.

## **1.6 Significance of the Study and Expected Results**

Local people in the Paraty region have already begun engaging in the tourism sector as a means to supplement their income (Teixeira, 2006). Geisbrecht (2011) believes that the general economy of the Paraty region is transitioning away from natural resources and towards the service sector, largely due to the emergence of tourism. The income generated from tourism has largely been through services related to transportation and housing accommodations for tourists. Some organization around these services has taken place as well; Carpenter (2011) noted six tourism operators currently working in the region. These findings suggest that tourists themselves have taken an interest in the region and that major development of the tourism sector is likely soon to follow. There is great economic potential associated with developing the tourism sector in Paraty. Local fishermen are already profiting more from participating in tourism than participating in the fishing industry (Carpenter, 2011). However, there are limits to the economic benefits; tourism will not offer equal opportunities for everyone to engage in tourism.

Developing management strategies that accommodate the economic transition that Geisbrecht (2011) refers to is essential for balancing the needs of the local population and the demands of tourists while maintaining the environmental integrity of the Juatinga and Paraty-Mirim Reserves. However, Ahebwa, van der Duim and Sandbrook (2012) note that environmental reserve areas that restrict local access to resources (as is the case in Paraty) must offer a form of compensation in terms of the benefits lost through denied access to these resources or risk community backlash against the reserves. The potential of this risk, which could undermine the conservation goals of the protected area, exists among communities in Paraty. The creation of low

impact ecotourism activities, such as hiking trails, with a community based ethos will likely best uphold such a balance between Protected Area managers and community members by generating income opportunities among local communities inside the boundaries of the reserve areas.

## **Chapter 2: Literature Review**

### **2.1 Introduction to Tourism**

Gmelch defines tourism as "temporary travel for the purpose of experiencing a change" (Gmelch, 2004, pg. 5). Operating within that definition then the existence of tourism can be reasonably traced back as far as the combined existence of the following aspects of, (1) practical modes of transportation, (2) an abundance of leisure time and wealth and lastly (3) the desire to travel absent the need to do so. When these three aspects come together for an individual it is safe to say that that individual has entered the realm of a tourist (Gmelch, 2004). These loose parameters have caused considerable complications when attempting to define what is and is not tourism. The International Recommendations for Tourism Statistics Report (2008) by the United Nations World Tourism Organization (UNWTO) has designated the following three basic forms of tourism; domestic tourism, inbound tourism, and outbound tourism. The UNWTO report goes on to further define three additional forms of tourism that incorporate a combination of the three forms listed above; internal tourism, national tourism, and international tourism. For the purposes of this study the terms internal tourism, national tourism and international tourism will be used and any general reference to 'tourism' will reflect the definitions of these terms as set out by the UNWTO report (2008).

As an economic industry, the business of tourism is commoditization. Tourism converts its focus into a commodity to be bought and sold by tourists; nature, culture, history, and all other tourism experiences are transformed into commodities ready to be purchased and consumed by tourists (Gmelch, 2004; Lim & McAleer, 2005; William, 2001). Consequently, the effects of

tourism on local communities is profound, yet far too often tourism development is quickly embraced without careful consideration of the potential risks associated with it. Such eagerness stems from the many benefits that have been linked to tourism operating within local communities. From an economic perspective, new/better employment opportunities, enhanced infrastructure and improved business and investment opportunities are some of the advantages associated with tourism development (Nunkoo & Ramkisson, 2012). Tourism has also been credited with promoting cultural exchange (Nunkoo & Ramkisson, 2012) and cultural preservation (Tao & Wall, 2009).

## **2.2 Community-based Tourism**

The central emphasis of community based tourism is community empowerment, but also puts high priority on economic development while reducing negative environmental impacts as best as possible. Community based tourism has been described as a process that advocates for “...sustainable development, so that communities can improve their living conditions without disappearing and without irreversibly damaging the environment” (Esteban, 2011 p. 657). This is accomplished by promoting community empowerment and ownership over tourism ventures, the preservation of natural and cultural resources, and support for social and economic development (Hoole, 2010). However, doubts have been raised as to whether the tourism industry reduces poverty among communities of less economically developed countries (Jiang, DeLacy, Mkiramweni, & Harrison, 2011). Community based tourism has also been criticized for failing to alleviate conditions of poverty due to its emphasis on capacity building, empowerment agendas and collective benefits and for its disregard of more traditional business models, such as business

plans, product development and market strategies (Spenceley & Meyer, 2012). Problems with community based tourism projects arise because community members lack the necessary skills and knowledge associated with managing tourist driven enterprises. The power to control and manage community based tourism projects has often fallen into the hands of NGO's and other agencies which has resulted in some to redefine community based tourism as community centered tourism (Spenceley & Meyer, 2012). This refinement in definition intends to draw attention to the power dynamics at play in the two terms. Power over tourism initiatives that exist in the hands of community leaders/members is more aptly defined as community based tourism, whereas community centered tourism is a more fitting term for tourism initiatives that are designed with the community's interests as the primary driver but where community leaders/members have less direct control over these tourism initiatives (Spenceley & Meyer, 2012).

### **2.3 Sustainable Development and Sustainable Tourism**

The origins of sustainable development have been traced back to the World Commission on Environment and Development which states, "for development to be sustainable it must take account of social and ecological factors, as well as economic ones; of the living and non-living resource base; and of the long term as well as short term advantages and disadvantages of alternative actions" (WCED. 1980, pg. 18). More than 30 years of debate among academics, politicians and countless institutions and organizations of all levels and specializations, the debate regarding what can be considered sustainable and how sustainability can be achieved continues. Most organizations interested in operating within a sustainable development framework typically define and/or redefine sustainable development to suit their interests. For example, the

Organization for Economic Co-Operation and Development (OECD) defines sustainable development as; "development that meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs." (OECD. 2008, pg. 24). More recently, the United Nations Rio +20 Conference concluded that "poverty eradication, changing unsustainable and promoting sustainable patterns of consumption and production and protecting and managing the natural resource base of economic and social development are the overarching objectives of and essential requirements for sustainable development." (Report of the United Nations Conference on Sustainable Development, 2012). Despite the numerous attempts, including but not limited to the ones previously mentioned, to define sustainable development it remains "ideologically and politically contested, and needs to cover a broad range of interests which have no easily identifiable common denominator" (Saarinen, 2006 p. 1124).

Regardless of how one chooses to define sustainable development there are two fundamental requirements that sustainability must account for. The first and most important, attempting to balance the interests of social prosperity, environmental integrity and economic development. However, it is important to note that while these three components are the original focus of sustainable development, additional components have been incorporated to these original three (MacBeth, 2005). The second critical issue is one of a temporal scale, in order for development to be truly sustainable it must not compromise the ability of future generations to enjoy similar social, environmental and economic standards as today's generation. In addition to the two key elements mentioned above every definition of sustainable development is bounded within a spatial scale; most commonly within a global scale. The spatial scale is a significant factor to consider when discussing sustainable development because a particular development strategy

may be considered sustainable within a particular context, at for example a community level but such a strategy may be entirely unsustainable on a larger regional scale.

Scholars have opted to break down the notion of sustainability and apply it specifically to the subcomponents of sustainable development directly (MacBeth, 2005). By separating the subcomponents of sustainable development into social sustainability, ecological sustainability and economic sustainability allows scholars to differentiate degrees of sustainability within each component in an attempt to make the issue of sustainability more manageable. For example, following this process, a development strategy could be labeled economically sustainable but not environmentally or socially sustainable. While designating each component of sustainable development as an individual element of sustainability does provide a more manageable context to work with, each element is inherently complex in its own right. Given the contrasting perspectives associated with the notion of economic sustainability this element is perhaps the most important aspect to consider when trying to define what is and is not sustainable.

Neoclassic economics and ecological economics are two diverging economic theories which further complicate finding an agreeable, universal approach to sustainable development (Nilsen, 2010). A neoclassical economic perspective assumes that sustainable development is compatible with infinite economic growth; and that the market will self-regulate (Sabau, 2010). However, it is generally agreed upon that a defining principle of sustainable development is establishing limits to growth (Saarinen, 2006). These opposing perspectives have resulted in the creation of four distinct categories; very weak, weak, strong and very strong sustainable development (Sathiendrakumar. 1996). Very weak sustainability can be thought of as

unsustainable/business as usual and very strong sustainable development represents economic stability or the absence of growth (Sathiendrakumar. 1996). These differing economic perspectives have considerable influence over what could or could not be considered sustainable. For example, technological advancement in renewable energy resources continues to grow and may render nonrenewable technologies obsolete soon. Thus, depleting a supply of nonrenewable energy resources by its very nature is unsustainable but if such nonrenewable energy resources serve no social, environmental or economic benefit to future generations, in accordance with neoclassical economic thinking an argument for such practices as being sustainable is possible (Martinet. 2012).

After the publication of the Brundtland report the notion of sustainability was quick to attach itself to tourism and, not surprisingly, agreeing on a suitable definition for what constitutes sustainable tourism continues to trouble scholars (Saarinen, 2006). Saarinen (2006) maintains that the basis of sustainable tourism rests in recognizing and effectively managing the negative impacts associated with tourism and how to define and set limits to growth in tourism. Sustainable tourism is essentially an attempt at reconciling the social and environmental components of sustainable development with an economic force (the tourism industry). Despite extensive research into the relationship between tourism and the environmental and social consequences brought upon by it truly sustainable tourism remains a controversial topic today (Cohen & Cohen, 2012).

## 2.4 Place Making Theory and Sense of Place

The origins of place making theory can be traced back to 1978 with the earliest notion emerging from Harold Proshansky's work "The City and Self-Identity" first published in *Environment and Behavior* (Proshansky, 1978). Proshansky's work focused on analyzing an individual's identity within a physical context rather than a strict social context. Proshansky suggested that "...the self-identity of the individual is structured by various more specific identities (sometimes referred to as sub-identities) such as sex, social class, ethnic background, occupation, religion, and still others, then it follows that there must be a place-identity in this structure." (Proshansky, 1978). Place-identity is then described as "... dimensions of self that define the individual's personal identity in relation to the physical environment by means of a complex pattern of conscious and unconscious ideas, beliefs, preferences, feelings, values, goals, and behavioural skills relevant to this environment." (Proshansky, 1978). It is also important to note that Proshansky observed that "...place-identity of the individual is neither a simple nor a static structure..." and that "it is only through continuing theoretical analysis and conceptual development supplemented by systematic research that environmental psychologists can ever hope to establish the scientific efficacy of their field." (Proshansky, 1978). Indeed, the further study of place making theory has evolved Dr. Proshansky's original approach and can be found in a wide variety of social scientific literature; for example, environmental psychology (Hernandez, Hidalgo, Salazar-Laplace and Hess, 2007; Anton and Lawrence, 2014; Hay, 1998), planning and development (Simpson and Bretherton, 2009), conflict resolution (Raymond and Brown, 2007), tourism and ecotourism expansion (Simpson and Bretherton, 2009) and environmental behaviors (White, Virden and van Riper, 2008; McCool and Martin, 1994; Cheng and Wu, 2014; Proshansky,

1978; Vaske and Korbin, 2001). Thus, at the heart of place making theory is the notion that place becomes more than the material objects physically present in a place or the geographic location of a place. Place can hold an intrinsically symbolic significance or meaning for individuals and social groups or communities; this is often referred to as sense of place (Amsden, Stedman & Luloff, 2011; Williams & Patterson, 2007). The foundation of place making theory is based on the three essential elements previously mentioned; the material objects, the geographic location and sense of place (Williams and Patterson, 2007). Each of these three components are bound within a temporal and spatial scale. Spatial boundaries are fluid and constantly evolving and these boundaries are created and "defined by specific regional issues" (Peterson, Mcalpine, Ward, Rayner, 2007, pg. 134) that change with time. Place making theory has been used to promote a better understanding of individual and/or collective attachment to a specific place (Oelofse & Dodson, 1997; Windsong, 2010).

#### 2.4.1 Place Attachment

From its humble conception as place-identity, place making theory has expanded to incorporate the concept of place attachment, which has underneath it many related concepts. Place attachment is comprised of two primary processes in which people develop attachment to place: place dependence (Moore and Graefe, 1994; Williams, et al, 1992) and place identity (Gross & Brown 2006; Proshansky et. al, 1983) although other, less well-known processes, have been linked with place attachment (Amsden, Stedman & Luloff, 2011). These lesser known/recognized concepts include place bonding (Hammit, et. al, 2004), and sense of place (Jorgensen and Stedman, 2001, 2006). There is little room to doubt just how multidimensional place making theory has

become with the progress of research and birth of theoretical approaches – indeed, “...researchers have described [place concepts] in emotional, cognitive, and behavioural terms.’ (White, Virden and van Riper, 2008, p. 649).

#### 2.4.2 Place Identity

A study by Vaske and Korbin (2001) refers to place identity as a “component of self-identity (Proshansky et al, 1983) that enhances self-esteem (Korpela, 1995) and increases feelings of belonging to one’s communities (Relph, 1976; Tuan 1980)” (Vaske and Kobrin, 2001, p. 17). The aim of this research was to demonstrate how attachment to the local nature environment can result in environmentally friendly and responsible behavior patterns. It can be observed that though the overall concept of place identity remained static, the assignment of components to place identity took on a more environmental and community overtone for this avenue of exploration. In contrast, Brown and Raymond (2007) describes place identity as being “...the mixture of feelings about specific physical settings (Proshansky, Fabian & Kaminoff (1983)) including how these settings providing meaning and purpose to life (Giuliani & Feldamn, 1993; Shamai. 1991; Williams & Roggenbuck, 1989)”. (Brown and Raymond, 2007, p. 90). This research strived to explore the relationship that exists between place attachment and the landscape values as well as mapping survey research for an approach geared towards natural resource management. Though these two studies both understood and acknowledged that place identity had to do with emotions towards a physical setting, both rationalized these emotions to be a component in different human emotional goals, such as attaining a higher self-esteem or discovering a meaning and purpose within one’s own life (Vaske and Kobrin, 2001; Brown and Raymond, 2007). What can be taken

away from this type of compare and contrast is that while working with place making theory, an agreeably broad and interdisciplinary concept, there will be some widely known and accepted definitions and there will be differing and plentiful theories as to why emotions may differ in environments and what this means. It is also worth saying that though there is much variation in the theoretical reasoning surrounding such explorations, these plentiful variations do not make the studies any less valid nor the data collected and explored over the course of these studies (regardless of methodology or sample sizes) unreliable due to the variances in theoretical approaches to place making theory.

#### 2.4.3 Place Dependence

The second concept to be explored and that consequently ties into community and tourism is what place dependence is and how it ties in with place identity to create a two-dimensional scale of place attachment (Brown and Raymond, 2006). The definition of place dependence is an individual's reliance on a particular place that provides activities for what an individual may need (Anton and Lawrence, 2014; Brown and Raymond, 2006; Cheng and Wu, 2014; Gross & Brown, 2006; Vaske and Kobrin, 2001; Williams & Vaske, 2003). In other words, place dependence is a functional attachment that "... reflects the importance of a resource in providing amenities necessary for desired activities." (Vaske and Kobrin, 2001, p. 17). It is an important factor to take into consideration and pay attention to because of how it interconnects with place identity. That is to say "[t]he longer a person stays in a place the greater the likelihood of the place being incorporated into the identity structure..." (Anton and Lawrence, 2014, pg. 452). Thus, place attachment refers to both place dependence and place identity and how these elements work in

tandem to shape their identity structure and incorporate a particular place as a part of how they self-identify as an individual. With the plasticity of place attachment, it is in the best interest of this body of work to narrow the scope of focus to fields of investigation that pertain to a community and with respect to a community's attitudes towards visitors, and environmental based approaches and the theoretical processes and terms.

