UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA
SANTA CRUZ

THE PRODUCTION OF PLACE, URBAN DEVELOPMENT,
AND PUBLIC SPACES IN AN EMERGING TOURIST
ECONOMY IN NORTHEASTERN BRAZIL

A dissertation submitted in partial
satisfaction of the requirements for
the degree of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

in

ANTHROPOLOGY
with an emphasis in LATIN
AMERICAN AND LATINO
STUDIES

by

Christian T. Palmer

December 2014

The Dissertation of Christian T. Palmer is approved:

_____________________________________
Mark Anderson, Chair

_____________________________________
Andrew Mathews

_____________________________________
Megan Moodie

_____________________________________
Tyrus Miller
Vice Provost and Dean of Graduate Studies
# TABLE OF CONTENTS

List of Figures v
Abstract vi
Acknowledgments viii

Chapters
1. Introduction 1
   Theorizing tourism, identity, and place 6
   Local histories and relationships to place 16
   Brazilian regionalism and Northeastern Brazil 18
   Brazilian Nationalism and Landscape 22
   Cosmopolitan tropicalism, the Brazilian Hawaii 24
   Ethnographic process 28
   Overview of chapters 31

Interlude: Fishing in Itacaré 36

2. Surfers “discover” Itacaré: performance, place, and identity in the tropics 46
   Counter culture, the global sixties, and the development of surfing in Brazil 50
   Surfers arrive in Itacaré 56
   Surfers' habitus and the embodied performance of place 61
   Surfers transform the city 69
   Environmentalism and surfing 76
   The Brazilian Hawaii 81

3. State sponsored tourism and conservation 93
   The paving of BR001 and PRODETUR 97
   Terra devolutas as public land and agrarian reform in Itacaré 110
   Recreating a region: protected area as public space 120
   Alternative futures: extractive reserves, petro-development and the Porto Sul 133

4. Neighborhood Growth and Urban Expansion 138
   Tourism and land tenure 141
   Pituba and Concha: tourism development and the politics of land division 150
   Concha: the only “planned” subdivisions 164
   Santo Antonio, Passagem, and Angelim: popular neighborhoods and the politics of land distribution 167
   Santo Antonio 168
   Passagem 180
   Neighborhood geographies of drugs and violence 184
Angelim 187
Porto de Trás: an Urban Quilombo 191
Quandaries about legal titling and future neighborhoods 196

5. Tourism, changing architectural styles and the production of place 203
Homes, identities, and the production of place 209
Colonial Architecture 213
Sobrados from the cacao era 217
Northeastern art-deco 227
Rustic Chic 231
Regional Modern 242
A comparison of Rustic Chic and Regional modern homes 250

6. Public space and public power: parks, beaches, and parties 259
Parks, parties, and public works 263
- Praça São Miguel 265
- Praça da Mangueira 275
The cultural development of beaches in Brazil 278
Occupation, use, and ownership of beaches in Itacaré 285
Pontal and Coroinha: the local's beaches 290
Tourism development on Itacaré's urban beaches and Conchas 296
do Mar Ranch
- Resende and SVEA: the possibility of better big business 304
- Daily practices of use and occupation 310
- Local conflicts over sewage and space 319
- Beaches and the aesthetics of liminality and the SPU 326
Itacaré’s Southern Coast and Luxury Resort Development 333
- Large landowners and conflicts over beach access 340
- Vendor and landowners on Southern beaches 347

Conclusion 349

Bibliography 351
LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

Figure 1: Promotional Poster for Surf Eco Festival 2013
Figure 2: Jorge Amado's Hawaiian Shirts on Display at the Casa Cultural Jorge Amado, Ilhéus, Bahia, Brazil
Figure 3: Ecological and Economic Zoning for the Itacaré/Serra Grande Environmental Protected Area expanded to include the entire municipality.
Figure 4: Neighborhoods of Itacaré (Satellite Imagery from Google maps)
Figure 5: Houses and Pousadas in Concha
Figure 6: Bairro Novo and self-built homes
Figure 7: Jesuit Church of São Miguel, built in 1723
Figure 8: Restored Townhouses from the Cacao Era 1890-1930
Figure 9: Northeastern Art Deco Homes and Secondary School, 1930-1980
Figure 10: Rustic Chic Homes and Businesses
Figure 11: Regional Modern Architecture
Figure 12: Historic photo of Praça São Miguel circa 1940
Figure 13: Craft Vendor Tents at the Praça da Mangueira
Figure 14: Urban Beaches of Itacaré (Satellite imagery from Google maps)
Figure 15: Occupation of Ribera Beach by Restaurants
Figure 16: Eduardo's Shack with rustic expansion
Figure 17: Southern Beaches of Itacaré (Satellite imagery from Google maps)
Figure 18: Warapuru Ruins near Engenhoca Beach
ABSTRACT

Christian Palmer

THE PRODUCTION OF PLACE, URBAN DEVELOPMENT, AND PUBLIC SPACES IN AN EMERGING TOURIST ECONOMY IN NORTHEASTERN BRAZIL

This dissertation asks how the town of Itacaré has developed as it has transitioned from an extractive to a tourist economy and reveals the tensions between different groups along regional, racial, and class lines. I argue that the production of place in a tourist economy creates a new emphasis on public spaces as landscapes. These landscapes, both urban and rural, then become key sites of economic value and collective identity. To examine these public spaces and changing landscapes this dissertation looks at the relationship between the legal systems of land tenure and informal systems of use and occupation, and the ongoing negotiations between local politicians, large landowners, and residents in claiming rights to these spaces. Important public spaces include conservation areas, agrarian reform settlements, parks, roads, and beaches; each of which reveal different sets of actors, unique histories, and complex negotiations. Rather than simply involving exploitation and marginalization of locals by outside developers, locals' connections to place allow them to claim rights that allow them some participation in the economic growth associated with tourism. Claims to place operate at different scales (local, regional, and national) and provide an important identity category for local residents to claim the right to use and occupy land. By exploring place based identities and their relationship to race, gender, and class, I
contribute to anthropological literature on identity and regionalism in Brazil. In addition, this work contributes to debate around public spaces, urban development, and land tenure conflicts.
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Thank you to all of the people that helped me complete this dissertation. Thanks to my wife for her support throughout the whole process as well as my children Enzo, Maria, and Eliza for coming along for the ride and making the process more enjoyable.

I would especially like to thank everyone in Itacaré who took the time to share their ideas, insights, and support. The aloha and support of the Itacaré surf community was exceptional and helped me feel welcome there.

I would like to thank my professors and colleagues at University of California, Santa Cruz for their support and encouragement along the way, especially my Dissertation Committee: Mark Anderson, Andrew Mathews, and Megan Moodie, as well as Daniel Linger who provided valuable insight into Brazilian culture and James Clifford whose perspective helped guide my initial research questions.

I would also like to thank the Andrew Mellon Foundation and Fulbright-Hays Doctoral Dissertation Research Abroad Program for providing the funding to make this research possible.
Chapter 1: Introduction

The Jesuits established Itacaré in 1723 where the Contas River meets the Atlantic Ocean, a strategic site that provided a safe harbor for ships traveling up and down the coast as well as easy access to the interior up the river. Early visitors to the area came to extract Brazil wood from the heavily forested hills and the river probably served as a port for illegal smuggling of gold and diamonds from the interior. A quilombo, a village of blacks that escaped slavery, developed upstream on the banks of the Contas River as the area remained on the margins of colonial life. As the town developed, local farmers provided manioc flour for the huge sugar cane plantations and slave economy based around Salvador to the north, and eventually became an important port for export of cacao in the late 19th century, a product which transformed Southern Bahia. In the early 20th century, railroads and roads bypassed Itacaré and connected the interior cacao producing areas to the expanded port in Ilhéus, seventy kilometers to the south. Isolated from emerging transportation networks, Itacaré was forgotten, and remained a small, out of the way place until tourism arrived, the most recent boom in a series of boom and bust economic cycles (Meliani 2006).

Tourism in Itacaré began with the veranistas, or upper and middle-class families that had summer homes in the city. Many were families who had made money from cacao and kept family homes in the town, even after its importance as a port declined and they moved to larger cities in the region. Later, with the discovery of surf in the late 1970's surfers, backpackers, and more adventurous travelers began slowly arriving, finding a sleepy fishing village that seemed to
have been forgotten by time. This changed dramatically with the construction of the highway BR001 in 1998 that connected Itacaré to Ilhéus and the airport in the south. Since the road, tourism has become the economic mainstay with most tourism concentrated during the summer months starting with Christmas and ending with Carnival, in late February or early March. Most of the tourists are Brazilian with 30% of these from Bahia and another 10-15% from abroad (Guiamaraes, Cequeira, & Santana 2007). Leading up to and after the construction of the road, the town exploded, growing from 2,324 in 1991 to 5,712 in 2000, and roughly 12,000 in 2010 (IGBE 2010, PRUA 2003).

While the majority of new residents came from surrounding rural areas and regional towns, looking for work in the new tourist economy, another large group came from other parts of Brazil, especially the more urbanized and developed Southeast. These outsiders, typically more educated and from upper middle class backgrounds, became the major investors and owners of the tourism boom, while locals and migrants from the region provided the labor to build, clean, cook for, maintain, and guard these new businesses. Before the road there were only a handful of tourist establishments in the city which grew to over a hundred pousadas, with almost as many restaurants and dozens of shops and tour agencies, including several major resorts (Da Cruz & Avila, 2011). While these changes have brought some employment for local Afro-Brazilian residents, they have also led to real estate speculation, urban growth, and conservation zoning that

---

1 Pousadas are small bed and breakfast establishments that range from a handful of rooms to several dozen. They are usually family owned and are by far the most common type of accommodation for tourists in the city.
transform urban spaces, creating tensions along regional, racial, and economic lines (APA 2006, Oliveira 2007, Meliani 2011b).

This dissertation examines how tourism has transformed Itacaré through three central research questions: 1) How has tourism materially re-constructed Itacaré? 2) How has place becomes a locus for identity in conversation with categories of gender, race, and class? 3) How is place constructed through movements and flows? These questions focus on the construction of place and its relationship to identity in a tourism economy and I will examine each separately below.

First, how has tourism materially re-constructed Itacaré? This work documents the specific histories of new neighborhoods, invasions, and subdivisions as the town spread out towards the beach and grew up steep hillsides, and the violent conflict and political negotiations that accompanied these processes. This is a story of conflicts over land ownership, which is vital to understanding who benefits from tourism and the increasing economic value of land. Marx reminds us that systems of property are social relations rather than things unto themselves. With this in mind, I pay specific attention to the social relationships that govern public spaces like roads, beaches, parks, and protected areas as key arenas where small vendors, surfers, guides, hotel owners, and large landowners negotiate over access, use rights, and future developments. Public spaces are key sites for the contestation and conflict over the future of Itacaré and who has a right to that future. Rather than simply assume that tourist developers are successful in remaking places, I examine the competing visions of place in Itacaré, drawing upon anthropological analyses of urban space that see it as
heterogeneous and constantly remade through social interactions (Harvey 2006, Low 2009, Massey 2009). It is through the production of place that people negotiate categories of citizenship, economic aspirations, and accompanying processes of social inclusion or exclusion (Banck 1994, Caldeira 2000, Holston 1991b).

Second, how has place becomes a locus for identity in conversation with traditional anthropological categories of gender, race, and class? In Itacaré, ideas of rights and belonging were constantly discussed in relation to place, and there were a lot of terms used to describe how people situated themselves in relation to place and each other. Locals' claims to place often excluded outsiders and challenged their legitimacy to tourist spaces. Meanwhile, outsiders' claims to protect the local environment and historical architecture were ways of establishing their own connection to these spaces (Boyes 2010). In public meetings, people often positioned themselves in relation to place, to establish their legitimacy and right to participate and make decisions. In thinking about place and identity we must attend to scale, thinking about different group's identification with neighborhoods, towns, areas, states, and regions as well as national and global places. Because tourism brings people from vastly different places together, place based identity is essential to understanding social, political, and economic relationships within the town. Within Brazil, regional identification between the Northeast and Southeast has been the site for longstanding tensions. However place-based identities, like gender or race, are not simply descriptive but are embodied and performative, shaped by interacting with the environment through fishing, surfing, farming, or hiking. Human habitats produce habitus, the
unconscious ways of being in the world that shape the way we move, talk, taste, and perceive the world around us (Bourdieu 1984). And habitus produces habitats, in a mutual and complex negotiation between identity and place in which they become increasingly difficult to separate.

Third, how is place constructed through movements and flows? In thinking about place I want to avoid placing people, making them sedentary. The story of Itacaré is also about mobility, about the currents and flows from the ocean, river, and along smooth blacktop corridors; flows of people, images, printed words, as well as silt, sand, and surf. I want to think about how “fieldwork is less a matter of localized dwelling and more a series of travel encounters. Everyone's on the move, and has been for centuries: dwelling-in-traveling” and how we might we understand “human location as constituted by displacement as much as by stasis” (Clifford 1997: 2). I want to think about how places are created by long histories of movement, of traveling, of relationships between places and displacements, people removed from places, unanchored and adrift. How do people become attached to places and how do they become dis-attached? What are the relationships between localism, regionalism, nationalism, and cosmopolitanisms—not as a nested hierarchy but as complicated intersections of flows, where the locals are cosmopolitan world travelers and regional tensions are unevenly constitutive of national identities? Tourism, as one of the largest movements of people in modern history, highlights and lays bare these processes. That is not to say people were ever stationary, but as the number of people who move and the distances they travel regularly increase, it becomes easier to focus on how this movement become constitutive of place and identity.
These relationships are maintained by the movement between places along roads, over oceans and rivers, in the air, or of images and texts along fiber-optic cables or through electromagnetic waves. Itacaré's development as a place can be traced through a history of isolation and accessibility. Itacaré was built on a river, allowing for movement into the interior, then the river became an important shipping port connecting it to the state capital in Salvador and Europe, then forgotten as a disconnected node in emerging road and railway infrastructures, and then remembered as a result of paved access to the nearby city of Ilhéus and its airport. Itacaré's historical development, cultural changes, and urban growth can be understood as a function of the ebbs and flows of connectedness and isolation.

Theorizing tourism, identity, and place

Much of the literature on social construction of tourist landscapes has focused on hosts and tourists as two discrete groups (Ringer 1998). While this is a good place to start, this dissertation examines the diverse relationships to place that describe the different groups involved in the tourist economy. In Itacaré, there were numerous words used to describe people's relationship with place and tourism that indicate their respective amount of time there and where they came from. These terms include tourist, ficante (stayer), veranista (summer visitor), forasteiro (outsider), estrangeiro (stranger, foreigner), gringo, as well as local, native, Itacaréense, son of Itacaré, son of fishermen, son of the earth, and others (Couto 2011). Although these labels do not describe exclusive categories, they

---

2 Gringo is usually used to describe Americans and other foreigners but in a few instances, Brazilians from the Southeast, who see themselves as completely different from locals, described themselves as gringos.
highlight the complex relationship between identity and place. These identity
categories are not just related to place but are also co-constructed with class and
race. Poor, dark skinned people from the region were more likely to say they were
from, or practically from, Itacaré even if they had moved from somewhere else.
Whiter, wealthier people from Southeastern Brazil would almost never say they
were from Itacaré, even if they had lived there for decades. In a few cases,
Paulistas\(^3\) returned to their home in São Paulo to have children making their
children Paulistas instead of Baianos, people born in Bahia. At the same time,
most people would avoid the term tourist, even inventing a term \textit{ficantes}- stayers,
for those who came as tourists but then stayed for a long time. Some locals
distinguished themselves, “sons of fisherman,” or “sons of the earth” even if they
did not fish or farm themselves, indicating a material connection to the sea and
soil as productive, rather than scenic. Quilombos are both places and people, an
Afro-Brazilian racial identity that is strongly connected to a specific geography of
invisibility and marginality. While I discuss the different ways people legitimate
and produce their own rights to place or challenge other's right, I do not try to
organize the diverse terminology at play. The terms different individuals use is
often situational, depending on social context. Similarly, I use different terms
throughout the paper rather loosely, depending on the social processes at work,
although I most often discuss these tensions in terms of locals and outsiders,
broadly recognizing the racial, class, and regional based differences between these
two larger groups.

\(^{3}\) A Paulista is someone from Sao Paulo. Generally people in Brazil say they are from where ever they were born, even if they spent their entire life somewhere else. This is different from the US where people often say they are from where ever they spent the most time, or spent the formative years of their life.
This diverse terminology allows us to think about how gender, race, and class are co-constructed with ideas of place. Appadurai considers the category of native an anthropological and colonial construct that works to tie a specific group of people to a place (Appadurai 1988). In many ways, nativeness and tourism are constructed in opposition to each other. Tourists travel, have access to resources, are cosmopolitan, and modern. The ability to travel, and the destinations to which one travels, marks class status in important ways (O'Dougherty 2002). Natives, on the other hand, stay put, are marginalized, local, and traditional. In this sense, culture, people, and place are linked in what Mallki has termed the “metaphysics of sedentarism” (1997). Categories of place and class are also linked to gendered notions of travel. Leed's analysis of travel and travel metaphors in Western literature; from Gilgamesh, the Bible, the Odyssey and ending with the age of exploration, scientific (including anthropological) travel, and imperial ventures, describes how travel is often gendered, with masculinity being associated with mobility, activity, and the ocean and air while femininity is aligned with home, domesticity, land, passivity, and rootedness (Leed 1991). Beyond these symbolic constructions of place and belonging, I am interested in the ramifications when people use these terms to tie themselves to place and to resist those from other places. This analysis illustrates how place-based categories become important identity categories, in conversation with categories of race, class, and gender.

The concept of indigeneity has been the space within anthropology where the politics of place and identity have been most heavily debated (Ramos 1998). On one side, Kuper notes that constant human migrations mean that indigeneity is always relative; it merely refers to whoever was there the longest out of the most
recent mosaic of cultural groups, often as a response to Western colonization or later corporate invasions (Beteille 1998, Kuper 2003). Tsing writes how one Indonesian activist defined indigenous people as “rural communities fighting resource corporations” (Tsing 2007: 37). Similarly, the category of local or native could be seen as a response to processes of modernity, globalization, and capitalism linked to tourism (Dove et al 1997). While some anthropologists intellectually reject essentialist visions of indigenous groups as autochthonous and unchanging, many recognize the political effectiveness of these “strategic essentialisms,” and consider them appropriate given the complex and marginal political positions of indigenous groups vis-à-vis dominant society (Hale 1997, Conklin 1997). This should lead us to think about how the category local or native is constructed, by whom, in what context, and what work these constructs accomplish.

These constructions always occur within a larger political and social context. For example, Oakdale describes how leaders of indigenous groups in Brazil vie for political power in community politics, self-consciously and reflectively developing ideas of indigeneity and their relationship to national and international political actors (Oakdale 2004). French describes how claims to quilombo and indigenous identities in Northeastern Brazil need to be contextualized in the national legal framework that recognizes and rewards these identities (French 2004, 2009). Niezen describes the transnational development of indigeneity as a continuation of processes of global decolonization (Niezen 2003). In many ways, indigenous and quilombo identities that connect race to place and culture are on the rise in Brazil and are more palatable than strictly racial
categories (Warren 2001). Within Itacaré, this discussion points to narratives of place-based identities as natives, NGOs, government officials, tourists, and surfers struggle for the rights to land and public spaces. Native, local, or quilombo identity, like indigeneity, primarily functions as an option for those without access to traditional avenues of political or economic power and is a site for political struggle over categories of inclusion and exclusion (Conklin and Graham 1995, Conklin 1997).

Place, like other identity categories, should also be understood performatively. Performance is a staple of tourist literature, beginning with MacCannell's use of Goffman's front and back stage to think about the performance of authenticity for tourists. However, this concept of authenticity assumes that cultures are “not merely located but circumscribed and rooted,” complicating more fluid relationships to place that I observed (Coleman and Crang 2002: 5). Rather than thinking about performance of place based identity as a conscious staging of authenticity, I want to look at it as Judith Butler looks at the performativity of gender, an unconscious embodied daily practice that constructs one’s identity (Butler 1988). Bourdieu's idea of habitus helps to think about the quotidian relationships between aesthetic sensibilities, bodily practices, and the processes of cultural learning. People who are sunbathing, surfing, farming, fishing, or playing capoeira are not just learning new skills, but embodied practices that performatively, discursively, and materially transform places.

For example, surfing can then be understood as a cosmopolitan practice that, drawing upon idealized tropes of indigeneity, reconnects people to places.

---

4 Capoeira is an afro-Brazilian martial art and dance form that has spread throughout the world.
through knowledge of local coastal environments and reshapes the places they inhabit. Bodies and places interact in distinct ways, catching waves, watching the surf, or searching for waves to produce specific kinds of bodies and specific kinds of places (Evers 2006a,b). Surfing, as part of a larger counter culture movement in the sixties, is part of a romanticist counter-enlightenment that rejects abstract universal ideals in favor of strong connections to local places, often valorizing the East, the tropics, and places typically viewed as peripheral in the modern industrialized world system (Berlin 1982). However, this valorization of indigenous images and identities and construction of place based on this valorization often ignores historical and ongoing indigenous struggles against colonialism (Logan 2004).

Scholarly work has often understood tourism in terms of larger capitalist projects of commodification, colonialism, and neoliberalism (Urry and Larsen 2011, Hall and Page 1999, Shaw and Williams 2004). Within this literature, tourism is described as one of the world’s biggest industries; commoditizing local cultures, promoting unequal development, and perpetuating neocolonial relationships (Crick 1989, Hall and Tucker 2004, Comaroff and Comaroff 2009, Chambers 2010). These processes shape how tourist spaces are “continually reinvented, respatialized, and remobilized through the structuring narratives of colonial histories, through the legal frameworks of post-colonial law, and through the international framework of post-colonial governance” (Sheller 2004: 21). However, some scholars have questioned these critiques of tourism, focusing on how the social interactions between tourists and locals can give value to local cultural practices while selectively modifying them (Tilley 1997, Kramer 2006,
Bunten 2008). My own work examines how space is socially produced, questioning a narrative that undermines local agency and resistance to neo-colonial or neoliberal tourism development projects.

Tourism, by marketing and selling certain kinds of imaginaries and related landscapes, like unspoiled beaches, wild rivers, blue oceans, and historic sites, encourages conversations about the production of place. Because tourists come for a certain experience of place, a tourist destination must be produced, molded, and maintained. Tourism, as a form of what MacCannell calls cultural production, like education or sports, markets and sells an experience rather than a commodity (MacCannell 1999). The idea of cultural production is useful in examining the imaginaries, desire, and experiences that shape the concrete development of infrastructure, homes, and neighborhoods in Itacaré. Iwata and del Rio argues that post-modern places are formed through an interactive dialectic between the “imaginary city” and the “real city,” and “in subordination to the market, the city and its image have become a product to be sold, commodities that have been molded according to the expectation of the consumer” (Iwata and Del Rio 2004: 73). Although the concept of imaginaries is essential for tourism marketing and production, I focus on the material processes necessary to produce these desires and experiences as the tourism industry builds infrastructure for transportation, lodging, or reshapes landscapes with specific tourist experiences in mind.

Drawing upon Raymond William's cultural materialist framework, I also explore how the cultural and aesthetic production of desire is also a material means of production with paper, ink, silicon computer chips, and photographic images and the material construction of houses, roads, and businesses (Williams 1977).
Despite the post-modern and neoliberal nature of the tourist industry and its focus on consumer identification and desire, the industry is diverse, undermining any image of hegemonic control by central actors. The term industry is somewhat misleading because it belies the disperse, fragmented, and uncoordinated nature of the businesses that coalesce around tourism, quite unlike the coal or automobile industries. Despite a few large hotel operators, the tourism industry in Itacaré is made up of hundreds of small individual and family businesses scattered throughout the city that each contribute to the diverse ways that tourism constructs place in Itacaré. It is through the conversation, negotiation, and conflict between these groups over public spaces that a tourist space is produced, always heterogeneous and contested.

Because of the contested nature of tourism, the central relationship of the production of place, and the diverse groups involved, public places becomes central sites for observing these relationships. What counts as public space is diverse and heterogeneous but Smith and Lo define it as follows;

Public space is traditionally differentiated from private space in terms of access, the source and nature of control of entry to a space, individual and collective behavior in a space, and rules of use. Whereas private space is demarcated and protected by state-regulated rules of property use, public space, while far from free from regulation, is generally conceived as open to greater and lesser public participation. (Low and Smith 2013)

This dissertation examines agrarian reform settlements, roads, conservation areas,
new neighborhoods, beaches, and parks as diverse kinds of spaces governed to some extent, through public participation. As I was researching and writing this dissertation, the Arab Spring in 2010 and the Occupy Movement in the Fall of 2011 raised important questions about the ability of popular movements to work outside of the legal systems through the occupation of public spaces. The relevance of control over public space to larger social, economic, and political control became clear as groups across the globe battled over these spaces. Although less dramatic, by tracking the occupation and control of public spaces, as well as the growth and development of different neighborhoods, I can see how tourism creates certain kinds of places in Itacaré.

Within the Brazilian Northeast these conversations must be situated within specific histories of agrarian reform, formal and informal systems of land tenure, and legal struggles over land rights. By examining urban development and public spaces, and the historic and ongoing relationships and travels that have built the town, I hope to reshape how we think about tourist places and their formation. In Itacaré, outsiders who have the cultural and economic capital to build tourism businesses have taken the lead in the commodification of place—its history and environment, by restoring old building, establishing private nature preserves, or tour guiding businesses (Comaroff and Comaroff 2009).

Both foreigners and Brazilians visit the state of Bahia, in part, because tourism markets Bahia as the cradle of African culture and the cultural center of the Brazilian Nation as a racial democracy. The state capital of Salvador was the first Imperial capital during the heyday of sugar cane plantations until 1763 and is the center of Afro-Brazilian cultural heritage as well as home for many Brazilian
musicians and authors. For these reasons, Bahia is an important site for outsiders to encounter “authentic” Brazilian culture. However, in Salvador, urban revitalization and cultural commodification for tourism has displaced and marginalized the black communities while allowing for certain kinds of black people in culturally accepted roles as capoeiristas, musicians, artists, or prostitutes to remain as part the cultural landscape (Collins 2008, Perry 2004, Williams 2013). Gentrified tourist areas necessarily exclude poor black Brazilians who are synonymous with *favelas*, shantytowns associated with urban marginalization, violence, and criminality (Vargas 2005, Koster 2009). Ironically, while tourism theoretically celebrates Bahia’s African cultural heritage, in practice its reorganization of space often marginalizes Afro-Brazilians. In Itacaré, some similar processes are at work but local Afro-Brazilian residents still claim access to key sites and actively resist these processes in many ways.

An analysis of the geography of place must be attentive to scale, as place work differently at different scale. These scales do not operate as embedded hierarchies in which the national identities overpower local ones but as different sets of interacting social relationships that become meaningful in specific contexts as place and identity are mutually constructed. Tsing advocates attention, “to ideologies of scale, that is, cultural claims about locality, regionality, and globality; about stasis and circulation; and about networks and strategies of proliferation” (Tsing 2000: 347). Through an exploration of how place is performed at four different geographic scales from local, regional, national, and transnational, I analyze how Itacaré as a place is constructed through movements and flows between sites. First, I situate Itacaré within a local history in relation to
the colonial cities of Salvador and Ilhéus on the north and south. By examining a longer economic, cultural, and ecological history I can think about tourism as simply one of the more recent form of traveling in a longer and dynamic history of movement. Second, I focus on the relationship between the Northeast and Southeast in Brazil. Regionalism in Brazil has been relatively ignored by scholars outside of Brazil but is essential to thinking about the formation of identity, culture, and place, especially in Bahia. This emphasis forces me to look closely at Brazilian history and literature to understand the current development of Itacaré. Third, I explore Brazil's emergence as a growing economy and how that shapes tourism and travel. Fourth, I also focus on the tropics as a real and imagined place. How do pan-tropical tourist tropes develop? Why is Itacaré known as the Brazilian Hawaii? Why is its architecture reminiscent of other tropical places? Of course implicit in these conservations are relationships between the global North and South and longer colonial histories in the tropics that have structured these relationships over time. My examination of Itacaré explores how these relationships between local, regional, national, and transnational places come together in meaningful ways to shape local landscapes and identities.

Local Histories and Relationships to Place

The history of Itacaré must be understood in relation to nearby cities that have shaped local development. For a long time Itacaré was a part of the hereditary Capitania of Ilhéus, one of the thirteen original divisions of land in the Portuguese Crown's colonization of the new world. It must also be understood as a peripheral and supporting region for Salvador da Bahia, the first colonial capital
of Brazil and center of sugar production and the accompanying slave plantation economy. Local productions systems associated with sugar, manioc, cacao, and now tourism need to be thought about in terms of the larger systems and the circulation of commodities, technology, and ideas between Itacaré, regional cities, the capital of Salvador, and even Europe.

Within a local context the relationship between rural and urban areas has shaped the development of Itacaré. For much of its history, Itacaré was an urban center to a rural hinterland. Its position at the river mouth meant that agricultural products were brought to Itacaré from the surrounding rural areas and were then shipped by boat to Salvador and Ilhéus. The urban architecture and city development reflected these relationships. William Cronon's history of Chicago shows how the development of the city must be traced outwards as rail lines connected it to cow pastures and wheat fields, making the history of Chicago's urban development a larger environmental history of the Midwest (Cronon 2009). Similarly, Itacaré's development must be considered with its relationship to the surrounding rainforests, rivers, and cacao plantations that developed around it. Itacaré gradually transitioned from being an urban center to being a rural/natural periphery to larger urban centers as transportation networks shifted from boats to rails and then roads. The relationships between rural and urban spaces are also relationships between social classes and with the natural world (Williams 1975).

It is also important to consider the creation of local landscapes as an ongoing and interactive process. Raffles, in writing about a small town on the Guariba Stream in the Northern Amazon, describes how locality is created, both through the narratives told and through the praxis and materiality of physical labor
in which local communities widened the river and made it navigable (Raffles 1999). People are connected to place not just by their placement upon it, but also by their imagining of it, and their active reshaping of the place and its biophysical features. Similarly other attempts to order nature by explorers, scientists, reveal affective, personal, and unfinished projects (Raffles 2002). Similar to Raffles work, I examine the micro politics of power and interpersonal relationship in tandem with the physical materiality of the natural world in order to dissolve the nature/culture binary.

**Brazilian Regionalism and Northeastern Brazil**

Within the town of Itacaré and the state of Bahia, affinities to the Brazilian Northeast as a region distinct from the more developed South and Southeast are deeply intertwined with racial and class identities (Scheper-Hughes, 1992). Most work on Brazilian tourism in the Bahia focuses on racial rather than regional identity (Collins 2008, Perry 2004, Williams 2013), whereas most Brazilians discuss their own identity in regional terms. While there is a growing body of work on regionalism, this work emphasizes the political, economic, and ideological history of regionalism rather than its current impact on identity and social relationships (Weinstein 1982, Albuquerque 2000).

Perhaps one of the reasons regionalism has been relatively ignored in Brazilian Studies is the centrality of racial analyses, especially from scholars from the United States who have long looked to Brazil as a counter-example to critique racial relationships in the United States. Because Brazil and the United State are geographically and demographically large countries in the Western hemisphere
with significant populations of formers slaves the comparison seemed natural and has been long been productive site for anthropological analysis. Scholarly theories, popular perceptions, and racial politics in both countries were influenced through these transnational comparisons (Seigel 2005, Telles 2004).

An early example of this is the work of Gilberto Freyre. A student of Franz Boas, Freyre describes how Brazilian national culture is a creation of the sexual mixing of Portuguese plantation owners, African slaves, and indigenous women. Brazilian society is a direct result of this miscegenation, creating a racial system characterized by hybridity and fluidity and rejecting the rigid black and white binary typical of the United States (Freyre 1946). Furthermore, Freyre’s ethnographic work helped shape ideas of the Northeast as a place and how it came to represent Brazil. Freyre's work has been largely thought of as entirely racial but in many ways it is also regional, by placing the foundation of the Brazilian society in the Northeastern plantation rather than the Southeastern industrial centers. Freyre's descriptions of architecture, material belongings, and literature, which he freely draws upon in his theories, show us a broader understanding of culture and its manifestations.⁵

The Northeast, and Bahia in particular, is essential to the Brazilian national consciousness in multiple ways. First, the Northeast serves as a metonym for Brazil, a region that is representative of the larger contradictions and challenges of the nation (Freyre 1964). Second, it serves as place of origin of Brazilian culture and history as site of the colonial capital and early plantation life (Hautzinger

⁵ Freyre was also enamored with English literature and raised and taught by English tutors, raising interesting questions about his academic formations and relationships between the English and American Imperial projects (Burkes and Pallares-Burke 2008).
Finally, it is discussed as the Other, the site of opposition and definition for the more “modern” and progressive Southeast.