#### 2.4.4 Practical applications of place making theory in recreational management strategies

Community attachment was explored outside of a sociological and within the scope of tourism by Stephen F. McCool and Steven R. Martin (1994). Community attachment is conceptually defined as "...the extent and pattern of social participation and integration into the community, and sentiment or affect toward the community." (McCool and Martin, 1994, p. 30). Perhaps one of the more interesting discoveries of McCool and Martin's study was the relationship that exists between an individual's length of residency and attachment to that particular community; particularly that communities of individuals with the shortest length of residence within the community tended to have a higher rate of tourism development (McCool and Martin, 1994). This is interesting as it opens the door for future exploration of the relationship that would then exist between long-time residents and the potential conflict that could exist or come to exist between these residents and tourists (Simpson and Bretherton, 2009).

Conflict does not necessarily suggest a complete breakdown of system nor that there is a build up towards a greater physical conflict amongst groups, but rather a certain abrasion that has always existed with a "home" population and that of the "other" (Anton and Lawrence, 2014) – a conflict that has been noted in every subject from literature studies to anthropology (for example,

literary observations of Bram Stoker's Victorian-era novel *Dracula*). Conflict does not always result in a build up to a climax point that will result in an "explosion" either; an example of which would be, say, a belief held about whether locals or visitors are responsible for litter – a form of conflict due to locals believing that it is solely the issue of tourism, and the visitors believing it is the ignorance of the uninformed locals who do not understand the impact of litter on the natural environment. Though it is easy to theorize that community attachment is directly and irrevocably related to conflict, "...there appears to be no consistent agreement in terms of how community attachment might translate into a subsequent attitude towards temporary visitors." (Simpson and Bretherton, 2009, p. 236). Without this consistent agreement and criteria for how community attachment plays a role in the attitude towards visitors, the best that can be hoped for is that after conducting, accumulating results, and theorizing the reasoning behind such conflict, enough data will have been collected to show a definitive positive correlation and thus serve as the 'backbone' for defining such a broad and multidimensional aspect of community conflict and tourism.

The idea of community attachment and tourism also lends a certain curiosity of what can be done with future planning as further exploration of this matter could be "...potentially of interest to regional and local government agencies charged with long-term community planning – if there were to be significant synergies, or indeed conflicts, between resident affection and visitor experience quality, these synergies or conflicts need to be taken into account throughout the planning process." (Simpson and Bretherton, 2009, p. 236). A well-designed plan could logically resolve any future conflict or at the very least mitigate any residual conflict that existed prior to any further plans within the community. It has been noted that "[i]n communities that have traditionally proven popular with visitors, the apparently mixed bag of costs and benefits

associated with the visitor industry presents an immediate and obvious potential for conflict in the emotions felt by residents, and their subsequent attitudes towards the visitors.” (Simpson and Bretherton, 2009, p. 237).

## **2.5 Established Tourism Activities in Praia do Sono with Direct Income Earning Potential**

### 2.5.1 Transportation Fees

A major source of income for the residents of Praia do Sono comes from transporting tourists to and from the pier in Laranjeiras. The absence of suitable infrastructure and the financial constraints of purchasing and maintaining larger schooners limit the Caiçara to Fiberglass skiffs, which are no more than 14’ in length, and hand carved canoes. Presently there are 35 fiberglass skiffs and 5 canoes that are available to be used, either for the transportation of tourists and goods, or to tend to their *circos*<sup>1</sup>. The cost of purchasing the average type skiff with an operable motor costs an estimated \$R25,000.00 (approximately \$10,000 Canadian dollars), which is an extraordinary sum to such an impoverished community. The pier, available to the Caiçara and visiting tourists in Laranjeiras, is structurally limited to the loading and unloading of one skiff at a time, which during the low tourist season (May-October) does not present much of a logistics problem. However, during the high tourist season (November to April), and during major Brazilian holiday periods, such as New Year’s celebration and Carnival, both park rangers and locals estimate the number of tourists present in Praia do Sono can range from 5,000 – 12,000 visitors. The logistical problems associated with accommodating tourists during the high season is

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<sup>1</sup> *Circos* are large, circular nets that are handwoven and the primary method used by the Caiçara for fishing.

compounded given that the pier is located within the condominium area of Laranjeiras and condominium security restrictions in the area further impedes tourist movement. On the side of Praia do Sono the absence of a pier to dock their boats and skiffs results in the Caiçara landing their skiffs onto the beach from the ocean. This practice of running the boat or skiff onto the beach eventually takes its toll as the abrasive sand damages, and ultimately wears through, the bottom of the boat or skiff; causing additional financial burdens to the Caiçara who must invest in repairs to maintain their boats.

Throughout the time spent in the field the cost of transportation to Praia do Sono from Laranjeiras varied between \$R 10.00 - \$R 50.00. It was observed that the price fluctuations can be accredited to:

- 1) time of day;
- 2) number of passengers seeking transport;
- 3) personal preference of a particular boatman;
- 4) ascribed social designation; and
- 5) gender.

The time of day could influence the fare price based on peaks in demand. For example, while boatmen were not opposed to taking to the sea after sunset, there was a clear preference for avoiding sailing at night. Presumably this is due to the increased risks associated with sailing at night. Thus, it was in late afternoon, just before sunset, that demand for transportation would peak and the number of boatmen interested in ferrying tourists would be reduced, allowing for the remaining boatmen to have a stronger position to negotiate.

Similarly, based on basic economic principles as the number of passengers per trip increased, the cost per passenger would often decrease. The lowest known price in fare for a group

was \$R 15.00 per passenger for a group of four tourists. This group consisted of three individuals known to one another while the fourth tourist approached the group of three to receive a discounted price for all of them. Rates would also vary according to the personal preference of a particular boatman; it was common to receive different rates from different boatmen based on no other plausible reason other than one boatman valued his time to be worth more that day and or his willingness or interest in taking to the sea.

At a later date the same boatman would either increase or decrease his rate depending on his mood of the day. Ascribed social designation could also influence rates; “Gringo’s”, meaning non-Brazilians whom were often those of Caucasian descent but not necessarily limited to Caucasians, would typically be charged more than those of Brazilian descent, based on the assumption that Gringo’s (especially those of lighter skin) are of a higher economic class and wealthier than their Brazilian counterparts. Similarly, the lowest observed rate of \$R10.00 was given to other Caiçara who were also members of the community. While traveling with a member of the community who attempted to negotiate the same rate for myself with our boatman, I was refused such a discount based on my ascribed social designation as a Gringo.

Finally, gender could and often did play a role in the rate offered by boatmen. As the occupation of boatmen in Praia do Sono was exclusively a male profession, it was possible for women to negotiate a lower rate than men. It is important to note that these variables in price operate simultaneously and can be layered on top of one another. For example, as a male Gringo and an outsider in the eyes of the community, I was often subjected to pay the highest possible rate; however, if I were to travel in a group with a female Brazilian colleague or community

member who would negotiate on my behalf my rate could, and in fact was, reduced. Similarly, I witnessed my female Brazilian colleague who was also a community outsider negotiate the community rate of \$R10.00 for herself with a particular boatman based on his personal preference to do so simply because of the rapport she had built with him over time. It is worth mentioning that negotiating prices in Brazil is a relatively common practice and a deeply rooted cultural element that is always at play, whether it be negotiating for the price of transport, the purchase of fish, or the price to rent a camping space or a room in a chalet. Thus, one's personal ability to negotiate is an immensely valued skill set when considering the price of commodities and services not only in Praia do Sono but throughout Brazil.

Caiçara are known to provide transportation services to various nearby communities and notable tourist destinations. The communities of Trindade, Ponta Negra, and Laranjeiras are the primary destinations accessible from Praia do Sono. Other notable locations that generate tourist interest are the beaches of Praia dos Antiginhos and Praia da Antigo, and the waterfall Saco Bravo. While all the locations that are serviced by the local boatmen are accessible through hiking trails, a notable exception being Trindade, most trails are underdeveloped and not clearly marked to guide tourists. In addition, some points of interest are a considerable distance by trail, thus further persuading tourists to pay the fee asked by the boatmen for not only their expertise as guides but the convenience of saving time that could be better spent enjoying what the locations have to offer.

## 2.5.2 Rental Properties

Rental properties and rooms throughout Praia do Sono range vastly in terms of quality and price. Accommodations range from the most basic camping spaces where one is merely permitted to pitch their tent, to a more conventional pousada, which is essentially a Brazilian equivalent to a bed and breakfast. Accommodating the physical needs of a place to stay for tourists and the tourist industry is by far the most lucrative market for the residents of Praia do Sono. The potential income generated varies greatly in terms of the accommodations sought as well as the prices that are individually negotiated. Negotiations for the price of accommodation is agreed upon much in the same way as mentioned above with respect to boat transportation, and in particular the variables at play in determining the final agreed upon price. However, it can be said without doubt that rental properties and spaces generate the largest amount of disposable income for the community as a whole. The options which exist for tourists who wish to reside in Praia do Sono are as follows:

- 1) Camping rentals;

with or without spaces to cook, wash communal dishes, and with public washrooms.

- 2) Chalets;

single rooms, either attached or detached from one another that offer little more than a roof and a bed to sleep in.

- 3) A pousada;

roughly speaking, a pousada is a Brazilian equivalent to a bed and breakfast.

Personal residences available for rent for indeterminate periods of time.

## *Camping Rentals*

Without doubt the most prevalent use of space within Praia do Sono is to accommodate campers. The majority of families of Praia do Sono, if not all, rent camping spaces to tourists. 15 distinct camping locations were observed in the community that were advertised to tourists with placards and signs; at least 3 other camping locations were discovered, through informal discussions held with the Caiçara, that were not advertised or otherwise clearly demarcated throughout the community. One can rent a location to set up their tent for an average of \$R 20.00 for the night; longer stays can be negotiated on a weekly or even monthly basis. Based on daily observations, and observations of several holidays and festivals and the resulting influx of tourists that these events brought, it can be confidently stated that camping rentals are the primary source of income for community members of Praia do Sono.

One of the most noteworthy aspects of camping rentals for community members is that unlike all other income generating activities there is an absence of financial barriers to access the income potential that tourists bring. There are considerable differences among the numerous camping spaces throughout Praia do Sono. These differences are contingent on:

- 1) the geographical location of each space,
- 2) the individuals who regulate the space, and
- 3) their personal decision whether to invest in their camping spaces.

Due to the constraints imposed by the only two means of accessing Praia do Sono, either through the trail or by boat, camping spaces situated next to the trailhead and along the beach have a substantial advantage over those located further inland. The locations that are closest to the main attraction of the beach and/or the first encounter for incoming tourists are more likely to be

occupied. However, one can, if they have the disposable income, overcome some of the disadvantages of being located further inland by choosing to invest in their camping spaces. Investments range in terms of the overall aesthetics of their camping spaces, signage, communal cookhouses/washing stations, and perhaps most important of all, showers and/or outhouses. There is also the factor of personal preferences of tourists, such as the desire to avoid a crowded space, which will influence their decision as to where to establish their campsite. Given the fact that there are no defined boundaries for each campsite within a camping space for the number of campers/tents permitted, it is limited only in terms of the physical capacity of the area to accommodate the maximum number of people; thus, making the desire to seek less crowded camping spaces a substantially more important factor than it would be otherwise if defined campsite boundaries were in place. The boundaries of the overall camping spaces themselves are often loosely defined between neighboring community members with nothing more than a verbal agreement stipulating that an agreed upon marker defines the beginning of one neighbors' rights to the land and profits derived from that space and the end of another neighbors' rights to the land and profits derived from that space.

During peak tourism season, essentially all available space for campers is occupied, with estimates regarding occupancy in Praia do Sono ranging from 5,000-12,000 tourists during the Christmas/New Year's holiday (personal correspondence with community members and park rangers). All community members that were engaged in a discussion pertaining to the surge of tourists during the peak season agreed unanimously that their community is unable to accommodate the temporary spike in population and that tourists during this time strained the environmental and social wellbeing of the community. It is important to note that those who

expressed their opinion on this matter were also directly employed by the tourism industry, owning restaurants, bars, general stores, and/or rental properties.

From a business perspective, the Caiçara also expressed their concern for the quality of the services that they could provide under such high demand. The excessive demand placed on their businesses in conjunction with the high expectations of tourists with respect to the quality of services not only negatively affected their social wellbeing, specifically in terms of excessive working hours and stress, but also negatively affected their business as they were not equipped to accommodate the extreme number of tourists and visitors. It was also acknowledged that they themselves were concerned over the reduction in quality of services they could provide, which is a clear indication that community members take pride in their work and are not driven exclusively by profits. All community members unanimously supported some form of limiting access to the community during the peak tourism season to address the negative effects brought about by tourism and tourists in general. This clearly indicates that while profiting from the tourism industry is an essential component to the Caiçara's embrace of tourism they were collectively not willing to jeopardize their community's wellbeing for the sake of personal economic benefits.

### *Chalets*

As previously mentioned, providing rental spaces to tourists is without question the most profitable of all tourism ventures for local community members; as such, several of the local inhabitants have opted to develop beyond open green space specifically reserved for camping spaces. Chalets are basic structures that offer more privacy and comfort in comparison to camping

in a tent, but lack the quality and professional organization to be considered a true pousada. Chalets are perfectly situated in the middle between the three available accommodations for tourists in terms of value, comfort and convenience. However, like all things in Praia do Sono, and indeed Brazil there is considerable fluctuation in price and quality of the available chalets; and prices are, yet again, subject to the skillset of an individuals' ability at negotiating.

### *Pousadas*

A well-known tourist mode of accommodation is that of the bed and breakfast. Brazil has modeled and adapted this concept to the extent that any given pousada is uniquely different than the rest in terms of the level of quality and services provided. Indeed, to the extent that the only thing which remains constant is the fact that much in a similar fashion to their North American counterpart, the bed and breakfast, breakfast is included and served each morning for the duration of the guests' visit. A pousada can be thought of as little more than a conventional alternative to a hostel in the basic sense, but near the more elite level they can, and do, compete against hotels in terms of quality of the rooms and services provided; all at a fraction of the cost one would expect to pay for staying in a hotel.

While there are numerous rental properties throughout Praia do Sono that may be referred to as a pousada by both tourists and the proprietors of an establishment; which do fit the loose definition of a pousada as discussed above, I have elected to reserve the term pousada to refer to establishments that adhere to certain specifications. For the purposes of this research an establishment referred to as a pousada will consistently meet the following standards: First, the

establishment offers a permanently constructed dwelling that was built exclusively for housing tourists. Second, these establishments are managed in accordance to the principles of service of a pousada outlined above, specifically, that breakfast is included in the price and is served to guests each morning. A Caiçara who opportunistically rents out all or part of their primary residence to tourists and serves them breakfast from their relatives neighboring residence is, for the purpose of this research, not recognized as a pousada. The reasoning behind restricting the term Pousada in relation to establishments in Praia do Sono is to allow for comparisons of tourism establishments beyond Praia do Sono and the Juatinga ecological reserved throughout Brazil.

Adhering to the parameters outlined in the above paragraph Praia do Sono has one official pousada in operation which often caters to international tourists and upper middle class Brazilian families during the peak tourist season. At present, there are four individual bedrooms available within the pousada, all of which provide private bathrooms, bar fridges, and double beds. In the center of the building is a common area for all guests that boasts satellite television and an area to serve breakfast. Prices are once again subject to a client's ability to negotiate, and can fluctuate depending on the season and/or holidays, as well as the length of stay. The price for each room ranges approximately R\$80-100 per night in the off season and increases from there during the peak tourist season due to higher demand. Throughout the entire duration of my time spent in the field only two groups of tourists were observed staying at the pousada, for an average of two to three days. Both groups were of international origins and it would stand to reason that the price is a substantial barrier to many tourists who visit Praia do Sono during the offseason, as most visitors fit the description of bicho grilhos (backpackers who typically have little money to spend). However, it can be assumed that the pousada does quite well during the peak tourist season as the

foundation for two additional rooms of comparable size to the other four were already laid; a clear indication of business expansion.

The defining difference between a chalet and a pousada comes down to price and the services provided for that price. Chalets can be thought of as little more than a roof, a lockable door, and a bed to sleep in. In contrast, a pousada will often (although is not necessarily required) offer a common area for guests to lounge in and socialize and typically a private bathroom is accessible from the rented bedroom. However, those amenities come at a considerable increase in price as chalets are known to cost as little as \$R 30.00 per night in the off-season, which is a considerable difference from the \$R80.00-100.00 per night it would cost to stay at the local pousada. By comparison to renting a camping space, an increase of \$R10.00 per night (recall camping spaces typically cost \$R20.00 per night) is quite reasonable for the increased convenience over a tent. Most proprietors of camping spaces offer at least one chalet for rent, if not more, alongside their camping spaces as a means of diversifying their business interests. However, the availability of chalets can quickly become limited, particularly during the peak tourist season and holidays.

### *Renting Personal Residences*

The residents of Praia do Sono will go to great lengths to profit from the opportunity that tourism brings, which includes renting out their own private residence. Should a tourist, or more commonly a group of tourists, show interest in renting a home, community members will inconvenience themselves by vacating their own house to quickly cash in on the rental income.

Throughout the rental agreement the homeowner will temporarily reside with a family member. The price for renting a private residence is, not surprisingly, the most expensive option available to tourists. Often the value is not reflective of tangible variables of the home, such as living space, number of bathrooms or bedrooms, as is typical of traditional rental markets. There does not seem to be a rational basis beyond the usual factors - such as high or low tourism season, duration of stay, nightly/weekly/monthly rates, and so forth - for renting out private residences and the homeowner arbitrarily attaches a value to their home. Prices of various homes, at a monthly rental rate, fluctuate greatly and can range from \$R500.00 - \$R3000.00 per month. It was a common practice among the Caiçara to let the renter initiate the negotiations over rent prices rather than set a fixed price themselves.

Rental Options				
House	Daily Price	Monthly Price	Rooms	Washroom
The Old Church	\$R40-60	\$R600	1	Detached
Camping Room	\$R30	\$R500-600	1	Attached
Second Floor Suite	Unknown	\$R500	2	Attached
Pousada House	N/A	\$R600	3	Attached
House inland	\$R150	N/A	4	Attached
Beach house	Unknown	\$R700	1	Absent
Red House	\$R300	\$R3000	5	Attached
River House	Unknown	\$R650	3	Attached

**Figure 4:** breakdown of some house rental options for tourists in Praia do Sono

### 2.5.3 Restaurants/Bars/General Stores

There are numerous commercial establishments situated throughout Praia do Sono that do not involve housing tourists but rather serve their interests while residing in Praia do Sono. There are several restaurants, bars, and general stores operating within the community on either a full time or part time basis. Collectively there were a total of 18 commercial shops along the coast that were well established and their services clearly advertised to visitors. Additional commercial shops are located further inland that are more difficult to account for given that many Caiçara serve the tourists directly from their residences.

During the off-season, most commercial businesses were either permanently or temporarily closed. Only three restaurants and bars were observed operating full time throughout the off season. It is worth noting that these businesses seemed to be in operation to cater to local community members more so than the limited number of tourists who happened to arrive within the community on any given day. A fourth and fifth restaurant and bar would periodically open throughout the slow season; the motive for these establishments to open seemed to be an opportunistic response to unusually high volumes of tourists residing within the community. These spikes in tourist numbers were often in response to the various festivals being held within the nearby city of Paraty, chance gatherings of multiple groups individually selecting Praia do Sono to visit for a weekend, or larger groups on arranged tours of the community (such as a grade school field trip to Praia do Sono from Sao Paulo to educate the students on environmentalism).

Several of the local businesses would advertise their establishments in Paraty through business cards, billboards, and tourism guides. It was discovered that at least one restaurant and bar, which would periodically open during the off season, would open for reservations made through a tourism guide from Paraty. This guide contacted the proprietor of the bar informing him of a large group of international tourists from Holland there were interested in trekking through the region and that they would be passing through Praia do Sono to stop for lunch at his restaurant. This level of organization present within Praia do Sono amongst the business community is considerably greater than anticipated but still in an early stage of development with considerable room to expand upon.

## **2.6 Established Tourism Activities Without Income Earning Potential**

### **2.6.1 Bonfires**

Bonfires along the beach were a common occurrence among tourists, particularly among those setting up camp in the camping spaces. Bonfires for many tourists served a practical purpose as well as a recreational function. For those tourists who were camping in a space that did not have immediate access to a propane oven or other means to cook food, a bonfire would often suit their needs with regards to cooking. Cooking freshly caught fish wrapped in banana leaves was a favorite option for dinner in the evenings. Private bonfires would dot the beach at night as tourists and locals alike would gather around the fires to socialize, drink, sing and play guitar.

The lack of regulation (or perhaps a lack of enforcement of regulation) around bonfires was somewhat surprising given the regions designation as a protected area. Open, uncontrolled fires were permitted throughout the area and no one seemed concerned about the potential hazard these fires could represent. Tourists would often scavenge for firewood, collecting deadfall inland. Some tourists were observed breaking branches from living trees along the coast line to fuel their fires; it was these same individuals who would later profess their admiration and respect for nature.

### 2.6.2 Recreational Fishing

Several tourists were observed recreationally fishing off the coast of the beach, and through casual conversation with some of these tourists it was discovered that fishing was the primary motivation to come and visit Praia do Sono. These same tourists stood out from the rest in that they were the only recreational fishermen observed fishing with a rod and reel. Due to the financial barriers associated with purchasing a rod and reel in Brazil the vast majority of recreational fishermen opt to fish with only a weighted hook attached to fishing line that is thrown out to sea and pulled in by hand.

While recreational fishing is a non-income generating tourist activity, for the inhabitants of Praia do Sono it should be noted that there are some residents who do sell fishing accessories such as hooks and fishing line. Thus, tourism demand for recreational fishing does translate into income earning potential for the community. However, the profits associated with such minor sales is marginal at best, particularly given the observed overall interest from tourists in recreational fishing.

### 2.6.3 Traditional Beach Activities

It can be confidently stated that no one arranges a vacation to the beach without the traditional beach activities in mind. Such activities include, but are not limited to, swimming, sun tanning and surfing. While Praia do Sono is not a renowned surfing destination, several tourists who visit the area have commented on the quality of the waves in relation to surfing. Several surfers made mention of the fact that, due to the types of waves, Praia do Sono is an excellent location for novice and intermediate level surfers to enjoy their craft and hone their skills. However, many tourists interested in surfing the waves of Praia do Sono expressed their frustration with the limited accessibility of the area in relation to the difficulties associated with bringing their surfboard with them to Praia do Sono. Taking the hour-long bus trip from Paraty to Laranjeiras and then the hour-long trail from Laranjeiras to Praia do Sono with all their camping equipment, in addition to a surfboard, would be particularly cumbersome.

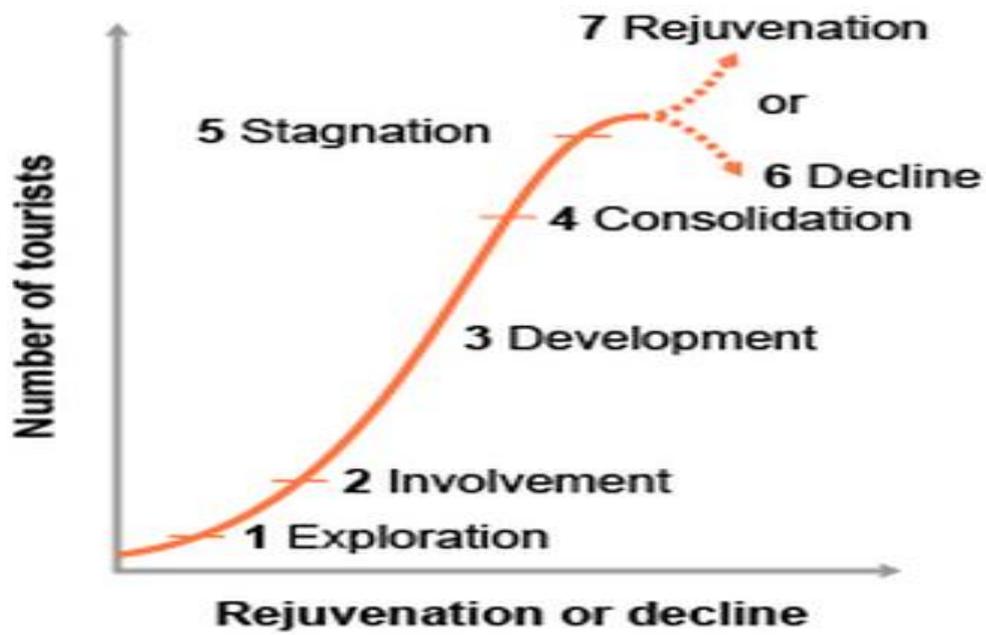
In contrast to surfing and other beach activities mentioned above where tourists expressed a strong desire to undertake; one activity, which was neither present nor in demand, was that of diving. Tourists seldom expressed their interest in diving off the coast of Praia do Sono. During a discussion with an experienced diver, who discussed at length the numerous locations throughout the world where he had had the opportunity to dive suggested that the local region did not offer much in the way of quality diving experiences from what he had seen during his time there. Praia do Sono offers excellent hiking opportunities to tourists with a range of trails varying in difficulty. However, there are a very limited number of trails to hike around the community for novice hikers.

The trail to Pouco Jacara is perhaps the only trail that would be classified as a beginner trail. The hiking into the community is a moderate level of difficulty and numerous tourists who hiked into the community underestimated either their own abilities or the difficulty of the trail and opted to pay the boat fare to be transported to Laranjeiras rather than attempt to hike back the way they came. The hike to Praia dos Antiginhos and Praia da Antigos is very short in comparison to the main trail into Praia do Sono, perhaps ten to fifteen minutes, but the trail is not very well developed and an extremely steep climb up hill. This trail also serves as the trail to Ponta Negra; however, one must hike a considerable distance to arrive at the neighboring community, approximately two to three hours. Not only is the trail to Ponta Negra time consuming, but the trails are unmarked and may cause some to turn back out of fear of getting lost. The initial steep climb prior to these trails becomes exceptionally more difficult during and after even minimal amounts of rainfall as the path is very muddy and becomes very slippery and dangerous. There are several other trails inland but these paths have not been developed to accommodate tourists; many of these inland paths are primarily used by local community members. There is considerable opportunity to develop the trails around Praia do Sono, either by enhancing accessibility and reducing the difficulty of the trails and even by posting signage that clearly designates the trail and where it leads.

## **2.7 Current State of Tourism Industry in Praia do Sono**

Using the classification provided by Butler (1980) and given the observations made with regards to local expansion of tourism related businesses and the revenue generating activities, it can confidently be stated that Praia do Sono is in the development phase of the tourism cycle. All

observations were made during the slow season and many locals were preoccupied with finishing, renovating their existing businesses or rental properties, building new rooms and chalets to rent, and repairing their boats. Hardly a day passed by where there was not a load of building materials being brought in, particularly bricks and mortar (the primary building material in Brazil), which is no easy task when bringing them in one skiff load at a time. Praia do Sono is quickly modernizing as a community since connecting to the regional power grid in 2011. Many of the community leaders were in discussion with regional authorities to expand on the educational system and improve the sanitation system in the community. A major area of focus on community development that will have a profound effect on the tourism industry and community as a whole is that of opening up road access to Praia do Sono. Many of the locals are in favor of greater accessibility to Paraty and the neighboring communities. However, the feeling of road access is a very contentious topic among tourists, with many of them opposed to increasing the accessibility of the community further for fear of what an increase in tourism will do to the region. Their concerns are related to the fear that mass tourism will negatively affect the environment and the sense of place as they perceive it and destroy the disconnect they seek from city life and, conversely, interfere with their desire to foster a connection with nature.



**Figure 5:** graph outlining the various stages of the tourism life cycle. Source: Butler R.W. (1980)

## Chapter 3: Methodology

### 3.1 Philosophical Worldviews

Acting on the information obtained through this research in order to implement or develop feasible solutions to real world problems is the primary concern associated with a pragmatic worldview (Creswell, 2014). "[P]ragmatism opens the door to multiple methods, different worldviews, and different assumptions, as well as different forms of data collection and analysis." (Creswell, 2014, p. 11). Creswell (2014) has expanded the notion of a participatory worldview into what he now refers to as a transformative worldview. A transformative worldview addresses important issues associated with marginalized or disenfranchised communities or individuals within a society such as empowerment and inequality; such as the Caiçara. Given the qualities of these two worldviews a hybrid construct guided the underlying design and approach to this research project by employing a pragmatic worldview combined with the principles of a transformative (formerly participatory) worldview. As a researcher, I am in agreement with Reason (2000) that "we learn more profoundly about our worlds when we are more interested in enhancing them with excellence of action than in simply learning about them." (p. 6) It is hoped that the findings of this research will have practical real-world applications that enhance the wellbeing of either the Caiçara, tourists, or ideally both.

### **3.2 Research Design**

While the duration of time spent in the field was intended to be between three and six months, due to complications in developing rapport with the local community members and problems associated with securing a reliable field assistant to aid in communicating between English and Portuguese, the total time spent in the field was approximately six months between May and October. The purpose of this study was to identify how tourists and community members form sentimental attachments to places and the role of cultural meaning associated with place attachment and how each group's perspective differs from one another. A logical first step was to identify tourism development projects that are currently operating or are in the initial planning phase within the region. Next an examination of tourists and community member's attachment to place was conducted and guided by the theoretical ideas affiliated with place making theory. Finally, several key themes were drawn from the responses generated from the data collected through participant observation and semi structured interviews.

The methodology selected to carry out this study reflected the subjective nature of the research objectives and relied predominantly on a qualitative approach. As Corbin and Strauss (2008) explain "qualitative research allows researchers to get at the inner experience of participants, to determine how meanings are formed through and in culture and to discover rather than test variables" (p. 12). This rationale was a perfect fit for exploring the topic of sense of place and place attachment and a qualitative research design was a logical choice. As a marginalized community with considerable amount of attention on management planning and strategies associated with regulating the tourism industry in the region, employing qualitative research

methods designed around a pragmatic/transformational worldview has allowed for greater insight into understanding the mindset of both the Caiçara and the tourists who visit the region. It is important to take into consideration the Caiçara's personal sense of place when developing management strategies that may have considerable implications on their socioeconomic wellbeing. It is equally important to consider the tourist's sense of place attachment so as to foster a successful and sustainable management strategy regarding tourism development in the Juatinga Ecological Reserve. According to Corbin and Strauss (2008) the selection of a qualitative research design over a quantitative research design is largely determined by the nature of the research question and objectives. A qualitative approach was deemed the most suitable given the objectives of this study aim go beyond quantitative studies that employ place making theory, that aim to determine whether individuals exhibit a sense of place attachment/identity or not, and delve deeper into the understanding of how and why individuals come to develop a sense of place attachment/identity.