Originally, Brazilian colonization and settlement began in the Northeast, with Salvador da Bahia being the first colonial capital. The initial export cycles of Brazil wood, cattle, and sugar all developed in the Northeast, which were the political and economic centers of the colony. With the discovery of gold and diamonds in Minas Gerais in the beginning of the 18th century, the focus shifted south and the colonial capital was moved to Rio. With the development of coffee and later industrialization, the Southeast became entrenched as the political and economic center, focused around Rio de Janeiro and São Paulo. During this period the Northeast began to be repositioned in a national context.

Since the 19th century at least, the Northeast began to be characterized as a place of drought, famine, banditry, religious prophets, and desperate poverty (Arons 2004, DaCunha 1957, Scheper-Hughes 1992). At the same time, the Northeast, and particularly Bahia, is home to a significant part of Brazilian artists, musicians, and writers. Much of what is seen as typically Brazilian in art, culture, food, music, and dance comes from Bahia (Grunewald 2003). Bahia is thus both an economic periphery and a cultural center. Jorge Amado, a famous Brazilian novelist from Bahia, personifies these contradictions. His writings about Southern Bahia both celebrate and critique the region:

The cacao lands, a region embracing all of the southern part of the state of Bahia in Brazil, were fertilized with blood. They were conquered foot by foot in ferocious struggles of indescribable violence. They were barbarous
lands, where banditry and death, implacable hatred and the
cruelst revenge flourished... Men had set out to conquer
the forest, to clear it and transform the landscape and the
economy of a vast area. (Amado 1989: vii)

Although a champion of the working class and sharply critical of the social
arrangements of his day, Amado's work often conflates nature, violence, gender,
and race. As one of the most widely published and translated Brazilian authors,
Amado creates and reinforces stereotypes about the Northeast and Brazil that
emphasize *mestizagem*, sensuality, and nature.\(^6\) Tourism later reworks these
narratives of violence, poverty, and untamed nature into Edenic paradise, cultural
authenticity, and sensuality (Williams 2013). This vision is based on international
and southern Brazilian consumption of the Northeast through tourism, indicative
of a larger shift from an agricultural to a service economy (Lopes 1999).

Migrants from the Northeast have poured into cities in the Southeast in
search of jobs and to escape the harsh ecological and economic conditions,
working in the bottom social rungs of the Southeastern economy for decades. This
migration has been the cause of discrimination and negative stereotyping. In this
context, the reverse migration of Southeasterners to the Northeast for tourism and
exurbanization is a small, but culturally significant reversal of these trends. These
shifts create new relationships between regions as people from the Southeast
migrate to the Northeast to escape the urban rat race and “cold” weather and are
confronted with their own regional and racial stereotypes. These cultural clashes

---

\(^6\) *Mestizagem* is a process throughout Latin American, which emphasizes how the cultural
formations were shaped through the mixing of European, Indigenous, and African cultural
influences.
shape local development opportunities in Itacaré and neighborhoods are, in part, segregated according to regional affiliations.

However, the movement of people between regions also shapes place-based identities. Clifford connects a heightened awareness about cultural traditions and a sense of place to increased migration, considering the “mutually constitutive tensions…between ‘indigenous’ and ‘diasporic’ affiliations and identities” (Clifford 2001: 470). Diasporas, migration, and tourism create an increasing awareness of a group's geographical and historical identity, especially visible in diasporic groups who had become minorities within another dominant culture (Wilk 1995). In Brazil, similar processes of differentiation occur as Northeastern culture becomes reified when Brazilians from the Northeast move to the Southeast and when international and Brazilian tourists travel to the Northeast.

**Brazilian Nationalism and Landscape**

Nationalism is one potentially important place-based locus for identity. Occasionally in a public meeting or private conversation Brazilians from the Southeast might claim the right to place because they were Brazilians, implying that the real outsiders were from the US or Europe. While in many instances we might expect the national “imagined community” to trump local or regional affiliations, this was usually not the case (Anderson 1991). In fact, Brazilians from other parts of the country sometimes even referred to themselves as gringos, emphasizing their foreignness in the local cultural and political context. Brazilian nationalism seems more visible when watching a soccer match or discussing popular music rather than political symbols of power (Lever 1995). Handler's
work in Quebec reminds us that these kind of cultural processes like historic preservation, folklore research, and cultural tourism work to develop national identities, or in this case, regional ones (Handler 1988). Carvalho, however, describes national pride in Brazil as primarily a function of natural environment, a continuation of long-standing Edenic motifs developed during the initial stages of colonization that are now seen as present in the country's pristine beaches, tropical climate, lack of natural disasters, and beautiful women (Carvalho 2000). Nelson Rodrigues goes so far as to write, “’Brazil is not a country, it is not a nation, it is not a people: it is a landscape’ (Rodrigues 1997: 4)” (in Carvalho 2000: 117). Alternatively, Brazilians themselves, and especially their politicians and leaders, are seen as the source to the country's problems. In the past, Brazilians' failings as a country were justified through scientific theories of racism that blamed the miscegenation with African and indigenous groups.

Brazilian Nationalism and identity and the anthropological analysis of these categories have long been understood in relationship to race (Fontaine 1986, Oliven 1989, Reichman 1999, Telles 2004, Langfur 2006, Nascimento 2007, Bailey 2009). Gradually Freyre’s work moved from a radical position that challenged the dominant eugenic discourse of his day to become mainstream national state ideology during the military dictatorship (1964-1985), which stressed the “racial democracy” of Brazil in which the different races participated equally together as part of a functioning society, distinguishing them from places like the US that had more problematic race relations (Cleary 1999). Brazilian and American scholars and activists since Freyre have rejected his utopic vision of racial harmony and illustrated the multiple ways in which black Brazilians are
barred from social and economic opportunities (Fernandes 1969, Halsenberg 1979, Nascimento 1978). This development happened in part due to the increased social activism that came about after the fall of the military regime (Fry 2000). Some recent research on race suggests that the myth of racial democracy still continues, although in somewhat qualified tone, admitting the complicated intersection of race and economic and social discrimination (Skidmore 1990, Langfur 2006). Other research suggests that the myth, rather than blinding people to obvious racial discrimination, is an ideal that inhibits people from accepting a black/white binary that is seen as necessary for black consciousness and activism (Bailey 2009). Because of the difficulty of accepting outside racial categories of black and white, regional and class identities are often more palatable ways to discuss identity.

National identities, like racial categories, are also constructed in relationship to other nations. Brazil's national identity is always relational, from World Systems theories or dependency theories the most important international relationship has been with the United States or Europe (Wallerstein 2011, Cardoso 1977). More recently however, we might think in terms of Brazil's emerging relationships with Southern Cone countries like Argentina and Chile, or South to South relationships with China and India. Brazil's emerging place in the global economy is also visible as it hosts the World Cup in 2014 and the Summer Olympics in 2016.

*Cosmopolitan tropicalism, the Brazilian Hawaii*

The last series of relationships that are important in the constitution of
Itacaré as a place are ideas about the tropics as sites for tourism. Historical ideas of the tropics are also closely connected to European colonization of the Americas and later Africa and the Pacific. The heat and humidity were seen as constitutive of indigenous dispositions and then later, the national character of tropical countries emphasizing sexual appetite, laziness, and general moral laxity (Banck 1993). Through a kind of moral and biological geography, hot places produced certain kinds of culture and people. These discourses were also tied up with racial discourses that justified European colonial control over these areas as moral imperatives.

To many outsiders, Brazil is beaches and rainforests, pure nature. Many outsiders have never even heard about São Paulo, one of the biggest cities in the world, a metropolis of over 20 million people. Within Brazil, both beaches and rainforests are also important symbols of Brazilian national identity but they each function culturally in quite distinct ways. During the colonial period of Brazil, colonizers viewed the Brazilian landscape as female, fertile, and virgin, waiting to be taken (Sterling et al 2001). The conflation of landscape, nation, nature, and gender is part of larger colonial narratives in which civilization was a product of the industrial North and Southern latitudes were depicted as natural and the Other to the industrial and urban North.

This determination of culture by its tropical geography is reproduced in a variety of forms. Tropical heat was blamed for producing the supposed “primitive” state of the colonized societies. In addition, Stoler describes how hot tropical climates in Indonesia were seen as having the power to corrupt Europeans who were exposed to them for too long, encouraging indolence and laziness.
(Stoler 2002). Related are ideas that associate tropical heat with sensuality. Littlewood's analysis of tourism traces the etymological link between heat and sexuality back to the 15th century, describing how warmer climates have long been associated with immodesty and female sexuality (Littlewood 2002). Another more recent development, linked to environmentalism and tropical biology, is one which the tropics symbolize the exuberance, profusion, and mystery of nature (Stepan 2001). From this perspective the tropics are “nature writ large” (Vivanco 2006). This perspective is more similar to the Eden motif discussed by Carvalho, in which Brazil is viewed as a pristine paradise characterized by a friendly climate, fertile soil, and beautiful countryside (2000). The myths of Edenic paradise and tropical sexuality were often joined, especially in the Romantic movement in literature and art, that attracted artists like Gauguin and others to the South Seas in search of a primitive authenticity. While these stereotypes celebrated the tropics, they also relied on European imaginations about themselves and Others. Tourism and even anthropological research in many tropical places was, in part, inspired by these kinds of European colonial stereotypes of the noble savage. Malinowski's famous introduction to his work in the Trobriand Islands, “Imagine yourself on a deserted beach...” reference could be straight from the pages of a tropical tourist brochure rather than a serious ethnography (Malinowski 1961).

Casual conversations with people about Brazil often link climatic differences to personality or culture, comparing “relaxed” Brazilians to more “hard-working” Americans or Europeans. The kinds of comparisons about sexuality are similar, with the “cold” Euro-Americans and “hot” Latinos, often
actually drawing on connections to the natural environment as much as to imagined national and cultural differences (Aparicio and Chavez-Silverman 1997). These tropical tropes of relaxed culture, abundant nature, and female sexuality maintain a continued vitality in popular and tourist, if not academic, literatures.

These tropical tropes, both positive and negative, were used to justify colonialism and neo-colonialism as Northern countries expanded south. In most recent times, tourism as a massive global industry has relied on and even developed these tropes, focusing specifically on certain environments, like beaches and rainforests, and certain people, like dark skinned women, that particularly embody these values. Understanding Itacaré as a place requires analysis of how these ideas develop and then travel, shaping places and identities.

These tropes are most carefully developed in reference to Hawaii, which is often held up as the archetypal tropical paradise. Within Brazil more generally, and Itacaré specifically, there are dozens of cultural references to Hawaii. Hawaii is seen as the idealized version of tropical paradise and Brazil draws upon these imaginaries to promote its own national and regional versions of a positive tropical paradise. Tracking the movement of the imaginaries, and of people, clothing, and images from and about Hawaii to Brazil provides insight into how places are created through traveling and movement. There are also references to Indonesia, India, Australia, and other tropical places in architectural styles and names of tourist businesses. I question when, how, and why the tropics develop as sites of leisure and the relationship of tourism to these processes. This research points to a cosmopolitan tropicalism that is neither international nor transnational,
because the nation states, or even any specific relationship of groups that cross specific borders, are not the significant units of analysis. By discussing the tropics, as a climatic unit of analysis and locus for identity, I'm trying to think about places outside of typical categories of towns, regions, nation-states, or even the relationships between these categories.

**Ethnographic process**

Despite my theoretical interest in mobility and travel, my ethnographic research was firmly grounded in Itacaré. During the time I spent in the town from August of 2011 until July of 2012, I rarely left the small town itself, with its 12,000 inhabitants, and several dozen cobble stone streets. Rather, I immersed myself in local politics and problems. I went to all of the public meetings I knew about; including city council debates about embezzlement, municipal environmental council debates about building height restrictions, and management councils for environmental protected areas; I attended every gathering I could where people talked about the future direction they would like to see the town grow and develop. These meetings allowed me to see who participated and what was at stake in urban growth, environmental regulation, and tourist-based development. I watched as parks were built and people fought over rights to occupy beaches and unclaimed government land. I systematically surveyed those who used public spaces, like beaches, roadsides, and parks, to understand the formal and informal systems of occupation, regulation, and use. In addition, I interviewed those most involved in these processes; architects, environmental leaders, community activists, and politicians. I talked with the founding residents.
of different neighborhoods that have developed throughout the city in the last 40 years, trying to understand the history and development of each neighborhood. I also interviewed the early outsiders who had participated in these changes, buying land, bringing in new ideas, and organizations. Lastly, I conducted oral histories with older residents, natives who were born and raised in Itacaré and had seen it transform from a small fishing village to an international tourist destination.

These oral histories help frame the recent changes in Itacaré in a longer history that stretches far beyond the first tourists. Combined with academic research into the region's history, limited archival research, and an interest in natural history, I have constructed a long but partial history of the movements and flows that have materially and discursively built Itacaré.

My primary focus in this dissertation is not, generally, classifying tourism as beneficial or harmful, the alternative tropes of capitalist rape or economic salvation; these “declensionist narratives of a variegated world of myriad wonders and peoples gradually being brought within the ambit of a hegemonic tourists systems” which rely upon a “world of bounded cultures- national, ethnic, or regional- all modelled[sic] as coherent and closed systems of meaning (Lury 1997)” (Coleman and Crang 2002: 1). Rather, my interest is in Itacaré as a place continually under construction, being performed, and constituted by movement rather than stasis. Also, I am not necessarily focused on the tourists—their desires, motivations, or demographics. Much of that has already been analyzed in other places (MacCannell 1999, Zhang 2005). My attention is focused on Itacaré—the place, its streets, houses, beaches, forests, and the residents that inhabit, create, and identify with these spaces. I trace how the city of Itacaré has been concretely
built by the flows of people and ideas.

My subjects are the residents, broadly divided into the natives and migrants; many migrants were tourists who never left, researchers, or expats. These migrants eventually fit uncomfortably between the categories of locals and tourists. Rather than focusing on tourists who come for a few days or weeks, my work focuses on tourists who visit, stay, intermarry, and establish businesses. In the same vein, I view the impulse to travel, escape, and adventure are not simply weekend excursions but part of larger processes of cultural changes as young people reject middle-class values and urban economic and political centers for rural peripheries. By moving to Itacaré, they are responding to cultural currents that celebrate traveling to out of the way places. My focus on tourists who stay builds upon similar research that expands what counts as tourism, including vacation home communities (McIntyre et al 2006), expatriate populations (Cappelli 2008, Everitt and Welstad 1999), and exurbanization (Cadieux and Hurley 2011). By looking at practices of building homes, materially and symbolically, this work also takes seriously people’s long term, deeply nostalgic, and affective attachments to place as well as the materiality and aesthetics of tourist experiences (Lofgren 1999). These new forms of mobility and migration illustrate how research on the cultural and material practices of tourism speaks to larger global processes of travel that are transforming identities places throughout the world (Kauri and Hutnyk 1999). This perspective challenges ideas of what counts as tourism and how it transforms places.
Overview of Chapters

This section includes an overview of each dissertation chapter and relates it to the central themes around place making, identity, and tourism. Chapter two bridges the gap between the decline of cacao agriculture and the growth of tourism by documenting the beginning of tourism in Itacaré with the arrival of surfers in the 1970s and 1980s and explores how surf culture shaped the way the town of Itacaré developed in this transitional period. I argue that the arrival of surfers to Itacaré in the late 1970s brought a new cosmopolitan counter culture of social activism and environmental consciousness that has influenced neighborhood development, architectural styles, and the establishment of environmental protected areas. As locals learn to surf, they interact with and understand the ocean and beaches in new ways, developing a new habitus and relationship to place. For example, through surfing Itacaré came to be imagined as the Brazilian Hawaii and the effects of these tropical imaginaries have shaped the destination itself. By examining the connections between Itacaré, the Brazilian Northeast, and Hawaii, I explore the relationships between the colonization and globalization of the tropics and the touristic production of place.

Chapter three examines the fundamental role of the Bahia state government in the growth of tourism and their specific campaigns to create a new tourist geography and infrastructure. The campaign include the PRODETUR, a development project to establish tourism as one of the main industries in the region that led to the construction of the road, the setting aside of protected areas, and the creation of regional identities for tourist consumption. The size and significance of these investments for the region were essential for the growth and
development of tourism. The most significant aspect of PRODETUR was the construction of BR001 that linked Itacaré to Ilhéus. The road literally allowed for people, capital, and tourism to flow into the region through this newly established artery. Other government interventions in establishing protected areas created new kinds of public spaces that allowed for civil society involvement in shaping regional growth, encouraging the development of local NGOs, and partnerships with international organizations. Earlier government initiatives like agrarian reform settlements set the stage for many of the land conflicts in the region and illustrate the how the state is often divided within itself as well as how it changes over time. For example, the chapter examines a shift in state policies at the transition from the Brazilian military dictatorship to a civilian government in the late 1980s resulting in new kinds of development politics in the region. Most recently, the state government has shifted away from tourism and has proposed an industrial shipping port for the region and is exploring the potential for natural gas and oil exploration offshore. This chapter contextualizes tourism development within regional and national politics and emphasizes their continued, if varied, influence on the shape and direction of local development.

Chapter four documents the growth of several new neighborhoods starting in the 1980s and how each neighborhood's specific history illustrates the ways that large landowners, residents, and local politics negotiate to allow for urban expansion. Increasing land prices and tourist-based gentrification have removed many local residents from the best real estate near the beaches leading to racial, regional, and class-based segregation. However, through local political connections, natives and poorer newcomers have successfully challenged large
landowners and succeeded in establishing new neighborhoods and claiming some significant spaces. By tracking the land conflicts and development of each neighborhood and focusing on who owns land and how land rights can be established, I explore the contested and negotiated social production of place and the complex interplay between legal and traditional systems of land tenure. Because land is central to understand who wins and loses in a tourist economy, tracking the conflicts over land ownership is crucial to understanding the economic impacts of tourism.

Chapter five moves from neighborhoods to houses, describing how architectural styles change over time and how each style demonstrates and creates changing social and environmental relationships. These styles are always influenced by ideas and aesthetics from other places, beginning with Iberian styles brought over by the Portuguese Court but later by Western fantasies of tropical paradises in Hawaii, India, or Indonesia. Furthermore, the relationship between rural and urban places and aesthetics resurfaces as an important node for understanding shifting architectural styles. Tourism, as an assemblage of practices and perspectives, recreates places in specific ways that structure social and environmental relationships. Through an examination of historical architectural styles, tourist architecture, and popular architecture in Itacaré, this chapter analyzes the ways a tourist economy has materially rebuilt the city and rearranged social and environmental relationships. Socially, changing architecture marks and creates differences between class, racial, and regional identities while also providing an idiom through which public conversations about these changing economic systems and demographics are articulated. Environmentally, tourist
architecture creates new relationships to nature through re-imagining Itacaré's position in relation to other rural and urban places and a new emphasis on the aesthetic value of nature.

Chapter six continues to examine the development of urban space, focusing on how beaches and parks are key sites for contests over power and illustrate relationships between different groups. Tourism, because of its particular emphasis on place, encourages a renewed focus on public spaces. Thinking about public spaces broadly helps to connect social conflict over conservation areas, roads, and government land discussed in earlier chapters to the use and development of parks and beaches discussed in this chapter. Throughout Latin America there is a historical relationship between municipal governments and the creation and maintenance of public spaces that shape and reflect social relationships (Lazar 2007). Government shaping of public spaces can be seen as a kind of social engineering, often meant to create certain sensibilities and characteristics in urban populations. This chapter also examines beaches as key sites for the contestation of social power as different groups try to control the economic development, access rights, and pollution on urban and rural beaches. I examine the historical development of the beach as a public space and the changing occupation and use of urban and rural beaches over time.

Although these chapters draw upon diverse materials, including popular music, architectural history, and legal history, they attempt to gather this diversity to understand the historical production of place. The diversity is not random, but often draws upon the ways those local residents and newcomers discuss how Itacaré has changed. The categories emerged from conversations, interviews, and
observations throughout the time I spent in Itacaré. Zé Roberto, who owned a rental car company and whose wife's family was from Itacaré, described how:

Today, tourism is the principal driver of the economy. It needs to be incentivized. We need a Master Plan to keep the streets clean. Can you imagine if Itacaré were neat and clean? If it were organized, with trees, with parks where children can play and old people can sit and talk. There are cycles: Brazil wood, cacao, and now tourism, without even mentioning fishing. Today our municipality is considered one of the most beautiful in the world, among the best. With the rankings of it beaches, we have the third best beach in the world. It's like we're sitting on a bar of gold, we just need to purify it, it's unrefined. (Zé Roberto)

In several short sentences he connects Itacaré's historical economic cycles, local public spaces including beaches and parks, and urban development plans. It is the nature of tourism, as a peculiar kind of industry that focuses the conversations about local economic development on place, aesthetics, public spaces, government planning, and political economic processes. My analysis emphasizes how places are always developed in relation with other places, near and far.
Interlude: Fishing in Itacaré

As railroad and highway networks bypassed and isolated Itacaré, prosperous cacao farmers moved away from Itacaré to growing cities in the interior. Fishing provided an important economic alternative for the poorer workers who remained in the city, bridging the gap between the decline of cacao and growth of tourism. Although my ethnographic work didn't focus on fishing, any discussion of Itacaré's history and development included conversations about fishing. Fishing produced forms of knowledge and unconscious ways of inhabiting and occupying space which affected how locals responded to the changes that came with a tourist economy or picked up new sports like surfing (Dove 1997). For example, traditional marine tenure systems and ethno-ecological knowledge illustrates how local communities regulate public spaces outside of government control and helps understand current use of public spaces in Itacaré.

Fisherman talked about how Itacaré is an easy place to be a fisherman. The most productive fishing grounds along the Brazilian Atlantic coastline are the transition zones where the shallow continental shelf ends and sinks away into the deep blue ocean. Because the continental shelf near Itacaré is relatively close offshore, just seven or eight kilometers, fishermen could leave to fish in the morning and return in the afternoon, making an easy day trip. In addition to the edge of the continental shelf, fishermen regularly use five other ecological areas including mangroves, rivers, the tidal zone, mud banks, and coral reefs (Robin

---

7 This same distinct geographical feature also allows for storms and waves to arrive to the beaches with more force, which attracted the first surfers.
There are multiple types of fishing including throw nets, seines, dragnets, deep nets, as well as pole and line fishing. While near shore fishing happened year round, with different times and locations based on the behavior of different species, offshore fishing primarily took place during the calmer summer months.

Despite the ease of fishing and productivity of the area, fishing was undercapitalized with poor connections to markets. Older fishermen reminisced about the size of their catches but wryly noted that without anybody to buy them, they ended up giving the fish away or trading their catch within town. The connections fishermen had were patron-client relationships that connected fisherman to larger markets and allowed them to obtain credit but in a subordinate and dependent position. The economic relationships to market fish were built around a patronage system common throughout Northeastern Brazil known as the *meia* (half) system. In this system, the owner of the boat owns half of the profit. When a ship returns to shore and sells the catch, the costs for ice, oil, gas, and maintenance are removed and then half of the remaining profit belongs to the boat owner. If the owner also worked on the boat (usually as captain), he would also get his share of the remaining catch. This meia system mirrors similar relationships for sharecroppers on land owned by others and it is a long established form of patron-client relationships in Northeastern Brazil (Lanna 1995). Another form these relationships take is through debt, in which merchants or middlemen advance credit to fisherman before the catch and are then paid back with interest once the fishermen have been successful.

Joaquim, a short, wiry, and sun-darkened old fisherman was often hanging
out in front of the river, watching the boats coming in.\textsuperscript{8} He was the first president of the Fisherman's Colony Z-18, a position he got, in part, because of his relationship, a rarity at the time, with a buyer from Salvador. The buyer would come by plane, landing on the beach across the river at low tide or on an airfield in the hills behind the town at high tide. Joaquim recalled that;

```
Things have changed because now, everything you catch you can sell. It didn't used to be like that. … Then there was a guy called Mandinho, he was the only one that bought fish. He bought it to salt and take to Ubaitaba and places like that. Now everything you bring in disappears, it all sells. In my day it wasn't like that. Is there anyone today that salts even a kilo of fish? No there isn't, now it's all about the ice. Today fishermen sell directly to the vendors and the vendors sell to the restaurants, the people, and take it out of the city as well. (Joaquim, interview March 9, 2012)
```

Joaquim recounted how the physical isolation of Itacaré prevented these kinds of trade networks from being fully developed. Some fish was salted and sold outside by a handful of intermediaries but the people within the city consumed most of the catch. The growth of tourism and the arrival of the road have also increased fisherman's access to markets. Now most fish are sold within the city through several different fish markets and everything not consumed locally is shipped off.

\textsuperscript{8} As standard anthropological practice, all names of participants have been changed to respect their anonymity.
on ice to larger urban centers.

The Fishing Colony Z-18, established on August 25th, 1965, is the oldest fishing organization in the town and works almost entirely according to traditional patronage politics. The Federal Government organized fisherman colonies throughout Brazil in order to track and regulate the artisanal fishing industries and provide potential recruits for the Navy. Colonies exist largely to provide fisherman with federal retirement and unemployment benefits, and access to other government programs they would otherwise not be able to receive given the informal nature of their work. Because the colony is an important site for populist redistributive politics, colony leadership is a pathway to local political involvement. As a result, there are many more members of the colony than actually fish and its leadership is deeply involved with local politics.

More recently, fishermen have formed several associations to advocate for themselves and decrease their social marginalization. Each of these groups has a unique history and social organization. ASPERI, the Association of Fisherman of Itacaré, includes many of the boat owners and provides ice for affiliated boats and buys and resells their catch. Another cooperative was recently established and is in the final stages of securing two deep-water vessels through a government program to encourage deep-sea fishing and has been training a small group of members over the last several years. Both of these groups were originally formed by outsiders and have tumultuous histories of political infighting over the years. All fishermen that are in these other organization are also associated with the Colony Z-18 as well and despite these ongoing attempts by associations and cooperatives to establish more horizontal economic relationships, traditional
patron-client networks are still prominent. These political and economic divisions within the fishing community illustrate social divisions within the small town.

Throughout different economic cycles, the importance of fishing has fluctuated. With the decline of cacao from the Witch's Broom fungus in the eighties, many people from the region who had worked on the cacao plantations migrated to the coast and began fishing in order to survive. Fishing grew in importance when other economic alternatives were less viable. A lobster boom in Southern Bahia in the early 1990's contributed to this growth when large numbers of workers came to the coast to become lobster fishermen. Outside demand for lobsters fueled a lobster harvesting frenzy in small towns along the coast that quickly depleted the fisheries. Fishermen remembered how, “The town used to stink, so much lobster we caught! Mountains of lobsters!” (Weigand 2003). People described how piles of heads lay in the streets and the entire town smelled of rotting fish. All of a sudden, fishermen had bikes, TVs, radios and all sorts of consumer goods as they profited from the short lived windfall. This period of overexploitation was characterized by extreme competition, suspicion, and the theft of lobsters and nets. Although some of this has been attributed to the large number of fishermen coming from outside, the end result was a weakening of the traditional fishing management systems. Despite outsiders' perceptions of Itacaré as isolated and pre-modern, this episode is another example of how the town has been intermittently connected with larger market forces at different historical periods.

The growth of tourism in the summer and increased access to fishing technologies and amenities like gas, ice, and credit has also changed fishing in
Itacaré. Larger motors and boats have made offshore fishing safe all year round and fishing calendars now work around the tourist calendar as much as around the natural weather patterns. These changes have also changed the social organization of fishermen with three distinct groups of fishermen. One group is associated with the port and these fishermen often from other places along the coast and stop off in Itacaré during shrimp season or other fish migrations. Some of these have even moved to Itacaré and settled. Many of these trawl for shrimp, which requires a larger boat with a bigger motor, and potentially provides greater economic return. Leo, a local fisherman turned electrician, and who has been heavily involved with a variety of social and environmental movements describes these social differences.

These people migrated here, there are a huge amount of people from Valença, Barra de Saraem, from Caraiba that all fish here. Today there are more or less sixty-four boats and about half are these people [from outside]. Because they don't know the fishing spots, what did they do? We're the ones that know the spots. Because they don't know the spots, they moved to Itacaré and started trawling for shrimp. People from Itacaré don't like trawling for shrimp, they fish by line. ...You wear out your motor, there's a huge noise in your ears. Trawling is for people that don't know the area. (Leo, interview April 30, 2012)

The locals Leo describes, who fish by line, generally with smaller boats, and are primarily born in Itacaré, mostly hang out in front of the Colony Z-18 building.
and anchor their boats in front of the gas station on the southern side of the
downtown riverfront. The third group, largely Afro-Brazilian, includes those who
fish mainly in the rivers and mangroves instead of the open ocean, using dugout
canoes and smaller boats. Mangroves are important sites for mullet and other
species that migrate between the river and ocean and also provide crabs, mussels,
firewood, and tannins from the bark of the red mangrove that were important in
preserving nets. Marginal and swampy, mangroves are often the last lands to be
inhabited, usually settled by the poorest squatters who are excluded from other
lands. These social divisions highlight the simplistic idealization of the fishermen
and their social position in the town prior to the development of tourism.

Classic ethnographies of coastal fishing communities in Northeastern
Brazil describe how fishermen, especially in the mangroves and estuaries, have
long been socially and economically marginalized (Forman 1970, Cordell 1989).
In Itacaré, the mangrove is associated with the neighborhood of Porto de Trás, an
urban quilombo. From this marginal position these fisherman have constructed an
elaborate tenure system and forms of resource management based on respect that
give them a sense of ownership and pride (Cordell 1989, Cordell and McKean
1985). In addition, scholars have documented the ethnoecology of Atlantic fishing
communities, examining the accuracy of local fishermen’s knowledge of fish
reproduction and migrations (Silvano et al 2006). This research describes
traditional fishing practices, ecological knowledge, sea tenure, and territory that
emphasizes the effectiveness of local management practices and fishing

---

9 Robben describes how traditional canoe fishing in Southern Bahia fosters different economic,
social, and political relationships than larger boat fishing and documents the conflict between these
different economic models (1994).

This ethnoecological research challenges the notion of the ocean as empty space by describing a local geography in which rivers, mangrove swamps, and near-shore seas are marked by coral heads, seamarks, and an elaborate triangulation system in which buildings, mountains and other landmarks onshore are used, in combination with plumb lines to test bottom depth and composition, to mark fishing spots in the open ocean. This knowledge is closely guarded and fishermen go to great lengths to conceal their best fishing grounds from competitors (Forman 1970, Cordell 1989). This research emphasizes that the near-shore waters, although commonly understood as public space and thus owned by the national government, is already used, occupied, and managed by fishermen through traditional tenure systems. Throughout Itacaré, similar traditional systems for the use of public space have come into conflict with legal systems around land tenure, beach use and access, and trails as resort developers have attempted to shut down traditional coastal access.

Because fishing requires a detailed knowledge of the local environment, being a fisherman encourages a strong attachment to place. Connected by traditional tenure systems, common fishing practices, and shared economic marginalization; fisherman developed a strong sense of local identity in relation to rich summer residents and later tourists. Many locals describe themselves as
“children of fishermen,” a status that signifies their longstanding connection to Itacaré. But very few young people are choosing to become fishermen. None of Joaquim's fourteen surviving children are fishermen and the one who fishes the most works as lifeguard. Leo's daughter told him she wants to be a biologist, to “defend the animals” that he “fished all those years to support her” (Leo, interview, April 30, 2012). However, even as the younger generation works in tourism, the municipal government, or other occupations, their connection to those who fish signals their legitimacy and connection to Itacaré as a fishing town. In part because of this status, fishermen also became involved in many important political and environmental movements in the region. Many local fishermen have worked alongside and supported groups that have fought for land rights, public access to beaches, and the establishment of conservation areas. While these specific initiatives will be discussed in later chapters, fishermen were key players in these movements.

Local youth who learn to surf, describe how the knowledge of tides, winds, and currents they learned from older relatives while fishing has translated into surfing. Both activities require similar kinds of specific knowledge of near-shore marine environments and observations of natural patterns. Both have come to signify a connection to place and environment in similar ways. This connection is not just symbolic or cognitive but is also corporeal, as bodies learn to move in the ocean, observe weather patterns, and develop affective attachments to places. Surfer and fishermen's organize their lived temporality around tides, winds, and swells rather than schedules and clocks. Bourdieu's concept of habitus can help us understand how this embodied knowledge is generative of social connections. For
example, both surfers and fishermen physically occupy coastal areas, spending
hours every day observing and talking about tides and weather; waiting for boats
to come in or tourists to get a surf lesson. Thinking about how bodies occupy
these spaces and the ways this occupation creates a specific native habitus
connected to the ocean demonstrates how identities are formed in relationship
with specific local environments.