### **3.3 Research Strategy**

Various researchers have defined the case study approach in numerous ways (Yin, 2009), however common elements exist regardless of which definition is used. For example, Creswell defines the case study as: "a strategy of inquiry in which the researcher explores in depth a program, event, activity, process or one or more individuals. Cases bounded by time and activity, and researchers collect detailed information using a variety of data collection procedures over a sustained period of time." (Creswell, 2014, p. 13) Arguably the most important theme that transects these definitions is that a case study is an intensive investigation of a bounded system or context. As will be discussed in chapter 3 the nature of place making theory is spatially and temporally

dynamic thus utilizing a case study approach, by definition, will provide a bounded spatial and temporal context allowing the results to be interpreted and analyzed within that context.

### **3.4 Study Area**

The community of Praia do Sono was selected to conduct this research. The selection of Praia do Sono was determined based on three primary factors:

- 1) Geographically located within either of the Juatinga ecological reserve or Paraty- Mirim reserve.
- 2) An active tourism presence within the community.
- 3) Willingness of local community members to cooperate with the study.

There were a number of alternative communities besides Praia do Sono that were geographically located in the Juatinga ecological reserve. Preference was given to Praia do Sono as it had active tourism initiatives operating within the community and surrounding area and there was deemed to be more local interest and willingness to participate in the study than some of the other communities within the region

### **3.5 Data collection methods**

#### **3.5.1 Participant Observation**

Participant observation has been an integral data collection method for anthropological research for over a century (Kawulich, 2005) and has since been incorporated as a tool throughout various academic disciplines (Bernard, 2006). Bernard (2006) identifies the following five reasons

for including participant observation as a data collection method for all scientific research involving cultural groups:

- 1) It is possible to collect an extensive variety of data
- 2) It reduces the problem of reactivity
- 3) Enables the researcher to form more sensible questions
- 4) Provides an intuitive understanding of cultural activity
- 5) The unique qualities of participant observation permit the collection of data within certain research context where all other research methods may fail.

Regarding the final reason mentioned above, participant observation allows for a deeper understanding of the context that emerges from the semi structured interviews; particularly regarding responses given during the interviews that may contradict the observed behavior of study participants. While these five advantages apply to this study, given the specific cultural context, a sixth benefit emerges as a result of the participatory worldview incorporated into this study. As Bernard and colleagues indicate, "[p]articipant observation involves going out and staying out... experiencing the lives of the people you are studying as much as you can... [and] establishing rapport...." (2006, p. 344) Building rapport between the researcher and community members is vital for promoting participation and collaborative action as is typical of methodology for a participatory worldview (Guba & Lincoln, 2005).

There have been several disadvantages associated with participant observation as well; the most commonly discussed weaknesses in no particular order are as follows. First, participant observation has been criticized for generating biased results based on focused observation of particular interests and/or relying on key informants who hold biased positions or titles in the

research community (Kawulich, 2005). Second a total immersion on the part of the researcher into the role of participant, referred to as "going native" (Creswell, 2014). Third the considerable amount of time typically required for participant to bear insightful and authentic data. While there is merit to these concerns perhaps the greatest disadvantage of participant observation is the limitations placed upon the researcher "who serves as the instrument for data collection; the researcher must understand how his/her gender, sexuality, ethnicity, class, and theoretical approach may affect observation, analysis, and interpretation." (Kawulich, 2005, p. 7). These factors identified by Kawulich (2005) were particularly apparent in some aspects of dealing with the Caiçara such as negotiating prices for accommodations and transportation as mentioned in Chapter 2. Despite these weaknesses and limitations participant observation is regarded as a "first step" (Kawulich, 2005, p. 5) that enhances the validity of research when combined with alternative research methods. For the purposes of this study data gathered from participant observation was documented and recorded through note taking in a research journal and used to gather preliminary data, valuable, but also to inform the development of semi-structured interviews to be conducted later.

### 3.5.2 Semi-Structured Interviews

Interviews are a useful data collection technique for several reasons. When research objectives are (1) interested in understanding experiences, opinions, attitudes, values and processes; (2) limited knowledge pertaining to research objectives prevents the use of well-constructed questionnaires; and (3) when informants are more willing to participate in interviews as opposed to alternative methods (Rowley, 2012). There are also different approaches that can be

used in conducting interviews, which vary according to the degree of control or structure incorporated in their design. For the purposes of this research a semi structured interview has been deemed the most appropriate approach to interviewing. Resulting from the subjective nature regarding sense of place and place attachment among Caiçara and tourists a semi structured interview allows for a more in-depth discussion about interviewee's personal experiences while allowing the researcher to maintain a degree of control over the direction of the interview.

It was more difficult to find agreeable study participants to conduct interviews with than originally anticipated. Several Caiçara were openly hostile towards discussing their personal opinions with an outsider, these hostilities were compounded given that the researcher was of Caucasian decent and erroneously mistaken for an American national; as many Caiçara held anti-American sentiments. Caiçara women were also overwhelmingly unwilling to participate in the study for a number of reasons. Some simply did not believe their opinion worthy of consideration whereas others were uncomfortable to speak about political issues publicly and were unwilling to be seen associating with a foreign male in a private setting. Tourists made considerably more willing study participants but unanticipated challenges were encountered with getting certain individuals to agree to participate. The primary challenge with tourists to participate in the study was in relation to time restraints as many tourists were passing through the community and did not want to spend the little time they had to experience the area engaged in an interview. Despite these challenges interviews were conducted with 20 study participants with the majority of the interviews conducted in the researcher's residence for privacy purposes. However, the majority of interviews conducted with the Caiçara were done in the residences of the participant as they felt more comfortable in a more familiar setting. Interviews ranged in duration from 20 minutes to

over an hour and half and were recorded using a voice recorder. Interviews were then transcribed and, if necessary, translated at a later date; due to early limitations with securing a reliable field assistant to aid in conducting interviews in Portuguese several tourist interviews were conducted in English where possible. As the researcher's ability in Portuguese improved interviews were predominantly conducted in Portuguese with both tourists and Caiçara.

### **3.6 Data Analysis**

Participant observation was relied upon as the initial method for data collection and the information obtained through this process was documented as quickly as possible on a daily basis in the form of maintaining journal entries. An analysis of the data collected in this manner was conducted in an ongoing manner while in the field by coding observations based on themes and categorizing themes based on shared commonalities and/or differences. Due to limited access to a reliable power source all coding was done manually over the course of 6 months while in the field. Semi structured interviews were conducted with 20 informants, 14 tourists and 6 Caiçara. The interviews were recorded and transcribed after exiting the field. Data collected through participant observation and semi structured interviews were analyzed after being transcribed using a data table developed in Microsoft excel to organize the information obtained. Data analysis focused on a relatively small number of themes related to the objectives of the study. Creswell (2014) refers to this process as "winnowing" the large amounts of data that can be collected through qualitative methods and recommends confining the number of themes to approximately five to seven. For the purposes of this study three distinct themes were identified and will be expanded upon in later chapters.

### **3.7 Validity and reliability of the study**

As mentioned previously the construction of research around reputable, valid and reliable techniques is the best approach to resolving issues regarding validity and reliability (Stake, 1995). Whether conducting quantitative or qualitative research both are subject to poor design that compromises validity and reliability and both are capable of exceptional design as well. The quality of research design among case studies has been demonstrated to be steadily increasing over time; this directly translates into more reliable and valid findings generated via this strategy of inquiry. (Beverland & Lindgreen, 2010). Triangulation of data is an essential component of the case study design for addressing the concerns over validity and reliability; in general triangulation enhances the internal validity of a study (Lee, Mishna & Brennenstuhl, 2010). By employing multiple data collection procedures and seeking out multiple sources of data one is better able to triangulate the data that they collect (Lee et. al. 2010). With regard to this study triangulation of data was achieved through incorporating two distinct and reputable data collection methods detailed above; participant observation and semi-structured interviews.

### **3.8 Limitations of the study**

The primary limitations that influenced the quality of findings was related financial constraints associated with data collection. Specifically, the duration of time spent in the field collecting primary data, which was approximately six months; from May 2014 to October 2014. It was difficult to develop the necessary rapport with research participants that would have allowed

for a deeper exploration of issues related to sense of place and place attachment. The use of focus groups among the Caiçara and if possible tourists was intended after concluding the interview portion of the research but due to time constraints it was not possible to organize the use of focus groups. The limitations associated with developing rapport with research participants differed between the Caiçara and the tourists. The Caiçara were wary of a foreign researcher in their community and due to complications associated with finding a reliable field assistant to aid in communicating with the Caiçara a significant time delay was incurred while developing the ability to communicate in Portuguese. With regards to tourists, the short duration of their stay in Praia do Sono meant it was difficult to secure research participants willing to take time out of their vacation as in many cases tourists were passing through the area and had a day or less to explore the region. A potential secondary limitation of the study relates to the overall generalizability of findings. While the nature of this study is designed around a case study approach and thus broad generalizability of findings is not an intended objective of this research the findings were rather context specific. It may be difficult to generalize the majority of data and findings beyond that of Praia do Sono or the Juatinga Ecological Reserve.

## Chapter 4: Results

### 4.1 Profile of Study Participants

The data displayed throughout the results chapter was collected from 20 study participants over approximately a 6-month period between May 2014 and October 2014. Table 1 lists the demographic breakdown of each study participant regarding age, sex, city of origin, nationality, and their social status in Praia do Sono. The participants of the study ranged from 19 to 77 years old with the majority of participants between the ages of 26 to 35. Nearly 75% of participants were male. 75% were Brazilian with the majority of participants originating from the city of Sao Paulo. However, it is important to consider that the demographics of study participants presented here is skewed on account of having two subtypes of participants; namely tourists and indigenous Caiçara. Tourists were much more likely to agree to participate in this study with 14 of the 20 participants being tourists. By including the Caiçara as study participants also partly explains why there were considerably more male than female participants. Female Caiçara were extremely reluctant to participate in this study and only 1 of the 6 Caiçara interviewed were female. A number of female Caiçara that were approached to participate in the study, and ultimately refused to participate, implied that their opinion was inconsequential to the subject matter and that they had little insight to offer. Finally, while it was not uncommon to encounter international tourists in Praia do Sono from numerous countries and continents (primarily those within South America and Europe) there was a disproportionate number of tourists from Argentina; Argentinian participants account for 29% of all tourist participants.

**Table 1**

Demographic of Study Participants									
Age		Sex		City of Origin		Nationality		Status in Praia do Sono	
18-25	3	Female	6	Sao Paulo (BR)	6	Brazilian	15	Caiçara	6
26-35	8	Male	14	Praia do Sono (BR)	5	Argentinian	4	Tourist	14
36-45	5			Buenos Aires (AR)	4	French	1		
46-55	2			Rio de Janeiro (BR)	2				
56-65	1			Paraty (BR)	1				
66-75	0			Fortaleza (BR)	1				
76-85	1			Carcassonne(FR)	1				
Total	20	Total	20	Total	20	Total	20	Total	20

As can be seen from table 2, the trail was the most common method for entering and exiting Praia do Sono. The level of difficulty that the trail presents for the average person, and the length of time required to hike the trail (approximately 1 hour) were not significant barriers to its use. However, tourists were slightly more inclined to depart Praia do Sono by boat after having arrived by trail; this was typically the case for tourists who were visiting the community for less than a day. Some tourists indicated that after experiencing the difficulty/length of the trail to arrive it discouraged them from attempting to exit the community by trail and they would rather take a 10-minute boat ride across to Laranjeiras. By taking the boat to exit the community tourists also indicated as a rationale for their decision, that they would get to stay in Praia do Sono longer to enjoy their time in the community.

**Table 2**

Tourist's method of Travel to and from Praia do Sono			
Arrived in Praia do Sono Via		Departed Praia do Sono Via	
Trail	13	Trail	11
Boat	1	Boat	3
Total	14	Total	14

Table 3 illustrates the tourist participants time spent in Praia do Sono, specifically their anticipated duration of stay in Praia do Sono, the number of previous visits to Praia do Sono, and whether or not they anticipate returning to Praia do Sono in the future. There was a surprisingly large range in duration of stay among tourists. Time spent in Praia do Sono ranged from as little as two to three hours, to more than a month. 70% of all tourists interviewed slept at least one night in Praia do Sono. However, it must be noted that tourists spending less than a day in Praia do Sono were less likely/willing to agree to participate in the study as they perceived their participation in the study to interfere with the limited time they had available to enjoy the area. Tourists were almost evenly divided between those who were first time visitors to the region and those returning after their first experience in Praia do Sono with just over half of all tourists indicating that this was their first-time visiting Praia do Sono. The overwhelming majority of tourists indicated that their experience in Praia do Sono was largely positive and that they would return in the future. The two tourists who indicated that they would not return both were first time visitors.

**Table 3**

Tourist's Time Spent in Praia do Sono					
Duration of Stay in Praia do Sono		Number of visits to Praia do Sono		Would Return in the future	
< 1 Day	4	First visit	8	Yes	12
1 Day	2	Second Visit	3	No	2
1 Week	5	Third Visit	0		
2 Weeks	0	Fourth Visit	3		
3 Weeks	1				
1 Month	0				
> 1 Month	2				
Total	14	Total	14	Total	14

### 4.3 Place Dependence

#### 4.3.1 The Beach and Ocean, the Tourist

Through a tourist's perspective the notion of place dependence, in relation to Praia do Sono, the ocean, and the beach is more difficult to assess than that of the Caiçara. While the general response from tourists would seem to suggest they do depend on nature to fulfill the needs of their mental/spiritual wellbeing, one is left wondering if the degree of importance tourists associate to the specific places mentioned above is exaggerated. Table 4 breaks down the interests of both tourists and Caiçara while in Praia do Sono and the activities they prefer to engage in while present in the community. The activities that individuals choose to engage in while present in a place is

the primary indicator of place dependence and the majority of tourists have indicated that their preferred activity while in Praia do Sono is to relax or “do nothing” it is important to note that this desire to do nothing is intrinsically linked to escaping their lived environment, an urban and artificial setting, and relaxing in their preferred environment, a more ‘natural’ authentic setting. Nature can be thought of as a collective whole of all places. Thus, to a degree the beach, the ocean, and to a lesser extent Praia do Sono may contribute to a tourist’s sense of dependence on nature as being a specific location where they can form the desired connection with nature. In the absence of these places a tourist can, and does, replace them with alternatives where they can also feel that connection to nature; such as the forest. Therefore, do tourists truly depend on the beach, the ocean, or Praia do Sono or do they merely find these locations to be the most accessible areas at that moment in time to satisfy their dependence on nature? Table 3 also indicates that some tourists engage in beach/ocean related activities such as surfing and sun tanning which indicate a stronger sense of place dependence for those more actively engaged with these elements of nature. For the purposes of further discussion on the tourist’s sense of place dependence the beach and the ocean have been combined as general aspects of the natural environment; whereas Praia do Sono is discussed separately as a distinct location which happens to contain both the beach and the ocean as aspects of nature.

While primarily intended to delve into tourists’ sense of place identity Table 11 and Table 14 represent the responses of tourists to questions associated with the ocean and beach respectively. When asked to complete the sentence the beach/ocean is special to me because... the overwhelming response from tourists was that these natural elements imbued a spiritual re-energization. These revelations are a testament to the degree to which place identity and

dependence are interlinked and these responses can be attributed to a sense of place dependency. The ocean/beach are more than merely a place which enables them to utilize these places for their recreational interests but also a place to reinvigorate both the body and soul. More directly put there is a renewal of one's physical and spiritual self through the ocean/beach as a source of healing, relaxation, and energy. This sense of renewal that the ocean instills within the tourists who came to visit Praia do Sono is the way tourists not only come to identify with the ocean/beach, but also depend on it for their emotional/spiritual/ well-being; and develop a symbolic attachment to this natural entity

**Table 4**

Preferred activities in Praia do Sono					
Caiçara			Tourists		
Work	2	22.22%	Relax	10	32.26%
Socialize with Friends/Family	2	22.22%	Nothing	7	22.57%
Garden	1	11.11%	Surf	4	12.90%
Fish	1	11.11%	Socialize	3	9.67%
Sail	1	11.11%	Suntan	2	6.45%
Paint (art)	1	11.11%	Fish	1	3.23%
Listen to Local Radio	1	11.11%	Read	1	3.23%
			Drink	1	3.23%
			Dive	1	3.23%
			Sex	1	3.23%
Total	9	100.00%	Total	31	100.00%

#### 4.3.2 Praia do Sono, the tourist

There was little sense of place dependence on Praia do Sono as a community. All tourists were intent on reenergizing their spiritual well-being through their presence in nature. Praia do Sono was merely a place among many other places that served the need to temporarily exist in nature and escape the stresses of life in the major cities. However, several tourists interviewed commended Praia do Sono as “one of the best places I have been to”. Most of these tourists specifically mentioned the lack of pollution and the tranquility of the community in comparison to other tourist destinations they have been to as being a very important factor to consider when looking to connect with nature. The most resounding response given when questioned about what they liked to do in Praia do Sono was “nothing”. Nearly all respondents claimed to have travelled to Praia do Sono to do nothing, albeit a caveat to this response was to do nothing in nature or a calm, relaxing environment. For the tourists interviewed the element of calm and relaxation is the key difference between Praia do Sono and the substantially more populous cities mentioned above. Praia do Sono was, and remains, largely an escape from the stresses of modern life. That being said, tourists do not depend on Praia do Sono to fulfill this need. In Brazil, Praia do Sono is but one of countless coastal communities that offer a peaceful, relaxing environment next to the ocean as well as a pristine beach. Table 5 demonstrates the weak sense of place dependence on Praia do Sono specifically. When asked if Praia do Sono was the best place for what they liked to do less than half of respondents indicated a positive response.

**Table 5**

Is Praia do Sono the best place for what you like to do					
Caiçara			Tourist		
Yes	1	16.67%	Yes	5	35.72%
No	3	50.00%	No	8	57.14%
Unsure	2	33.33%	Unsure	1	7.14%
Total	6	100.00%	Total	14	100.00%

#### 4.3.3 the Beach and Ocean, the Caiçara

Historically speaking the Caiçara were entirely dependent on the ocean. As artisanal fishermen, their primary source of sustenance was harvested from the ocean. Their catch, supplemented with inland hunting of wild game and harvesting of plants/fruits would ensure that they and their families were well fed. In the not so distant past, virtually all disposable income was derived from selling their catch in the markets of Paraty. To this day many elderly inhabitants of Praia do Sono continue to personally identify with the ocean and their role as a fisherman/sailor; a life time at sea has bound their lives to the ocean. For some this relationship was entirely derived from the principles of place dependence as one such individual claimed; "...the ocean is not special to me, it is just a place to work so that we can live our lives." This revelation is the strongest sense of place dependence one can exhibit and the degree to which the Caiçara have used the ocean, and to a lesser degree the beach, is an archetype of place dependence and the activities associated with the term.

The emergence of tourism has had a noticeable effect on the Caiçara and their relationship with the ocean. The community of Praia do Sono today relies less on the income derived from fishing and more on tourism to economically provide for them. Tourism has surpassed fishing as the principle economic driver of the community and all residents of Praia do Sono are not only earning income from tourism and are keen enough to reinvest their profit in the tourism sector. The youngest generation in Praia do Sono has very little interest in fishing as a profession and their relationship with the ocean more closely resembles that of their tourist counterparts as they primarily interact with the ocean to swim and surf. While the tourism industry's dominance over the local economy within the Juatinga ecological reserve, and more specifically, Praia do Sono it is much too early to declare a sense of place dependence on the beach; the primary tourist attraction, in the lives of the Caiçara. Given this transitional state of the local economy the beach is certainly becoming a more influential space for the Caiçara and the significance of this space. While no direct evidence was ascertained from the interviews conducted with the Caiçara to suggest that the Caiçara are self-aware of any sense of place dependence on the beach this is likely to change for the generation to come. Observations made in the behavior of the Caiçara, specifically the strong inclination to invest substantial amounts of disposable income to develop tourist amenities, indicate that they will grow to become substantially dependent on tourism in the near future.

#### 4.3.4 Praia do Sono, the Caiçara

There is little evidence to suggest that the Caiçara exhibit any sense of place dependence on the community of Praia do Sono. As can be seen in table 5 only one of the Caiçara interviewed

indicated that they felt that Praia do Sono was the best place for them to participate in their preferred activities. While there may be a comparable argument to make with respect to a more symbolic place dependence such as how tourists feel about the natural environment the data gathered is inconclusive. Table 8 indicates that half of the Caiçara interviewed felt a sacred connection to Praia do Sono as a community and this connection was arguably stronger than that expressed from tourists in connection with nature as the Caiçara invoked a sense of familial bond with Praia do Sono and to a larger extent the Juatinga Ecological Reserve as a region. However, there was no indication that the Caiçara depend on their physical presence in the community for their spiritual and emotional wellbeing.

It is possible that the Caiçara of Praia do Sono held a stronger sense of place dependence with their community in generations past but even the oldest living residents today revealed that they would often opportunistically hire themselves out as crew on commercial offshore fishing vessels which would take them much out to sea and away from the community for months at a time. The Caiçara are a resourceful and opportunistic people who exploited the various opportunities presented to them when and if they could. Such opportunities would see them migrate out of the community for extended periods of time to work. Whether it be as deck hands on the larger commercial fishing vessels, hired sailors for the wealthy landowners in Laranjeiras on their private recreational yachts, or a plethora of other piecemeal work opportunities outside of the community, and to a much larger extent the region. As a result, the Caiçara can be said to have reasonably developed a stronger sense of place dependence with the ocean than the community. To date younger generations, while considerably less interested in the life of working the circos, or as fishermen/sailors in general, still migrate out of the community for work opportunities. The

majority find themselves working in Paraty, the closest city to Praia do Sono, and some families even maintain a house in Paraty for family members to temporarily reside when and if they cannot find the time to return from Paraty to Praia do Sono.

#### **4.4 Place Identity**

##### **4.4.1 Place Identity the Tourist**

Based on the information gathered from the interviews conducted there was a moderate sense of place identity inherent in most tourists when asked about the beach and ocean. Collectively there was a considerably weaker sense of place identity when asked specifically about Praia do Sono as a community. However, it is important to note that the range of sense of place identity felt among all tourists interviewed varied greatly from one to the next. These conclusions are to be expected given that a sense of place identity is derived from strong emotional experiences associated with a particular place or places; and as such by referring to the ocean or the beach as distinct entities there was potential to tap into a much wider array of personal experiences and sentiments linked to these places; unlike that of specific experiences with Praia do Sono.

##### **4.4.2 The ocean/beach. the Tourist**

There was little difference - in the eyes of those surveyed - between the ocean and the beach. Table 6 and Table 8 displays the degree to which both Caiçara and tourists identify with the ocean and beach. With respect to the tourists the responses between the two locations were relatively comparable in terms of responses and support this analogy. Study participants largely

viewed the two places as coexisting in the sense that “you cannot have one without the other.” Thoughts, feelings and experiences of one were immediately associated with the thoughts, feelings and experiences of the other. However, how these tourists came to identify with the ocean and the beach (in general) are stories inherently unique as the person to which they belong. Such experiences may be deeply personal and of a profound nature such as that of Mauricio as told below:

*After a planned surfing trip to the beach with my girlfriend was nearly abandoned as a result of a fight between us, which ended our relationship, I decided to go to the beach anyways alone. In the afternoon, I swam out with my board to catch a wave and the current grabbed me and pulled me out to sea. At that moment, a storm began to form and as I was fighting to keep myself from drowning I thought that this was it, that I was done and would die like this. I began to pray to Iemanja to take pity on me and spare my life. I believe she answered my prayers and after some time passed the waves threw me against a large rock sticking out from the sea. I managed to grab onto this rock and found a crevice just big enough for me to crawl into. I used my surfboard as a shield to block the water from crashing into me. I spent the night like this, shivering from the cold until the storm passed the next day. When the sea was calm, I exited my shelter to look around and found that I could still see the shore. I swam to the shore but it was not the beach where I had started, but I was lucky that a man was passing by and I asked him how far it was to return to my beach. He told me that it was only a couple of hours walk from where I was, so I started walking. I made it back to my car and I really believe that Iemanja saved me and my connection with the sea after this day grew. I have much more respect for the sea now...*

For others, it is an inherent lack of direct personal experience, such as that of Ana, who despite having been raised near the coast and frequently passing countless hours on the beach in front of the ocean never learned how to swim, and thus out of fear has never entered the ocean. Nevertheless, through more of a familiarity of its presence pressing upon her memories, the ocean has become inseparably linked to the beach and an irreplaceable source for maintaining her mental wellbeing. These two distinct stories can be thought of as opposite ends of a spectrum with regards to those who identify with the ocean as occupying a meaningful place in their lives. On the one side Ana represents a complete physical detachment from the ocean and her personal experiences that impose upon her consciousness when reflecting upon what the ocean symbolically means and represents in her life. On the other, Mauricio’s intimate first-hand experiences with the ocean, as

an avid surfer, culminating in a nearly fatal encounter which brought about a spiritual epiphany is arguably the most profound connections one could expect to experience in both a literal/physical sense and of a sacred/incorporeal sense.

**Table 6**

Do you feel that you are a part of the Ocean?					
Caiçara			Tourist		
Yes	6	100.00%	Yes	7	50.00%
No	0	0.00%	No	7	50.00%
Total	6	100.00%	Total	14	100.00%
Do you feel that the Ocean is a part of you?					
Caiçara			Tourist		
Yes	5	83.33%	Yes	10	71.43%
No	1	16.67%	No	4	28.57%
Total	6	100.00%	Total	14	100.00%

**Table 7**

The ocean is Special to me Because...					
Caiçara			Tourist		
Nature	3	30.00%	Reenergizing	13	48.15%
Health	3	30.00%	Leisure	6	22.22%
Food	2	20.00%	Health	4	14.82%
Relaxing	1	10.00%	Food	2	7.41%
Born at Sea	1	10.00%	Openness	1	3.70%
			Not Special	1	3.70%
Total	10	100.00%	Total	27	100.00%

#### 4.4.3 The ocean/beach, the Caiçara

*“If I do bad to this place, this place will do bad to me. If I do not take care of this place, this place will not take care of me.”*

Of all the Caiçara who agreed to sit down for an interview, there was universal agreement that in their eyes the ocean and the beach are one and the same. The Caiçara, like the tourists, also spoke of the reenergizing effects of the ocean, particularly the powerful spiritual influence it commands over their lives. However, unlike many of the tourists interviewed, the answer to the question of whether they feel that they are a part of the ocean/beach was a resounding “of course!”. This sense of identity extends well beyond this reenergizing effect. For the Caiçara they identify with nature in a much more tangible way in that they see themselves as the proverbial children of nature (in general) and to Praia do Sono specifically. All Caiçara interviewed raised the notion of a symbolically familial relationship when discussing how they identify with nature. To the Caiçara,

a place cannot be a part of someone without that person being a part of that place; it is a synergetic relationship.

**Table 8**

Do you feel that the beach is a part of you?					
Caiçara			Tourist		
Yes	5	83.33%	Yes	11	78.57%
No	1	16.67%	No	3	21.43%
Total	6	100.00%	Total	14	100.00%
Do you feel that you are a part of the beach?					
Caiçara			Tourist		
Yes	6	100.00%	Yes	8	57.14%
No	0	0.00%	No	6	42.86%
Total	6	100.00%	Total	14	100.00%

**Table 9**

The Beach is Special to me Because...					
Caiçara			Tourist		
Nature	2	33.33%	Reenergize	12	41.38%
Tourism	2	33.33%	Leisure	7	24.14%
Relaxing	1	16.67%	Relaxing	10	34.48%
Is not Special	1	16.67%			
Total	6	100.00%	Total	29	100.00%

#### 4.4.4 Praia do Sono: Tourists

The tourists interviewed strongly self-identified with nature, specifically that of the beach and ocean. Most interviewees could recall distinct memories of deeply meaningful events in their respective lives when asked about the beach or the ocean. All the tourists interviewed acknowledged the significance that these events have had in influencing their own personal identities. Table 10 displays the degree to which both Caiçara and tourists identify with Praia do Sono. Most surprising here is the degree to which the tourists identified with the community of Praia do Sono; of which there were more positive responses to these questions than that of either the beach or ocean. Collectively, a feeling or a sense of attachment, via place identity to Praia do Sono was considerably stronger among tourists than was expected as it was expected that there would be a weaker sense of place identity with respects to Praia do Sono given that behind the development of such personal sentiments exists a temporal factor. However, many of the tourists chose to identity with Praia do Sono by indicating that they too felt as though Praia do Sono is a part of them. Of the tourists who responded accordingly many offered a deeper insight into their rationale by indicating that their positive response to the question was driven by their personal

belief that “...where ever I am—that place now becomes a part of me—a part of my story.” Other tourists were quick to reply with a resounding “no”, giving their response little afterthought.

**Table 10**

Do you feel that Praia do Sono is a Part of you?					
Caiçara			Tourist		
Yes	5	83.33%	Yes	10	71.43%
No	1	16.67%	No	4	28.57%
Total	6	100.00%	Total	14	100.00%
Do you feel that you are a part of Praia do Sono?					
Caiçara			Tourist		
Yes	6	100.00%	Yes	9	64.29%
No	0	0.00%	No	5	35.71%
Total	6	100.00%	Total	14	100.00%

The lone response from the Caiçara where they did not feel as though Praia do Sono is a part of them is particularly interesting in that the same individual was the oldest study participant amongst both groups. After spending more than seven decades residing in the community it surprising that this individual did not develop a stronger sense of place identity with Praia do Sono as much of the research conducted on place identity conclude that there exists a positive correlation between place identity and length of residency.