This section documents some of the environmental relationships at work
and emphasizes the role of fishing in the development of Itacaré. Fishing provides
people with a sense of identity and connection to place. This description of fishing
in Itacaré documents the importance of patronage systems in structuring
hierarchical social relationships and the significance of traditional systems of
resource management. These traditional systems provided local ways of
administering and controlling access to public spaces based on use and
occupation. Later, these systems help to structure conflicts over public space in
the developing tourist economy as traditional and legal systems of land rights
come into conflict. When surfers and tourists began to arrive, they encountered a
place shaped physically, socially, and economically by fishing.
Chapter 2: Surfers “discover” Itacaré: performance, place, and identity in the tropics

All of the cities along the coast were forgotten, lost for decades. Itacaré is one of them. With the arrival and spread of surfing around the world, it arrived in Brazil and Bahia. Baiano surfers were looking for waves. Where were they looking? They were coming to these forgotten cities like Olivença, Ubatuba. So what happened?

Romario says that he travelled, travelled, until he came to this place, to Itacaré. When he woke up at Tiririca and saw those big waves, one and half meters, blowing up, wow.

From that day on, at the end of the seventies when Romario saw those waves, you can write a new chapter in the history of Itacaré. (Agnaldo, interview, July 17, 2012)

It was a week before I returned home from the field and I was finally able to schedule a time to interview Jorge about the history of surfing in Itacaré. He suggested we meet at Tiririca, the main surf beach, for the inspirational scenery. Appropriately, the morning was inspiring. There was a hardly any wind, clear skies, and small waves breaking offshore. Half a dozen surfers bobbed in the water offshore and we talked to them as they entered or left the water or came to check the surf. I knew a few of the surfers and Jorge knew almost everyone. I had talked to Jorge a number of times in passing over the last few months, surfed with...
him a handful of times, and knew him to be an articulate and insightful proponent of surfing in Itacaré. Jorge worked as a lawyer and lived outside of town, on a place called Ohana Ranch, the Hawaiian word for family, and both of his daughters had Hawaiian names. Although he was originally from Salvador, he had learned to surf in Peru, where his family lived while his father worked in the Brazilian diplomatic corps. Later he got his first board from an American family living in Salvador that was selling their things when they moved back to the US. He first visited Itacaré as a teenager and had been coming for years until he bought a house and moved definitively. Jorge's life story was, in many ways, typical of the early surfers who came to Itacaré. They drew upon their education, travel experiences, and affinity for Hawaii in order to shape the development of Itacaré as a tourist destination.10

As Jorge reminisced about the early days in Itacaré, he also complained about its current deplorable conditions. He complained about the restaurants built right on the beach, their improper septic tanks that reeked of raw sewage after it rained, the recent murders associated with the crack epidemic, and the constant political corruption. He and several other surf pioneers were moving to Barra Grande, across the Contas River and up the coast. As Jorge described how Barra Grande is still relatively undiscovered, the road still unpaved, and the was uncrowded, I thought about the changes happening in Itacaré. Many of the earliest surfers have moved up to Barra Grande, or at least out of the city, away from the urban development, rising real estate prices, pollution, and other problems

10 My own experience growing up in Hawaii and surfing helped me to connect to local surfers as well as pay attention to the similarities I saw in Bahia and Hawaii.
associated with the tourism related growth they encouraged.

This chapter documents the beginning of Itacaré's transition from an economy based around farming, cacao, and fishing to a tourist economy from the 1980s to the late 1990s with the arrival of surfers like Jorge and explores how surfing shaped Itacaré's development in this transitional period. Tourism has often been criticized as being simply another extension of capitalism and colonialism, destroying local environments and traditional culture (Sheller 2004). Although tourism undoubtedly brought land conflict, gentrification, and environmental challenges, I argue that the arrival of surfers to Itacaré introduced a cosmopolitan counter culture of social activism and environmental consciousness that influenced architectural styles, neighborhood development, and the establishment of protected areas in the municipality. Surfers also introduced a new habitus that shaped how people inhabit and perform place-based identities (Erhlich 2002). Locals, however, did not initially welcome the surfers, whose counter-cultural attitudes clashed with conservative social norms of small town life that disapproved surfer’s drug use, hedonism, and unkempt appearance. Gradually, as surfing created increased visibility for the town in the regional and national media and helped expand the local tourism industry, it became a part of local identity.

By examining the cultural encounter between surfers, hippies, backpackers, and local residents, I want to analyze how cultural encounters generate new hybrid possibilities for social movements and sustainable development as different groups work together (Vivanco 2006, Tsing 2005). Newcomer's education and social networks helped local residents organize against large landowners, establish environmentally protected areas, and fight for beach
access. However, they also began the processes that led to the development of a tourist economy and new forms of exclusion and marginalization for local people. While there was initially much cooperation between outsiders and locals, many of these original organizations eventually fell apart as the town grew.11

People's ability to participate effectively in the tourist economy depends not just on their economic resources but also on their cultural capital, such as education, aesthetic style, environmental sensibilities, and social skills. Bourdieu's concept of cultural capital helps to think about the learning process as locals have adapted to the changing economic regimes (Bourdieu 1986). Surfing is one of the few areas where local youths are able to learn this cultural capital and better insert themselves into the developing tourist economy. As a result, the Itacaré Surfing Association is one of the few organizations where locals and newcomers have worked effectively together over the long term to bring about social change, in part because the shared surfing culture gave these different groups common ground even across racial, class, and regional differences.

The surfers who first discovered Itacaré described it as the Brazilian Hawaii. Hawaii, as the archetypal tropical paradise, was already an important cultural symbol in Brazil, especially in the Northeast. The last section of this chapter traces Brazilian references to Hawaii through literature, music, and popular culture, thinking about the cultural histories that make these references to Hawaii salient. This story begins with military travel during World War II as both Brazil and Hawaii shared histories of colonialism, US military occupation, and

11 Locals had numerous theories as to why social activism and cooperation seemed to decline as the town grew. Some more common theories included rising drug abuse, increasing commercialization and economic opportunities that made people busier, changing land conflicts that made organizing less necessary, the professionalization of NGOs, among other things.
imperialism in the tropics. Tracing the imaginaries and tangled connections between Hawaii and Bahia helps us to understand the material and symbolic construction of Itacaré. This work examines how surfers and business owners in Itacaré draw upon ideals of Hawaii to shape their identity, build their businesses, and create Itacaré as a tourist destination. From this perspective, cultures and places are not static entities but are constantly in movement, created by the flows of people, images, and ideas.

Because surfers see themselves as being culturally other, as being a part of a distinct quasi-indigenous sub-culture, they are generally very happy to have an anthropologist to tell their story and legitimate these claims (Finney and Houston 1996). As a result, surfers in Itacaré participated readily in my interviews and were excited about documenting the contribution of surfing to Itacaré and their own life experiences. In some sense, I am trying to capture their optimism, a conscious attempt to not be overly critical and present a more balanced and cautiously optimistic perspective on the profound cultural, economic, and social changes happening in the region.

**Counter culture, the Global Sixties, and the development of surfing in Brazil**

The first surfers arriving in Itacaré in the seventies were part of a global counter culture movement as young people fled urban centers, nine to five jobs, and middle class lifestyles. These urban surfers escaping to the country felt connected to previous global historical movements that began in the sixties that included anti-colonial struggles and counter-cultural revolutions. Although the Sixties have been mythologized for their counter-cultural mystique, this chapter
aims to place the development of surf and counter cultures and exurban migrations associated with the Sixties in a larger Brazilian political and cultural context.

Surfing in Brazil began in the 1930s and 1940s near São Paulo. Many of the first surfers were young Brazilians who worked in airline companies and had encountered surfing in California or Hawaii. In the 1940s and 50s, surfing began to grow in Rio de Janeiro as well, along with free diving and spear fishing, brought by US military personnel stationed in Rio during World War II (SurfeBrasil, Fortes 2008). Although surfing was closely connected to youth culture emanating from Southern California during this time, the origins of the modern sport can be traced further back to Hawaii, where a group of young Hawaiians led by Duke Kahanamoku revived surfing after it had all but disappeared under the influence of colonization and demographic collapse (Westwick and Neushal 2013). The connection of surfing to Hawaii, and a lesser extent California, was a part of its tropical and cosmopolitan allure to the mostly upper and middle-class surfers in Brazil. From the urban centers of Rio and São Paulo surfing began to expand to other urban centers. In Bahia, the first surfers were in Salvador and Ilhéus in the sixties (Brusell 1998).

Surfing media narratives celebrate travel, portrayed as a pilgrimage or escape from modern society. The earliest surf magazines and films depict the surfing life as a journey in search of perfect waves (Brown 1966, Ormrod 2005). As surfing grew in popularity due to the emergence of Hollywood surf movies and surf music, more people started to surf and waves became over-crowded. In response, surfers began to travel, searching for new locations, a new paradise with warm water, no crowds, and perfect waves (Ponting 2009). Both traveling and
surfing develop from cultural shifts associated with the Beat generation in the 50s and counter culture movement in the 1960s and 1970s which valued experiences, hedonism, and mobility over stability and tradition (Ormrod 2007) as well as the expansion of the automobile industry, highway networks, and the development of cheap air travel (Westwick and Neushal 2013). By connecting surfing, the beat generation, and hippie culture, this chapter examines a cluster of practices and counter cultures in a specific historical moment that shaped the trajectory of Itacaré's development as a tourist destination.

Hippie culture, and surf culture to a lesser extent, specifically values a kind of indigeneity, authenticity, and Arcadian pastoralism that are thought to exist in other non-Western, non-modern cultures. In their rejection of middle class modernity and eclectic espousal of a variety of non-Western ideas, as diverse as Eastern mysticism and Native American culture, hippies began look to the non-Western Other for inspiration and escape (Hall 2007). Together with this symbolic move away from the West, hippies, world travelers, Peace Corps volunteers, and surfers during the sixties and into the seventies traveled to Indonesia, Polynesia, South America, Africa, and other remote locations in search of perfect waves and new experiences. Also part of the “Global Sixties,” the third world became increasingly independent of imperial powers and worldwide there was “a range of political, revolutionary, social, and cultural opposition, including the counter culture” (Connery 2007: 106). The youth involved in these counter

---

12 Almost no one in Itacaré identifies as a hippie currently, even those that everyone else easily identifies as such. When thinking about hippies in relation to surfing, I am thinking about the broader cluster of counter cultural ideas that were developing in the global sixties and how they mutually influenced each other.

13 We should note that many of the processes described here happened in the 70s and 80s in Itacaré
culture movements reacted to the prosperity and conformity in first-world capitalism and consumer culture (Ormrod 2009). These movements can be understood as part a longer history of oscillations between enlightenment faith in rationality and the “counter-enlightenment” responses such as Romantic writers, painter, and poets who rejected scientific explanations of the human experience (Berlin 1982). These larger global movements during the sixties and seventies provided the context for the arrival of surfers in Itacaré and the cultural and social changes they introduced.

In Brazil, surfing drew from these global movements but also needs to be contextualized within the Brazilian political and cultural history. Surfing in 1950s in Rio de Janeiro drew upon the cultural movement of leftist writers, artists, intellectuals who were producing Bossa Nova music, Cinema Nova, and other challenges to the conservative status quo. These artists placed the pleasures and aesthetics of the beaches of Ipanema at the center of social life and then projected these ideals onto the national stage (Dias 2008). In the sixties, popular musical artists included the beach and surfing as part of the counter culture revolution against middle class morality embodied by the military dictatorship that came to power in 1964, controlling the government for more than twenty years. Although Itacaré was not a site of protests against the military dictatorship, the newcomer's involvement in local land ownership conflicts, environmental movements, and discussions over development should be considered in light of Brazilian counter culture and its rejection of military dictatorship.\footnote{One of the streets in Pituba, a neighborhood that grew out of land conflicts of the early eighties, and were connected.}
This societal restlessness in Brazil and abroad also produced new ideas about travel and place, reorganizing the relationship of developed and underdeveloped countries. The journeys undertaken by world travelers, hippies, and surfers were precursors to modern tourism, establishing routes, destinations, and even aesthetic ideals whose influences are still visible in their tropical destinations. These new destinations were not the traditional sites of high culture such as museums, monuments, and churches but rather the exoticized Other—idealized poor, religious, and indigenous communities throughout the global South. At the same time, like earlier colonial travels, this new travel was described using narratives of discovery and exploration that silenced previous history and ignored those who were already there (Ormrod 2000, Reed 1999). In Brazil, there was a similar cultural movement with Brazilians fleeing urban centers to “discover” remote rural locations and in the move from the more developed Southeast to the poorer Northeast. Many of the urban youth began to travel to the Northeast as a way to escape the increasing industrialization of urban centers in the Southeast. Couto, an anthropologist from Rio de Janeiro, writes about how her early experience traveling in the Northeast later led to her dissertation research in Itacaré.

As a militant backpacker in my adolescence, Bahia was, to me and my generation, a vast territory of adventures and emotions. I had long hikes along the deserted beaches, camping in small villages, situated in paradisiacal scenes,
where the beauty of the coconut groves couldn't always hide the difficult economic conditions of the coastal populations. The availability of free time, curiosity, and the spiritual state of being were necessary to overcome the difficulties and enjoy the pleasure of the “experience of being there” (Geertz [cited in Couto]). (Couto 2007: 4)

Couto describes the Northeast, and more specifically Bahia, as a site of spiritual nourishment, authenticity, and Edenic paradise. This is perhaps fitting in a country popularly called Bel-India: Belgium in the South and India in the North, where regional divisions have been compared to the differences between developed and underdeveloped countries. The urge to explore Northeastern Brazil is similar to the desires of North Americans and Europeans traveling throughout South America and Southeast Asia in search of an imagined authenticity available in places and people seen as being more simple and pure, and less connected to polluting capitalism (Chaim 2004). In many ways, these depictions of the Northeast maintain regional hierarchies and marginalize the Northeast by placing local culture as bounded and traditional, compared to the cosmopolitan Southeast.

Couto's reference to Geertz connects her experience of traveling to anthropological fieldwork, emphasizing how both operate in similar locations off the beaten path in “out of the way places” (Tsing 2005). Both anthropological travel and tourism often move from the first world to the third and through this movement create knowledge and experiences that increase one's cultural capital (Crick 1995, Clifford 1996, Shaw 2011). Similarly, in both anthropology and tourism the movement from developed to less developed areas follows path and
patterns made possible by colonial and imperial projects. It is perhaps these similarities that have caused anthropologists to largely ignore tourism as a significant phenomenon in their research sites. In was in this context of these global eddies of ideas and cultural currents that surfers “discovered” Itacaré. Surfer's arrival stories and their narratives of discovery were surprisingly similar to each other and not dissimilar to anthropologists’ arrival stories.

**Surfers arrive in Itacaré**

Many surfers saw Itacaré as a hidden surfing paradise, a beautiful place to escape the confines of urban life. The arrival of surfers in Itacaré represented a distinct moment of cultural friction; an awkward encounter between urban youth and local residents that began the processes of tourism development, land conflict, and environmental conservation that have shaped the physical and social landscape. Romario was the first surfer to establish residence in Itacaré. He was living in Salvador and heard from some friends about the great waves in Itacaré. A short while later he and a few friends piled into an old VW bug and began the trek south. They got to Ubaitaba in the evening and kept driving through the night going along the awful dirt roads and through rushing rivers without bridges. They arrived at the beach just as the sun was rising over the long beautiful lines of incoming waves.

> When I looked at the ocean, there were six waves, one on top of the other, ... coming from the crisp horizon. From the horizon to the beach it looked like a mirror of water, on the edge of the beach there wasn't a drop of foam . . ..
When I saw these waves, I pulled the parking break and ran down and got the best waves of my life. They were the most perfect waves of my life. It was the most perfect, most magical waves I'd ever seen. I said to myself, “This is surf, nothing else matters...” That day was a blessing. It was an epic day. It changed me. It was a day I said, I'm going to make a life here. I'm going to raise my children here. I'm going to create my history here. (Romario, interview, April 16, 2012)

And he did. A year later in 1974, Romario moved back to Itacaré to stay there permanently. His willingness to abandon work prospects, family, and social responsibilities in the capital sets him apart as one of the first of a new kind of migrant to Itacaré, those who came searching for a new lifestyle and relationship with nature. As the first surfer to do so, Romario is credited with establishing surfing in Itacaré. Most people in the town, even those who don't surf, agree that the arrival of surfers and the changes they brought marked the beginning of a new chapter in the history of Itacaré.

With a few exceptions, the residents of Itacaré were not initially excited about these newcomers. Throughout Brazil during the sixties and seventies surfers were stereo-typed as “pot-heads” and “vagabonds” and were looked down upon because of their association with illegal drugs, youthful hedonism, and social irresponsibility. Jorge describes this first moment of cultural contact,

Really I participated and am responsible for the introduction of [surf] culture here. During that time it was
seen with bad eyes. The police persecuted [us]. There were a series of police occurrences with surfers in the beginning. The guys would come from Salvador, thinking that they were coming to paradise and because marijuana was always a part of surf culture, they would bring a little weed to smoke. But there was an officer here who threw more than 10 surfers in jail. People came unprepared and didn't know. He would catch them on the beach and they would be in jail and have a case against them. There was this persecution during the first encounter because of the cultural shock that we caused. (Jorge, interview, July 14, 2012)

This clash can also be seen in the stories the first surfers tell of their early experiences in Itacaré. While I was sitting at a small bar along the riverfront, Jorge told me the story about how “he drank a VW Bug” at this same bar about 30 years ago. He and his friends spent the whole summer drinking and piling up debt at a local bar. Broke at the end of the summer he called his parents for money. They refused to help so he sold his car to pay the bar tab and get a bus back to Salvador. This kind of disposable income and partying lifestyle stood in stark contrast to the conservative social traditions of this small rural town.

These stories illustrate the cultural and class differences between surfers and local residents that reinforced locals’ negative reactions to the first surfers that arrived. Surfers were typically from educated, upper middle class families. Despite these class differences, many of the surfers were consciously rejecting
their social position, living in Itacaré against their parents’ wishes. Their parents were hoping that their children would come around and eventually abandon their extended vacations in Itacaré and return to the real life in the city; a life of work, education, and social responsibility. However, these youth still benefitted from their education, social connections, and economic position, which allowed them to take advantage of the growing tourist economy.

In the beginning, several of the first surfers to move to Itacaré bought fishing boats and worked as fishermen as a way to survive in an economy that offered very little options. Another used the fact that he had a car and connections in Salvador to buy and resell fish from local fishermen to restaurants and hotels in the capital. Given their economic, cultural, and social capital most surfers from outside eventually moved on and became involved in the more profitable tourism and real estate markets that later developed, distinguishing them from local surfers who generally lacked the cultural and financial capital to take advantage of these opportunities, and marking a transition from their youthful hedonistic pursuits.

The first local boys who learned to surf in the late seventies were mostly from the small middle-class in Itacaré whose parents had bureaucratic position with the municipal or state government. In several cases their parents owned a guesthouse or had extra rooms that they rented out to the first visiting surfers. The local boys couldn’t afford surfboards and would act as guides and take surfers to remote rural beaches in order to be able to borrow boards after the visitors were done surfing. The visiting surfers would loan surfboards to the local kids so they would have someone to surf with or leave a surfboard to pay for food and rent after they left Itacaré and gradually a small group of local kids learned to surf.
In the beginning, many of the first local surfers’ parents forbade them from surfing. Edison, one of the first generation of surfers from Itacaré and long-time President of the Surf Association recalled how, “surfers were dirty, pot-heads, you know, there was total discrimination during that era. They were rich kids (filho de papai), sons of rich people that traveled. For us to get waves we had to get waves in hiding from our parents” (interview, March 14, 2012). So, like resourceful youth everywhere, they hid their boards in the jungle or at a friend's house and surfed in secret. Pedro, one of the first local surfers and the son of a retired military officer and local police chief describes his parent's reaction to his surfer's afro, “My hair was big, the old man didn't want big hair, big hair was something for vagabonds, and then my brother had huge hair, blond, mine was light brown and curly” (interview, January 27, 2012). Their parents, however, were waging a losing battle as surfing continued to grow and eventually became a pathway to involvement in the growing tourist economy.

Changing hairstyles illustrates how these young men were not only learning a sport but a new habitus, a new embodied way of being in the world and different aesthetic and environmental perspectives associated with the new counter culture (Bourdieu 1984). Surfing represented a new cosmopolitan youth culture that was connected with the capital and the exterior. Isaias, another of the first generation of native surfers in Itacaré learned to surf, “because of the liberty, because of the contact with nature, the contact with the ocean. I really like the ocean. I like to dive, fish, I like everything in the water, sailing, everything” (interview, June 6, 2012). Although many of these activities figured prominently in Itacaré prior to surfing, surf culture put them in a new perspective, rendering
them as much play as work; to be valued against an urban lifestyle removed from
nature. Surfing framed this interaction with nature as liberating, as play rather than
work, and validated the local rural lifestyle and its connection to nature. Through
surfing, and later tourism, nature began to be more heavily associated with
concepts like beauty and freedom, which eventually reshapes the environment
itself.

**Surfer's habitus and the embodied performance of place**

Over time the idea of surfers as lazy potheads gradually faded and was
replaced with an idea of surfing as a healthy sport, a positive influence on youth,
and most importantly, a path to involvement in the tourist economy. Through the
eighties and nineties, as contests and media coverage provided recognition and
money for surfing worldwide, there was shift to focus on surfing as a sport and
surfers as athletes (Booth 1995). This shift was seen throughout Brazil and
internationally as the surf industry began to grow and much of the rebelliousness
and anti-establishment direction in surfing became co-opted as new marketing
strategies. At the same time, surf companies in Brazil and abroad shifted their
marketing to portray surfing as a healthy sport, emphasizing the positive aspects
such as its connection with nature, exercise, and discipline, leaving behind its
connections to bohemian lifestyles (Fortes 2008, Kojin 1996). Even today there is
an ongoing debate within surfing about the contradictions between the sport's
increasing commercialization and its anti-establishment origins (Lanagan 2002,
Booth 1999).

This shift emphasizes how the surf industry does not just produce clothing,
surfboards, or surf gear but rather imaginaries, identities, and experiences. MacCannell calls this process cultural production and uses it to analyze how the tourist industry illustrates larger shifts in the nature of late capitalism (MacCannell 1989). Because of these similarities between the nature of surf and tourism industries, surfing prepared these youth for involvement in the tourist economy by creating aesthetic sensibilities about nature, ideas about travel, and other kinds of cultural capital that allowed them to connect with upper and middle-class tourists.

Itacaré's identity as a surf town and tourist destination developed together. Surfing's image began to change as surf magazines and contests brought outside recognition and put Itacaré on the map as a tourist destination. As tourism exploded in the years following the paving of the BR001 in 1998, surf shops, surfboard shapers, and surf schools became a growing part of the local economy. One local surf shop owner described how discrimination stopped when surfing became "good business." Surfing has provided a potential avenue of economic improvement for local boys by teaching them cultural knowledge and perspectives associated with the urban middle class.  

Zeca, the President of the Itacaré Longboarding Association and organizer of multiple longboarding contests in the town visited Itacaré as a youth and then moved to Itacaré after the road was built.

He describes how surfing helped local youth who,

Didn’t have material conditions. I had to give them boards.

I had to talk with their parents. Their parent's didn't have money to pay the contest fees, so I went there and talked

---

15 In its modern form, surfing has primarily been a male sport although there is some evidence that this is changing; the identity, habitus, and attitudes are largely masculine (Stedman 1997, Booth 2001, Henderson 2001, Waitt 2008).
with them, explained that they would help out, running errands, in order to pay [the entry fees] with their service. I got these young kids and now there are ten judges, eighty sponsors in the city. I trained ten judges. Everyone who didn't surf I got them started on longboarding. Every one of these kids has one, two, or three trophies at home. Their parents respect me. With surfing, I changed the mentality of the people. I gave them health, work, leisure, culture. And today there are people in the city who speak English because of me. I gave them everything. Surf is culture, work, leisure ... I created opportunities for them. ...Surfing does this; surfing creates jobs. It creates health. It creates peace, the spirit of Aloha and all of this. (Interview, April 6, 2012)

From this perspective learning to surf is not just about picking up a new sport but about learning a new set of values and skills that then create economic and cultural opportunities. Learning to surf provides local youth with new cosmopolitan perspectives, kinesthetic abilities, aesthetic sensibilities, and vocabularies that allow them to interact in middle and upper-class social spheres, especially important skills in a growing tourist economy. This cultural capital can be transformed into economic capital through surf schools, surf shops, surfboard shaping, environmental NGOs, and competitive surfing. Zeca's description, like his own personality, is somewhat paternalistic, in that knowledge is transferred from outsiders to the locals, from more developed to less. Similarly, his vision of
surfing is also idealistic, almost religious, as a path to a higher state of being. While this religious and idealized vision of surfing is routine in surf literature and brands, most surfers do not necessarily adopt it as whole-heartedly.

One of the ways that this cultural capital is transformed into economic capital is through romantic relationships. Understanding romance and sexuality is important to getting at the performative and embodied constructions of place (Littlewood 2001). Shared interest in sports like surfing allows locals and outsiders to meet and develop meaningful relationships. Scores of young people in Itacaré have dated or married visitors from Southern Brazil, Europe, and the US, often crossing significant socio-economic divides. These relationships, most often between European women and men from Itacaré, provide opportunities for natives to travel, learn new languages, and gain access to new circles of friendships.16 While many of these relationships are short lived and last only during a vacation, a significant number of couples marry and have children, developing households and opening businesses together and moving back and forth between Itacaré and abroad. As Allen notes in his work on sexual tourism in Cuba, “the distinction between 'romance' and commerce are more like dynamic conduits rather than sturdy barriers” (Allen 2011: 11). Dona Benedita, an older black lady from Porto de Trás, described how she has children in Salvador, São Paulo, and abroad. One son has lived in Australia for fourteen years and, 

Says he's on the other side of the world and still isn't used to it. They come here every two years. Those who are

16 Most sexual tourism is between men from developed countries and women from developing countries while there are a few notable exceptions in places Bali and Cuba. In Itacaré, the small, safe and rural characteristics of the town seem to make it a safer space for women to develop these kinds of relationships.
brave go abroad, but a lot aren't. His wife surfs, he does as well. When he was little I didn't let him but once he was teenager I couldn't control him anymore. What can you do? His son is nine and already surfs. I think that surfing is good. People from outside come here, they have contests. (Benedita, interview, July 6, 2012)

Gilberto, a rural schoolteacher and longtime activists involved in a number of community organizations also positively commented on the possibilities provided by these relationships.

The coming of these gringo people is really intense. Even interracial marriages are more peaceful. There's quite a few. It really helps some people. There will be a young man who doesn't really have any opportunity to get ahead in life. If he finds a good person, he can climb socially, he can achieve things. There are lots of them that move abroad, Switzerland, Italy, Norway, Finland, France, Spain, and Portugal. [Do these relationships work out?] Until now they have, it seems like they are. From then until now, almost no one has come back. This is without even mentioning those that married other Brazilian, from São Paulo, Rio Grande do Sul…There’s Dilma's brother who lives in Australia and teaches capoeira there. There are some people that live in Switzerland too, some girls. There's a girl from Porto de Trás who married a guy from
Belgium, and thank goodness they're doing really well.

She bought a cacao farm and her father takes care of it.

That's how it works. (Gilberto, interview, March 29, 2012)

These kinds of description are a far cry from the accounts of exploitation and prostitution often associated with tourism, and rather point to committed, long term relationships that require new ways to think about how tourism allows locals and outsiders to meet across cultural difference. In these encounters, like sexual tourism more generally, gendered ideas of national, economic, and racial differences work to create sensual and affective relationships (Piscitelli 2001, 2007, Faier 2009). Thinking about the affect and sensuality that structures these often unequal encounters forces our analysis beyond simple economic benefits (Stoler 2002).

Although I have focused on surfing, there are multiple ways that sports and related consumer cultures connect with place-based identities. Logan's work shows how mountaineering in Argentina has created a re-ethnification in which indigeneity is seen, “within the semiotics of mountaineering as an oppositional sign to the trapping of modernity and everyday life” (Logan 2009: 409). Similarly, surfing, by positioning itself as a neo-indigenous culture, claims a connection to place and local culture through its connection to the sea. Surfer's self-perceptions as neo-indigenous is tied to their sense of their own unique culture as well as their rejection of some aspects of capitalist modernity, their relationship and knowledge of the environment, and historical connections to places like Hawaii (Reed
Like the situation in Argentina, local surfer's claims to local or neo-indigenous identity can work to erase and diminish other local cultures claims.

Similarly to surfing, capoeira, a Brazilian martial art form that has been steadily growing throughout Europe and North America, also functions to connect both outsiders and locals to place because it is seen as authentic, experiential and non-commercial, especially in Bahia (Hedegard 2013). Because capoeira was developed by Afro-Brazilians, Bahia is seen as the spiritual and cultural center of the sport. Like surfing, capoeira can provide a similar path to greater social and economic status for local youth, especially in a tourist economy that valorizes Bahian culture in new ways and provides these youth with connections to outsiders (Hedegard 2007).

Similarly, Reggae, an originally Afro-Jamaican musical form, has been widely adopted throughout Bahia and can be heard constantly in Itacaré. This soundscape is significant in creating Itacaré as a place, in creating a specific atmosphere and feel (Saldanha 2002, Hirshkind 2006). Reggae and dreadlocks, as a musical and cultural forms of the African Diaspora, are widely adopted in Itacaré as markers of Afro-Brazilian cultural identity and resistance to colonial and racial hierarchies. They are cosmopolitan cultural practices that have been localized, even commoditized. Souvenir shops sell like figurines of capoeiristas and surfers with long dread locks as mementos that represent Itacaré and Bahia. Like surfing, reggae music indicates the multiple ways that places are formed by cultural flows and bodily practices, not always in predictable ways.

17 Surf museums, self-described surf anthropologists, surf rituals, and other similar practices mark surfer's desire to be seen as a neo-indigenous sub-culture, distinct from society.
The impact and influence of surfing on the place and people of Itacaré provides a good synopsis of the influence of tourism more generally. The life story of Chico, the first local surfer, illustrates these processes well. Unlike most of the other early local surfers, he came from the town’s lower social class. He was raised by a single mother in a wattle and daub cottage and never knew his father, a sailor passing through. After learning to surf he married someone from outside the town. Over time and with help from his wife's work, he built his house on a hill with a large veranda and ocean view, based on Hawaiian beach houses he saw in surf magazines. He planted the hillside with tropical fruit trees because he wanted to be in the middle of nature. Renting this house and others on the property to outsiders who come to live or visit Itacaré for extended periods of time has provided him with a stable income over the years. Examining an old black and white photograph of the area I was surprised to see that the hill behind his house was a grassy mound, markedly different from its current forested state. In this way, his aesthetics sensibilities have also transformed the way the town looks. A new surfers habitus produces changing habitats as the town transforms and vice-versa in a self-reinforcing system of positive feedback. As people's attitudes, values, and perspectives change they create new aesthetics for their homes, public spaces, and the town itself.

Although surfing is decidedly cosmopolitan, encouraging people to travel to discover new waves, and those representatives of youth culture have brought sport throughout the globe, it is also always local, because its practice requires

---

18 The specific interventions of newcomers in architecture and urban development will be expanded in Chapter 4.
people to intimately know and become connected to local topography. In Itacaré, surfing, like capoeira has also been adopted as a fundamental part of native local culture. Wanderley, a pousada owner from a nearby town recalls how his two sons learned to surf “with the natives from here. In other places the main sport is soccer, but here it's surfing. It's in people's blood” (Wanderley, interview, July 2, 2012). Because of people's connection with the ocean through fishing, even those who don’t surf no longer see surfing as something from the outside, but an integral part of local tradition and culture. This seems less strange if we refuse to accept localism and cosmopolitan as opposite forces but rather explore the mutual ways they construct each other.

**Surfers transform the city**

The city was like this, just poor people. There wasn't any development. There was fishing. There wasn't any tourism in the city. Surfing opened the doors of the city to the world over the decades. We [surfers] started to talk about Itacaré outside and people started to come. Surfers started to come and the city was discovered. (Zeca interview, April 6, 2012)

Surfing, by connecting Itacaré with a growing sport that was perceived to be adventurous, young, and environmentally conscious put Itacaré on the national and international radar, helping to establish Itacaré as an eco-tourism destination
at a crucial time that encouraged government and private investments that radically transformed the town. Surfers who moved to the town also brought money to invest and open new businesses as well an aesthetic sense that shaped these new businesses (Stranger 1999). They organized the Itacaré Surf Association that gave them an organized voice for participation in political processes. At the same time, this quote illustrates a kind of neo-colonial paradigm in which outsiders discover the town and their expertise is necessary for development, ignoring local contributions to these processes. Although surfers worked with and respected locals more than most outsiders, they still shared many of the common prejudices.

Many people describe how surfers and their parents, mostly from Rio de Janeiro and São Paulo, were among the first outsiders to invest and start to buy land in Itacaré. Their sons moved to Itacaré, opened a small bar or surf shop, and started to get established. After visiting and deciding that Itacaré could be a good investment opportunity, or simply wanting to be near their children or grandchildren who could not be persuaded to move back, the parents bought land in Itacaré. The land they were most interested in was near the beaches, and with this pressure the town began to expand away from the center along the riverfront towards the ocean beaches with their larger waves. The neighborhood of Pituba was established by these first amenity migrants together with local fisherman in a violent history of land conflict that will be traced more fully in later chapters.

Many of the surfers who arrived were well educated and had experience in organizing and working for social justice. On multiple occasions, I would be talking to the heads of environmental organizations, college professors, doctors,
lawyers, architects, and other professionals in Itacaré only to find out that they were also surfers and originally came to surf, later moving there and establishing themselves in their respective professions. Tomas, one of the early organizers of the surf association, describes how,

The community gained a lot with this work. Surfing came with this struggle. Surfing came through this struggle that I participated in. I brought the first contest here. I surfed. I came to surf, but I found serious social problems. The community didn't have the right to rebel and fight for what was theirs. I worked with a variety of professionals, lawyers, illustrators, artists, musicians, and we made a movement, a conquest of space. (Tomas, interview. March 22, 2012)

This quote describes how early surfers and other outsiders worked with locals and organized against the social inequality and injustices that were endemic in Brazil during this time. They were a part of the moment during the early nineties that resulted in a significant increase in the number of NGOs in Brazil as the military dictatorship came to an end and civil society began to expand. In Itacaré, this process happened as outsiders organized together with local residents to challenge existing social and economic disparities. While the biggest of these fights were around land rights and public spaces, these groups also organized around environmental activism, education, and other social initiatives.

In 1989 a group of outside surfers, together with some of the local surfers, established the Itacaré Surf Association, one of the oldest, continuously active
NGOs in the city. Although the original inspiration for the NGO, the charter, and organizational structure all came from outsiders who had the necessary academic skills, they realized how important it was for the first president to be a native of Itacaré. Within surf culture, local's sense of connection to and knowledge of local surf breaks is respected.\(^{19}\) This dynamic, of combining outside knowledge, social connections, and financial resources with local claims to place has proven to be highly effective in a variety of local political and environmental struggles.\(^{20}\)

That is not to say that the Surf Association is without conflict. The most recent election pitted Edison, a local and the longtime president, against an outsider, the owner of the oldest surf shop in town. Edison won by one vote in what many consider to be a fraudulent election, where Edison’s relatives who were not members of the association or even surfers cast many of the votes. As a result of these kinds of conflicts, some people recognize the past contributions of the Itacaré Surf Association but no longer consider it to be effective, partly a result of increasingly political distance between locals and outsiders.

Over the years the Itacaré Surf Association has expanded its influence to include a wide variety of actions beyond surfing. The Association is a voting member of a variety of municipal councils and the Itacaré-Serra Grande Environmental Protected Area Management Council. Jefferson, one of the founding members of the Itacaré Surf Association and the marketing director for the Association, recalls the role of the Association in Itacaré.

We can see in other cities that surfers just deal with surf.\(^{19}\) In some areas this can lead to violent localism in many areas as people protect their surf breaks from outside intruders, although this is generally not the case in Itacaré where the locals depend on tourists economically (Schiebel 1995, Scott 2003)\(^{20}\) This is reminiscent of similar alliances in Amazonian ecopolitics (Conklin and Graham 1995).
In Itacaré, we [the Itacaré Surf Association], grew together with the city and we developed together with society, and the Association has ended up participating in the important decisions. It's an organization that is always remembered when there is an important meeting, when civil society meets together. When community organizations meet, the Itacaré Surf Association is always invited to participate and has an active voice. The opinions, the reflections of the Surf Association are really respected because we've been accompanying this process since the beginning, since the rebirth of Itacaré. (Jefferson, interview, April 19, 2012)

Jefferson went on to describe the ways in which the Itacaré Surf Association has participated in the development of Itacaré and has organized on a wide variety of issues around youth development, the environment, beach access and management, and tourism. Surfers’ claim that Itacaré was reborn with the introduction of surfing shows a tendency to celebrate the role of surfing and neglect other important factor in the development of Itacaré. While this chapter focuses on surfing, later chapters focus on the role of the state, developers, and other residents in the growth and development of the city.

One of the most significant accomplishments of the Itacaré Surf Association has been to bring national media attention to Itacaré through the promotion of surf contests. The Association began with smaller local and regional surf contests that primarily attracted regional contestants. A surf contest brings a lot of visitors, who require places to stay, food, and other services, providing some
of the initial business for tourist establishments. More importantly, the contests provided visibility for Itacaré at a time when the State of Bahia was beginning to invest heavily in tourism as a development strategy. Eventually the National Supersurf circuit passed through Itacaré in 2002, 2003, and 2006 and an International Women's WCT contest was held in 2004 and 2006 in Itacaré, providing visibility on a national and international scale. Carlos, another founding member of the Surf Association makes these connections clear.

So we created the Surf Association and we started to have contests. It started to grow and now we've had an international contest here. Truthfully, this is what really developed the city. Because after the surf, we brought the media, and people started to come. Surf was the foundation, the beginning of development in the city. The people running the association don't even know this history, but I know. When I left the association with them, everything was already going, it was already in the news. Salvador and all of Brazil, lots of people were coming down to surf. So the Governor, Antonio Carlos Magalhaes, came and put in the road, seeing that the city was really growing. (Carlos, interview July 11, 2012)

Through the contests and media attention, surfers promoted Itacaré as a destination and began to reimagine the landscape. Instead of a sleepy fishing town or even a prospering port city, Itacaré began to be imagined as a surfer's paradise, complete with warm water, consistent surf, and pristine rainforests. This vision is
best seen in a 1994 article about Itacaré in *Fluir*, the largest Brazilian surf magazine. Several residents cited this article as the original inspiration for them to drop everything and move to Itacaré, illustrating the powerful effect of these imaginaries. These representations not only reframe how people see Itacaré, but also physically reshape the environment as people come and transform it into their own mystical paradise.

Over time, Itacaré has grown to be an important tourist destination with surfing at the center of this identity. While I was in Itacaré, a reality TV show, called “In the Waves of Itacaré,” was being filmed and broadcast by Globo, the largest Brazilian TV network and the dominant force in the Brazilian mass media. It was part of a Sunday program called “Spectacular Sports” that regularly

![Figure 1: Promotional Poster for Surf Eco Festival 2013](image)
included different kinds of adventure sports. The main parts of the program were shown on prime slots on Christmas and New Years of 2011, and then a few other short clips were shown throughout the week in between the two larger segments. The production team arrived in mid-October of 2011 and stayed for about ten days on a beach house belonging to the owners of a Brazilian surf wear company. The beach is largely isolated from the town and only publicly accessible by a three kilometer walk along the coast. Overall, the emphasis of the program was on the waves, and Itacaré was represented as a place to surf and be on the beach. Most of the footage taken was on the beach, the waves, and the house where they stayed. Although there were small segments on rafting, zip lines, and ropes courses, there was no footage of the town or any of the urban space. This program illustrates how surfing has remained the single most salient image of Itacaré in the national media but also how surfing can marginalize and exclude other representations of the city. The representation of Itacaré as a surf city has also helped shape its image as an ecotourism destination.

**Environmentalism and Surfing**

Me, Geraldo, the old Jose, we were all together in this struggle. Why? Because we all smoked weed together. The environmental stuff was connected with the occupation of Concha, which was connected with the occupation of Pituba, which was connected with the surfers, which was everyone. The surfers were connected with nature and smoked. The environmentalist also smoked. The occupiers
of Concha, the sons of the occupiers, also smoked.

(Agnaldo, interview, July 17, 2012)

Surfing was what made Itacaré be reborn, it showed a whole other side that people weren't able to see, which is its natural potential. After surfing people began to identify Itacaré as a cool place for rafting, rapids, rappelling from waterfalls, canopy tours, off-roading in Maraú. The people that came here for the surf helped to identify that Itacaré had other natural potentials. (Jefferson, interview, April 19, 2012)

Surfers describe how surfing encouraged a growing culture of environmentalism in the city by developing eco-tourism, participation in environmental organizations, and environmental activism. Surfing also helped develop a new perspective towards the beaches and coastal topography (Brown and Ford 2006). Edison, the long time President of the Itacaré Surf Association and an active campaigner against overdevelopment of the beaches explains the impact of the first visiting surfers on the town.

These dudes were born ecologists. They came to Itacaré and perceived the whole situation, enjoying this ecological paradise and said, “Let's preserve these surf breaks.” They could see there was a potential for surf, nationally and internationally. Those dudes had a vision back then. They
were considered the crazy and beautiful people from that period. They were the rich kids who traveled, who had the means to find hidden surf breaks. (Edison, interview, March 14, 2012)

Edison points out the conservationist vision of the surfers as well as the class and cultural differences between the visiting surfers and locals. Outside surfers were connected with an urban counter culture. They could travel and they had seen other rural coastal areas that were destroyed through rampant development. The surfers' perspective, as outsiders and “born ecologists,” made them realize the importance of preserving the region. Both surfing and environmentalism are part of an urban, upper class culture that is learned by locals as these different groups increasingly interact.

In Brazil, we can see these depictions in the film, Menino do Rio (The Boy from Rio) a 1981 film about a surfer in Rio de Janeiro who romantically pursues an upper class socialite. The film contrasts the elite world of European culture, fashion, ballet, and night clubs with the more natural surf culture that borrows freely from idealizations of pre-modern cultures including Hawaiian luaus, Viking burials at sea, and a playful return to Eden as surfers camp, eat plentiful fresh fruit, and play naked in waterfalls. By portraying surfing as a return to nature, they open the possibility of surfer's environmentalism. As one of the first films in Brazil marketed explicitly towards youth, it linked surfing to a burgeoning youth culture that was seen as new and exciting (Silva 2011).

---

21A quote from the song “Maluco Beleza,” by Raul Seixas, which came to define a rebellious generation in the sixties.
Rather than being unique in this regard, surfing, similar to hiking, backpacking, rock climbing, and a growing number of outdoor sports are part of a cluster of urban cultural and class based identities, sensibilities, and practices that include environmentalism as a component (Dias 2008). Jefferson, the marketing representative for the Itacaré Surf Association, describes how surfers, and their allies began to produce a culture of environmental conservation within the city.

Surfers stand out for environmental conservation, for cleaning the beaches. He [a surfer] is an environmentalist by nature. Because surfing and surfers were the first in the rebirth of Itacaré, surf started to pulse in the four corners of the city, because surf is what attracted new visitors. So people that came to Itacaré came because they had a connection with nature, with surf. Even if they didn't surf they were sympathetic to it. So this mentality of environmental conservation came from the nature of the sport. (Jefferson, interview, April 19, 2012)

When surfers were questioned about the influence of surfing on the environment words like “nature,” “customs,” “culture,” and “philosophy” were used to suggest an inherent connection between surfing and environmentalism. From these quotes, surfing can be understood not simply as a new worldview, but also a new *habitus*—an embodied and affective practice that encouraged and fostered the growth of environmental knowledge. In Itacaré, youth who learned to surf more readily adopted and identified with environmentalist ideals.

Surfers repeatedly describe themselves as, “born environmentalists,” and
“automatically guardians of nature,” and “environmentalist by nature.” They attribute these inherent qualities to the long hours spent in the water, learning to read winds, swells, and tides which help surfers understand and appreciate nature. Surfers also describe how they are among the first to suffer from the impact of environmental degradation on water quality and how, less directly, the impacts of deforestation can affect rainfall, wind, and erosion patterns which can affect wave quality. In many ways these self-depictions as having a special connection to nature are part of larger phenomenon in which surf magazines, films, and surf museums depict surfers as a kind of neo-indigenous tribe and they imagine themselves to have a innate and spiritual connection to the natural world (Rutsky 1999, Canniford and Shankar 2007, Conklin and Graham 1995). Some even go as far to argue that surfing as a cultural practice combines aesthetic, embodied, and spiritual appreciation of the ocean to create an “aquatic nature religion” (Taylor 2007). While others counter that surfers as a group and the consumption of surf clothing, equipment, and travel mean that surfing, like most modern consumer cultures, is environmentally destructive and that surfers have not participated in environmental movements in any significant way (Buckley 1999, 2002, Hill and Abbot 2009, Westwick and Neushal 2013). While recognizing the validity of this critique, I am more interested in surfers’ self-descriptions and the ways that these perceptions have shaped the development of Itacaré.

Usually young, educated, and idealistic, many of the surfers who began to move to Itacaré were active in a variety of NGOs that began in the late 80s and early 90s. Surfers were instrumental in establishing the first environmental organization, the Black Dolphins Ecological Group, which was established in
1987 in response to the beaching of a pod of Black Dolphins on Piracanga, a beach several miles north of Itacaré. Agnaldo, one of the early leaders of these movements described how outsiders became attached to Itacaré and wanted to help the city, forming a variety of organizations to protect and develop the city they grew to love.

It was all about this—the beauty of Itacaré, the waves, the windsurfing in the river mouth. There was good wind. We couldn't just be seeing all of that without doing anything. Along with the agrarian reform movement, there were others things in Itacaré that needed to be dealt with. All of this without us even wanting to. Given our quality of life in Itacaré, we couldn't just sit there with our arms crossed [not doing anything]. (Agnaldo, interview, July 17, 2012)

The Itacaré Surf Association organized against the development of hotels, fought for public access, and pushed the government to remove unregulated vendors from the urban and rural beaches, processes explored in greater length in Chapter 6.

The Brazilian Hawaii

Itacaré is commonly referred to as the Brazilian Hawaii. Hawaii is referenced as the birthplace of surfing and the archetypal tropical tourist destination, setting the gold standard that other places try to emulate. Because I grew up in Hawaii, I have always been fascinated by the common references to Hawaii in Brazil and people loved to ask me about Hawaii and its similarities and differences to Brazil. However, as I began to look closer, I began to trace the
multiple ways that Northeastern Brazil is linked to Hawaii through tangled histories of military and tourist travels, surf media, and shared resistance to colonialism

Hawaii is portrayed in the media as the tropics writ-large; the sensuality of the hula, the warm tropical sun, blue water, and white sand beaches. While alluring tales of tropical Pacific Islands have been around in Western consciousness since European explorers first arrived, Hawaii was one of the first destinations to capitalize on these associations and develop a tourist industry that made the tropics accessible (Lofgren 1999). This was made possible through cheap air travel, mass media, and Hawaiian statehood, all connected in part to Hawaii's role in World War II. Since then numerous other tropical and not so tropical tourist destinations use Hawaiian imagery, architecture, and themes to market themselves. Part of the commercialized allure of Hawaii is the contact with the primitive Other. The primitive Other, by being outside of the alienation that is inherent in modern capitalist societies, is seen as embodying the authenticity that attracts modern tourists (MacCannell 1989 [1976]). The idealized primitive Other lives in the moment, is happy, hospitable, and naturally lives the relaxed hedonistic life the tourists come to experience. This section will examine how these ideas of Hawaii resurface in Brazil in general, and then specifically in Bahia and Itacaré.

Beyond the surf community, the idea of Hawaii resurfaces again and again in Brazilian popular culture in ways that suggest that the idealization of tropical places is not simply an invention of the tourist industry. Several examples illustrate this point. Throughout Brazil, there are Hawaiian Luaus and Hawaiian
parties, and a number of surf wear and other clothing brands refer to Hawaii, and use Hawaiian words, sometimes incorrectly. One of the most visible symbols of Hawaii in Brazil are Havaianas (Hawaiians), a brand of colorful flip-flops that have come to symbolize Brazilian culture both within Brazil and abroad. A television commercial shows a group of lost Brazilian couple in the airport, identifying other Brazilians who can help them through their Havaianas. Many pairs of Havaianas feature a small Brazilian flag and the flag's colors as they have come to be an important visual marker of Brazilian national identity. Because of this, tourists buy Havaianas as souvenirs to claim a connection to Brazil. Havaianas work as a symbol for Brazil because enough consumers perceive the brand and tropical, colorful, and laid back identity associated with it, as capturing something meaningful about Brazilian national character through identification with Hawaii. Ironically, two Argentinian brothers created a California based brand of flip-flops called Reef Brazil who use highly sexualized images of Brazilian women to cater to Americans' daydreams about tropical foreign Others, illustrating how ideas of place circulated in consumer and national cultures.

Another important reference to Hawaii can be seen in popular Brazilian musician Caetano Veloso's popular song, “Menino do Rio,” (1980) in which describes a young surfer/beach boy from Rio. The song was the inspiration for the previously mentioned movie of the same name. In the song we see many tropical images that connect Brazil to an imagined Hawaii.

Menino do Rio 
Boy from Rio

Calor que provoca arrepio 
Heat that excites you

---

22 One children's clothing company in Brazil is called pakalolo, the Hawaiian word for Marijuana.
Dragão tatuado no braço  Dragon tattooed on his arm
Calção corpo aberto no espaço  Boardshorts, body open in space
Coração, de eterno flerte  Heart of the eternal flirt
Adoro ver-te...  I love to see you
Menino vadio  Vagrant youth
Tensão flutuante do Rio  Floating tension (sexual) of Rio
Eu canto prá Deus  I sing to God
Proteger-te...  to protect you
O Hawái, seja aqui  Let Hawaii be here
Tudo o que sonhares  All that you dream of
Todos os lugares  All of the places
As ondas dos mares  The waves of the sea
Pois quando eu te vejo  Because when I see you
Eu desejo o teu desejo...  I want what you want

Here the tropical heat is seen as producing romantic and sexual tension. The image of the tattooed, tanned, shirtless young man, living in the moment during the summers of Rio is simultaneously romanticized and made vulnerable. The singer prays to God to protect the youth and what he represents, who is at danger from the violent social realities of Rio de Janeiro or perhaps simply the requirements of adult life. He asks that the tropical ideal of Hawaii be here; the waves, the dreams, romance, and tranquility that the young man longs for be found in Brazil. Hawaii is set up as a positive tropical ideal, a dream, which Brazil
should try to emulate.

Caetano Veloso, along with Rita Lee, Gilberto Gil, Torquato Neto, os Mutantes, Gal Costa, and Tom Zé were all part of a musical movement in the sixties known as Tropicalismo. Drawing from Oswaldo de Andrade's Anthropophagic Manifesto, they ironically drew upon the imagined tradition of cannibalism to eat/absorb other musical influences and combine them with traditional sounds to produce a new musical genre. In this case they appropriated and subverted the negative colonial description of tropical primitivism and then used this to develop an eclectic, cosmopolitan sound that celebrates tropical Brazil. In this case, their efforts to rewrite the colonizer/colonized scripts and celebrate a tropical identity within the colonized South cannot be dismissed as merely absorbing neo-colonial tourism marketing strategies but should be seen as a part of worldwide counter cultural resistance and anti-colonial struggles of the 1960s. In Brazil, this counter culture specifically rejected the social control and morality imposed by the military dictatorship. It was also during the sixties that Hawaii began to appear as a theme in Brazilian carnival parades, another site to challenge the status quo and assert the cultural salience of Hawaii (Dias 2008).

In the Northeast, these references to Hawaii are even more developed. While visiting several different museum exhibits celebrating Jorge Amado, a famed Brazilian author from Ilhéus whose writings have popularized Bahia and the Northeast, I was struck how each exhibit contained several of Amado's authentic Hawaiian shirts framed in glass cases. Jorge Amado, an iconic representation of the Brazilian Northeast, was most often pictured wearing colorful Hawaiian shirts. These shirts, called slackies in Brazil, were introduced
by US service men stationed in Northeastern Brazil during World War II and soon became widely popular. The military presence in Hawaii during the same time also led to an increase in air travel to Hawaii, its growing popularization as a tourist destination, and its popular portrayal in the growing Hollywood film industry. Thus we see how military and leisure travel weave together in the production of Hawaii as a tourist destination and the Brazilian consumption of these ideas.

Jorge Amado's use of Hawaiian shirts is particularly significant because of his essential role in establishing and then exporting a distinct, tropical cultural identity for Bahia and Northeastern Brazil. Amado's portrayal of Bahia is one of voluptuous, dark skinned women, decadent tropical desserts, and exuberant

![Figure 2: Jorge Amado's Hawaiian Shirts on Display at the Casa Cultural Jorge Amado, Ilhéus, Bahia, Brazil](image)

---

23 Northeastern Brazil, including Amapá, Belem, Natal, Fortaleza, Recife, and Fernando de Noronha were essential airfields for the US to move aircraft, men, and supplies across the South Atlantic into the European and Asian conflicts as the North Atlantic was unpassable in winter and the Japanese controlled the Pacific (Conn and Fairchild 1989).
nature. His novels celebrate the sensuous warmth of Bahia while critiquing the violence and social inequality. His work has had a significant cultural impact in both Brazil and abroad as his novels have been adapted to soap operas, feature length films, and have been translated into scores of languages. Within Brazil, Amado's work was essential in changing the image of the Northeast from earlier depictions of the arid interior, drought, and depravity to one that focused on the more productive coastal areas. He was also writing at a time when the cacao boom brought tremendous wealth to Southern Bahia. In many ways, Amado's writings, especially for foreign audiences, do not just represent Bahia or the Northeast but all of Brazil. His readers come to Bahia to visit the real Brazil Amado describes, placing Bahia at the center of a tropical Brazilian identity.

Like Hawaii, Bahia is marketed as a tourist destination by the natural friendliness, warmth, and acceptance of outsiders. In both Bahia and Hawaii, tourist marketers’ representations of place are racialized and gendered, with dark men being emasculated and ignored while dark women are portrayed as sexually uninhibited, welcoming, and available (Brislin 2003, Walker 2008). Travel to warmer countries as an escape from Northern frigid sexual norms has a long history that has been traced through the Grand Tour and Gauguin’s travels to the South Pacific. This history emphasizes connections between tropical heat, nudity, and relaxed sexual norms (Littlewood 2001). The sexualization of Brazilian women, especially darker mulattas and morenas, and the sexual interactions between European men and indigenous and African women is part of Gilberto Freyre foundational story of Brazilian nationhood (Freyre 1964?). Similarly, many of Jorge Amado's female characters are prostitutes, portrayed as dark, passionate,
and sexually voracious. More recent accounts describe how these scholarly and literary works travel and provide impetus for sex tourism where Europeans visit Northeastern Brazil to meet Brazilian women (Piscitelli 2001, 2007).

Another form of appropriation has been the widespread adoption of Hawaiian words and names. In the Itacaré, a number of local businesses and restaurants have names such as the Mahalo Cafe, Hawaii Cyber Cafe, Pousada Hanalei, Pousada Lanai, and others. This is consistent with the larger Brazilian surf industry's use of Hawaiian words and with the marketability of Hawaii as the archetypal tropical tourist destination. For example, two of the largest surf wear companies from the Northeast; Mahalo and Hang Loose, reference Hawaii.

Beyond these commercial references, Brazilian surf magazines and surfers also regularly use Hawaiian words like aloha, mahalo, and haole. In Itacaré, the number of Brazilians with Hawaiian names their parents gleaned from famous surfers, surf magazine, or other popular accounts of Hawaii always surprised me. Because of Hawaii's place in popular consciousness, a surprising number of people have visited and several have even lived there for a number of years. Jorge, like many other Brazilian surfers, feels particularly connected to Hawaii. For him, it is the dream of every surfer to go to Hawaii. It is the Mecca of surf. Because it was so hard for Brazilians to leave, principally to Hawaii that depends on a visa, we created our Hawaii, our idea of Hawaii. Connected to this, the surf community always had a huge interest in

---

24 Haole is a derogatory term used to describe whites in Hawaii. In Brazil, the term has lost all racial connotation and is used to describe surfers who are not local or do not surf very well. Given that most surfers in Brazil come from the whitest segments of the population this de-racialization of the term is not surprising.
Polynesia culture. It's an identity as well. We, [surfers] as a group, like these vibrations of friendship, love of nature, love of waves. This reality is like a parameter or a paradigm that we wanted to follow. (Jorge, interview July 14, 2012)

Thus Hawaii is seen as a site of origin and sacred pilgrimage for surfers, a trip that has to be made once in a lifetime. Itacaré's identity was established as a Brazilian version of Hawaii. In this sense Northeastern Brazil stands in as a tropical, warm, friendly place for those escaping large cities or the colder south. The connection to Hawaii is seen as cultural connection as well, a shared emphasis on human relationships, nature, and waves rather than a marketing ploy. Jorge emphasized how surfers in Itacaré saw Hawaii and surfing as part of an alternative to modern, capitalistic cultures of dominant society. The Northeast, already positioned outside of the developed southeastern Brazil, adopts Hawaiian culture as a positive position outside of the developed center, perhaps in the same way that Brazilians in general connect to Hawaii as a positive cultural model and identity in contrast to Europe and North America.

Many Baianos, when talking about their connection to Hawaii, made the connection between the Hawaiian spirit of Aloha and the Bahian hospitality. Jorge was particularly articulate about this spiritual and cultural affinity.

There is a spiritual identity. I would suggest that it is a spiritual question about these peoples. I think it would be easy for a Baiano to live in Hawaii and Hawaiian to live in Bahia. I don't think it would be that hard; they would
adapt easily. The real Hawaiians, the natives, who have a
culture of sharing, of receiving people, the Aloha spirit.

(Jorge, interview July 14, 2012)

Here, Jorge describes how indigenous Hawaiians share an innate spiritual
and cultural essence with Baianos. He sees both groups as hospitable,
warm, receptive; which he characterizes as the Aloha Spirit. While this
innate hospitality and cultural friendliness is created in part by tourism
advertisement campaigns, locals accept and use these ideals to develop a
positive identity and relationship with similarly depicted people and
place.

While it is tempting to dismiss these narratives as local consumption of
commercialized representations of themselves, Zeca's romantic descriptions of the
origins of surfing in Hawaii indicate ways in which the connection to Hawaii
could also indicate shared struggles against colonialism.

[When Native Hawaiians] made a surfboard they planted
ten trees around the one they took out. This idea of
protecting nature was brought [here] by surfing. Surfing
arrived in Brazil with reference of Hawaii. We respect all
of our [Hawaiian] idols. We start with the idea that Hawaii
is our home, the home of surfing. Duke Kahanamoku was
the guy that revived surfing in Hawaii. Because after the
Americans arrived in Hawaii in the 1700s they brought a
wave of racism against the black, the natives. They
destroyed everything and formed a new culture. When
they arrived in the 1700s, they destroyed the surf
champions, decimated the villages, all the kings who
owned everything. (Zeca, interview, April 6, 2012)

In this description Zeca conflates native Hawaiians and all surfers, as natural
defenders of the environment and who both share a homeland in Hawaii. While
most accounts blame religion, and to a lesser extent, colonialism for the
destruction of surfing and Hawaiian culture, Zeca insightfully includes racism.
Later on in our conversation, Zeca reinterprets Duke Kahanamoku's Olympic
swimming medals as racial victories of a dark athlete over white ones. Thus
Hawaiian racial categories are interpreted within a Brazilian racial framework and
native Hawaiian victories are reinterpreted as universal ones.

Writing about surfing and the Hawaiian Renaissance, surf historian Isaiah
Walker describes about how surfing becomes a site for resistance to the
emasculating colonial narratives and the re-establishment of a strong Native
Hawaiian masculinity connected to the Hawaiian nationalism and cultural
activism in the seventies (Walker 2005, 2008, see also McGloin 2005). Similarly,
Baianos feel connected to Hawaii, not just because it seemed like a cool place, but
because of a sense of shared colonial histories. Hawaiians were natives who were
celebrated and admired, a positive racialized Other who established themselves in
opposition to colonial powers.25

Several people even mentioned that the localism and nativism movement
in Itacaré can be connected to the ideas of localism that began in Hawaii. The surf

25It should be noted that in Hawaii, local Hawaiians do not see Brazilian surfers as having any kind
of shared history. Rather they are discriminated against as another groups of outsiders who don't
have the proper respect for local Hawaiian culture. This follows a general and longstanding pattern
of discrimination against Brazilians in almost all English-speaking surf media.
media extensively discusses Hawaiian localism and how surfers in Hawaii fought back against the Australians and Americans who came to the islands and did not show the proper respect to the locals (Bustin’ down the door 2009). In a sense, the native resistance by Hawaiians through surfing has resonated in other places of the world. While localism in surfing can be found in California, Australia, and almost everywhere there are surfers, the connections between Bahia and Hawaii imagines a shared resistance to colonialism and racism through local identities. Tourism, by bringing in outsiders, could be seen as a similar catalyst in the formation of these local identities.

From this description of ideas about Hawaii in Brazil and the Northeast particularly, we can see how places and identities form through transnational flows of people and things; like surf magazines, military families stationed abroad, or tourists coming to Itacaré. Surfing also serves as an important medium to connect different people and concepts across oceans, creating identities connected to environmentalism and local places. The surfers who arrived in Itacaré in the seventies and eighties were influential in shaping the trajectory of tourism and environmentalism in the region through their participation in social movements, activism, and the growing tourist economy. But beyond these specific interventions, surfing was part of global cultural shift that helped put out of the way places like Itacaré on the map. Surfing, as one piece of a larger global movement that began in the sixties, is part of imaginative and physical migration south, from the cold industrial north to the warm tropical south.
Chapter 3: State sponsored tourism and conservation

This chapter examines the role of the state in the creation of a new tourist geography through the development of infrastructure and marketing campaigns. These efforts focus around the Tourism Development Program (PRODETUR), a state and federal project initiated in 1994 to develop tourism as a national industry with different sections for the North, South, and Northeast. PRODETUR Northeast invested $670 million USD from 1996 to 1999, with a little under half for airports and roads (Cabral 2006). Eventually these regional programs were combined into the National PRODETUR, which is now entering its second phase. PRODETUR is part of a larger neoliberal and globalizing shift for the Brazilian economy as it transitioned from the central planning strategy of the military dictatorship and instead created more decentralized policies that encouraged state and municipal participation and private market investments (De Araujo and Dredge 2012). While much work has examined how neoliberalism encouraged privatization and the commodification of local culture as part of new development strategies (Hale 2005, Harvey 2007, Comaroff and Comaroff 2009), this project explores how this happens through public/private partnerships where the government creates the conditions for private investments. In Bahia, PRODETUR led to the creation and marketing of tourist regions, the construction of roads and other infrastructure projects, and the setting aside of protected areas, each of which were important to attract private investors to help establish tourism in the region by attracting private investors (Delgado 2009). The government investment meant to encourage economic growth and investments in regions, like the
Northeast, that have been historically ignored.

This chapter emphasizes the effects of political negotiation between the state, local political elite, and popular pressure in four distinct arenas that have shaped landscapes: 1) the paving of the BR 001 highway that connects Itacaré to Ilhéus, 2) the creation of agrarian reform settlements in the region, 3) the establishment of environmental protected areas, and 4) new development possibilities in oil and a deep water port (Chilcote 1990). The state shapes local development and transforms the landscape through the creation of public spaces, like agrarian reform, environmental protected areas, and roads. By contextualizing local development in larger regional and national political initiatives like PRODETUR, we see how landscapes and places are formed through conversation with larger political and social processes. From this perspective the state emerges as fragmentary and divided, despite its enormous influence through strategic interventions and investments at particular moments (Li 1999).

The most significant project for the development of tourism in Itacaré was the construction of the highway BR001, which linked Itacaré to the airport in Ilhéus. The road is so significant that people always discuss the history of Itacaré in terms of pre- and post-road. The road physically allowed for people, capital, and tourism to flow into the region through this newly established artery. Much research has been done on the construction of roads in the Amazon and their social effects (Campbell 2009, 2012), as well as the deforestation (Fearnside 2001, 2006, Almeida 2010), land speculation (Foweraker 1981), and violence against indigenous groups (Davis 1977) that accompany road construction. While the road to Itacaré can't claim the magnitude of impacts or same rampant frontier
development as Amazonian roads, the processes of increased mobility, shifting land tenure regimes, and demographic changes look familiar. These flows radically transformed Itacaré and this section documents this transition and its impact on the city.