#### 4.4.5 Praia do Sono: Caiçara

*“Caiçara are of the womb, are blood to Praia do Sono.”*

Table 11 Lists the various themes that were raised while discussing why/how study participants relate to and identify with Praia do Sono. For the Caiçara they most commonly relate to Praia do Sono as a sacred place. Half of all Caiçara interviewed discussed Praia do Sono in terms of their ethnicity as Caiçara and their ancestral history with the community, nature, and, to a larger extent, the region. These same individuals also discussed the notion of family; both in terms of their immediate family but that as Caiçara they are kin to all other Caiçara throughout Brazil. Two Caiçara responded in terms of a blood connection to Praia do Sono, inferring that the community was mother to them and they were bound by blood to ‘her’. As it is their home, naturally the Caiçara felt a strong sense of place identity to the community of Praia do Sono. This sense of identity is rooted in familial bonds not just to one another but to the essence that is Praia do Sono. All interviews conducted with Caiçara referenced a familial bond to the land/community in some form or another. There were numerous comments made about being bound to the community by blood, some went so far as to identify with the community as the womb that birthed them into this world. Surprisingly, many Caiçara have left the community for extended periods of time and not just the younger generation of today. This decision to leave was often related to work and earning a living; for example, it was not uncommon for the Caiçara to accept contract work on deep sea commercial fishing vessels:

*“I believe that is there is almost nothing missing here. Whatever we want, we have it all here. The only thing that I believe we are missing here is jobs, just this. We do not have where to earn money, there is no place to work to earn money. We have to leave here to work outside.”*

For others, the decision to leave is that of personal interest to expand their knowledge of the world beyond their tropical “paradise”, many if not all who voluntarily leave do so with the intention of returning home.

**Table 11**

Praia do Sono is Special to me Because...					
Caiçara			Tourist		
Sacred	3	30.00%	Reenergize	12	32.43%
Family	3	30.00%	Connect with Nature	11	29.73%
Blood	2	20.00%	Peace/Tranquility	10	27.03%
Tourism	1	10.00%	Community	1	2.70%
It is not special	1	10.00%	Unpolluted	3	8.11%
Total	10	100.00%	Total	37	100.00%

## 4.5 Impacts of tourism

### 4.5.1 Introduction

There is little doubt that the presence of tourism has dramatically affected the sociocultural dynamic of Praia do Sono. One need only walk along the shoreline to observe the numerous construction projects underway. Considerable capital and labor are being invested in developing and/or expanding existing restaurants, chalets, and bars. During that same walk, it is possible to view the Caiçara engaging in more traditional cultural practices. The traditional practice of making circos, hollowed out canoes, and bamboo and clay structures, to name a few, are not lost within

the community. The Caiçara were observed making and using these traditional items/structures. Sociocultural evolution is a natural part of any community and the Caiçara of Praia do Sono are in the midst of integrating a more pronounced tourism presence. However, tourism has both positively and negatively influenced Praia do Sono in several ways.

**Table 12**

Has the presence of tourism in Praia do Sono affected the quality of your experience here?			
Caiçara		Tourists	
Yes	4	Yes	3
No	2	No	11
Total	6	Total	14

Table 12 indicates the degree to which tourism has affected both the Caiçara and tourists experience in Praia do Sono. For the Caiçara tourism had a notable effect with 66% of participants admitting that tourism has had an influence in the community. This does not suggest that the Caiçara who responded positively to this question viewed tourism in a negative way. For tourists, the effects of tourism were of little concern with only 21% of tourists indicating that the presence of other tourists had affected the quality of their experience in Praia do Sono. It is important to note that the tourist's responses were undoubtedly influenced by the low tourism season in the region where throughout the course of the study there were, on average, less than 20 tourists present in Praia do Sono on any given day.

While the previous table illustrated that not all study participants believed that tourism has directly affected them personally, table 13 shows that when asked specifically what positive and negative effect tourism has had on Praia do Sono in general all study participants shared at least one positive and one negative aspect that they believed tourism has brought to Praia do Sono. What is most interesting is that all study participants from both groups identified money as a positive factor of tourism in Praia do Sono. Less surprising, from the perspective of the Caiçara tourism has produced considerably more negative factors for Praia do Sono. The Caiçara were more apprehensive on offering their opinion regarding the negative factors tourism has brought to their community; with one participant refusing to answer the question and simply stating “...there are things that I should not say.” This individual was concerned with offering their true opinion regarding the negative effects of the industry that is financially supporting the community.

**Table 13**

How tourism has affected Praia do Sono							
Caiçara				Tourist			
Good		Bad		Good		Bad	
Money	6	Drugs	2	Money	14	Pollution	14
		Illness	1	Knowledge/ Information	2	Environmental Degradation	5
		Pollution	5	Opportunity	3		
		Disrupts Community	1				
		No response	1				
Total	6	Total	10	Total	19	Total	19

#### 4.5.2 Positive Influences of Tourism

##### *Economic Benefits*

The most obvious influence of tourism is that of the infusion of financial capital into Praia do Sono. Every interviewee, both Caiçara and tourist, were quick to note the financial benefits to the community that tourism provides. There is not a single-family left in Praia do Sono that is not either directly or indirectly engaged in the tourism market today. While this financial boom has yet to manifest itself in a substantial increase in quality of life for the Caiçara such improvements will most likely come quickly. In addition to, and closely associated with the financial benefits, the lucrative tourism season has brought new opportunities to Praia do Sono.

While the lure of increasing ones' earning-potential will eventually lure the Caiçara further from their traditional economic role, no longer are the Caiçara limited to hunting, fishing, and horticulture as subsistence activities. While these activities are still carried out by a large portion of the population, in tandem with their new-found responsibilities associated with the seasonal influx of tourists, for the first time in the community's history there are a variety of employment opportunities. Entrepreneurialism is on the rise in Praia do Sono; the first pousada is, to date, well established and expanding, several bars and restaurants remain open for business year-round, and the first professional landlord has established themselves renting out their building to an external entrepreneur looking to establish themselves in the booming tourist destination.

### 4.5.3 Negative Influences of Tourism

#### *Breakdown of the collective consciousness*

For the Caiçara, it has not been an easy process to adapt to the changes in lifestyle brought on by tourism and while the “easy money” is a welcome change for many in the community, it has come at a price. Not everyone in the community is pleased with the changes they are observing. Tensions are rising between community members and social cohesion is, in the opinion of some, deteriorating; albeit very slowly for now, there is concern that this trend will continue. These problems are exacerbated by the fact that essentially all community members of Praia do Sono are directly related to one another either by blood and/or marriage. While territorial disputes are nothing new for the Caiçara, indeed they have fought external pressures and coercion from outsiders to illegally appropriate their ancestral lands, for the first-time internal territorial disputes are beginning to manifest themselves in unfortunate ways. Some interviewees were dismayed by the drawing up of boundaries and physical fencing to distinguish where one family’s property begins and ends. These same individuals were quick to place the blame for this on tourism; the rationale behind this territorial mindset is allegedly due to staking claim to various camping grounds and the income they generate.

#### *Garbage Pollution*

Unsurprisingly, garbage pollution was raised by all interviewees, Caiçara and tourists’ alike when discussing the negative effects of tourism on the region. As an observational note, Praia

do Sono while not free of garbage pollution was exceptionally well maintained in comparison to Brazilian standards. However, garbage pollution in the community is undoubtedly increasing and both the Caiçara and the tourists who have frequented the area have growing concerns regarding the future of Praia do Sono regarding pollution. Interestingly, while the Caiçara and the tourists agree over pollution being a major concern for Praia do Sono as tourism establishes itself as the dominant industry in the region; they are at odds with one another over who is responsible for the increase in garbage pollution.

The Caiçara place the blame for the increases of pollution on the tourists and view themselves as the custodians of Praia do Sono and, to a larger extent, the whole of the Juatinga ecological reserve. They tolerate the tourists for the money they spend while visiting but routinely clean up the beach and trails once the tourists have moved on from the area, only to find themselves repeating the cycle the next weekend, month, and/or tourist season. The tourists, unsurprisingly, see everyone other than themselves to blame for the increase in pollution, denying their own responsibility on the matter. The tourists routinely blame other tourists for polluting the area and typically were quick to declare themselves ardent environmentalists who regularly care for and respect the environment; no observations about their behavior supported such claims. More shockingly however, some tourists believed the Caiçara themselves were the primary source of pollution to the community. "...they are not used to living in the modern world; they don't understand plastics. Plastics are not like fruit peels that you can just toss into the trees and everything will be fine." While this individual had an exceptionally narrow mind and opinion of the Caiçara, it is true that the Caiçara do contribute to polluting the area. The self-image that many Caiçara have of themselves as the environmental stewards of the land may also be an

unsubstantiated generalization of the facts (several Caiçara cared little for the environment when such care interfered with their profit margins), it is true that the Caiçara carry the burden of responsibility to clean up after the tourists move on. After six months observing the behavior of tourists there was only one recorded instance of tourists voluntarily collecting garbage throughout Praia do Sono.

### *Decline in Social well-being*

The Caiçara are genuinely concerned over the social well-being of their community as the presence of tourism continues to expand; particularly when it comes to the presence of drugs in the community. It is important to note here that Praia do Sono is a predominantly Evangelical community, which means the notion of drugs also includes alcohol. However, alcohol can be excluded from this context in that the presence of alcohol has a much longer historical presence and community awareness than that of other drugs that were mentioned. Drug use, for the purpose of discussing the social wellbeing of Praia do Sono will refer to marijuana, cocaine, and opiates; of which their presence and use among the Caiçara were either raised in the interviews discussed or witnessed firsthand.

The Caiçara blame the presence of these drugs in the community on tourism and the tourists who are purported to traffic such narcotics into Praia do Sono. It is worth noting that the Caiçara who discussed these issues acknowledged that tourism has had, overall, a more positive than negative effect and that the intended purpose of trafficking drugs into the community was intended for recreational use among the tourists themselves, it nevertheless presented the opportunity for

locals to gain easier access to these narcotics. While there may be some merit of truth to such beliefs, through more casual conversation and observations made would suggest that the Caiçara themselves are also contributing to the influx of narcotics to Praia do Sono. Numerous families maintain houses in the larger city of Paraty for their family members who work and study in the city on a temporary basis. Drugs flow freely through the streets of Paraty and the geographical proximity to Praia do Sono in combination with the fact that many of Praia do Sono's residents regularly commute between the two locations leaves open the possibility that much of the drug presence is not in relation to the presence of tourism but rather the ubiquitous nature of narcotics in an ever more globalized society.

## Chapter 5: Discussion

### 5.1 Place Dependence on Nature for Spiritual Well-Being

It is largely agreed upon that place dependence is characterized by a functional attachment to place rooted in physical activities or actions (Vaske and Korbin, 2001; White, Virden, and van Riper, 2008; Brown, Reed, and Harris, 2002). For example, Vaske and Korbin (2001) characterize tourist's sense of place dependence through engaging in physical activities such as hiking, rock climbing or Kayaking. White, Virden, and van Riper (2008) go on to explain the concept of place dependence through river rafting. While the results of this study do not refute the notion that place dependence is fostered through physical use and engagement with a place, such as the various tourist activities mentioned above, they do suggest that equating a sense of place dependence to the activities that people conduct in these areas is merely scratching the surface of an otherwise complex concept.

The findings in association to the Caiçara and their sense of place dependence on the ocean and the beach lend support to the functional attachment associated with place dependence. For the Caiçara a traditional sense of place dependence on the ocean is in the middle of a transitory phase, that is away from a direct and literal dependence on the ocean and the natural resources which can be extracted from it. It cannot be said that the Caiçara are at a point where the dependence on the ocean is entirely lost. With each passing year, the Caiçara of Praia do Sono shift further and further from their historical dependence on the ocean as fishermen but continue to depend on the ocean in its capacity as a key component of the emerging tourism industry. Coupled with the beach, the

ocean remains an integral part of what lures tourists to Praia do Sono and as such the Caiçara continue to maintain a sense of place dependence on the ocean. This relationship of dependence is subtler and less apparent than in generations past but nevertheless present and a factor at play when considering the symbolic attachment, the Caiçara hold to the ocean. The beach as an extension of the ocean, broadly speaking, is fundamental to the tourism industry in Brazil (Pegas, Weaver, and Castley, 2015). As the Caiçara of Praia do Sono become more dependent on tourism in the years to come their sense of place dependence on the beach will most likely grow in tandem. The youngest generation of Praia do Sono has been born into the era of tourism and will grow along with the tourism industry of their community, their sense of place dependence on the beach and ocean will be an interesting subject to follow up on in the future.

In contrast to the Caiçara, the tourists interviewed largely referenced their desire to do nothing while vacationing in Praia do Sono and if we apply the characterization of place dependence, as mentioned above, based solely on their desire to do nothing it would imply that these tourists lack the slightest sense of place dependence on either Praia do Sono, the ocean, or the beach. However, this desire to do nothing was driven by the desire to do nothing in a more natural environment, away from the stresses of modern day life. Regarding the beach and ocean, it can be confidently stated that tourists do indeed depend on these natural locations to maintain an inner sense of spiritual balance and mental wellbeing. Approximately 90% of Brazils population and major city centers are geographically located within 50 kilometers from the Atlantic coast. The beach and ocean can be thought of as a Brazilians “backyard”. While the beach and the ocean are never far from a major city center and as previously mentioned in the context of Rio de Janeiro, for example, it is common for many major cities to have direct access to the beach and ocean for

recreational needs. However, it is of vital importance for these tourists to escape the drudgery of everyday life in the cities and commune with nature in a more tranquil setting, and that setting will most likely have a beach and an ocean view within walking distance.

This spiritual/mental dependence on the natural environment is by no means universally held among all tourists, and most certainly is not an innate human characteristic but was strongly affiliated with the tourists present in Praia do Sono during the low tourism season. These findings highlight the existence of a metaphysical element of place dependence that is poorly understood and underrepresented in the literature regarding the concept. For instance, in a study conducted by Vaske and Korbin exploring the physical sense of place dependence they conclude that there is a linear correlation between place dependence, place identity, and environmentally responsible behavior. That is to say that as place dependence increases in an individual this translates to an increase in place dependence which ultimately leads to an increase in socially responsible behavior while engaging in daily activities. This relationship between place dependence, place identity, and environmentally responsible behavior is overly simplistic and this study suggests that this linear relationship is not always the case.

The findings of this research suggest that there is a positive feedback loop between a sense of place dependence and a sense of place identity, that is to say that as one grows it nurtures growth in the other, as often is found to be the case among numerous studies regarding place attachment and place making theory (Cheng & Wu, 2015; Hay, 1998; Hernandez et al., 2007). However, neither a strong sense of place dependence or place identity unequivocally results in a stronger sense of environmentally responsible behavior in the individual as Vaske and Korbin (2001)

suggest. A number of study participants, both the Caiçara and tourists, demonstrated that the relationship between sense of place often flows one way. That is to say, these individuals genuinely believed that they, and more importantly, their actions had an insignificant effect on the state of the environment despite personally holding a high regard for environmentally pristine tourist destinations. For example, two study participants in particular expressed a strong sense of both place dependence and place identity for Praia do Sono and the beach/ocean and while they verbally expressed their respect for nature and ideologically supported the notion of environmentally responsible behavior they did not exhibit such behavior in their actions during their time in Praia do Sono. A number of other study participants from the group of tourists interviewed exhibited similar contradictions between their sentiments and behavior to varying degrees.