Also as part of PRODETUR, the state tourism company, Bahia Tursa produced a new tourist geography with different sections of Bahia coastline were named for different historical products or events. From north to south these are the Coconut Coast, All Saints Bay around Salvador, Palm Oil Coast, Cacao Coast, Discovery Coast, Whale Coast, as well as the Diamond Plateaus in the interior and several others in the interior that were developed later. Along with these designations came maps, websites, advertisements, and signage that marked scenic sights like waterfalls, beaches, historic buildings and other attractions. These conscious acts of naming and place making by the state to market tourism inscribed new meanings and markers on the landscape that were readily absorbed by local tourism businesses. They also simplify and crystallize certain aspects of local history to differentiate regions as unique destinations. Tourism, by definition, heightens awareness of local scenic landscapes and encourages the protection of these landscapes.

PRODETUR encouraged the State of Bahia to set aside scores of protected areas to preserve the scenic landscapes needed to attract tourists to the region, especially along the coast. These protected areas created new kinds of public spaces that allowed for civil society involvement in shaping regional growth through establishing management councils composed of NGOS, governments, and private enterprises in the region. Because protected area management councils
provide forums for diverse stakeholders to discuss the directions of regional
growth and articulate their differences, they encourage public participation in
processes that are otherwise private and fragmented. Although the decisions of
these councils are non-binding, their approval is often seen as necessary to any
large development in the region and their ability to influence local development
comes from the strength of local actors involved in the project rather than simply
the authority of the state.

In addition to focusing on PRODETUR, this chapter examines early State
of Bahia efforts that set the stage for later development and conflicts in the region,
beginning with agrarian reform as the state tried to adjust to the collapsing cacao
economy in the 1980s. The inconsistencies between efforts to develop tourism,
promote conservation, and institute agrarian reform illustrate how different
organizations within the state work towards contradictory purposes as well as how
priorities change over time. The chapter examines several shifts in state policies at
the end of the Brazilian military dictatorship in the late 1980s when state and
federal governments focused on the development of tourism throughout the
country as well as a more recent shift towards industrial scale projects with the
Worker's Party government that was elected nationally in 2004. For example, the
state government proposed an industrial shipping port for the region as well as
developing the potential for natural gas and oil exploration off shore.

The significance of this chapter comes from two main insights. First, this
chapter serves to illustrate the complicated ways in which different groups,
including state agencies, interact to shape tourism development and the changing
landscapes it produces. Second, despite common assumptions that of a unified
state that represents elite rather than public interests, its programs have diverse and sometimes contradictory effects and, as I will show, state actors and agencies can respond to political pressure from below. Both state and municipal government officials are important players in the ongoing conflict over public space as they distribute land, jobs, and other resources through patronage systems. These corrupt patronage systems are responsive to the demands from many groups and play a fundamental part of the political process, rather than being an aberration or illegal fringe (Nuijten and Anders 2007).

The paving of BR001 and PRODETUR

The first surfers arriving in Itacaré in the early seventies felt they had discovered paradise, an idyllic fishing village with perfect waves, where time had slowed to an imperceptible crawl. The town center was simply two narrow cobblestone streets that ran parallel to the river where a handful of fishing boats were moored offshore. Smaller brick and wattle and daub houses, commonly referred to as “fishermen’s houses,” surrounded the crumbling mansions from the earlier cacao boom. Jorge described how, “the Atlantic rainforest entered into the city everywhere, in yards, [and] empty lots which were plentiful” (Jorge, interview, July 14, 2012). The lush tropical rainforest seemed to be slowly engulfing the sleepy little town. People described how arriving in Itacaré was like going back in time. The city's timeless appearance was the result of a few recent decades of neglect when the paved roads and new transportation infrastructure in the interior bypassed the town and decreased its importance as a port. This led to outmigation by the rich cacao barons, abandonment of houses, and a general
shrinking of the town.

Itacaré's early history was based around its connectivity, as a port for diamonds, gold, farinha, and cacao.\textsuperscript{26} Itacaré actually became increasingly isolated over time because of the roads, port, and siltation that gradually excluded it from regional economic flows. Eventually in the 40's the trail leading out of the city was widened and gradually became a dirt road connecting Itacaré to the cacao producing areas of Taboquinhas and Ubaitaba. People describe the journey as thirty kilometers that took three hours or three days. Bridges were non-existent, so a heavy rain rendered the road impassable. One of the first pousada owners described how he brought back a bunch of tile underneath the bus. After hours on the dirt road, the tiles were all broken so he ended up doing a mosaic with the broken pieces.

The paving of the BR001 in 1998 definitively shattered Itacaré's isolation and profoundly changed the town, creating new flows of people, investments, and ideas to the area. Rather than going to Taboquinhas and the cacao producing regions inland, the road went along the coast directly to Ilhéus, following an old telegraph trail, turning inland only when required by the steep topography. This rerouting of the road indicates the growing importance of coastal areas for tourism instead of interior areas for cacao. By discussing popular memories of the city prior to the road and the changes it brought, I will show the impact of the road on Itacaré.

The first outsiders to move to Itacaré described it as a fishing village forgotten by time, an ecological paradise at the end of the world. The descriptions

\textsuperscript{26} Farinha is manioc flour that is a staple food throughout Brazil, particularly in the Northeast.
of Itacaré before the road were so consistent that I began to know exactly what people were going to tell me even before I asked the question. They described the town as the exact opposite of modern society. Economic interactions were all on the basis of a barter system. No one had any money but there was also almost nothing to buy. Without stores and packaging, there was no trash in the city. So many of the townspeople were related, that it felt like one big family. Everyone knew everyone else in the city and knew whenever someone new arrived. People slept out on the sidewalk when their houses were too hot. People left their doors and windows open all the time and you could walk into someone's house looking for them only to find the house empty but left wide open. There was no crime and no drugs. And of course, everyone can tell the exact number of cars that were in the city when they arrived. The lack of cars also significantly affected the organization of the city that was entirely based on foot traffic. The central streets were paved but the town was still largely accessible only by boat or a long and rough overland journey. Cars and the mobility, development, and consumption they provide became signs of both the problems and benefits of modernity. Here are few of these arrival stories:

I was living in the state Rio Grande do Norte and I was surfing there. One day I was looking through a surf magazine and in the very middle of the magazine was a big picture, both pages, of Itacaré. It was like all the jungle and it said, 'Itacaré—the Hawaii of Brazil.' …It was a beautiful article. When I saw the letters were big and white
and when I saw Itacaré, my first thought was, “I'm going to live there.” I don't know why... And then I came here to surf. I thought the place was adorable. It was just a couple of streets and the beaches were far away from town...I had the only car in town. The main street here that is all shops now, it was just little native houses and everyone would sleep on the front porch. Not even on the porch, on the sidewalk, they would just put their mattress out and sleep in the open. It was just very, very homey. There were no cars. I had the only car. When I would drive on the streets I was the foreign object. I would have to zigzag between people. I would go very, very slow, to respect them. Then in the summer time maybe ten cars would come through. It was like four hours to Ilhéus and about two very bumpy long hours to Ubaitaba. Transportation was bad, getting here was pretty hard. Sometimes it would rain for three days and not even buses could get in. It was very, very small. I think it was like fifty times smaller than it is now, not five but like fifty. It’s really grown a lot in twenty years. (Maria Cubana, interview, July 6, 2012)

Very tranquil. There were no cars. I think there was just one car. There were three pousadas. At six at night it was totally deserted. Everything was closed; maybe one drunk
walking in the street, a cat, a dog. It was the end of the earth. In the winter it looked like Gabriel Garcia Marquez's *A Hundred Years of Solitude*—the way people lived. In the summer everyone put their mattresses on the sidewalks and slept. Because the houses were hot and the natural air conditioning was on the street, so everyone slept on the ground just relaxed and laid down on the road. I was jealous. I wanted to do it as well but I didn't have the courage. The children played, there were no cars so the streets belonged to the people, and people walked down the middle of the street. The children played in traditional games and songs. People ate very traditionally. There was no supermarket. It was a simple life, healthy. There were no cookies, chips. There was no trash, maybe a banana peel or fish bones but no trash. It was a very traditional life. (Marie, interview, June 26, 2012)

We were tired of São Paulo, of all that pollution, so we came to the Northeast. ...It was marvelous, beautiful, beautiful, beautiful, really very rustic. To start with, there weren't any cars. The only cars were a government truck and an ambulance. It was kind of precarious, but that's how it was. It was great in that respect. We left the craziness and came here. We found this place; paradise,
sun, beautiful beaches. There weren't all the people you have now. There weren't any places to stay but a camping area. It was a wooden house with an open field and they rented tents for people to say in. It was really very simple, which was the good part. (Dona Josefa, interview, April 12, 2012)

People were extremely polite, nice. You didn't know who was a boss or a worker because everyone went around barefoot. People used simple clothes, there were four or five people who wore shoes and worked in the forum. Richer people with money were well grounded. You didn't notice who was rich or poor. (Claudia, interview, July 14, 2012)

In short, early migrants to Itacaré from urban centers of Brazil saw the city as a pre-industrial, pre-capitalist, and pre-modern paradise, entirely removed from the problems of urban centers. Since the road was built in 1998 the town has doubled in size and tripled in population. Urban problems of crime, robberies, drug trafficking, and sewage run-off have become commonplace. From this transition it would be easy to write a declensionist narrative of a fall from Eden as tourism ravaged the city, but the actual process is much more complicated.
These idyllic descriptions of Itacaré as paradise\textsuperscript{27} before the road were almost always offered by middle class migrants with other means of support outside of the city or residents whose families controlled the handful of jobs in the Municipal Government. While some poorer Itacaré natives might sometimes describe the lack of violence or pollution with nostalgia, they never glossed over the harsh economic difficulties of time before the road. I don't know how many times poorer residents said they never wanted to return back to the days before the road—a time of suffering, hunger, and difficulty. They would always describe how it was also a town without jobs, without stores, without a hospital, without a high school, and without any way to make money. You either worked for the Municipal Government or fished. If you fished you had fish but no one to sell your fish to because no one had money to buy. The narratives of the changes brought by the road by poorer local residents emphasize the economic underdevelopment and do not idealize the past.

This here was the city of the have not. If you looked for something, no one had it. You looked for farina, and there wasn't any. There was one pousada, one restaurant... There was no pharmacy. There wasn't anything... Work was even worse. There was only fishing or working for the Municipal government—this poor Municipal government that didn't have the conditions to do anything. (Dona

\textsuperscript{27}Paradise is domesticated nature, nature rendered tame, safe, and peaceful. Local society was seen as natural, co-existing harmoniously with its surroundings.
Octavia, interview, April 25, 2012)

I was born and raised here. When I was a child there wasn't electricity. There wasn't pavement. Everything was mud. Since then things have gotten better, electricity came. Now it's gotten a lot better. At first we used to leave and the house would be unlocked. We slept with the doors open. We slept outside on the sidewalks. Now you can't do that. All of the houses were made of mud, some were covered with thatch...Everyone here used to work in construction or fishing. Now, everyone still fishes, although there are a few who work with tourism as well.

(Andrea, interview, July 6, 2012)

The biggest change was the asphalt. The asphalt really changed things. There were a few here, at most six cars. But from 98 to now things got bigger in an astonishing way. Most houses didn't have TVs and even less had refrigerators. People used to dry fish and eat it little by little. Those who had TV, the richer families, would put their black and white TVs in front of their house and everyone would watch. In the park in Marimbondo, if you look, there's a place to put a TV. Games, even soap operas, people would get their chairs from their houses and watch
in the park. Not today, now every house has a TV. No one has gas stoves. Lots of people had fires in their yards. Now, not so much. There was a lot of illiteracy; in the rural areas it was even worse. The rural areas didn't have electricity. Now almost everyone does. (Gilberto, interview, March 29, 2012)

Things really changed for the better. There weren't jobs. Now there are more jobs. There are more restaurants, inns, tourist agencies. There's more of everything. When something grows for one person, it grows for others as well. It helped a lot. (Nina, interview, March 6, 2012)

Things really, really, really improved. Before I lived in a shed, now everything is easy. For me, things improved 100%. I was a fisherman in the river. We used to fish and sell things here and to the outside as well. (Edilene, interview, July 6, 2012)

It was a different city. It was very precarious. There was no work, there wasn't anything. People used to live from fishing the mangrove. Things were backward. Now it's a paradise. It isn't what it was. (Antonia, interview, July 6, 2012)
These local narratives about the changes brought by the road were rarely nostalgic for the time before the road. They focused on the lack of food, jobs, and material possessions before the road and saw the economic growth brought by the road and tourism, despite the problems, as a huge improvement. While they recognize that drugs, crime, and pollution also accompanied the introduction of the road, the end result was seen as positive, especially by those who were most marginalized before. This is the inverse of the outsiders, including some researchers, who saw the road as the destruction of all that was good about Itacaré (Oliveira 2007, Delgado 2009).

The road also bought a huge demographic shift with population growth and urbanization, as most of that growth was concentrated in the city of Itacaré rather than surrounding rural areas as people came for work created by the new tourism boom. This growth put a strain on public infrastructure, especially related to trash, sewage, and space for urban expansion. Wanderley, an early pousada owner who has watched the city change for several decades described the initial impact on the city.

When the road was built you had a number of tourists who wanted to find Itacaré like it originally was. And people didn't know about the abrupt changes after the road, from two thousand five hundred people to seven thousand. There wasn't any kind of structure. The electric system was rural. There wasn't enough water. There wasn't enough food. To sum it up, there wasn't a structure to
receive all these people and it was a difficult time because people wanted a luxury that wasn't there. It went from a small beautiful city without any infrastructure to the impact of this unorganized progress, unorganized growth.

(Wanderley, interview, July 2, 2012)

Many people described how the road wasn't necessarily a bad thing, but that the city wasn't prepared for that kind of growth in terms of basic infrastructure. A sewage system was built in 2009, over 10 years after the road, and house before that were built with septic tanks or simply running pipes into the nearest waterway. There is still no adequate landfill because a proper site can't be identified due to the steep topography and numerous small watercourses in the Municipality. A proposal is being developed to develop one in conjunction with the municipality to the north that is flatter and drier. Funding for the sewage plant and the modern landfill comes from a continuation of PRODETUR with the idea of further building up the basic infrastructure for tourism in the region.

Also as a continuation of PRODETUR infrastructure, a large bridge was built across the Contas River and the road continued north to Camamu, which was already connected by roads to the metropolitan region around Salvador. Once again, the connectivity of Itacaré had a key impact on the kind of tourism that arrived in the city. Because Itacaré is no longer at the end of the road, tourists can now come to Itacaré for only a night or a few nights as they travel up or down the coast to other small beach towns. In addition, this reduced the travel time for people from the state capital of Salvador and opened up Itacaré to a significant number of regional middle-class tourists who could drive or come by bus, instead
of the upper-class tourists from the Southeast and abroad who typically flew to the region. National economic growth also meant that many of the well-to-do Brazilians began vacationing in the United States and Europe instead of Northeastern Brazil.

Connected with the arrival of regional tourists was CVC, a tourist agency that worked with specific hotels to guarantee them high occupancy rates for extremely low prices. This served to drive down prices and bring in the lower middle-class that were beginning to take vacations for the first time. Ironically, some residents described prejudices against regional tourists who spent less money, had different tastes, and are more similar in social class to the locals. Joseli, a local anthropologist who has worked with environmental activism, Afro-Brazilian cultural awareness, and many other projects was extremely critical in her reflections on the changing tourist profile. She describes how earlier tourists were, Ecotourists who were more health conscious and romantic. Someone that did something, someone special—not the mass tourism we get today...It was tourism focused around the environment, scientists and their families, families with parrots, with cats...Today there is sexual tourism, partiers, another kind of tourism that this road [brought]. (Joseli, interview, March 9, 2012).

These prejudices were visible in Municipal ordinances that prohibited tour buses from entering the city and bringing mass tourists who would only stay for one day and didn't spend much money in the city. One resident described how, “Brazilians
don't like regional tourists. They like to hang with gringos. It's not cool if the
tourist is from Jequie or Salvador. This prejudice exists. It[regional tourism] might
not be a bad thing if Itacaré knows how to adapt” (Beatrix, interview, July 10,
2012). This new market potentially opens up space for locals with houses and
apartments that are not as nice to find clients that want to pay less but need fewer
amenities. The changing demographic of tourists shows how road construction, as
well as larger economic changes in Brazil, shapes the nature of tourism in Itacaré.

One proposal being developed by the regional Serra do Conduru
Management council to bring a new focus on ecotourism was to get the BR001
designated as a Park Road, a special designation that limits the maximum speed,
sets up more scenic viewpoints along the road, and creates new signage to mark a
different kind of space. This would ideally attract funds to beautify the margins of
the road and the road itself, thus preparing people as they arrived in the region by
marking the region as unique and special. This illustrates the significance of the
road in shaping how people experience the city as well as arrive there. It also
recognizes that roads, like parks, are ostensibly public spaces, which allows
people to negotiate the use and occupation of these spaces. For example, roadside
vendors use federal ownership of the road margins, with more or less success
depending on the situation, to resist removal by large landowners who own
adjacent land.

Wanderley, owner of the first pousada on Pituba, balances his nostalgia for
conditions before the road with an honest appraisal of the economic benefits and
recognizing his own idealized perspective on the matter.

A lot of things got better. Things are easier in terms of
construction material, shops, everything. Today the access is easier, there are [roads to] Ilhéus and Camamu. There are lots of ways to leave. And there's no doubt that people can buy a lot more now, but we pay an expensive price for this. With progress came violence, heavy drugs, and these kinds of things. Everything came, the city grew and good and bad things came of it. But who am I to talk about this? If it were just up to me, I would remember how it was. I remember 1976. That was good. It's recorded in my memory, in my life history, like a present from God, to be here during that time, and to see how things were—the real Itacaré. (Wanderley, interview, July 2, 2012)

The time before the road was seen as being more real, authentic, and an ideal, especially for those coming from the outside. Although residents might disagree about the relative benefits and disadvantages of the road, no one can dispute the profound demographic, economic, social, and environmental changes it brought. This examination of the significance of the road emphasizes the fundamental role of state investments in infrastructure in the region in shaping the landscape.

**Terras devolutas as public land, agrarian reform in Itacaré**

After the collapse in the cacao economy with the Witches Broom fungus in the late 1980s, large landowners abandoned their ruined cacao farms as they ceased to be productive. The small farmers who had lived and worked on these estates were set adrift, settling into urban peripheries. At the same time, the
military dictatorship was coming to an end and agrarian reform gained ground in the new 1988 Constitution that provided a legal basis for appropriating unproductive land. In Southern Bahia, the landless poor adapted to these changes and occupied private unproductive and abandoned farms that were not fulfilling a “social purpose” to establish agrarian reform settlements. To legally establish an agrarian reform settlement, INCRA, the National Ministry of Colonization and Agrarian Reform, will either identity a farm, buy it from the owner, and then settle people there, or more commonly, landless farmers will invade and occupy the farm, and then petition for INCRA to legalize their occupation. Famous agrarian reforms like the MST (Movimento Sem Terra- Landless Workers Movement) militantly occupy land, organize protests, and work for agrarian reform policies nationwide while smaller groups also work in similar ways throughout the country (Robles 2001, Wolford 2010).

Agrarian reform is a larger movement throughout Latin American, usually enacted by populist governments, to redistribute large, unproductive estates to small holders as a way to challenge the historical concentration of land in the hands of elite families that resulted from European colonization. In Brazil, the concentration of land began with the Capitanias and was maintained with land laws that consistently favored the wealthy and made it difficult for marginalized social classes to gain legal land tenure (Grindle 1986). Although the 1946 Estado Novo Constitution decreed that land had a social purpose to be productively used to benefit society, in practice this involved little more than intellectual rhetoric. Although agrarian reform proceeded in fits and starts and it wasn't until the Constitution of 1988 established the legal procedures that facilitated land transfer,
especially during the presidency of Fernando Henrique Cardoso (1995-2003) (Ondetti 2008). The decline of cacao and subsequent abandonment of the region by the large landowners and the general economic decline, in connection with national democratization provided the context for Southern Bahia to lead the way in agrarian reform. As a result, Itacaré was the first municipality in the country to have a Municipal Secretary for agrarian reform, established by Edgar Reis, an agrarian reform lawyer who later served as Mayor from 1989-1990. These processes also illustrate how the implementation of agrarian reform was a response to political pressure and became a form of patron client relationships.

During this period, rural workers organized and fought for a number of agrarian reform settlements in Itacaré. The municipality purchased several smaller farms in the area to create settlements, while the state of Bahia and Federal INCRA were pressured to purchase several larger farms. One of the first and the most significant of these for the urban development of Itacaré is Marambaia, an area that INCRA appropriated in 1986, settling thirty two families on over eight hundred hectares of land, each getting twenty-five hectares. Those involved remembered the process as bloody and violent as the landowner hired gunmen to prevent the worker's occupations of the land. Later local activists and landless farmers established a number of agrarian reform settlements including Big Falls, One Hundred and Four, New Hope, Camboinha, Black Valley Farm, and Tijuipe. Although municipal, state, and federal processes differ, ideally at the end of the process, the workers pay off their land and the loans they got to build and improve

---

28Reis served only two instead of four years because he was removed by the city council halfway through his term, probably because his populist policies offended local elites.
the land within fifteen to seventeen years, and they are eventually granted full
legal title to their land. The process is meant to prohibit land speculation and
require that workers productively use the land for their livelihoods.

In most cases, Marambaia included, the actual process of occupation and
legalization is quite a bit different from the ideal. Because new settlers received
little support from the government to develop the land and the soil quality was
poor and difficult to farm, almost no one was able to survive off the land itself.
INCRA provided a few government development projects that were total failures.
One development project encouraged residents to take loans to plant dwarf
coconut trees that can be harvested sooner and more easily than full sized trees
and grow well in sandy soils. However, through incompetent or corrupt
agricultural extension agents, the trees turned out to be full-sized trees which can
take a decade or more to mature and are difficult to harvest, leaving the project
participants saddled with debt and nothing to show for it.

The lack of agricultural prospects and, more importantly, the location of
Marambaia, only six kilometers from Itacaré and along the road to Jeribucassu, a
secluded beach south of Itacaré, meant that selling land was the most logical path
for people to survive. When the first settlers and INCRA established the
settlement in 1986, no one predicted the increasing demand for the land as a result
of the road construction more than a decade later and the growth of tourism. After
the construction of the road, the value of all land in the area exploded as tourism
and population growth began in earnest. In 2012, the large twenty-five hectare
plots were easily worth well over a million reais. In contrast, to qualify for land in
an agrarian reform settlement, the recipient must makes less than R$1,866/month,
which means that the land was conservatively worth about 45 years of wages for those poor enough to qualify to live there. 29

As tourism grew in Itacaré, so did the demand for real estate and almost all of the residents began to informally subdivide and sell their original plots. The 2010 census counted 740 household in the area and there are undoubtedly many more. Initially, in August of 2010 the land titling office in Itacaré received a letter from INCRA that gave the administrators permission to grant full legal titles, which would allow people to legally subdivided and sell land, indicating that INCRA had concluded the land titling process. However, a few months later, another letter reversed the first because of an ongoing legal investigation begun in 2009 by INCRA and the Federal Public Ministry (MPF) examining illegal land sales and environmental degradation in the area. I attended a series of meetings in 2012 organized by a newly formed community association to try to legalize their situation and avoid having all of the land seized by INCRA. The meeting was held at a bar at the center of the community and was packed. The president of the newly formed Marambaia Resident’s Association was an older surfer from Salvador who had lived for years in Hawaii and had recently returned to Brazil and spent his lifesavings on a plot of land and building a modest house in Marambaia. The group was a mixture of outsiders who owned land or lived in the area, local politicians, and poorer residents who had settled there because it was more affordable, as well as a handful of residents who were among the original settlers. Another key organizer had moved to Itacaré from Brasilia and invited a

29 Or three minimum wages, calculated at R$622 per month in 2012. It should be noted that most household probably made significantly less than this, as much work was informal and most residents that had salaried positions made only one minimum wage meaning it their land was worth the value of all of their wages for more than a century.
friend who was a lawyer, also from Brasilia, who specialized in land laws. The combined forces of poor rural residents from the area who provided moral legitimacy to the group and middle class outsiders who had social capital and education, each constrained by the illegibility of the land tenure process in the region, was similar to earlier social movements in Itacaré.

At the meetings, residents discussed ways to legally register the land, the costs of surveying, the setting aside of public areas for road, parks, and schools, and other requirements for transforming the ad hoc and informal scattering of houses into a legally organized neighborhood. Some proposed incorporating the area into the urban perimeter of Itacaré (requiring a change in zoning laws) but others were unsure if that would be possible until INCRA was placated. Given that the land had been settled for almost twenty-six years, the original owners should have had complete legal titles (and the right to sell their land) if INCRA had followed the recommended time schedule. Based on this logic, there seemed to be a strong basis for legalizing the existing claims. Most people claimed to have made their payments regularly and completed their end of the contract, making INCRA responsible to legalize their claims. However, there are a number of complications that it difficult for small holders to legalize their land. For example, many of the newly created lots were smaller than the legal two-hectare minimum for rural areas and even smaller than the 125m$^2$ size required for urban areas, making them impossible to title under federal law. Similarly, many buildings were near the headwaters of streams and other sites where it is illegal to get permits to build.

At key moments in the meetings, different people asserted their identities
as original settlers, natives, Baianos, homeowners, and even Brazilians. For example, the visiting lawyer from Brasilia mentioned that his ancestors were from Bahia and he felt like he was coming home when he was here. Most of this localization and performance of place was employed to downplay the differences between the locals and outsiders and recognize their common predicament. Also at work during the meeting was a lot of political negotiation as blame was assigned. A city council member and the Municipal Environmental Secretary principally blamed the Federal Government for the problems, but many others subtly shifted the blame to the Municipal government for not working proactively to have Marambaia included within the urban area or effectively advocating for the residents. Everyone recognized that the solution was more political than legal, requiring organized political pressure on key individuals in power rather than a specific interpretation of the law, making an effective neighborhood association and voting bloc essential to the process.

This ongoing process illustrates, among other things, the difficulty of reconciling different understandings of property necessary for agrarian reform and tourist development, especially as Itacaré becomes increasingly urban. The ideal of providing poor people with an agricultural livelihood became unrealistic as they joined the service economy provided by tourism growth and urbanization. The assumption built into agrarian reform is that productive land is agricultural land, measured by its ability to produce crops and provide sustenance. In actuality productive land in a tourist economy is land that can be developed or sold, measured by the strength of one's claim to ownership that determines, in part, the price for buying and selling. Agrarian reform, which essentially provides use
rights to land, doesn't allow for people to insert themselves into the tourist economy in any substantial way.

Early agrarian reform settlement in the 1980's included many areas that were heavily forested, encouraging poor settlers to deforest and cultivate the land. The state viewed deforestation as an improvement to the land and so it helped reinforce an occupant’s legal claim to their land (Dean 1997). However, much of this forested and unused land was often land that was unfit for agriculture, which often explains why it remained forested in the first place. As environmental activists and conservation organizations began to recognize the ecological importance of the Atlantic Rainforest in the region, changing environmental legislation on the federal level also changed the nature of agrarian reform settlements. Subsequent settlements were established only in areas that were already deforested or had established cabruca systems with cacao that could generate income.  

While forested land had previously been seen as unproductive, and not fulfilling its social function and thus available for appropriation by the state, it came to be seen as important and worth protecting.  

Forested land also became valuable for real estate, as new amenity migrants wanted to build their homes surrounded by forests and paid more for land with larger trees. Thus, the forested land in Marambaia was particularly well suited for tourism development and not for agriculture. Tourism as well as the growing environmental movements both contributed to these changing perspectives of forests in Southern Bahia.

---

30 The cabruca system is the dominant system for planting cacao in the region in which the overstory of an existing canopy is thinned and the understory replaced with cacao. The extent of the cabruca system in the area was credited with large amount of remaining forest cover in the region.

31 Dean describes how the word for forest (mata) is seen as pejorative, commenting on the low social values of the Atlantic Forests (1997).
INCRA was also in conflict with local residents in Tijuipe, another agrarian reform area located in between Itacaré and Serra Grande along the BR001. INCRA bought the area in 1985 from an absentee landlord but never subdivided it to distribute the land to deserving farmers. Meanwhile, the people living on the land (but not the landowner who was bought out by INCRA) bought and sold the land over time creating a diverse community, including environmental activists, a Waldorf school, as well as numerous local agriculturalists. In 2012, someone from INCRA realized that the settlement process had never been completed and went to reclaim the land the state had already purchased. In this case, the original agrarian reform functioned as a scheme for the landowner to get money from the state for land that had already been lost to occupiers, rather than a legitimate redistribution effort. This in particular illustrates the confusion of the land tenure system, state corruption, and multiple claimants over land. Claudio, a longtime resident, activist, and land lawyer moved to Itacaré from a nearby town during the early 1980s to help the Mayor Edgar Reis work with agrarian reform. Now he was representing the residents of Tijuipe against INCRA and described the process in the following way.

It was an area where the title has, for a long time, already been lost. It was an area with lots of occupiers, so it was not viable for agrarian reform. To expropriate an area for agrarian reform it needs to not be fulfilling its social function. That area was. The owner had a legal title that wasn't fulfilling its social function but the occupants, the
posseiros, who were already there for a long time, were fulfilling the social function. So certainly there was no justification for expropriation. It should have been legalized, everyone there already had right to usucapion.32

(Claudio, interview, July 6, 2012)

Of course, the process of providing the documentation of ownerships, proving that people had been established on the land for a certain amount of time, was complicated and it would take some negotiation to arrive at any conclusion. The employee turn over in bureaucratic agencies like INCRA also meant that almost no one who had originally bought the land in 1985 still worked for the agency, limiting any kind of accountability.

Claiming both terra devolutas (unclaimed public lands) and abandoned private farms as potentially public spaces provides room for government agencies to distribute these lands to deserving landless poor. However, the many complications—such as multiple unrecognized claimants to this land, the complicated land tenure systems, and inefficient state bureaucracies—often make the actual processes of distribution dependent on the more responsive political system rather than the formal legal system. In fact, the origin of these processes usually arises from informal occupation rather than formal purchase. As we will observe in a later chapter, most new neighborhoods in Itacaré had their genesis in this kind of informal distribution of land that was later legitimized, to some extent or another, through political pressure. Thus the political organization of residents

32 Usucapion is a means of gaining land title by peacefully and continuously occupying a piece of land for certain period of time without being asked to leave by the owner.
into community associations becomes a key process for asserting their collective and individual rights to space and empowers them to interact with local politicians and bureaucracies more efficiently (Lazar 2007). This complex process of negotiation between residents, politicians, and bureaucrats determines the use of public spaces and are essential to land tenure and urban growth. Although extra legal, these negotiations are not a systematic failure, but rather the way the political system works to provide some form of land redistribution (Mathews 2008).

Tourism, by rapidly inflating land values, adds another dimension to these already complex negotiations. Agrarian reform land is given to the poor based on its use value (to live and farm) and federal law that recognizes that land should be used to fulfill its social function. Tourism, by dramatically increasing the exchange value of land, renders its agricultural value negligible in comparison. However, by giving people the land outright, it can be sold and residents are easily alienated from their land and must occupy another piece or move away. Even without legal titles, most residents on the agrarian reform settlements sold much of their land anyway, however at a significantly lower prices because of its questionable legal status. The conflicts between legal and informal tenure, changing land values, and different valuations of land are key issues for understanding the social impacts of a tourist economy. These processes will be further explored in Chapter 4 that documents the urban growth and development of the Itacarê's urban area.

*Recreating a region, protected areas as public spaces*
Itacaré is located in one of the best-preserved sections of the Atlantic Rainforest. The Atlantic Rainforest spread along the entire Atlantic Coast of Brazil, although it has born the brunt of human occupation of Brazil and currently covers only a 3-5% percent of its original area. The rugged topography, large differences in elevation, and the huge range of latitudes covered by the Atlantic Rainforest make it one of the most bio-diverse regions in the planet containing between 1-8% of the world’s biodiversity (Da Silva and Casteletti 2003). New species of vertebrates are regularly discovered in the Atlantic Rainforest, suggesting the huge ignorance of the region despite the long-term presence of humans (Da Silva and Casteletti 2003). The forest is highly diverse, with 800 species of trees in some areas and over 270 species in just one hectare in the Southern Bahia (Dean 1997). Southern Bahia particularly is also one of three centers of endemism in the Atlantic Rainforest with upwards of 50% of the endemic bird species of the Forest (Aguiar et al 2003). The extreme concentration of endemism, high biodiversity, and extensive anthropogenic destruction has made it a biodiversity hotspot, and one of the most threatened forest ecosystem on the planet. Given these ecological characteristics, conservation in Itacaré has become an important part of its changing identity as a place.

In the mid 1990's PRODETUR established a number of Environmental Protected Areas throughout the state of Bahia, all in coastal areas, to preserve the scenic beauty that would be the foundation of a new tourist economy. This move valorized the natural environment as an essential component for the production of a tourist landscape in the region. The first protected area in the region was the
Environmental Protected Area (APA) Itacaré-Serra Grande, which in 1993 protected a five-kilometer wide strip of land from the Contas River down along the coast. Ironically, the designation excluded some of the most ecologically valuable land in the area further inland; indicating that the APA was created to promote the development of coastal tourism rather than to strictly conserve biodiversity. Furthermore, in 1993 Federal and State legislation prohibited all logging in the Atlantic Rainforest, required that 20% of private lands be maintained in a forest reserve, and began working to create a series of parks, corridors, and protected areas to protect the remaining areas (Camara 2003).

Some scholars see the creation of protected areas as an extension of state control over natural resources through increasing regulations, militarization, and increasing legibility of previously ignored areas (Escobar 1988, Dove 1993, Peluso 1993, Ferguson 1994, Brosius 1999a, b, Haenn 2005). Although the creation of conservation areas has increased the state's involvement in the region, the new protected areas in the region have also provided significant space for local involvement in these processes, indicating that the actual impact of protected areas on local communities is quite diverse (Brito and Camara 1999, West et al 2006).

Environmental Protected Areas (APAs) were developed as part of a strategy of tourist development to protect sensitive areas from degradation or to mitigate the impacts of tourist infrastructure projects, like the paving of the BR001 in Itacaré (Oliveira 2005). The state implemented APAs as a response to pressure from donor agencies like the InterAmerican Development Bank to

---

33 Later this area was protected with the Serra do Conduru State Park and the zoning was extended in 2003 to include most of the municipality (see map below).
minimize environmental impact of large projects. Local organizations also pressured the government to limit environmental impacts of tourism development more generally. The idea of an APA is to allow continued occupation, use, and development of an area but within the parameter of a system of ecological zoning which regulates what kinds of development can happen in which areas and is directed by a management council, made up of representatives from civil society, government, and businesses involved in the region. Much research on forest conservation has revolved around the concept of the commons, and the role of traditional institutions and property regimes in forest conservation, and the private displacement of former commons (Agrawal 2007). However, in this case, the land was originally private and became increasingly public as a result of state intervention.

Figure 3: Ecological and Economic Zoning for the Itacaré/Serra Grande Environmental Protected Area expanded to include the entire municipality.
In this sense, the creation of the APA turned the entire coastal area into a public space, with the management council serving as a real public forum for conversation and debate about the future direction of development in the area. The Management Council of Itacaré, especially in its early years, served as a model for other councils throughout the state as key leaders of local NGOs developed and supported the council, making it an effective forum for discussion and debate. The council also produced a number of documents including the “Urban Environmental Plan (PRUA)” and “Itacaré 2015,” a future vision for tourism development in the region produced by outside consultants, and a number of conferences on tourism and sustainability. Although the council is deliberative and advisory and is unable to create legal mandates, it served as a gatekeeper, rejecting some objectionable projects and shaping local opinion and politics. This, according to Claudio, served to gather leadership to debate questions in a transparent way, and in this way was an important tool to hold back and to contribute to development projects and implementation of public politics. Claudio explains,

We debated a lot of issues, sewage, trash, oil exploration, hydroelectric power. All of the big projects that were implemented in the region had to pass through a debate in the council and certainly the council was able to improve something in the projects so they were a little better.

(Claudio, interview, July 6, 2012)

As a public space for comments and discussion on diverse projects, the council turned the APA into a public space. It invited different participants into these
conversations that were previously excluded and made public conversations that would have happened behind closed doors previously.

Many scholars have critiqued these kinds of participatory conservation models, claiming they are used to manufacture consent rather than provide real decision-making power to local communities (Campbell and Vainio-Mattila 2003, Goldman 2003). From this perspective, participation and empowerment are seen as ways of controlling subjects and extending state control (Triantafillou and Nielsen 2001). Because terms like participation, empowerment, community, and sustainability have been simplistically and uncritically promoted, these projects often fail (Li 1996, Brown 2002). However, in Itacaré these critiques don't seem to apply because the conservation area only exists to the extent that the local council makes the legal designation matter through educational campaigns, fights over zoning, or complaints against deforestation. While the funds and conservation legislation often come from state and national bureaucracy or international NGOs, the conflict and enforcements with farmers and loggers is generated locally. The disagreements that inevitably arose were usually between locals and newcomers who had differing ideas about development and conservation and what should happen within the APA, highlighting how an idealized view of communities as bounded, homogenous, and unified in conservation literature ignores local factionalism and politics (Agrawal and Gibson 1999, Neumann 1997, Poteete and Ostrom 2004). The local farmers and those that worked in logging or other extractive industries were the most affected by the changes in zoning laws that made much of their activities illegal, pushing them towards the tourist economy. Both locals and outsiders who were tourist
developers or environmentalists worked to extend environmental protections. These new forms of participation, by including businesses, NGOs, and government, excluded many rural dwellers that were unrepresented by any of these groups and remained marginalized throughout this process.

Because the APA management council is not democratic (its members are not elected), it does not have the ability to create legal mandates. The representatives are selected by their different organizations. As a result, many of the council members were highly educated outsiders who were interested in environmental issues and the future development of the region. Some were local as well, including the presidents of the Itacaré Surf Association, Fishing Colony, and Canoe Guides Association, as well as many of the government representatives. This contrasts with Itacaré's City Council and other local political organizations where outsiders are unable to have any significant representation, being unable to make the local patronage political systems work for them in any meaningful way or attract a significant number of votes among the wider population. In this sense, the conflicts over environmental protection can be seen as a local conflict between different groups of actors who draw upon state to support their claims in the region, rather than an imposition from a large outside actor.

Within this context of local conflict, the APA also provided a legal framework for recently arrived environmentalists to denounce illegal logging operations and clearing for agricultural lands. For example, the zoning was used to denounce the deforestation that accompanied the illegal occupation of a new neighborhood, a struggle that pitted outside environmentalists against poorer local
residents and Municipal authorities (Kent 2003). However, in other instances the zoning of the APA designation allowed the new and old residents to organize against the development of subdivision on Resende Beach, preserving the visual integrity of the area and local access to the beach. This illustrates how both locals and outsiders used APA regulations to challenge outside developers as well as local residents desire to build homes. However, as we will observe in later chapters, the popular neighborhood was built and the subdivision in the beach was not, illustrating the limits of state power in the face of popular pressure.

In addition to the APA designation, the larger region was designated a UNESCO Man and the Biosphere Reserve in 1991 and in 1997 the Serra do Conduru State Park was established a little further inland, protecting some of the ecologically important areas that had been originally excluded from the APA. These changes were in line with a larger shift away from sustainable use protected areas towards completely protected areas (Redford and Sanderson 2000, Chapin 2004, Campbell 2007). In theory, the Serra do Conduru State Park is strictly conservationist, excluding most economic activities and very gradually working to buy out inholdings. However, in this case more than ten years after its establishment less than 50% of the park belongs to the state government. Both cases highlight the problems of creating paper parks, in which politicians establish parks to satisfy constituents, mitigate development projects, and other political motivations but don't follow up with the funding and manpower to actually establish or maintain the space. Like the APA, much of the actual establishment of the State Park has been done by the local management councils and NGOs that participate in these, reinforcing local, rather than state control of protected areas.
While much remains to be done, both the APA Itacaré/Serra Grande and the Serra do Conduru State Park have been touted by the state and International NGOs as successful protected areas, largely because of the work of local organizations. This dynamic contradicts conservation biologists who have claimed that local communities do not have the institutional capability to effectively enforce conservation and that effective management requires scientists who have a more complete understanding of human/ecosystem dynamics (Barrett et al 2001, Bawa et al 2004, Berkes 2004, Brown 2002).

The increasing institutionalization and professionalization of local environmental movements that led to this success also excluded long time residents and increased tension between locals and outsiders. This happened at a time when NGOs were growing throughout the country as the military dictatorship receded, opening up space for non-governmental actors and neoliberal philosophies took hold, encouraging civil society to step into the void left by government retreat. The original funding for many of the projects associated with the establishment of the APA management council including newsletters, an office, and educational programs in the schools, came from an environmental education grant from the InterAmerican Development Bank as mitigation for the environmental and social damage brought by the construction of the BR001. The

34 During 2011 and 2012, the Park Serra do Conduru management council was more active than the APA council and had established itself as a more effective space for regional planning initiatives. While this might be seen as the triumph or a more strictly protectionist model of conservation, it more accurately reflects a geographic shift from Itacaré to Serra Grande, as many of the outsiders and active environmentalists moved from Itacaré to Serra Grande because of the violence, political corruption, and growing urbanization of Itacaré. Similar to surfers who had left Itacaré for Barra Grande, many environmentalists had moved to Serra Grande to enjoy the rural tranquility of small town life they had moved to the area to enjoy. The mobility of outsiders, their willingness and financial ability to move, recognizes their partial and contingent relationship to place, as pollution, crime, and urban expansion threatens their idealized ecological paradise.
Socio-Environmental Institute of Southern Bahia, IESB, located in Ilhéus got the grant and then hired locals from the Black Dolphins Ecological group to implement the work in Itacaré. Celia, an early member of the Black Dolphins, describes this period and its effect on the management council.

At the time there was an environmental education program with IESB, which I participated in. It was one of the conditions for the InterAmerican Development Bank to fund the road. In order to have the road there had to be an environmental education program that prepared the community for the road. I thought this was a good time for Itacaré. It was a phase, that it if continued, things might be a little different in the city. Because the management council got together the Municipal Governments of the APA, Uruçuca and Itacaré, and all of the Secretaries connected to environmental questions; Secretary of Agriculture, Secretary of Tourism, Secretary of the Environment were all at everything and all of the organizations and associations that acted in the area, IBAMA, CRA, that were in charge of enforcement, the Pituba Residents Association, the Porto de Trás Residents Association, the Fishing Association. There were people getting together to think about what Itacaré should be like.

35IBAMA is the Instituto Brasileiro do Meio Ambiente, or the Brazilian Institute of the Environment and Renewable Resource, the Federal level organization for environmental management and enforcement. CRA was the state organization responsible for protected areas at the time.
All of the big projects had to go through the council. And there was an office...It was a place where people could find us if they wanted to do a project, so that we could orient them. It was just a phase, from 1998 to 2000. There were 3 years in the project. Things didn't happen with the same speed that they do now. It was a lot easier to teach people. The management council opened up this dialogue. I'm not sure about now. The meetings are kind of empty. I'm not sure who participates. We had meetings every month. There wasn't a month that they didn't happen. The agendas were delivered to all of the members. There was a secretary that did all of this. Because there was a structure that was paying for this, there was a house. There was coffee, water, as even transportation for people coming from Taboquinhias. There was a structure that helped this to happen. Obviously it’s hard to mobilize people without a structure. It's too bad because we were going on a good path. The project opened up contact with the schools. The schools knew about the zoning of the APA, where the different zones were. We had a lesson we taught in the schools, and we had movies we showed in three different places, it really involved the community. The resources ran out, it wasn't renewed, and things started to fall apart. (Celia, interview, April 26, 2012)
Many other environmental activists who were involved in these early movements expressed a similar sentiment that this period at the beginning of the APA council was its most productive moment and had since lapsed, although there were still semi-regular meetings and many important projects were still debated in these meetings. Celia's comments also point to the changing nature of environmental activism, with the Black Dolphins Ecological Resistance Movement changing their name to the Black Dolphins Environmental Institute to tone down the combative elements of the movement and focus more on communicating and involving the local community. But as the entire group began getting paid by IESB, that took over most of their time and limited their involvement with other projects. As funding became available, local organizations went from being strictly volunteer run to having paid positions. This became a source of tension between locals and outsiders within these organizations, especially because outsiders often received the paid positions. As a result locals of the professionalization of the NGOs, locals felt excluded and that their hard work and local knowledge were being passed over for people who had more education, leading to conflicts that eventually diminished some of positive influence of the council.

Along with the Black Dolphins a number of other groups formed. A part of the Southern Bahian Socio-Environmental Institute (IESB) broke off to form the Living Forest, a group that focused on reforestation projects, often funded as mitigation for large development projects in the region. They worked with small holders in the region to grow and market saplings from native tree species for these reforestation efforts. Later, the Patrons of Life Movement was formed by
another previous IESB employee, which worked towards the neutralization of the carbon emitted by tourists, businesses, and individuals by supporting rural farmers in not deforesting and using sustainable farming practices. These divisions and professionalization of the NGO landscape is indicative of the increasing competition among groups for resources as well as the increasing institutionalization of what began as grassroots efforts. At the same time, these groups attracted more grants to the area and worked with rural farmers to support conservation, creating a shifts towards conservation that challenged previous slash and burn agriculture and illegal logging that used to be commonplace.36

More importantly, this section demonstrates how environmental protected areas provided important venues for public involvement, while also structuring the nature of that involvement. By prioritizing conservation and scenic protection over other uses, outsider environmentalists and tourist developers’ use of space is favored over extractive or agricultural uses. However, these structures developed, in part, from the bottom up, from local level participation in the governance process and not entirely from top down state level bureaucracies. This paints a much more circumscribed role of the neoliberal state whose power is through the funding and influence of NGOs, public/private partnerships, and legal frameworks which shape the structure of conservation initiatives and create the terms for local involvement and is willing to grant some local autonomy in exchange for its diminished role.

36 The decline of slash and burn agriculture could also be linked to increase of cheap food coming in through new transportation networks, changing economic opportunities, and other factors.
Alternative Futures: Extractive Reserves, Petro-development, and Porto Sul

Another large potential development for the area was the implementation of an extractive reserve. Extractive reserves are federal protected areas that are managed in cooperation with local communities, allowing local people to manage their environments according to sustainable traditional practices. Local communities gain exclusive use rights, with the legal capability to exclude outsiders, in exchange for cooperation and oversight with federal environmental organizations through joint councils, use regulations, and management plans. While the model began in the Amazon around rubber and Brazil nuts, it was soon adopted for small-scale artisanal fishermen along the Atlantic seaboard and in the Amazon River basin to be able to enable them to exclude larger boats from nearby cities. In the year 2000, extractive reserves were a key component of a new system of classification of national protected areas called the National System of Conservation Units which increasingly recognized the role of local communities in conservation areas (Hochstelter and Keck 2007).

As outlined earlier, increased market participation has changed how people fish in the region. Outboard motors, ice, and larger boats allow for fishermen to remain in the water for longer periods of time, so they can fish further from shore and catch more fish. Robben describes how traditional canoe fishing in Southern Bahia creates different economic, social, and political relationships when compared to larger boat fishing and the conflict between these different socio-economic models (Robben 1989). In addition, increased competition from small scale industrialized fishing operations from urban centers to the south provided some of the original incentives for the creation of a marine extractive reserve in
the area. In 1998, a local group began to push for the creation of an extractive reserve that would only allow traditional local fishermen the right to fish in the area and mandate management plans in conjunction with IBAMA, the federal environmental protection agency (Da Silva 2003, Chamy 2005). Despite a strong effort by a local group that conducted socioeconomic surveys, ran community meetings, visited other Marine Extractive Reserves, and pushed for the establishment of the extractive reserve, the process eventually stalled. A variety of explanations have been given for this, including the potential for offshore oil drilling and the suspicion that the petition for the reserve had been put forward by environmentalists and tourist businesses rather than local fishermen themselves (Burda et al 2007). The development of tourism, leisure, and conservation industries made the extractive reserve less likely by undermining the authenticity of the fishermen. However, it is more likely that the potential for oil drilling derailed the creation of a reserve which might possibly grant local fishermen control over offshore resources.

This also indicates that state initiatives in the region are often contradictory, pushing for conservation and the growth of tourism while at the same time, entertaining other possibilities. This points to a state government that is divided and with changing priorities over time, rather than implementing any kind of unitary policy. This is perhaps best seen in the proposal for a deep-sea port between Itacaré and Ilhéus. The purpose of the port is to export iron ore from a large mine that is being developed in the interior of the state. The port is a public/private venture with a part being paid for by the state and a part by BAMIN, a subsidiary of the multinational mining company in Brazil. Included is
the plans is an international airport near Ilhéus which will also affect tourism in the area.

During my fieldwork, I attended several public hearings about the port. As expected, the environmental and most local community groups were opposed, especially given that Southern Bahia is one of the best preserved areas of Atlantic Rainforest in the country and this kind of industrial development directly threatened the other major industries like tourism and conservation. The constructions of the port, offshore dredging, and associated traffic of ore would have diverse environmental impacts while the proposed mitigation strategies in place were questionable. While it would provide some short-term construction jobs, there would be few long-term employment options for local residents. The port is a product of Brazil's growing economy and the renewed emphasis on industrial growth. Some locals see the process as inevitable and were trying to see what kinds of mitigation funds could be secured to support different initiatives in the area.

More than anything, the port illustrates the extent to which the region is, at times, subject to larger political and economic forces that can change and impact local development in unexpected ways. Despite ongoing protests, lawsuits, and challenges, the Port recently received all of the necessary permits to begin construction and is slated for completion in 2019. It remains to be seen what effect the port and airport will have on tourism, conservation, and urban development in the surrounding region.

In conclusion, this chapter explores the diverse and changing impacts of government policies in the region. As the state appropriates private land to create
agrarian reform settlements or designates an environmental protected area, it creates different kinds of public spaces from private land, challenging views of the state in which it cooperates with capitalists to destroy traditional common ownership regimes to open the way for market exploitation. However, most of these state processes do explicitly recognize and reinforce individual, rather than collective, private holdings, by either buying out landowners in conservation area or agrarian reform settlements in order to create public spaces. However, in both cases, the designation of a protected area or agrarian reform settlement structures and limits property claims, theoretically limiting what can be done in the area and making individual development projects subject to collective discussion and debate. The actual processes of agrarian reform or APA implementation are best described as political, rather than bureaucratic, as different groups negotiate to achieve support. Furthermore, local interaction with the state is often based on myths, rumor, and fetishization of the bureaucratic process rather than rational, standard government procedures, highlighting the limitation and contingent nature of both community and government control (Nuijten 2001). While the federal government’s involvement legitimizes these public arrangements, what form an APA or an agrarian reform settlement will look like on the ground, or even whether it will materialize at all, are determined by local actors' willingness to shape and implement these processes.

Transportation infrastructure, such as roads, airports, and ports, are another important area of government intervention. In this case, the new infrastructure creates different patterns of connection that greatly effect local development but not in ways that are straightforward or predictable. While these projects have
brought new investments to the region, created jobs, and provided for economic benefits across the board, the rate of this growth created urban pollution, crime, and other social problems. Arguably the benefits of economic growth and jobs could be greater and the harms of pollution and crime could be reduced if the town had been better prepared to meet the challenges that accompanied these infrastructure projects.
Chapter 4: Neighborhood Growth and Urban Expansion

As tourism has grown in Itacaré, different neighborhoods have developed in diverse ways that illustrate dynamic power struggles. The downtown and riverfront is dominated by neo-colonial townhouses from the turn of the century that have mostly been converted into tourist businesses. On the weekends there is usually a soccer game on the sand and in the evening, clusters of local teenagers lounging and dancing to *arrocha* music blasting from parked cars. Contrast this with Concha, where newly built rustic houses are hidden behind tropical foliage, high walls, and electric fences; protection from specters of lower class violence that so often organizes urban life in Brazil (Caldeira 2000). The dusty streets are mostly deserted as people come and go in cars and there are hardly any restaurants or shops. Each neighborhood has its own unique look, sounds, and feel, which mark them as distinct social spaces. Pinheiro writes how,

> Social structure doesn't exist without space. And the social nature implies that the space of the city is necessarily historical, positioned with temporal, geographical, and cultural traits. In other words, the space is always concrete, possessing physical qualities, and not being a static phenomenon, is always permanently transforming.

(Pinheiro 2011: 26)

This chapter and the next follow the transformations of urban growth and show how it has been impacted by the development of tourism and how it, in turn, shapes people's lived experiences. This chapter examines the growth of new
neighborhoods starting in the 1980s and documents how each neighborhood's specific history illustrates the ways residents, large landowners, and local politicians negotiate to allow for urban expansion. The next chapter describes how different architectural styles develop historically throughout the town and the relationships between aesthetics, changing social structures, and economic systems.

These material and social histories of Itacaré's neighborhoods provide three theoretical insights. First, I connect these histories of urban growth to a larger history of land law and agrarian reform in Brazil and ongoing tensions between legal and traditional systems of land tenure. In many senses, the traditional, extra-legal system for occupation and use of land is more expansive and significant than the legal system. Rather than a strict dichotomy between legal/traditional systems, we see how the legal system operates as one piece of much more complex and dynamic set of power negotiations between different groups. For example, through local patronage political structures and grass roots occupation of new spaces, land is distributed to those who would otherwise be excluded. However, this land (and most land owned by poorer residents) is never fully legalized, denying these residents from accessing the full market value of their land, potentially one of their most valuable assets. During conflicts, the legal system generally works to protect the rights of wealthy citizens while ignoring those of poorer ones. Alternatively, the dynamic interplay between politicians, tourist developers, and residents that shapes traditional land politics can often benefit poorer residents whose votes maintain local politicians in power. These complex interactions between traditional/legal systems illustrate the extent to
which power relations are embedded in the Brazilian legal systems more generally and especially in property ownership.

Second, the politics of land ownership is interconnected with local and regional identities. Tourism, by bringing in outsiders, reinforces local identity categories—be it local, native, Baiano, or quilombo. These identity categories do specific political work as they are mobilized to discredit outside developers and support the growth of working class neighborhoods. Rather than having rich outsiders come and simply dominate local politics, traditional elites continue to dominate municipal politics through patronage structures that are closely tied with redistributive structures that facilitate the creation of new subdivisions to donate land to poorer families. Examining these political tensions reveals how identity categories influence electoral politics and shape urban development alongside projects from outside developers.

Third, the development of these neighborhoods shows how tourism, as a distinct mode of economic and cultural production, reshapes urban topography in specific ways (Cronon 2009, Pinheiro 2010). Over time tourism has largely worked to segregate people along socio-economic, racial, and regional lines. Richer and whiter foreigners and Brazilians from the Southeast live in neighborhoods of Concha and Pituba, closer to the beaches while poorer, darker, and local residents have moved inland, away from tourist spaces (Meliani 2011a). While the urban areas in Itacaré have long been segregated by race and social class, the emerging economies of aesthetics and specters of violence that organize these new tourist geographies reorganize segregation along new lines, linked to regional as well as racial and class differences. Economic growth from tourism
development is closely linked to real estate speculation and rental properties, making this discussion of land ownership particularly vital to understanding the specific ways tourism recreates spaces that enhance or diminish economic opportunities for local people and restructures power relationships. Tourism, by dramatically increasing property value, brings to the forefront the tensions between traditional and legal systems of land tenure. Beyond land ownership, tourism also leads to other forms of commodification of place.

**Tourism and land tenure**

Because of real estate speculation and skyrocketing land values in tourist spaces (especially in certain neighborhoods), land ownership is extremely important in establishing who can benefit from the expansion of a tourist economy. Participation in the expanding rental economy and real estate market have been important ways that some local families have been able to benefit from tourism while others have been excluded. To understand how different groups participate in the real estate markets, I contrast legal and traditional regimes of property rights and examine how they come into conflict. Anthropologist Jan French calls the Brazilian legal system “prismatic,” focusing on how “extra-legal negotiations” produce multiple possible outcomes when interacting with bureaucracies or the judicial system (2002). These negotiations essentially create a two-tiered property system in which the wealthy are able to greatly add value to their property through legal land tenure, which is largely denied poorer residents. For example, in the case of agrarian reform and quilombos, both property regimes designed to support poorer people's land claims, there are limits to their right to
sell their property, effectively excluding them from the higher market value of their property and only giving them access to the value that comes from farming or living on the land. This is particularly instructive in light of the discussion of a history of land tenure in Brazil, in which the weak legal system has been used to consolidate power in the hands of elites. However, the same weak system has always provided plenty of space in the margins for different groups to make a living.

The origins of the current system of land ownership in Brazil began in 1532, when Brazil was divided into 13 Captaincies, with one being located at Ilhéus. During the colonial era, land was granted to noblemen through the seismaria system in which the Crown or the Captaincies awarded huge tracts of land called seismarias to investors to finance the development of the land.³⁷ Lasting for almost 300 years, this system established the concentration of land in the hands of a small group of elites as well as a land tenure system in which people lived and worked on land owned by others, both long lasting characteristic of land tenure systems in Brazil (Buenos 1998). The land was supposed to be cultivated within five years or be returned to the Crown although this was almost never enforced. This connection between ownership and use (and the discrepancy between legal requirements and non-compliance) are also continuing legacies of the seismaria system.

³⁷ Seismarias were characterized as being 3 leagues by 6 leagues (roughly 9 by 18 miles) although the actual distances and sizes varied widely.
In 1822, when Dom Pedro II announced Brazilian independence from Portugal, the seismaria system officially ended. However, a new system of land tenure was not put into place until 1850. From 1822 to 1850, known as the era of occupation, there was no recognized legal land system and the elite claimed extensive tracts of land simply through occupation. In 1850, a new Law of the Land was created. With pressure from Great Britain, the traffic of slaves had recently been outlawed and new economic ideas associated with the growth of capitalism and industrialization increasingly emphasized the importance of land as a source of production and not simply a sign of social status (Cavalcante 2005). The 1850 Law of the Land effectively created private property for the first time but also required that land be obtained through inheritance or purchase rather than occupation. Lands that were already occupied could be claimed but it was impossible to get new land simply by occupation. In the words of a São Paulo lawmaker at the time, the essence the law was meant, like most land laws in Brazil, to “prevent future usurpations by legalizing past usurpations” (Dean 1971: 624). All unoccupied land belonged to the state and needed to be purchased. This law was intended to control labor by prohibiting immigrants (who were being sought after to replace diminishing slave labor) or soon to be freed slaves from moving to the interior to claim new land, requiring them to buy land from the state, colonization companies, or previous owners. Some states in the Southeast had government land auctions that resulted in the land being divided up more equitably but most lands remained in government control. In practice, government land was never surveyed and most large landowners never legalized their claims (in order to avoid taxes). As a result, very little government land was sold (except
to colonization companies), and people continued to occupy and claim government land but had to fabricate evidence to prove that their land was claimed prior to 1850 (Dean 1971).

Because Brazil was relatively sparsely populated throughout this period, there was a considerable amount of *terras devolutas*, or unclaimed and unused government land. In 1861, the distribution of land was decentralized, giving states and municipalities the right to sell this land, giving considerable power at a local level and favoring local elite in the control and occupation of land (Couto 2007). After the end of the empire in 1889, there was no central land policy until the military dictatorship that began in 1964. The Statute of Land in 1964 and the 1988 Constitution all worked to centralize this power within the Federal Government, creating clearer standards to define land rights through possession (Groppo 1996, Couto 2007). Currently, all unclaimed land within the limits of the city belongs to the municipality while unclaimed rural lands belong to the State government.

It wasn't until 1946 constitution that land was defined as having a social function and it was only in the 1988 constitution that the state could appropriate unused private land in order to advance agrarian reform. Agrarian reform throughout the state is built upon the idea that land should be used productively and that undeveloped land is being wasted, encouraging land to be used in order to be claimed. Because the legal control of land was extremely restrictive for so long, new legislation was created to legalize the de facto system of occupation by small holders that always existed in the margins of a land tenure system that favored the elite. Agrarian reform, by definition, favors agricultural use of land, although they coming into conflict with the market value when users want to sell
land. However, as we will see in the Itacaré, there is continuing conflict between these two systems and many aspects of the previous land laws shape current conditions.

The emphasis on land use has a number of implications. Traditionally, people gained land rights through occupation and use, such as building a residence, clearing land, planting crops, and tending areas over time. There were also a series of informal relationships in which people lived on and used lands owned by larger landowners, often in absentia. These include arrendeiros, posseiros, caseiros, meieros and others. Because of the enormous concentration of wealth and land in the hands of a small elite, these kinds of relationships were ubiquitous throughout Brazilian society. Most of these relationships were informal with no written documentation. Because of this there can be multiple people that claim rights over a single piece of land and establishing land ownership is best seen as a process rather than strict legal fact. In Itacaré most residents do not have legal titles to their land; their claims to the land they live or work on is established through residency and development of the land, and in some cases, simple receipts that document purchase from previous residents.

Within Brazilian law there are means to transform traditional possession

---

38 Arrendeiros participate in a kind of longterm rental or lease agreement in which the value is paid up front for the property at a discount rate but for a longer time period. Posseiros are those who have gained rights through living on a piece of land without their possession being challenged. Caseiros live in and take care of a house and property that belongs to someone else. Meieros, or halfers, is something like sharecropping and is longstanding patronage system in which half of the produce is given in exchange for the right to use the land. It also exists in a variety of different economic activities. In fishing, Meeiros pay the boat owner half of the catch and then divide up the rest between them.

39 Before the road was built Itacaré was, similar to many rural areas, outside of the Brazilian legal system. For example, a large portion of the poorer residents did not have the personal documents like birth certificates, CPF (Social Security Card), RG (National Identity Cards), and other documents that define them as a legal person. If they didn't have these documents then they also couldn't have legal title to their lands, couldn't vote, or claim other basic rights of citizenship.
into legal titles. For example, the Brazilian Civil code defines possession rights
(*direito de posse*) as “he, who has *in fact* the exercise, complete or not, of some of
the rights inherent to the property” (Art 196). This means the person who is
actually living and using a piece of land can claim ownership as long as the
occupation is “not violent, clandestine, or precarious” (Art 200). Related to posse
is the concept of usucapion that is the process which potentially allows people to
gain legal rights through use and occupation of a piece of land over an extended
period of time (Souza 2009). While this legally only applies to private property
according to the 1916 Civil Code, the 1964 Civil Code expanded it to unused
federal land if all of the necessary taxes were paid on the land (Couto 2007).
Generally one must occupy an area for ten years in order to claim title of that
piece of land and the landowners must be absent for fifteen years without
challenging the claim although these numbers vary for urban and rural land and
other situations (Claudia, interview, July 14, 2012).

While possession rights and usucapion theoretically favor smallholders,
the actual processes requires a number of technical and bureaucratic procedures,
such as land surveys and legal documentation, that effectively prohibit that
majority of the population from taking advantage of these rights. More often, large
landowners with paid lawyers use these laws to seize public or private lands.
Because of the long history of restrictive control of land rights and the relatively
recent legislation that has aimed to more equitably distribute land, most small
holders operate outside of the legal system, maintaining limited traditional rights
through the use and occupation of land rather than through any kind of legal title.
However, because the legal system does recognize *posse*, poorer residents
generally feel that they could potentially get legal rights to the land they have occupied, even if they do not have the actual title. There are also reasons not to do this, like avoiding paying taxes or the fees associated with the legalization process.

One problem with not having legal title to land is that it significantly reduces land values because developers want to have an uncontested title before making significant investments in a property. Although there is no completely secure tenure, some forms of posse are more secure than others. In many cases of possession there are possible legal means to get a secure title, most of these are costly, requiring hiring a lawyer, mapping the land, and doing environmental, soil, or hydrologic testing. This effectively prohibits poorer residents from gaining legal titles, even when they clearly qualify for the titles based on the time they have lived in the area. Claudia, the owner of the land titling office of Itacaré for the last sixteen years and an important collaborator for this research, laid out this distinction quite clearly.40

No one wants to pay a lawyer, that's the truth. They buy with these little slips of paper. I always tell people, when you buy something that's legal from the land titling office, you pay more. Why do you pay more? Because the investor, the guy that legalized the subdivision invested a lot of money to get to the point where he could sell. There are a number of projects that need to be done with the

---

40 For years Claudia was a Municipal employee (she gained the position through a civil service exam) but recently land titling offices throughout Bahia have become a neo-liberal public/private partnerships in which citizens own and operate the offices as a kind of state franchise to improve efficiency and accountability.
land, a topographical study, an environmental study, authorization from the municipality, a study for the local water company, one for electricity to arrive there, to bring in water, sewage we don't even talk about because it's so new. In conclusion, the subdivision costs money, but it's clear when you buy 400m² that it's 400m² and it's completely legal. Now when you buy something with a little slip of paper, without any legalization you have to realize that you're paying a little bit now but to legalize everything you will have to pay more down the road. But people don't understand this. They want legalization without spending money. So usucapion is out of the question, no one wants to do it by themselves or together. Together it's difficult. Individually it's more expensive, nobody is doing it. (Claudia, interview, July 14, 2012)

Essentially, the legal and bureaucratic requirements for legalizing land completely exclude poorer residents and as a result they are unable to get loans using their land as leverage and are unable to attract buyers who will pay top dollar for land to develop, as most people are unwilling to make large investments in land that is potentially not legal to build on or might have multiple claimants for the legal title.