## 5.2 Emotional Bonding vs Length of Residency in Developing Place Attachment

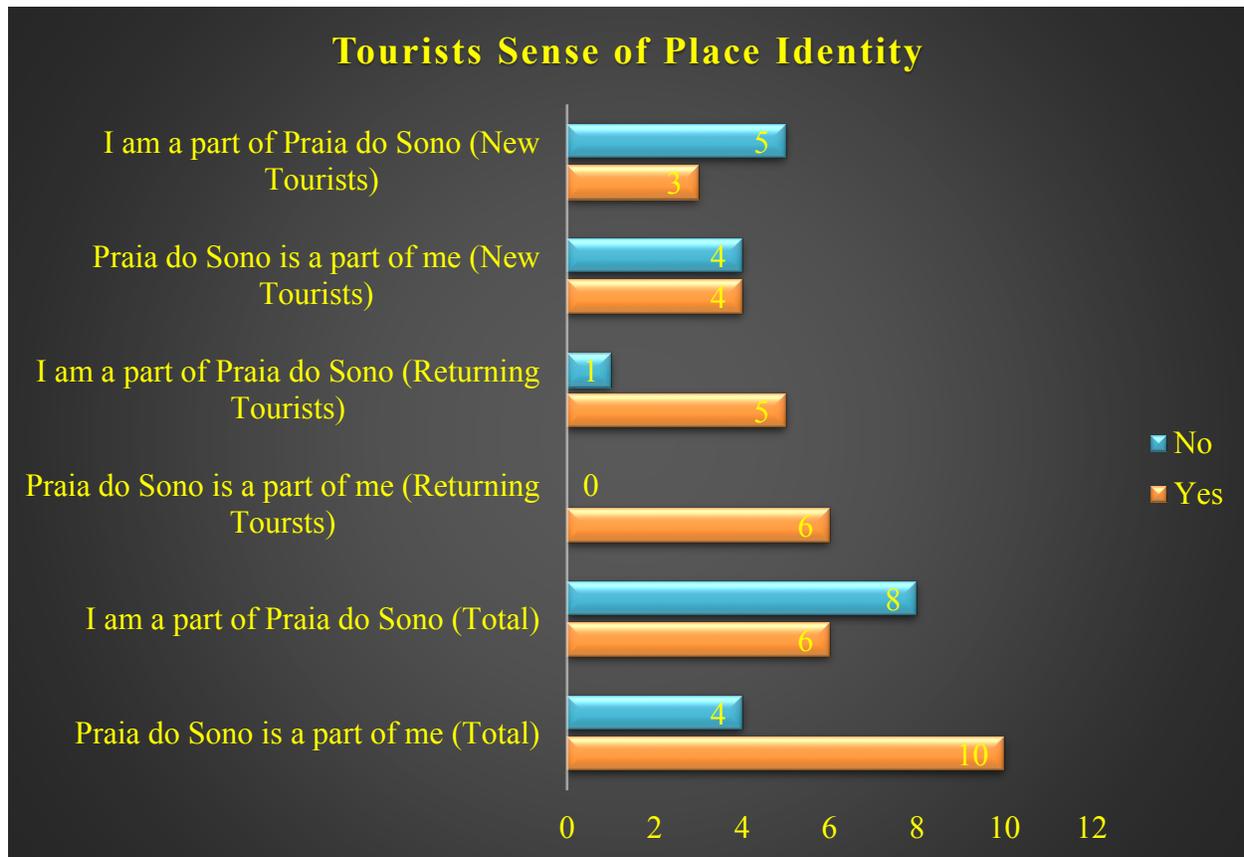
Broadly speaking two of the most critical elements of place making theory consists of a temporal and spatial scale (Brown, Reed, & Harris, 2002; Peterson et al., 2007; Williams and Patterson, 2007). The spatial scale is simple enough to understand being the spatially defined boundaries of a place. Before any attempt to delve into the concepts of place making theory one must first define the physical space that constitutes the place one wishes to interpret; this can be refined in scope to such a degree as to constitute a room in a building or an entire state/province and everything in between and beyond these examples. For the purposes of this study the boundaries were defined as Praia do Sono as a community and the beach/ocean as broad environmental entities that happen to exist within the confines of Praia do Sono. While no more or less important than the spatial scale, the temporal scale of place making theory is considerably

more complex and has been the focus of much debate among researchers (Brown, Reed, & Harris, 2002; Hay, 1998; Peterson et al., 2007; Williams and Patterson, 2007).

A great deal of this focus has been put towards understanding the effect the length of residency has in connection to one's place identity and place attachment. A number of studies have concluded that the length of one's residency in a particular place is positively correlated with the level of place identity and/or place attachment that the individual feels for the place in question (Hernandez et al., 2007; Hay, 1998). All of the studies mentioned above have conducted statistical studies of place dependence utilizing variant forms of survey questionnaires and all have come to a similar conclusion; that the longer an individual resides in a particular place the greater the likelihood that that individual has developed a strong sense of place identity and place attachment to that place. The results of this study do not refute this assertion but suggest there may be more substantial factors at play which influence an individual's sense of place identity and place attachment. Framed as a classical cause and effect relationship between length of residency and place identity/attachment whereby if A (length of residency) increases then B (sense of place attachment) also increases. This rather simplistic cause and effect relationship does little to explain a highly complex and extremely subjective notion such as place attachment.

In relation to the present study the temporal factor can be best thought of in two forms; the first being the frequency of visits made in the past to Praia do Sono; the second being the duration of time one spends in a place. Both factors are believed to be positively correlated to a stronger sense of place identity (Anton & Lawrence, 2014; McCool & Martin, 1994; Simpson & Bretherton, 2009). When we separate the tourists into two distinct groups—those who have previously visited

the community and those who had not—and view their responses to the question block for Praia do Sono an interesting division occurs which, on the surface, appears to support the concept of a temporal factor in developing a sense of place identity as mentioned above:



**Figure 6**

- Of the 14 interviewees’ 6 had previously visited Praia do Sono whereas 8 were in the middle of their first visit.
- To the question – do you feel that Praia do Sono is a part of you – 4 responses no vs 10 responses yes
- To the question – do you feel that you are a part of Praia do Sono – 6 responses no vs 8 responses yes
- Of those 6 tourists who had previously visited Praia do Sono, to the question – do you feel that Praia do Sono is a part of you – 0 responses no vs 6 responses yes
- Of those 6 tourists who had previously visited Praia do Sono, to the question – do you feel that you are a part of Praia do Sono – 1 response no vs 5 responses yes
- Of those 8 tourists who had never previously visited Praia do Sono, to the question – do you feel that Praia do Sono is a part of you – 4 responses no vs 4 responses yes

- Of those 8 tourists who had never previously visited Praia do Sono, to the question – do you feel that you are a part of Praia do Sono – 5 responses no vs 3 responses yes

Figure 6, along with the quantitative studies mentioned earlier, do not and by their very design cannot develop a deeper understanding of how respondents of survey questionnaires come to develop their sense of place attachment. The highly personalized responses documented in the interviews conducted in this study add considerable value to the discussion in this regard. Several tourists indicated a very strong sense of place attachment to the community of Praia do Sono, equal to or greater than the Caiçara who participated in the study, despite having only resided in the community for no more than a day or two. These tourists held a heightened situational awareness and professed that their strong sense of place attachment to the community was a result of their physical presence in the community in that confined moment in time and not the duration of time spent in the community. These respondents believe that wherever they go they immediately become a part of that place and the bond of attachment is nearly instantaneous upon entering that place. In that moment in time they have become a part of that place same as any Caiçara. Interestingly they also recognized that this bond nearly instantaneously begins to weaken the moment they have physically left a place. The degree to which their sense of place attachment weakens is compounded by the geographical distance that separates them from that place and the duration of time that has passed since leaving that place. This understanding of place attachment among tourists accounts for both the spatial and temporal discounting as understood by the place based theory of environmental evaluation (Brown, Reed, and Harris 2002).

The main premise of environmental evaluation suggests that the specific values of an individual develop in a particular moment in time and space and that these values are strongest in

that bounded moment in time (Brown, Reed, and Harris, 2002). Brown, Reed, and Harris (2002) posit that as the spatial and temporal distance from that original moment in time expands the original sentiment felt by the individual grows weaker. The data collected from this study supports such notions and from this perspective length of residency is an irrelevant factor so long as the person is physically among the community. However, the length of residency again becomes a critical factor once the individual has exited the community; or in other words has broken their existence in that bounded moment in time and space. Once an individual departs from the community the length of residency would theoretically influence the rate of decay of place attachment among the individual. Length of residency in this context would affect the number of memorable personal experiences an individual may have while in the community and the degree of emotional resonance affiliated with such experiences would serve to maintain the bond of place attachment to that community for a longer period of time than those who did not have such deeply personal experiences while residing in the community in question. That is not to say that a longer residency in the community guarantees these highly memorable and personal experiences but rather a longer residency in a community allows for a higher probability of such memorable experiences, and more of them, to take place. The data gathered in this study suggests that one's depth of residency has a much stronger influence over an individual's sense of place identity/attachment with nature. Contrasted with length of residency, depth of residency is rooted in highly personal experiences that invoke a deeply emotional response towards nature and not strictly speaking the length of residency; or in this context the duration of time spent within the spatially bounded place of interest.

### **5.3 Conflict in Praia do Sono**

As mentioned earlier in the Vaske and Korbin study (2001), which used the ideology of place making theory, and more specifically, place attachment as a means to better understand the tourist mindset in an attempt to invoke a sense of environmentally responsible behavior within them. This is a common use for the data gathered among place making studies as they relate to environmental management of the tourism industry, particularly when the focus of tourism happens to be environmentally fragile ecosystems and protected areas; such as the Juatinga ecological reserve (Cheng & Wu, 2015). Another practical use for place making theory with regards to tourism and environmental management is its use in understanding conflict among opposing groups (Kyle Absher, and Graefe, 2003; McCool & Martin, 1994; White, Virden, van Riper, 2008).

Areas of conflict are unfortunately all too common when discussing tourism development and have been well documented between resource managers/conservationists and tourists over access to and costs associated with protected parks (Brown & Raymond, 2006; Kyle Absher, and Graefe, 2003) and between residents of a tourist community and the tourists themselves (McCool & Martin, 1994). With regards to the notion of conflict mentioned above Praia do Sono is a good example of an area where these facets of conflict between the indigenous residents (the Caiçara), tourists, and governmental institutions and their representatives exist in one location and must be addressed if tourism development and environmental management plans are to succeed. While conducting this study these conflicts were, on occasion made explicitly clear through deliberate acts of vandalism of government signage in the region, as can be seen in the graphic below. In

other instances, the conflict between these groups were expressed in more subtle ways through nuanced and off the cuff remarks during interviews conducted with both tourists and the Caiçara.



**Figure 7:** Local vandalism on government signage attempting to restrict access to a region within the community of Praia do Sono.

The Caiçara were extremely apprehensive about discussing negative effects of tourism within their community. This can largely be attributed to the proverbial saying of ‘don’t bite the hand that feeds you’. So much that one of the Caiçara interviewed refused to openly discuss the subject for fear of being ostracized from the community. The Caiçara are fully aware of the economic and developmental opportunities associated with tourism and, based on observations made in the community, are eager to embrace these opportunities. However, as was alluded to in Chapter 4 the Caiçara shared several concerns they had regarding tourism development, some of these concerns were well founded and others more speculative assumptions about the negative effects tourists have had on their community based on stories associated with neighboring communities who have

had greater exposure to the tourism industry over the years; particularly the community of Trindade. The tourists were much more willing to share their perspective on the effects tourism has had on Praia do Sono and shared some common concerns with the Caiçara regarding the negative implications of further developing the community as a tourism destination. These negative effects of tourism were naturally a source of conflict among these groups but the more interesting revelation regarding these conflicts was how each group interpreted them and more specifically where they laid the blame for such undesirable behavior.

## **Chapter 6: Conclusion**

### **6.1 Summary of the Case Study**

The Juatinga ecological reserve and the Caiçara communities within it provided an excellent example of the tourism life cycle as described by Butler (1980). The nearest Caiçara community to Praia do Sono is situated deeper into the Juatinga Ecological Reserve and exhibiting Butler's (1980) earlier stage of involvement whereas other communities that are less accessible are in the exploration stage as tourists push deeper into the reserve seeking a more authentic experience. As for Praia do Sono, it is firmly established in the development stage. Early forms of advertisement among the local businesses, aggressive development of tourism amenities, and an ever-growing reputation as a tourist hot spot throughout Brazil, and internationally, exhibit all the criteria for Praia do Sono to be positioned in the development stage of Butler's model.

Consequently, the Juatinga ecological reserve has been given considerable attention, by all levels of government, as the boundaries of the protected area are under review and the area itself is up for reclassification. Numerous discussions have been had between government organizations such as ICMBio and INEA, and local representatives of the various Caiçara communities located within the boundaries of the Juatinga ecological reserve. Praia do Sono can be thought of as the southern gateway of the region as it is the first community one encounters upon entering the area by foot, through the southern trail, or by boat, along the southern shoreline. This immediate exposure naturally situates Praia do Sono as a strategic location in future plans for the region. However, despite the considerable attention the region (and to a lesser degree, Praia do Sono) has

received from government agencies as a topic of discussion there was little physical presence of government officials, representatives, and park staff within the area. Throughout the six months of field work conducted in Praia do Sono, park rangers were observed trekking into Praia do Sono on three separate occasions. The antagonistic relationship between the government and communities of the Juatinga ecological reserve no doubt contributes to the sparse presence of park rangers in the area.

The Caiçara have demonstrated a very strong sense of place with Praia do Sono specifically and both the beach and the ocean and many within this community perceive themselves as environmental stewards over the region. Identifying themselves to be children, or “of the womb”, among these places they equate themselves as kin to the natural environment. This perception is manifested through a strong connection by both personally identifying with these places and depending on them for their social and mental wellbeing. While the Caiçara are eager to exploit the financial opportunities that tourism has brought to the region they are conflicted with the social and environmental disruption that accompanies the tourism industry.

Through decades of coastal urban development, the Atlantic Rainforest has suffered considerable environmental degradation. As a result, the Juatinga Ecological Reserve was created in a hasty attempt to conserve the largest remaining pocket of this biologically rich ecosystem. This ultimately led to a contentious discussion with both Caiçara and tourists as to whether tourists had the right to access areas in the Juatinga Ecological Reserve despite this area being ecologically sensitive to intrusion. As previously mentioned the Caiçara were often internally conflicted in that they desire the economic benefits that tourism has brought to their communities but also expressed

a desire for control and regulation over the extent to which the tourism industry can establish itself within the boundaries of their traditional lands. It is extremely important to note that while the Caiçara of Praia do Sono are proponents of regulating tourism access in their community they desire the autonomy to lead these discussions with governmental agencies and play an active role in implementing future decisions regarding access to their lands.

## **6.2 Summary of Key Themes**

By conducting this research through the lens of place making theory in an attempt to better understand the anthropic elements at work in the Juatinga ecological reserve as they relate to tourism development three key themes were identified. First, the community of Praia do Sono holds a spiritual reverence for the Caiçara who rely on their community for their mental and emotional wellbeing; the visiting tourists hold a similar sentiment for the natural elements that comprise Praia do Sono, namely the beach and the ocean. Second, contrary to numerous studies associated with place making theory and more specifically place attachment, the duration of time spent in a particular place, often referred in the literature as ‘length of residency’ or ‘rootedness’ is not necessarily the main driving force behind establishing a sense of place attachment, either through the notion of place dependence, place identity, or both. Rather, it is the depth of residency, or the number of emotional experiences an individual undergoes while in that particular place and the strength of the emotion felt in that moment, that has a greater influence over the level of attachment individuals feel for the place in question. The length of residency, or the duration of time spent in a place, merely allows for a higher degree of probability that such emotional experiences occur while residing in that place. Finally, that there is considerable friction in

“paradise” (as many tourists and Caiçara often referred to Praia do Sono) when it comes to conflict experienced between tourists, their hosts (the Caiçara) and resource managers.