However, without full legal title there are still other means people use to establish some kind of ownership. One is to pay property taxes, although this is often prohibitive for poorer residents as well. Another way is to get a building
permit from the Municipality, often through their local city council member or some other personal connection. By granting building permits, the Municipal government implicitly recognizes the right of people to be there without going through the complicated paperwork necessary to actually fully legalize their land titles. Several residents I interviewed talked about approaching a city council member to try to legalize the land, especially in election years when council members are more responsive to their constituents, illustrating how people negotiate legal systems through personal relationships rather than formal bureaucratic procedures. Another resident described how he was denied a building permit because he fell out of favor with the mayor through his environmental activism, illustrating the political nature of even routine bureaucratic interactions with the Municipality. By viewing legal land ownership as highly politically charged and affected by class status, we can begin to see the un-level playing field for different groups trying to gain land rights and benefit in a tourist economy.

In many cases, legal title is more an indication of political power or a close connection to someone in the land titling office than a legitimate claim to the land. Land titling, like most legal processes in Brazil, can be more about interpersonal relationships than about rational bureaucracies processes. This illustrates how the legal and traditional systems are not really distinct systems but are similar ways of trying to claim land rights (Campbell 2009). Each neighborhood of Itacaré, with its specific history, involves a back and forth dynamic between the legal and political systems as the town expands. The history of the neighborhoods of Pituba and Concha are linked together as they developed from the same larger property and show the direct impact of tourist development on the town. The
neighborhoods of Santo Antonio, Angelim, and Passagem illustrate how popular neighborhoods develop in conflict and negotiations with landowners, the municipal government, and occupiers. Lastly, the history of Porto de Trás illustrates the transformations and reinterpretations of geographical and racial identities in light of tourism development in the town. By describing, contrasting, and comparing the diverse histories of each of these new neighborhoods this chapter explores how tourism based urban development and property rights have shaped different people's economic opportunities in Itacaré.

Figure 4: Neighborhoods of Itacaré (Satellite Imagery from google maps)

Pituba and Concha: tourism development and the politics of land division

The neighborhoods of Pituba and Concha both grew towards the Atlantic
beaches, the post-tourism focus of social life. The neighborhood of Pituba is centered along Pedro Longo Street that leads to the Atlantic beaches. This first piece of road had a scattering of houses belonging to fishermen but beyond the stream and a little further down began the Ranch Conchas do Mar. All of the neighborhoods that developed towards the beaches did so in legal and violent physical conflict with the owners of the Ranch Conchas do Mar. There is considerable speculation and debate about the origins and legality of this landholding. The Ranch Conchas do Mar was first recorded in 1940 when the area was passed from father to son, occupying 282 hectares, bordering the Atlantic Ocean on the East, the Contas River on the North, and with three other larger landholdings. Throughout this time there were a number of people living on the land in different kinds of tenant relationships. In 1976, the Panorama Hotels and Tourism Company, run by Juleval Gois from Salvador, bought the land. According to the contract all people living on the farm were to receive fair indemnifications through a peaceful process that, as we will see, did not happen. Around this time there were about 50 families living on the land that was indirectly managed by Manuel Quadros, one of the local elites. In 1986 the new owners began to forcefully remove the people living on the land (Fernandes 1999, Couto 2007).

Most local residents consider Juleval Gois a grileiro, or someone who gains land through the production of documents to prove ownership. Grilagem is the process by which people manipulate the land titling offices and illegally create land titles securing for themselves large estates that previously belonged to the
state. Many residents noted that these landowners never paid any taxes on the land to either the state or municipality and never did anything with the land to improve it. One posseiro who has lived on Concha do Mar land for 25 years and already legally documented his parcel complained that they “never even planted a single coconut tree.” In local terms, land ownership is established through use, tree planting, and improvements and Conchas do Mar’s ownership was fictitious, existing only on paper rather than through actual use. Locals describe how people in power can relatively easily manipulate and produce legal documents that established their ownership. Residents point to the fact that this land includes an airstrip, obviously Municipal property, to illustrate that it was a land grab rather than a legal acquisition. Others claim that this title is bordered on one side by the church, effectively including half of the city in the original deed and corroborating the accusation that the title was made by ignoring all existing claims to the area. They claim that when the land was documented the owners only looked at a handful of other properties that were already registered and then took the rest of the land, ignoring the entire town and surrounding residents whose land was never legally registered.

In many respects, grilagem is the opposite of posse and is the way that someone gains legal rights to land through paperwork rather than any actual manual labor on the land. Often during this process people who had previously lived on the land, sometimes for generations, are then dispossessed and must fight

---

41 The name grilagem has a variety of origins. One comes from the crickets (grilos) which were supposedly put in drawers with the false land titles to damage them to make them look older. Other etymologies come from the was both crickets and grileiros would jump from claim to claim, or because one could hear the sound of the cricket but never actually locate it (Holston 1991b).
42 Because of the precarious nature of land transportation, many small towns in the Bahia had airstrips for the local elite to visit more easily.
in the courts in order to maintain the rights to their land. The Gois family is powerful and well connected to important politicians. This enabled them to negotiate land titles and then enforce these titles with police support and state investments that made the land valuable. It is important to note that all of the owners of the Ranch Conchas do Mar lived far from the area and did almost nothing with the land until the mid 1980s when they took a more active approach to land development with tourism in mind. They began the process of establishing their claim to the land by forcibly removing the people already living on the land, burning houses, cutting down fences and trees, and removing all evidence of residents' productive activities which could be used to establish posse while simultaneously putting up their own fences to literally stake their claim. This did not involve any of the traditional agricultural activities associated with productive use of the land.

In response to Conchas do Mar's heavy-handed expulsion of residents, a group of outsiders, in conjunction with posseiros who had been forcibly removed from the Ranch, organized themselves. After some research, this group decided that the legal title was questionable, that the Ranch owed back taxes and they decided to invade and occupy the land. Given the social need for poor residents to have a place to live they decided to carry out an agrarian reform movement in which unproductive agricultural land which is not fulfilling its social purpose is seized and made to serve the public good. This invasion was organized, in part, by a group of young activists, who had recently moved to the town.43 They established the Foundation for the Development of Children (FUNDESC), an

43A few came from the Southeast but most of the early activists came from regional cities or the state capital of Salvador.
unlikely name for an activist organization that fought to recreate the city and challenge traditional hierarchies of power. First, they occupied the area and collectively built a number of wattle and daub houses on large lots. FUNDESC’s purpose behind the large lots was to provide the owner with small agroforestry plots and provide a green belt around the city, indicating the environmentalist nature of their social project.

These outsiders came looking for paradise, and upon finding complex histories of oppression and conflicts, allied themselves with local residents and began to fight for social justice. In 1987, they organized an Environmental Week in order to bring environmental awareness to the city. Eventually they formed a neighborhood association with the purpose of getting recognition for the possession rights of the residents. This group of young, urban, educated, leftist individuals worked to found a number of different organizations, like the Itacaré Surfer's Association, the Black Dolphin Ecological Resistance Movement, the Pituba Resident's Association, a Women's Group, and others. The early nineties were a particularly productive time for these social movements as the town grew and outsiders and locals worked together for environmental conservation and social justice although these groups would later become increasingly separated.

Jeovane Fernandes, one of the outsiders who came from Salvador to teach in the local schools, eventually went on to write a sociology thesis on the land conflict over Pituba. Her thesis situates the conflict within a history of agrarian reform, focusing on the difficulty of achieving social justice when the judicial system is so clearly aligned with elite interests. Throughout this section I draw upon her and other participants’ accounts of this conflict, situating it within tourist development.
and in contrast to other neighborhoods in the city.

In response to local organizing, the Ranch Conchas do Mar fought back, bringing in police from other cities, as well as bandits and mercenaries. Houses were knocked down, burnt, and people were beaten, shot at, and terrorized. Jeovane Fernandes describes how,

> In December of 1990, Juleval Gois arrived in the city accompanied by twenty-five military police, and ten gunmen known to be some of the most aggressive in the region, early in the morning. From that moment they started to commit a true barbarity against the occupiers and their families. Heavily armed with weapons, chain saws and gallons of gasoline they began to cut people's orchards, burnt ten houses, and tortured and humiliated two people. (Fernandes 1999)

The police and judges in the city refused to respond to protect the posseiros. In response in January 9th, 1991, the occupiers destroyed one of the houses of Juleval Gois and immediately the local judges and police responded by jailing a number of the leaders. This showed the occupiers the extreme bias of the legal system in favor of the large landowners and they began to reach out to the rural workers union and other larger agrarian reform organizations to gain legal support for their movement (Fernandes 1999). Agnaldo, one of the early leaders in these struggles describes this early period.

> It was a lot of work. The native guys didn't believe in it, because they were scared of the guy. [He was] a large
landowner who has been in the Municipality for years, Juleval Gois. He was a terror. There were cadavers, dead people, way before our time, forty years ago. This land has been in the courts for years. The first houses we built were burnt. Fifty Policemen came. They beat people up, burned down houses. Man, it looked like a horror film. Heavy crimes, police, bandits, it looked like the era from Jorge Amado and the cacao coronels. This neighborhood of Pituba was destroyed three or four time before—just for you to have an idea. There was like, ten, twelve houses taken apart, tractors, people in jail, people being sued, lies, newspapers publishing that we had invaded the land to plant marijuana. There wasn't anything like this in the history. It was all about social justice. Do you understand man? The land belonged to the people; they were born and raised here. (Agnaldo, interview, July 17, 2012)

Leo, a native fisherman who has been heavily involved in environmental and social activism, also described this moment in the history of Pituba.

He arrived with police, thugs, torching people's houses. Putting people on the streets that were born, raised, and raised their children, grandchildren, and great-grandchildren. He kicked everyone out. This house here that I own is inside Conchas do Mar. Who says he's owned this area for 40 years? People have lived here for five or
six generations and no one has sold it to him. How did he come to own it? This was a huge disadvantage. And there's this thing that I told you about that the native can't seem to get ahead [because they can't borrow against their homes]. (Leo, interview April 30, 2012)

Instead of using the land for agriculture, the owner of Conchas do Mar planned to sell it to others to build tourism businesses or summer homes. Rather than using the land productively, they see the land as an investment and are waiting for its value to increase as the road was built, access improved and the town grew.

While locals suffered most of the worst violence, newcomers who bought into this area were also victims. Beatrix, a French woman, arrived in Itacaré in 1993 with her husband who was a surfer and came for the waves. They bought a piece of property on a hill overlooking Pituba and built a small bed and breakfast. They lived there for two years and the neighborhood was just beginning to be formed. She recounted how,

One day they simply—it’s crazy that it has been so long—they arrived at our home. (There were a bunch of properties in the same situation as us.) First they came by and built a fence, saying this was an old farm that was going to be recuperated...and one day they really came, just like the stories of the bandits with a bunch of armed men, armed to teeth. And by coincidence at the same time the forum of the city was on administrative vacation and the local law enforcement wasn't there. The judge was
traveling, all at the same time. Of course, everyone was bought, it was just like the coronels. The guy came and said we had two hours to take everything out of our house because they were going to knock the house down and take the property. I wasn't there but my husband at the time was desperate. He didn't know what to do. What can you do in two hours? They burnt the house, let our horses loose, cut down our trees, and took our property by force. Us along with lots of other people, and it [this case] is still in the courts until today. (Beatrix, interview, July 10, 2012)

Soon after this event she left Itacaré and met with a lawyer. He warned her that this was a political game with some big players and he would represent her only if she and her children would return to Europe, out of harms way, until the case was settled. Although she does have a case pending in the local court, it has never been settled. In another case, someone else who owned a house on the same hill was given a different property in exchange for the one taken. It seems that there was some effort by the tourist developers to consolidate the occupiers to the area immediately closest to the town and keep the land with better views, which includes a large area on top of a hill behind Pituba where Beatrix's property was located.

Residents blame the inability of the courts to resolve these cases on multiple factors. Before the town had their own judge, judges were rotated in and never stayed for very long and the town would have long stretches of time without
a judge at all. Often there would be too much work for the visiting judge so only the highest priority cases were tried and others simply had to wait. Under these conditions, especially complicated and highly politicized cases involving land disputes could easily be avoided for years. Some people blame the lawyers for being paid off by the opposing side. Some claim the judges are bribed, while others claim that the process is being handled at a higher court in Salvador or even Brasilia. Even though the neighborhood is physically clearly established, the confusion, misinformation, and lack of clarity around the judicial process is such that very few of these cases have been resolved. Almost three decades later, the neighborhood still remains in legal limbo. Despite numerous promises by politicians and meetings with representatives of the Conchas do Mar Ranch, the land titling process remains unresolved. The extended length of time these legal processes take is one way the justice department is seen as constantly siding with the powerful who have time and money to deal with lengthy court procedures and continue to develop their land at the expense of the poorer people who eventually worn down and move away.

This current ambiguous impasse came about gradually but is closely connected with the election of a Dr. Edgar Reis, a leftist Mayor in 1988. He was a lawyer who had worked with agrarian reform and represented the occupiers in Pituba and during his tenure most of the residents were granted building permits, given building materials, and gained increased legitimacy for their occupation. Under his encouragement the neighborhood grew, eventually arriving to the point where the size and density of building made it so they could no longer be evicted. In addition, Conchas do Mar had to make peace with the Municipal Government
in order to gain approval for the subdivision in the neighborhood of Concha, nearer to the beach. Many people describe the end of the conflict as an agreement between the mayor and developers in which the mayor would bulldoze the roads and allow for the subdivision in the newly developed neighborhood of Concha in exchange for the developer giving the land in Pituba to the mayor so he could distribute it to his political supporters. It seems that landholders that were further away from the main road were not included in this process and many of their individual cases are still in court.

Many of the lawyers, activists, and radicals involved in local land struggles, black pride movements, and other causes described coming to Itacaré at the invitation of Dr. Edgar Reis. His short period of leadership in the city was a productive moment for social activism and essential to the peaceful resolution of the conflict in Pituba. Claudio, a lawyer for the occupy movement who came to work with Mayor Reis, describes the large number of NGOs that were forming during these period as “a vertiginous moment for the city, productive for the organization of cooperatives in Itacaré,” tying this moment with the end of the military dictatorship and the constitution of 1988 which greatly expanded citizens' rights to organize (Claudio, interview, July 6, 2012). Mayor Reis didn't serve out his full term because the City Council removed him after two years, a process that was rumored to be a result of his progressive politics that challenged established hierarchies of power.

During this early history Pituba was the worst neighborhood of the city with wattle and daub homes, muddy streets, and home to the poorest and most marginalized residents. Many described how people would sell land in Pituba for
some marijuana, a nice radio, or a TV. The land had little or no value and gradually most of the natives who participated in the original occupation moved out. In addition, the original large lots have been subdivided numerous time and many are now smaller than the legal requirement of 125m$^2$. Lots are often subdivided to provide funds for building, especially early on when there was little currency in the town. The lack of employment and money, especially before the arrival of the road, encouraged this informal subdivisions of house lots. One of the first residents on the street talked about how many of the locals were entirely unprepared for the increases in land values that happened as the road began to be built in the late 1990s.

Pituba was more or less an invasion. It was a farm but one that didn't produce anything. It was just jungle. People began to fence in the land, make small lots to live, and we never imagined that it would become what it is today, worth so much money... There was a time when people traded a big lot, 200m$^2$ for a radio, for anything. If you showed up today with a nice battery ratio, you got 10m by 20m piece of land. Pituba started to increase in value just like that. Back then it wasn't worth anything. (Joaquim, interview March 9, 2012)

These stories about the worthlessness of land in Pituba are contrasted with its relative value now. Those who own land in Pituba can rent out storefronts, homes, or other kinds of commercial real estate and live relatively comfortably. Over time however, most of the lots in Pituba have been sold to outsiders who have the
money to develop businesses. Still there are still a fair number of locals who own land and run businesses or rent space to others. It is the only neighborhood that is still somewhat demographically mixed with locals and outsiders, largely as a result of the cooperative nature of its occupation as well as its importance for tourism development. Despite the massive increases of land prices in the neighborhood and the fact that Pituba has become the economic center for tourism activities, almost no one has a legal title to their land.

Pituba is named after an affluent neighborhood in Salvador and I heard several different origin stories of the name. One early resident, who arrived in 1988, said the name was given playfully as many of the new residents had always wanted to live in Pituba and now they could. Other versions of the story said the name Pituba was given as a taunt by others in the city or by the police and gunmen that came to evict the squatters. Ironically, the neighborhood is actually the touristic commercial center of Itacaré, full of boutiques, bars, restaurants, pousadas, tour agencies, craft shops, and other businesses. During the high season, the street is so packed with pedestrians that it is closed to car traffic. While there are a handful of residences along the street most have moved to the back of the lots or to the second floor while the street fronts have almost all been converted to commercial establishments.

Pituba, rather than the riverfront and old town center, has become the center of the tourist economy for several reasons. It is located along the path to the beach and is right next to Concha where most of the larger pousadas are located. Ironically, despite its origins in conflict with the tourist development of the Ranch Concha do Mar, Pituba is now part of a dynamic and mutually beneficial
relationship with the pousadas in the neighborhood of Conchas by providing a commercial center for the people staying there. Several people linked Pituba's growth to the influence of outsiders from the Southeast who started businesses there instead of the families of long time residents that owned the property in the historic center. These outsiders were able to develop a different aesthetic and style that attracted tourists to the area. Although there are some tourist businesses along the riverfront, they are always struggling to bring tourists there. Paulo, owner of small pousada on the beach and longtime resident of Itacaré, described the city as a,

Diamond in the rough. Itacaré still isn't a tourist city. It has a tourist vocation. There still needs to be a lot of investment. I've lived here for twenty years and I haven't seen any investment from the municipal government in favor of tourism. The city grew because of the so-called outsiders. [It is] thanks to these immigrants that the city grew. In the city, 90% of the businesses belong to those who moved to Itacaré. That was why all of Pituba grew the way it did, there's nothing there that belong to the natives. The natives need to wake up. They sold all the area they had. (Paulo, interview, April 23, 2012)

Whether or not outsiders, with their cultural and financial capital, actually played a role in the success of Pituba, this comment provides one example of how outsiders critique native Baianos and their inability to capitalize on the development of tourism. Outsiders see locals an incapable or unwilling to provide
the kind of quality goods, services, and experiences that tourists expect.

Pituba's violent history and ambiguous legal status emphasizes how land is central to local politics and tourist development. The Ranch's initial interest in the land and removal of residents from areas with views and close to the beach reflect the importance of particular parcels of land for tourism. One potential reason that the Ranch is holding out in granting land titles to residents is to have leverage over residents and local politicians to gain support for future projects on the remaining land. Nonetheless, in the struggles over Pituba, we can observe how local activists challenged traditional power structures and forced some compromises and, because of the neighborhood’s location, locals and newcomers who have stayed in Pituba have been able to benefit from the rising land values, rental properties, and business opportunities in ways that the rest of the city has not.

Concha: the only “planned” subdivisions

The reverse process to Pituba occurred in the neighborhood of Concha. Rather than an occupation, Concha was an orderly process in which a series of lots were sold to tourist developers. Permission to subdivide, develop, and sell Concha was part the negotiation with the ranch and local politicians in allowing Pituba to develop as a neighborhood. The first pousada was built there in the mid 1990s, a few years before the road was built in 1998. Concha is the only neighborhood in the city where most people have legal titles to their land, resulting in solid investments from outsiders interested in opening up businesses in Itacaré. This has led to larger investments in the area and it contains most of the
larger, more expensive pousadas that are almost exclusively owned by outsiders. The irony is that all of these legal titles are based on an original title that is questionable.

Like most of the newer neighborhoods there was a time when Concha was all oil palms, cashew trees, swamps, and jungle. The neighborhood occupies a flat swampy coastal plain where several small streams flowed, resulting in large areas of standing water during the rainy season. Building in Concha presented several difficulties due to this topography. The high water table, less than one meter deep in many places, makes it difficult to dig septic tanks or install pools. When residents began to dig more than a meter or two the holes instantly filled with water. As a result one pousada owner described creating five small shallow septic tanks scattered around his property instead of one large one. Another built a septic tank that was closed off entirely, requiring it to be periodically pumped. Many lots required fill to be brought in to raise the height of the property in order to build. Then the runoff would simply gather in neighboring lots that were lower. There are still quite a few empty lots and most of these are inundated for a part of the year. In actuality, the land in Concha was probably environmentally unfit for development.

The roads were never paved and many people suspect that a backroom deal between the owners of the subdivision and the Municipal government gave them the right to sell lots without providing the necessary infrastructure. Concha's residents are mostly from outside of Itacaré and have little electoral clout. As a result, the neighborhood is totally ignored by the ruling parties who want their public works projects to translate into electoral support. Even when the state
government came in and built a central sewage system for the entire town the neighborhood of Concha was excluded from the project, with the exception of the restaurants along the beach, which are owned by local families. Several pousadas, after having been accused of leaking sewage into the ocean, are working with the Municipal Environmental Secretary to hook up their pousadas to the central sewage system but the high water table has significantly complicated these efforts.

![Figure 5: Houses and Pousadas in Concha](image)

Concha also feels different than other neighborhood because it is the only neighborhood that is landscaped. Each house or pousada sits on a large lot, often protected and shielded from the street by some combination of walls, hedges, barbed wire, guard dogs, and electric fences. The zoning of the Environmental Protected Area, established in 1994, is supposed to limit the built area to 40% of the total lot, consciously creating a different kind of urban neighborhood. Buildings are hidden and surround by manicured lawns, landscaping with gingers, palms, heliconia, ponds and swimming pools. In this case, tropical landscaping becomes a clear indication of a class-based aesthetic that requires large lots and empty space. This aesthetic creates a neighborhood that has no street life. There
are no sidewalks, no one sitting outside, no bars and only a handful of restaurants. The streets are empty, as intended.

While popular neighborhoods have been critiqued for their lack of planning and environmental impact, the more elite neighborhoods have similar problems. Concha, despite being legally subdivided, leaks untreated sewage into the ocean, has poor quality dirt roads, and many of the environmental problems of poorer neighborhoods. While individuals have developed their own properties to make them attractive, the public spaces remain entirely inadequate. Despite the facade of a lush jungle landscape, the neighborhood is largely an enclave of walled-in compounds, separate from the social and political life of the town. This social segregation was the direct result of the legalization of land titles that increased the value of the land, effectively excluding poorer residents. Concha best illustrates how the creation of legal land titles required the forcible removal of original residents in order to subdivide and sell lots that were far beyond the price ranges of local residents and have continued to rise apace with tourist development. It also shows the limited ability of outside tourism investors to influence local politics in their favor, dynamics that also come to play in the expansion of working class neighborhoods.

**Santo Antonio, Passagem, and Angelim: popular neighborhoods and the politics of land distribution**

Similar to Pituba, other working class neighborhoods in the city have grown out of a series of conflicts and interactions between residents, landowners, and the Municipal government, usually initiated by the residents' occupation of a
new area. The Municipal government is heavily involved in the distribution of land because land is one of the main resources, along with government jobs, that local governments can use to reward loyal supporters and create a political patronage system that maintains local elites in power (Graham 1990). However, the actual development of these neighborhoods also highlights the complexity, complicity, and limits of local power structures and the creative ways that local residents take advantage of these processes. The specific history of each neighborhood reflects the multiple ways these kinds of processes can develop within different contexts.

**Santo Antonio**

The most controversial of these neighborhoods is Santo Antonio, commonly referred to as Bairro Novo and as a *favela*, or a shantytown, by upper and middle class residents. Bairro Novo is seen by many as the singular expression of everything gone wrong with tourist development in the city. Its highly visible location at the entrance to city makes it the first neighborhood you see as you drive down the large hill to enter Itacaré. The designation of favela is highly charged and marks a place as peripheral and associates it with criminal activity, violence, and an urban underclass (Banck 1993, Koster 2009). Designating a neighborhood as a favela is to exclude it spatially and socially from the town. On many maps, and especially tourist maps, favelas are simply not shown, and there are large white blanks that marginalize and make invisible these spaces. While looking for a home to rent, real estate agents refused to show us houses in these neighborhoods and house prices are significantly lower. The social
marginality of these neighborhoods is such that residents that lived there would not admit to living there, but would mention that they lived near the bus terminal, on a certain street, or some other point of reference near the neighborhood.

Alternatively, favelas can be seen as organic, spontaneous developments that highlight hard working citizens’ middle-class aspirations. Koster describes how residents preferred other terms, *comunidade carente*, or needy community, while I often heard the term *bairro popular*, or working-class neighborhood (Koster 2009). My analysis of everyday resistance in these communities focuses on their right to exist, to be there and connected and a part of the larger city and its political processes. This right is often signified through legal recognition through municipal services like water, electricity, and trash collection as well as legal documentation of ownership (Koster 2014).

Santo Antonio began when Mayor Hudson Vasconcellos used municipal funds to buy ten hectares of land with the intent of distributing the land to loyal followers. The mayor deforested and burned the large valley behind the town overnight, with the plan of inviting people from cities throughout the region in order to gain electoral votes. The area was cleared and burnt in 1991, in preparation for the upcoming election in 1992, which, despite these efforts, Mayor Hudson lost. This set in motion several groups. Immediately, the Black Dolphin Ecological Resistance Group filed a complaint with the Public Ministry and the Environmental Ministry, claiming that the area was unsuitable for urban expansion because of the presence of freshwater springs, the steepness of the land,

---

44 Mayor Hudson was first elected mayor from 1990-1992, to finish out the last two years of the removed Dr Edgar Reis. He was then replaced by Roberto Setubal from 1992-1996 and then Hudson was re-elected from 1996-2000.
and the fact that it had been covered in Atlantic Rainforest. With the establishment of the APA in 1994 and the accompanying zoning process, the area was zoned for agroforestry and visual protection. During this time, one hectare of the area was set aside as a municipal forest park, for environmental education, and to protect several freshwater springs in the valley. Because the Municipal government's hands were tied by environmental litigation they could not openly settle new families there.

Although the forest started to regrow, the area would eventually become a neighborhood just the same. Gilberto, a native who had lived a part of his childhood and adolescence in São Paulo and had returned to the area after experiencing racism and discrimination in São Paulo, was one of the leaders of the occupation and formation of Bairro Novo. Gilberto learned about the proposed plans for the areas and describes the beginning of the occupation:

I discovered afterwards that the land had been bought to make a neighborhood, and that it was the intention of this mayor to bring people from Ubaitaba to make an electorate for him. So I talked to a lawyer during that time, Dr. Edgar Reis. He said, “If you want to build and stick it to them, do it.” So I brought together a group of fourteen residents and we started to build houses collectively. They were houses of wattle and daub. During this time I was calling people to come and occupy the space there. There was a ton of space, just grass and fallen trees. The Municipality threatened to destroy our houses because the
Mayor had changed—it was Roberto Setubal. We entered with a cautionary measure in the court saying that we were being threatened to lose our houses. This cautionary action was based on the constitution of 1988 that say that all of the lands belonging to the state, municipality, or the federal government have a social function. We used this with the judge. The social function includes the right to living space, which is included in the constitution.

(Gilberto, interview, March 29, 2012)

Educated and articulate, Gilberto drew upon his rights established in the new constitution. He used his connections he made as a rural schoolteacher to gather rural residents to occupy the space so they could have a house in the city to send their kids to school, or have a place to stay if they needed to come to the hospital. He also worked with Black Dolphins for a time and was well respected by many of the outsiders although he ultimately left the organization when the conflict escalated and pitted the environmentalists against local residents. Up until this point, environmentalists had tried to work with local government and residents to find another area to resettle the occupiers but were ultimately unsuccessful.

While the occupiers claim they were largely poor people needing a place to live, people opposed to the occupation described them as the middle-class residents who were claiming lots for their older children or lots to sell. Environmentalists critiqued the occupiers claiming, “They don't want to know if it's good for nature, if you're talking about fresh water. They don't give a damn. They don't have any vision” (Agnaldo, interview, July 17, 2012). Locals also
criticized the environmental leadership, especially a Chilean who owned a pousada overlooking the valley, claiming they were more interested in maintaining their view of a jungle and the aesthetic presentation of the city to outside tourists rather than local livelihoods or even the environment. Their environmental stance was seen as self-interested rather than sincere. Gilberto described an experience he had while working in the house of this Chilean.

His pousada is there on the top and from it you can see all the way to Piracanga. And he's been doing this grove there, all these years so that his guest will just see forest and the city here below. One day I was there, typing up an article in his house and I said [to myself], “this is what's going on.” He has this huge deck, he's just thinking about his own interests. These people that arrive in Itacaré, saying they're environmentalists, and you look at their pousadas and they're all built with wood from the Atlantic Rainforest. They were the ones who incentivized the destruction of the rainforest. Before we would only cut down trees during a certain moon. But not with them, they came and started buying specific wood for their facades, doors, and furniture. So it was all about their interests—look how much wood from the Atlantic Rainforest is in [their] pousadas. So it becomes difficult to accept their ecological argument knowing that they get wood from the Atlantic Rainforests. (Gilberto, interview, March 29,
This was a conflict between fundamentally different visions of place and of the environment and both sides used environmental rhetoric to argue for their causes. The environmentalists wanted to avoid the creation of a favela, or a visible under-class neighborhood that is a hallmark of Brazilian urban areas, but they couched their arguments in environmental terms.45 This is not to say that there are no justifiable concerns about erosion, sewage, deforestation, and watershed maintenance. The environmental arguments are not just about these concerns but also about a certain cultural aesthetic that entails forest views, as well as hardwood floors. In a tourist economy, the aesthetic presentation of the town and tourist establishments is important to the creation and representation of the destination. Most of the outsiders and environmentalists work in the tourist economy and wanted to maintain the aesthetic of a small, quaint fishing town surrounded by rainforests. The locals and lower class newcomers saw the land as an opportunity to secure a place in the growing city, to gain access to education and health care available in the urban center, and to improve their economic condition, illustrating fundamentally different ideas of nature in which nature is to be used rather than to be looked at (Cronon 1966). The occupation of Bairro Novo was a critical moment that illustrates how local conflicts are articulated in terms of relationships to nature (environmentalists or not) and place (locals/outsiders). While these categories of locals and outsiders are unstable and contested, in is through these place-based identifications that people mobilize to gain or exclude

45 Ironically, favelas have are so characteristic of Brazilian cities that they have even become tourist destinations in their own right, with guided tour of favelas in Rio de Janeiro for tourists who want to experience “authentic” Brazilian society (see Jaguaribe and Hetherington 2004).
people from access to land.

At the same time the Municipal government had lost control of the occupation and was trying to remove the new residents; especially when Mayor Hudson was re-elected in 1996 for a second term. Given that his original plans for the area had been frustrated, he asked the judge to remove the invaders and to return the land to the Municipality. Although the case continued with both sides appealing to the Ministry of Justice to settle the case, a definitive decision was never reached. The Municipal government couldn't find a place to resettle the growing neighborhood and it became politically toxic to attempt to remove it. Part of the problem is that the city was surrounded by land owned by large and powerful landowners and natural areas like mangroves, swamps, or steep hills that were inappropriate for development. Because of this, there were few options for places to build a working class neighborhood within close proximity to the city. Initially, both local environmental groups and local politicians lacked the political power to remove poor residents, who were ultimately successful in establishing themselves. However, the larger problem is probably the ambiguity in the Municipal government's position. While there was certainly pressure from business owners and large landowners to remove the residents and a desire to maintain control of the situation, ultimately city officials also wanted to appease local residents. They often took contradictory and shifting positions in relation to the occupiers as they gradually established themselves.