A number of the studies conducted with regards to place making theory in the name of environmental management of tourism initiatives rely on responses to statistical questionnaires intended to determine whether or not it can be unequivocally stated that these transient visitors exhibit a sense of place dependence, place identity, and place attachment to the areas they visit. While the concluding results of these studies vary all are in agreement that some degree of sense of place dependence, place identity, and place attachment are felt among tourists and community residents of tourist destinations, Proshansky (1979), the originator of place making theory, defined place identity as “...those dimensions of self that define the individual’s personal identity in relation to the physical environment by means of a complex pattern of conscious and unconscious ideas, beliefs, preferences, feelings, values, goals, and behavioural tendencies and skills relevant to this environment.” (Proshansky, 1979, p. 155). The limitation of these questionnaires contravenes Proshansky’s original definition of the very phenomenon these researchers are attempting to understand. A statistical confirmation that these phenomena exist within the tourist population of a region does little to inform effective management strategies on how to respond to this information. The findings of this research offer a more in-depth perspective in relation to sense of place dependence, place identity, and place attachment and goes beyond acknowledging what factors are at work and offers insight into the why and how these factors come to be.

## **6.3 Future development of Praia do Sono**

### **6.3.1 Tourist Perspective**

For tourists, the primary allure of the community was its tranquil setting deep within the jungle of the largest remnant of the Atlantic Rainforest.; far from the modern-day stress and distractions of the urban living in areas such as Sao Paulo and Rio de Janeiro. Given the propensity of tourists to identify with the natural beauty of Praia do Sono it is unsurprising that most tourists indicated a strong desire to see development in the area stabilize. There was a genuine fear amongst many tourists that future development in the region would irreversibly damage this environmental “paradise”. This fear stemmed from the fact that these individuals strongly identified with the natural environment and the revitalizing effects that come with immersing oneself in nature.

While the consensus among tourists was antidevelopment, to preserve the natural environment and the sense of peacefulness that such a quaint village situated deep within a rich environmental backdrop embodies, there were alternative opinions from tourists as well. One tourist in particular was quick to suggest that Praia do Sono needed more development to offer a more modernized level of comfort for those who visit. In stark contrast to all other tourists interviewed this individual showed considerable disregard for the environment and was purely interested in their own, immediate, entertainment and convenience. While this individual’s response was very much atypical in terms of responses generated overall it nevertheless identifies a drastically divergent perspective among tourists. It seems highly plausible that such thoughts are in line with more conventional tourists. Perhaps during the high tourist season there are

substantially more tourists who visit Praia do Sono that share such opinions and perspectives. Consequently, the responses from the tourists interviewed, with respect to future development of Praia do Sono seem to have been largely influenced by the seasonal nature of the tourist cycle in the community as the interviews were conducted during the low tourist season. Many of the tourists who came to temporarily reside in Praia do Sono during this time would be locally referred to as, 'bicho grilos' or backpackers. These tourists were more cognizant of their ecological foot print and had a higher appreciation for nature than their counterparts who typically travel during the high tourist season and prefer the conveniences and entertainment of mass tourism; such as Dorival. Those who valued nature and the environment opposed the notion of development as it would interfere with their ability to enjoy the space in question. Those who valued personal entertainment and socializing were in support of accelerated development of the space so long as their wants/needs were satisfied. Collectively, all tourists interviewed gave little, if any, thought to the Caiçara who called Praia do Sono home, what would be in their best interest, or their perspective on the matter of future development within the community.

### 6.3.2 Caiçara Perspective

The future of Praia do Sono is a considerably more complex matter for the resident Caiçara in comparison to that of tourists. Residing within an extremely sensitive ecological area and faced with mounting pressure from the government at both the state and federal levels to interfere in their daily lives through environmental regulation, the Caiçara are in a precarious position of losing their autonomy when it comes to taking control over the direction of future development of their ancestral territory. There are those within the community who are striving to politically organize

with other like-minded Caiçara in communities throughout the Juatinga Ecological Reserve in order to strengthen their position for ongoing and future negotiations. These individuals have had relative success in this regard and are actively engaged in defending their autonomy against governmental intervention. While it is unknown what the current political climate is within the various other communities, those within Praia do Sono are rather militant in their political ideology, however no direct confrontation between these individuals and government representatives were observed during the time spent in the field.

Conversely, there are those within the community who disagree with this militant approach and are less interested in the rhetoric of ideological positioning for power and more interested in tangible development they feel would benefit the social well-being of the community. Those who spoke of programs to further develop the infrastructure of Praia do Sono would prefer to see different projects prioritized, there was consensus among those interviewed that their community's isolation has restricted their access to a modernized quality of life. These projects include the construction of a road that links the community to the recently constructed highway that runs through the region, further developing educational infrastructure and resources that would see the local schools teach children up to high school (currently the highest level of education for local children is the equivalent to grade 4), and improve/expand on the current sanitation infrastructure within the community, not only to accommodate the influx of tourists, but to improve the quality of health for all those in the community.

#### **6.4 Recommendations for future research**

As previously mentioned, this research was limited in terms of the depth of understanding one can ascertain with respect to a tourist's sense of place within Praia do Sono because of the data collection period being conducted during the region's low tourism season. This study was never designed with the intention to capture a complete picture of Praia do Sono's annual tourism cycle in its entirety. A comparative study of the region during Praia do Sono's high tourism season would be useful in capturing differences between the various types of tourists and whether the Caiçara's opinions of tourism differ due to the increased influx of tourists during this time.

The research conducted was intended to gain a deeper understanding of the mentality of the both transient tourists and the indigenous Caiçara of the region and how these two groups come to develop their own unique sense of place within the community of Praia do Sono. There is considerable room to expand on this work in the future. During this investigation two intriguing concepts arose from both observations made in the field and through the interviews conducted. First, incorporating the forest into the line of questioning used to gather data on sense of place in relation to the ocean, the beach. Second, the existence of a third distinct group of individuals that were not taken into consideration for the purposes of this research; namely migrant Brazilians who permanently reside in the community who are not native Caiçara.

Much like a still photograph of any beach throughout the world, the lens of the camera is often situated to capture an often-pristine sandy coastline against the vast emptiness that is the ocean as a back drop, this research was situated in a similar manner; not considering the

relationships fostered with the dense forest immediately pressing upon the very same sandy coastline. As it became very apparent that all Brazilians (tourists, residents, Caiçara, and non-Caiçara alike) come to understand the ocean and the beach as a single entity (the notion that you “cannot have one without the other” repeatedly came up in interviews of both groups) the topic of conversation would often transition to and from the forest in subtle ways whilst discussing the individual’s sentiments towards environmental entities such as the beach or ocean. The decision to exclude the forest from the line of questioning was blatantly raised by one tourist interviewed, who when responding to a line of questioning regarding the ocean explicitly asked, “Why don’t you ask me about my feelings towards the forest, I would much prefer to discuss the forest, as I identify much more strongly with the forest than I do with the ocean.”

The Caiçara also have an interesting relationship to the forest; despite Praia do Sono being an artisanal fishing community, they consider themselves as avid hunters as well. Hunting within the Juatinga Ecological Reserve is illegal and while the Caiçara consider hunting to be well within their rights as indigenous peoples, they carry out this practice at their own risk of being discovered by Conservation Officers. Any attempt to understand how the Caiçara come to identify with or depend on their environment and community must explore their relationship to the forest. However, this matter becomes increasingly more complicated given the illegality of their hunting practices and their reluctance to trust outsiders; nevertheless, it is an area worthy of future exploration.

In a broader sense, this limitation is in reference to spatial constraints and how one chooses to define designated spaces. As suggested by the tourist there is room to incorporate the forest into

the understanding of place making among tourists and Caiçara of Praia do Sono. Sticking with the theme of spatial considerations of the limitations of the study one could also expand such understanding to other neighboring communities throughout the Juatinga Ecological Reserve. Alternatively, one could reverse the scope of spatial boundaries and narrow the focus of interest to more refined boundaries within Praia do Sono; such as Pouco Jacare (a small local waterfall and naturally occurring freshwater pond; a favorite site for both Caiçara and Tourists).

The second area of consideration for limitations to this work which may warrant future study is the identification of a third group of individuals residing within Praia do Sono. Neither Transient visitors nor Caiçara there were several residents of Praia do Sono who permanently or semi permanently reside in the community who were excluded from the scope of this study. These individuals have come to call Praia do Sono home for several reasons. For some they marry a local resident and elect to reside within the community as a cautiously welcomed outsider. Others seeking their own economic success have begun to permanently rent buildings and structures to operate their tourism centered businesses. While the reasons for bringing these individuals to Praia do Sono are as inherently unique as the people themselves, it is worth considering how this third group develops their own sense of place within Praia do Sono and the various elements of the community.

## 6.5 Concluding thoughts

The Caiçara are very cautious when criticizing tourists as they recognize that the future of their community is tied to the development of the tourism industry but this does not negate the reality that many community members are less than pleased with the influx of tourists as the industry expands. Several Caiçara have expressed interest in regulating access to tourists to control the volume of visitors without necessarily missing out on the economic advantages. Those responsible for leading the development of tourism within the Juatinga Ecological Reserve, that is both community leaders among the Caiçara, and government managers on all levels will need to find common ground on the appropriate level of tourism presence within the region. It is hoped that by better understanding the relationships the Caiçara, and tourists, have with the area and discussing the presences of tourism and the effects it has on the region, this information could be used to promote communication and partnerships between the Caiçara and governmental agencies responsible for environmental conservation of the largest remaining pocket of Atlantic rainforest that the residents of Praia do Sono and numerous other communities call home.

While it is true that on an individual level how one identifies, or depends on a place is inherently unique to the individual, there are collective commonalities that are shared among groups of individuals. The collective sense of place among groups of individuals does not necessarily adhere to the more traditional social divisions such as nationality, ethnicity, or socioeconomic class. From a collective stand point it can be said that the tourists who visit Praia do Sono and the Caiçara who call Praia do Sono home foster a fundamentally different sense of place than the other. This outcome was to be expected given the drastically different set of

circumstances to which they came to interact with Praia do Sono as a community, the Beach, and the ocean. It is even less surprising that on an individual level there is dissention among the collective in terms of how they personally develop a sense of place among their physical locality and how they situate themselves within that locality. However, what is considerably more surprising is the fact that on both an individual and collective level these groups seem to perceive the proverbial other as a threat to the places they cherish. This sense of otherness can reference the distinction between tourists and Caiçara, or one tourist from another. Whether the goal is to foster communication and understanding between the Caiçara and government agencies intent on preserving the environmental component of the region or develop a more mutually beneficial relationship between Caiçara and tourist the most significant step one can take toward such goals is to break down the divisive ‘us’ vs ‘them’ mentality on all sides. This research would seem to suggest that there is consensus among all sides regarding the importance of nature. These sides differ in terms of how they develop a symbolic attachment to nature and while it is easy to suggest that nature is the force that binds them and thus could be used as a platform to develop understanding and relationships along the theme of preserving nature; it is the differences in terms of how these parties/individuals come to relate to nature that are significant and merit consideration when deciding the future of conservation efforts and the development of a tourism industry in Praia do Sono.

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## Appendix I: Semi-Structured Interview Format

Topic	Perguntas
Personal History of Participants	<p>Name, Age, Occupation</p> <p>Place of Birth</p> <p>Length of Stay in Praia do Sono (tourists only)</p> <p>How have did you travel to Praia do Sono? By boat or by trail? (tourists only)</p>
Place Identity and to Lesser Degree Place Dependence	<p>Do you feel that Praia do Sono is a part of you? Do you feel that you are a part of Praia do Sono? Praia do Sono is special to you because...</p> <p>Do you feel that the ocean is a part of you? Do you feel that you are a part of the ocean? The ocean is special to you because...</p> <p>Do you feel that the beach is a part of you? Do you feel that you are a part of the beach? The beach is special to me because...</p>
Exclusively Place Dependence on Praia do Sono	<p>What do you like to do in Praia do Sono? Would you say that Praia do Sono is the best place for what you like to do? If you could do anything in Praia do Sono that you have not done what would you do? Have you visited Praia do Sono before? How frequently? (tourists only) Would you come back to Praia do Sono? (tourists only)</p>
Cultural Impacts of Tourism	<p>Has the presence of tourism in Praia do Sono affected the quality of your experience here?</p> <p>In your opinion how has tourism affected Praia do Sono?</p> <p>Do you think that tourists should have access to Praia do Sono?</p>

Improving Communication and Participation  
Among Stakeholders

What would you like to see happen with Praia do Sono?

What do you think will happen with Praia do Sono in the future?

## Appendix II: Ethics Approval



UNIVERSITY  
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### APPROVAL CERTIFICATE

April 28, 2014

IDRC

**TO:** Ian Dupre  
Principal Investigator

**FROM:** Susan Frohlick, Chair  
Joint-Faculty Research Ethics Board (JFREB)

**Re:** Protocol #J2014:018  
"Identifying Space for community-based tourism Initiatives in Paraty, Brazil:  
Navigating Cultural Sensitivity of Place Attachment"

Please be advised that your above-referenced protocol has received human ethics approval by the **Joint-Faculty Research Ethics Board**, which is organized and operates according to the Tri-Council Policy Statement (2). **This approval is valid for one year only.**

Any significant changes of the protocol and/or informed consent form should be reported to the Human Ethics Secretariat in advance of implementation of such changes.

**Please note:**

- If you have funds pending human ethics approval, please mail/e-mail/fax (261-0325) a copy of this Approval (identifying the related UM Project Number) to the Research Grants Officer in ORS in order to initiate fund setup. (How to find your UM Project Number: <http://umanitoba.ca/research/ors/mrt-faq.html#pr0>)

- if you have received multi-year funding for this research, responsibility lies with you to apply for and obtain Renewal Approval at the expiry of the initial one-year approval; otherwise the account will be locked.

The Research Quality Management Office may request to review research documentation from this project to demonstrate compliance with this approved protocol and the University of Manitoba *Ethics of Research Involving Humans*.

**The Research Ethics Board requests a final report for your study** (available at: [http://umanitoba.ca/research/orec/ethics/human\\_ethics\\_REB\\_forms\\_guidelines.html](http://umanitoba.ca/research/orec/ethics/human_ethics_REB_forms_guidelines.html)) **in order to be in compliance with Tri-Council Guidelines.**

## **Appendix III:**

### **List of Camp Grounds within Praia do Sono:**

Camping Canto Bravo

Camping Raiz do Sono

Camping do Surf

Camping Sao Jorge

Camping Lula 40 Graus

Camping do Claudinho

Camping do Izac

Camping Caiçara

Camping das Pitancas

Camping da Biaca

Camping do Argeu

Camping d'Aurora

Camping do Joel

Camping da Dona Ismenia

La Camping em Casa

## **Appendix IV: List of Commercial Enterprises in Praia do Sono**

Caiu no Sono

Hipnos

Marimbar

Cae Bar

Arenaeus Bar

Cantinho do Sono

Casinha da Empada

Pousada Nanizu

Bar Praia do Sono

Encontro de Astrus

Unnamed Shop 1

Unnamed Shop 2

Unnamed Shop 3

Unnamed Shop 4

Unnamed Shop 5

Unnamed Shop 6

Unnamed Shop 7

Unnamed Shop 8