The occupation gradually grew until a key moment in September 1998 when the City Council summoned the Black Dolphins to appear before them and publicly censured them for their activities (Kent 2000). Some environmentalists
described receiving death threats and others moved from the area. Claudia, one of the members of the Black Dolphins describes the meeting:

The City Council started to question the Black Dolphins: who were we? Did we have a legal status? Did we have authorization to operate in the city?...The Council had also called over a hundred people who lived in the neighborhood...The building was an oven, small, full of people, an incredible heat, and all of those people sweating inside. And they almost massacred us—not almost, with words we were massacred. [They said] that we were from outside, that we didn't need a place to live, that we wanted to take over Itacaré, that we wanted to control the city. “Out with the outsiders, Itacaré for the people from Itacaré,” they yelled. They told us to leave. ...They (the local city council members who called the meeting) said, (pounding their chests) “We the City Council Members are here to defend [the town] from the invaders.” This was on a Tuesday and by Thursday you had 400 more lots that were marked, and fire burning like you had no idea. Chainsaws toppling trees. (Claudia, interview, July 14, 2012)
With such a dramatic and public approval from the City Council, everyone that wanted to felt enabled to occupy and claim land. The size of the settlement tripled in that week, going from roughly 100 to 300 houses. Because the Municipal government originally purchased the land, the occupation became a conversation between the Municipal government, occupiers, and environmentalists with differing ideas of the direction development should take.

The entire process of establishing the neighborhood is best understood in terms of local electoral politics. Similar to previous municipal actions, the condemnation of the Black Dolphins and outward show of support for the occupiers by the City Council took place right before an mid-term election cycle when City Council members (but not the Mayor) would have to defend their seats. The politics of land distribution in Itacaré is closely connected to election cycles and occupiers and politicians both take advantage of these connections. In working-class neighborhoods the residents are strongly encouraged by local
officials to organize themselves into an association to work with the municipality. Residents’ associations are a necessary step because politicians want to interact with representatives of an organized group rather than with each resident individually. From a political perspective, these groups can then operate as electoral groups within traditional patronage politics. Because of this clout, these groups can also organize to demand public services like water, electricity, and roads. Through housing and neighborhood organizations poorer people in Brazil become politically active and can claim their rights to basic public services (Holston 1991a).

As the cheapest place to live in Itacarê, Bairro Novo has become the largest neighborhood in the city. Because of the development of the road and tourism, led growth in the job market, Itacarê had employment opportunities, while many of the surrounding rural areas were still suffering from the collapse of the cacao economy. Bairro Novo, and to some extent Passagem, were the only areas in the city where new poorer residents could establish themselves. The people that live there are the maids, gardeners, guards, waiters, and construction workers that maintain the tourist economy in Itacarê and come mostly from other cities in the region or from surrounding rural areas.46 For example, in 2004 a huge new resort development began to the south and many of the 1,500 construction workers working on the resort moved to Bairro Novo and brought their families or started new ones there. The growth was a result of the success of Itacarê as a tourist destination and although all of the business owners needed people to work for

46 Because these newcomers are from the region and share racial and class position with locals, they tend to describe themselves as being local whereas others usually don't describe them that way.
them, no one had thought about where these workers might come from or where they would live. The rising value of real estate in all of the established neighborhoods practically guaranteed that newcomers would have to find somewhere to illegally occupy. Just because they came for work, it would be incorrect to categorize them as significantly different from other amenity migrants. Many residents of peripheral neighborhoods described to me the desire to escape the crime of larger cities, their views of the ocean, and the other non-pecuniary advantages they gained by moving to Itacaré. Very few natives from Itacaré live in Bairro Novo; most residents are poorer migrants from the other towns in the region who, like affluent outsiders from Europe and the Brazilian Southeast, came looking for economic opportunities and a better quality of life.

Around 1998, when the road connecting Itacaré to Ilhéus was built, CONDER, the state organization responsible for urban development and popular housing, became involved in developing the infrastructure in Santo Antonio. A few years later and in several stages they built dozens of small concrete houses, replacing many of the wooden shacks and wattle and daub houses. They paved the main roads, alleyways, and sidewalks, and build stairs connecting different streets. They built one small park and hooked up many families to electricity and water. These improvements established the neighborhood as a legitimate, but poorer urban neighborhood.

The land titling process in Bairro Novo is complicated by a number of factors. Because the Municipal government never drew up a correct map with the exact area that was bought and never distributed any official documentation, there is no paperwork to provide the basis to distribute land titles. The invasion
gradually spilled beyond the original ten hectares and eventually CONDER delimited the larger area and is now the official owner, taking over from the Municipality. However, the neither the municipal authorities nor state government through CONDER has given legal titles to the occupants. Multiple people claim different pieces of land and CONDER is unable to sort out who owns what. In addition, many of the lots are too small to be legally recognized, including lots containing houses built by the state. Claudia, who runs the Municipal land titling office, describes this situation.

The law [states that the minimum lot size] is 125m$^2$. And it even says the following, that a mayor can stipulate a minimum, as long as it's bigger than 125m$^2$. CONDER comes and makes houses that are 30m$^2$ (322 ft$^2$) and then another 30m$^2$ stuck right next to one that is 30m$^2$. Where are the laws in this country? Who should do something?

The mayor, the administrator should say, “Wait a minute, I want you build these houses, but let's respect the law. I don't want you to build favelas.” What CONDER is doing is justifying favelas. Because they are a state agency making houses that are 25m$^2$ one right next to the other. They're instituting favelas. They're saying that favelas can be a type of housing in Brazil. (Claudia, interview, July 14, 2012)

By constructing houses on lots that fail to conform to the minimum required legal standards, the state government accepts the illegal living conditions of the poor
and furthermore denies them the right to full legal status because the houses do not meet minimum legal requirements. Rather than legalizing poorer people's claims, local and state officials grant them some level of legality but stop short of full legal title. This weak rule of law is thus a double-edged sword, allowing the poor to occupy marginal areas but also denying them full land titles and better living conditions.

From Bairro Novo we can see a case of how marginalized residents organized to successfully challenge and resist local government political machinations and environmentalists' attempts to limit growth. While many decry the results as unplanned and unorganized urban growth, the development of the neighborhood was actually partially organized by the residents association, by CONDER, and by the Municipal Government. In this case, we observe the inability of local and state governments to fully implement the law and challenge local resident's control over the areas in question, especially when no elite interests are at stake.

**Passagem**

Originally the neighborhood of Passagem was mostly forest with a trail going to a small port where people coming from upriver would park their boat when they came to the market to sell their produce. The land the neighborhood of Passagem now occupies was part of the Ranch Ponta Grossa, owned by the Captain Manuel Andrade. He was a retired doctor who was an army captain and came to the region later in his life. Starting around the 1970s, Captain Andrade created and opened up the neighborhood by giving land in exchange for work
people performed for him, as a favor to people he liked, and to people who needed it. Similar to the Municipal government, many rural patrons in Brazil are land rich but money poor, so payments were often made in land. Thus the neighborhood gradually began to grow with new residents.

The Captain even began to informally create a subdivision called Hawaii Cabana Park, measuring and subdividing lots, but he never did so legally. Although Captain Andrade was from the area he had traveled extensively and saw the touristic potential of Itacaré. He gave a large central area in the neighborhood to a local soccer club, that continues as an important public space in the neighborhood. His name for the subdivision, his provision for public spaces, as well as the larger 300m² lots indicated a new vision for urban expansion in the city. He also removed a large strip of mangroves between the neighborhood and the river, creating a beach that didn't previously exist in preparation of tourist development. It is rumored that this clearing of the mangroves caused trouble with the Federal Government (SPU) and he was not able to continue. He opened streets, naming several of them after women of the city or trees from the region. When he would sell or donate a lot, he would give people a piece of paper indicating that he sold, or donated a lot to a certain person at a certain date as an informal receipt. He did this at the end of the 1980s, selling almost seventeen hectares of land, including two and a half that he sold to the Municipality to distribute as a working-class neighborhood.

Similar to Bairro Novo, as soon as people got word that the Municipality was going to give out land in the area, people immediately invaded the area and staked their claims in the early 1990s. When the municipal government eventually
opened up a road, they had to do it with the limited space left in between the lots already claimed and built up. Nina, one of the first residents in this section of Passagem built her first house in 1992 with permission from Mayor Hudson. Her family claimed a large area but was unable to hang onto it as other people occupied and encroached on their land. Around this time, Captain Andrade was killed in a disagreement with a young man about a stolen horse. When this happened, his son Miguel appeared in the area and began to take over managing the land. There was no formal inheritance process that passed the land to Miguel and many have speculated that there is some disagreement in the family about Miguel's legitimacy as heir. As a result, nothing further can be legally done with the land until the correct heir is determined. Regardless, Miguel has continued the process of selling land and even re-selling land that his father Manuel had already sold using the same system of informal receipts as his father. He also sold smaller lots of land, subdividing existing lots, and creating more generalized confusion in the area. Given this confusion, most people in Passagem cannot get legal title to their land.

At the entrance to the neighborhood a couple from São Paulo bought a large piece of land where they established one of the first bed and breakfasts in the town. After their divorce, the wife Dona Jandira gave some of her land to some older women who needed a place to live. Jandira also never formally subdivided the land to give people land titles because she doesn't necessarily want to give people land to sell, she just wanted to give them a place to live. She gave people informal receipts saying that they received the land by donation, limiting their ability to sell it. Despite this, many new residents gave land to their children and
subdivided it or even sold pieces of their land, also informally.

Here, like agrarian reform settlements and quilombos, Jandira explicitly gave the land to be lived on but not sold. Both rich benefactors and the government are unwilling to give poorer people land that can be sold. Even within traditional property regimes, there existed a number of categories for people who lived and used land that belonged to others, having use rights but not outright ownership. There is a strong moral argument in providing people with a place to live and with land to feed themselves, but a weaker argument in giving them land to profit from or invest with. One of the strongest critiques of giving land is that the poor people will simply sell it and invade a new piece of land elsewhere, showing that their need is not genuine. However, despite attempts to prevent poor people from selling their land, they often do it anyway, simply at lower prices. The lack of legal title limits people's ability to profit from land as a commodity which can be bought and sold and ultimately limits their ability to benefit from the economic growth in the region. For land to have its full exchange value it needs to be completely privatized and legalized. Paradoxically, any attempt to fully legalize land titles would probably be highly problematic and severely limit the informal distribution and occupation that makes land available to working class residents. Legalization and legibility would require money and legal and technical expertise that would effectively prohibit these kinds of land exchanges from happening.

Despite its relatively peaceful origins, Passagem, as a working-class neighborhood is still subject to ambiguous legal status. In this case, legal ambiguity is not necessarily a product of conflict but rather the class position of
the residents and their inability to successfully operate within the legal
requirement of the law. Established gradually by a benevolent patron also thinking
about tourism development, the growth of Passagem illustrates the range of
relationships that characterize the development of neighborhoods. In cases of
lower class settlement it might be expected that the municipal or state
governments would take the initiative to do the proper subdivision processes.
However, given the limited technical and legal capacity of the Municipal
government and people's propensity to invade as soon as there is rumor of a
government-sponsored subdivision, there were no government-sponsored
subdivisions where people had legal land titles in the city. Rather the Municipal
government simply follow traditional practice of issuing informal slips of paper
that do little to establish formal ownership and have little meaning in court. Part of
this is because city officials also lack the means or political will to do the
necessary infrastructure development like paving roads, water, electricity,
Surveying, and environmental impact reports to properly establish a subdivision.
These infrastructure improvements usually happen in a piecemeal fashion after
that fact as a way to continually garner electoral support from a neighborhood
association.

Neighborhood geographies of drugs and violence

Recently the neighborhoods of Passagem and Bairro Novo have begun a
bloody rivalry between drug dealing gangs with seventeen murders in 2011,
making Itacaré the 47th most violent Municipality per capita in all of Brazil. In the
first week I arrived, a large march was held in the city to protest the Municipal
Government's lack of initiative to combat violent crime. Throughout my year in Itacaré, there were multiple homicides a month, mostly associated conflicts between rival gangs of drug traffickers. Most residents cited drugs as one of the biggest problems linked with tourism, urban expansion, and the growth of the city. The growth of drug trafficking is loosely associated with tourism because tourism brings money into the city that gives people the option to buy drugs. Tourism also brings a potential clientele into the city, and helped create the transportation networks that have brought drugs into the city. The expansion of violence into smaller rural areas in Northeastern Brazil is also linked with the national crackdown on gangs and drug dealing in larger cities in preparation for the World Cup in 2014 and the summer Olympics in 2016. As violence had dropped in the largest urban centers, it has been displaced onto smaller rural areas.

While marijuana is ubiquitous in the city and probably the single biggest part of this trade by volume, there was growing concern with crack, which is part of larger regional and national epidemic. Marijuana was probably more generally tolerated as the recreational drug of choice for most of the middle class migrants to Itacaré. One resident described how,

Before the road was paved the only drug that got here was marijuana and it was planted here in Bahia. It came by land, or the river by canoe, or was grown near here. With the road came cocaine, crack, chemical drugs, ecstasy, these candy-like things. There wasn't anything like this back then. But because of this people wouldn't come here. A drug dealer wasn't going to spend four hours on a dirt
road to come to a tiny little city. He's only going to bring drugs when there are people to buy. I think it’s more or less like that. There are more consumers now. There's a bigger market and there's the tourism factor. When people are on vacation in another place they think they can do anything. When you go back home no one know what you did, where you were. (Beatrix, interview, July 10, 2012)

Beatrix implies that marijuana, by being locally produced, is less harmful and less connected to a larger drug trade. She also links tourism and economic growth to the growth of the drug trade, although many residents also countered this, pointing to numerous non-tourist cities that were wrestling with similar problems.

This daily violence and the growing drug trade have multiple implications. First, for many residents the radical transformation of the town in such a short period of time dramatically highlights the dark underside of economic development. Second, because of the small size of the town compared to larger cities, disparate social classes live in close proximity and everyone feels threatened by the increased violence, although it is mostly focused on the poorest social classes who compete against each other to sell. Third, even in a small town, gang rivalries create loyalties to neighborhoods that create violent competition over the drug trade. Recently, there were rumors that the rival gangs have made a tentative peace agreement and there is hope that things will calm down. Finally, violence threatens the tourism industry that is heavily dependent on the perceived image of the town (Santana 2004). Many business owners have already noted that tourism to Itacaré has been on the decline for several years.
Furthermore, violence and narratives of violence worked to segregate the city into safe and unsafe neighborhoods. Unfortunately, violence is becoming an organizing principle of city space (Caldeira 2000). When my family first arrived in the city looking for a home to rent, real estate agents would not show us homes to rent in Passagem or Bairro Novo and tourist businesses there were virtually non-existent. This violence was considered recent and never compared to the class violence of land conflict that existed previously but rather with an imagined rural tranquility that was said to exist before the road. By locating violence within specific neighborhood geographies, middle-class residents incorrectly blame the marginalized residents and not the larger processes associated with urbanization or development. From this perspective, responses to violence usually included a greater police presence rather than programs for social or economic development.

Angelim

Often while walking around the peripheries of Itacare people would assume I was looking for real estate and offer to sell me land. Once, while walking through the back streets of Angelim, a resident offered to sell me half of his lot so he could get the money to finish building his house on the other half. He worked in construction and had not been working as much lately. The lot, for R$15,000, was smaller than the legal required 125 m², had no paperwork and no water or electric meters although he assured me that these would be coming shortly.  

47 Most occupied neighborhoods get water and electricity by simply illegally hooking into the existing grids. Eventually they want to legally meter these services because that strengthens their land claims.
between the Center and Pituba that began in 2007. Although a relatively small neighborhood, it was significant in that I could observe firsthand the processes at work as the neighborhood grew, rather than relying on interviews.

At the request of the Mayor Jarbas in 2007, the original 44 occupying families had formed an association. Since then, as in other instances, people gradually began to build on, sell, or subdivide their lots. The Municipality proposed buying the land and subdividing it but no one was clear if this had ever happened or even who the original owner was. Claudia, the owner of the land-titling office, described the situation like this,

This area in Angélia seems like it was an area expropriated by the government but I don't know if it ever went forward or not. There's a fight, he [the mayor] dispossessed someone but someone else appeared saying they were the owners, that it wasn't the other guy's land. All of this outside of records, so there is no way to delimit the area. So it stopped and was quiet for a while, until Jarbas lost the election but with plans to return again. So he went and gave everyone titles for their land. The title is like this,

'The Municipal Government of Itacaré gives so and so, 100m$^2$ of land in the Neighborhood of Angélia,' signed by Jarbas. And people come to my office [with these title to legalize their land]. First, I don't have any register for a neighborhood of Angélia, secondly 100m$^2$ where, on what street? So basically Angélia is another invasion.
Theoretically the money for the indemnification is stuck in the courts somewhere. . . . And there's more. In the beginning of Jarbas government, I almost forgot, he had a team that had some capacity. One of them was a public health engineer. He did a study of the neighborhood because there was a group already wanting to invade to build houses. He did a study at Jarbas' request, because he was a municipal employee, and came to the conclusion that the area is inappropriate to build houses. Why? Because its a swamp and it stayed inappropriate for the first four years of his government. People tried to invade the hill in Passagem and after that Jarbas looked the other way and allowed people to invade. Jarbas is crazy. When they started to invade Angelim again he didn't say anything until he lost the election and on the 30th of December, on the last day of his term, he signs these land titles for people. (Claudia, interview, July 14, 2012)

Similar to other popular neighborhoods, the legalization of land titles is fraught with confusion and tied up in a series of legal proceedings that will probably never be settled. The multiple examples of invasions and subsequent quasi-legalization by the Municipal government seem to be the norm, rather than the exception. From Angelim we also see how political and electoral concerns routinely triumph over legal and environmental concerns. Local politicians are responsive to local constituents at the expense of legal or environmental requirements, encouraging
the creation of a second tier of quasi-legal land tenure.

The next Mayor, Antonio de Anisio, built a bridge and bulldozed a road connecting this small subdivision with Pituba. The small road project happened over months, with the work starting and stopping multiple times. Finally curbstones and gravel were laid down and the road was open to car traffic with a promise that it would be paved in the near future. This second access to Pituba provided a way to improve the flow of traffic allowing for an entrance and exit to Pituba. This improvement drastically increased traffic through the neighborhood and set off a series of new invasions along the road that were the talk of the town. Soon after the road, a series of small areas along the road that were previously unclaimed were cordoned off with barbed wire as residents tried to establish claims to these areas. Some were soon removed when rightful owners arrived to protest, others remained unclaimed. Even people that had already built houses decided they needed to fence their yards to demarcate their land. Soon after the electric company installed power lines and lampposts and people began to get legal electrical hookups with meters and municipal workers began to install a main sewage line.

During this time, a report in the City Council by a member of the opposition party against the Mayor claimed that the Municipal Government had failed to adequately complete the paperwork and buy the area from the previous owners and as a result all of the current residents were in danger of being forcibly expelled, losing all of the time and money they had invested in building. These political movements back and forth illustrate the gradual and messy process through which residents and municipal governments struggle to define new
Porto de Trás, an Urban Quilombo

Many residents describe Porto de Trás as the oldest neighborhood in the city, even older than the church. The neighborhood began because of early segregation where Afro-Brazilian and indigenous people were not allowed to live in the downtown area and were forced to live separated from the wealthier, whiter families who occupied the center. Many describe the neighborhood as the original slaves' quarter of the city. The name means the back port, which marks its marginalized position next to the mangroves, the least desirable land in town (Cordell 1989). Geography marked social hierarchies as blacks were marginalized to the low areas near the river while the cacao elite occupied the small hill surrounding the church at the center of town on the waterfront. Recently Porto de Trás is being reconfigured by tourist developers and Afro-Brazilian activists as the center for cultural and ethnic authenticity within Itacaré in a new tourist economy that values these characteristics (Couto 2011). This has led to development projects in the neighborhood and cultural pride for local residents, but not necessarily economic growth.

The neighborhood is built around one main street that dead ends into the river. As you walk along the street you see people on the sidewalks mending nets, leaning out of the windows talking, or sitting on the curb. The houses on the main street are typical of older construction with all of the houses built up to the sidewalk. At the end of the street, without warning, a series of steps runs right down to water. On the right are a half a dozen canoes hidden and secured among
the mangroves and on the left of the staircase is the rotting skeleton of a larger fishing boat lying on its side in the mud. Just before the steps the road climbs steeply to a large new community center overlooking the river.

In December of 2012, the Palmares Cultural Foundation, the Brazilian federal agency that promotes and preserves Afro-Brazilian culture, recognized Porto de Trás as an urban quilombo, or a community that contains the remnants of escaped slave communities. Since 2006, Porto de Trás and six other rural quilombos in the municipality have successfully petitioned to be federally recognized as quilombos, all connected to the historic quilombo of Oitizeiro located upriver on the Rio de Contas. Guaranteed land rights in the 1988 constitution, quilombos, similar to indigenous communities, became an identity category through which certain communities can claim communal land rights based on their shared cultural history and connection to specific territories (French 2009). Each of these categories allows for land rights based on cultural and historic connections to place in conjunction with racial categorization. Similar to regional identities discussed earlier, quilombos combine race and place-based identities, making them more politically and culturally palatable than strictly racial categories in a country that still idealizes itself as a racial democracy.

Given Brazil's long history of racial intermixing and internal migration, defining quilombos has been problematic. Brazilian anthropologists have participated in the process of defining quilombos since the beginning and argued for a flexible approach, that quilombos needs to be considered as part of historical, cultural, and collective processes of resistance to slavery rather than be required to prove a direct connection to an historic quilombo established by free or escaped
slaves before the abolition of slavery in 1888 (Leite 2000, Chagas 2001). This approach challenges the essentialization of identity that happens with legalization as well as the need to recognize the diverse experiences of Afro-Brazilians (Chagas 2001). The difficulties of reconciling this anthropological approach with the judicial requirements for strictly defined cultural or legal characteristics that allow for consistent application of the law has meant that the process of land titling has been slow (Leite 2000). As a result, actual quilombo land recognition only began more than a decade after the 1988 constitution with the first quilombos being officially recognized in 2000. The establishment of quilombos is also linked to black activism and political awareness in which historical narratives of African agency and resistance began to have increasing importance, although usually in a small activist minority rather than rural communities as a whole (Mattos 2005). The growth of quilombos reflects not only the rising importance of black identity during the 1980's and a strong connection between place, race, and identity but also the importance of Brazilian anthropological involvement in defining cultural and legal categories.

Although most residents of Porto de Trás are proud of their recognition as an urban quilombo, they do not want the communal land titling process that follows. They are not interested in submitting their land ownership to the scrutiny of any community group or federal agency. In addition, the presence of newer, non-Afro-Brazilian residents within the neighborhood complicates who could be included in the communal land titling process. In rural areas, where quilombo recognition can guarantee community rights against large land owners that often claim these lands there is an obvious benefit to securing land rights but there is
little interest in the communal aspect of them. Most people prefer the individual right to buy and sell without community or federal oversight. In Porto de Trás, where individual land tenure is generally uncontested, there is little or no incentive to develop a new communal land tenure system. Because the National Ministry of Colonization and Agrarian Reform is slow to (or may never) actually complete the land measurements, mapping, and titling for most of the quilombos there is little danger that anything will change soon—especially in an urban context where there are fewer legal precedents that show how to proceed.\textsuperscript{48} The end result is that after quilombo recognition, residents have the same informal land rights that they always have, albeit with more security vis-à-vis outsiders who are legally, but not practically, excluded from the neighborhood. Once again, de facto and traditional land practices are the norm whereas legal requirements (even constitutional ones) are poorly understood, regulated, and enforced.

However, recognition as a quilombo can also attract new investments to the neighborhood. For example, in the early 2000s CARE Brazil built a number of bathrooms in the neighborhood and in 2008 a Swedish Corporation, SVEA, built a large community cultural center as a contra-partida for a large hotel project being planned for Resende Beach. A contra-partida is a trade, often a public works project, built by developers in order to secure community or government support for their development plans. Public meetings about development projects often focus on what the community will be able to gain through these trades and they

---

\textsuperscript{48} Originally, the Palmares Foundation granted land titles but did so without indemnifying or dealing with the existing titles to the land. In 2003 the responsibility of granting the titles was based to INCRA (the National Ministry of Colonization and Agrarian Reform that theoretically has the technical capacity to adjudicate in land disputes. In practice, the multiple and overlapping jurisdictions continue to create a quasi-legal system that operates through obfuscation rather than legibility (French 2004).
are linked to an idea that new developers should be good patrons and supportive of local communities.

The cultural center replaced a large open air shed with a corrugated roof on the same location, land occupied and taken from an American citizen who bought it and then never came back to keep an eye on it. The cultural center looks like much of the newer tourist architecture, with a traditional, rustic, and natural aesthetic. The structure is framed with large eucalyptus logs and a steep tile roof and open spaces that allows for the circulation of air and allow natural light. A lattice of smaller poles above the walls on either end is reminiscent of the earliest wattle and daub construction in the area that is often associated with rural quilombos. Like many poorly designed tourist homes, the open structure of the building has required modification—closing off the south facing wall with thatch in order to keep the central area from getting soaked with rain during frequent winter storms. Lining the large central space are smaller rooms including a library, computer room, meeting room, kitchen, and a gift shop. Several rooms either have open brick or glass walls making the entire building seem open and public. The center is run by a community NGO, Tribo do Porto, made up of a group of young men from the community who are involved in Afro-Brazilian activism. They use the cultural center to host a variety of classes and programs including English and computers classes, capoeira, yoga, professional development, meetings for NGOs, and neighborhood parties. Despite the hope that the center would be a site for cultural tourism, this has not happened.

Although tourism has provided new recognition for the community as the cultural center of Itacaré and some of the residents work in the tourist industry,
there are almost no tourist businesses in Porto de Trás. The local cultural festivals that are still observed—like the Iemanja's Birthday and the Bicho Cacador—are performed just for the community and the tourists and the rest of the town is neither particularly informed nor invited. This insularity has worked to protect the community in many ways. While this means the neighborhood is quieter and less chaotic in the summer, people's home and businesses do not have the same potential to generate income that they do in more tourist-oriented neighborhoods.

Porto de Trás also stands out as a neighborhood that has not been involved in legal land battles. Even as the neighborhood has gradually expanded into mangroves and up the side of a hill towards the cemetery there has been little conflict with surrounding landowners. This has been supported by the accepted wisdom that the neighborhood is the oldest in the city and the fact that the mangroves bordering the river belong to the state. As we can see in the neighborhoods of Bairro Novo and Angelim, the state is often the least effective in defending lands against local occupiers because of their interest in electoral support. However, tourism has impacted Porto de Trás by encouraging new cultural awareness and developments linked to the community's Afro-Brazilian identity. The cultural identity and cohesiveness of the community also means that is has largely escaped the problems of crime and drugs associated with other working-class neighborhoods.

Quandaries about legal titling and future neighborhoods

These kinds of conflicts about land titling happen throughout the world, usually in the context of rural agricultural lands. De Soto even goes so far as to
suggest that lack of legal ownership of land is the single most important factor in
the developing world's inability to benefit from capitalism in contrast to more
developed nations (De Soto 2000). While De Soto's claim is a simplistic view of
the historical legacies that have led to underdevelopment, it is also indicative of
how central the question of land titling is tied into development concerns. Within
Brazil, secure land titles have been show to increase land value and increase the
investment in the land (Feder and Nishio 1998) and they recognize the de facto
system of use and occupation (Budds and Texeira 2005). However, an analysis of
the social and economic impacts of land-titling programs argues for a more
complicated and nuanced understanding of the impacts of these programs. Land-
titling projects can also lead to decreased tenure security as titled land can be
taken by banks for unpaid debts, sold as neighborhoods gentrify, and or exclude
women and others who might have more land rights in layered and nested
traditional tenure systems (Duran-Lasserve et al 2007). Similarly, many of the
programs in Brazil that provide land through agrarian reform or quilombos gives
them limited rights, in part, to protect them from selling out and losing the land.
However, given the complicated history of agrarian reform settlement Marambaia
discussed in Chapter 3 and the urban quilombo Porto de Trás, these restrictions do
little. Not only are they unenforced, but also because the majority of the land
transactions happen outside the legal system, they are unenforceable. Traditional
systems and simple paper receipts become the norm rather than the exception.

Once we understand that the majority of land and land transactions are
outside of the legal system, we can begin to question the nature of the system
itself and the kind of urbanization and rights it produces. Even in the most
developed parts of the country Holston estimates that most housing (65%) in São Paulo violates property law and this illegality is necessary to provide access to land for lower-class families. In Itacaré this number is probably much too conservative and a significant majority of houses are outside of the legal system. In addition, Holston argues that land laws in Brazil promote conflict rather than resolution because illegal encroachments are generally legalized over time, encouraging illegal land claims (1991b). This challenges how we think of the law. Rather than being a system designed to organize and adjudicate, it exists to obfuscate and confuse. However, in Itacaré, unlike São Paulo, poorer people's land claims seem not to be gradually legalized over time, but remain partial and contested, even after thirty or forty years of occupation and conflict. Because the ability to legalize land is closely linked with social class and political conflict much land is never legalized.

In a larger sense, this challenges the idea that the legal system organizes society. Rather, throughout Brazilian society, traditional and personalistic rules govern social interactions more so than the legal code (DaMattà 1991, Linger 1993). Although the discrepancy between the legal system and actual practice has been discussed as a weak rule of law, the larger problem is that the laws seem almost designed to be irrelevant and unenforceable in many situations (Pinheiro 2000). In this case, the national recognition of the concept of jeitinho, or helpful circumvention of bureaucratic and legal obstacles, reemphasizes the importance of personal relationships over legal rights, which in this case actually benefits locals illegally occupying land rather than oppresses them (Barbosa 1995). Because of the cost and complexity of meeting the legal requirements for gaining land tenure,
both Municipal politicians and local settlers routinely collaborate to ignore them in the creation of new neighborhoods.

Most of the research about land tenure deals with agricultural lands, but tourism brings these questions to the forefront in interesting ways. Much of the economic growth from tourism comes from the transformation of place through real estate speculation, new commercial and residential buildings, and renting out places to stay. Control of land is essential to profiting in a tourist economy. Large landowners, like the Concha do Mar Ranch have used legal and violent methods to attain legal titles to large areas, in part because they knew the potential value of land in a tourist economy. Even now they are working with an Environmental Consulting firm on a third stage of development that would turn their remaining 280 hectares into a new massive development project that would include luxury condominiums, hotels, and gated communities, essentially creating two Itacarês; an old city of poorer neighborhoods and a newer separate gated community with its own entrance, access to the beaches, commercial center, and shops. This would dramatically increase the growing class and racial segregation between different neighborhoods and establish the gated enclave model of city space that Caldeira describes in São Paulo (Caldeira 2000). Under the guise of city planning, concerns about security and environmental protection, seen as prerogatives of the rich, become the basis for reorganizing city space, ignoring the mutually constitutive relationships between the poorer and richer neighborhoods and the wealth of the Conchas do Mar Ranch and poverty of Itacarê's marginalized communities. Pierre, in the Environmental Protected Area Council Meeting about the proposed development, asked a question that highlighted these connections: “How will the
people from the poorer neighborhoods travel to work as maid, gardeners, and 
security guards in these new neighborhoods?” While the question was a practical 
one about connectivity between these two separate communities, it illustrates the 
way they are mutually constituted and the oversight of the planners in imagining 
them as entirely separate entities.

Their new proposal is well packaged environmentally, focusing 
development on areas that are not too steep, already deforested, and away from 
sensitive ecological areas. Many local politicians are potentially supportive, eager 
to get the revenue from taxes and contra-partida projects promised by a 
development of that size. These developments are also promoted as being properly 
planned, the kind of growth that is needed, compared favorably with the 
unorganized growth of Bairro Novo, Passagem and Angelim that has 
characterized urbanization in Itacaré. These conversations highlight the extent to 
which environmental planning and organization require significant investment of 
time and money are thus become a luxury of the elite classes, especially in the 
context of weak municipal and state governments.

Furthermore, the proposed project does nothing to resolve longstanding 
land disputes or even address the ongoing history of oppression and violence. 
From this analysis we can see how land tenure is an ongoing, conflict-based 
process involving local resident associations, politicians, and large landowners. 
Access to legal land tenure has more to do with people's access to political power 
rather than the legal legitimacy of land claims. Alternatively, traditional systems 
develop for the majority, which are excluded from legal systems to organize and 
claim some kinds of limited land rights. This excludes them from exercising and
gaining the full value of their land that is often sold at discount prices. Even when
the state transfers land to poorer people through quilombos, agrarian reform
projects, or local or state politician formation of neighborhoods, this is done in
such a way that the outcome is never full land ownership, but rather use rights for
housing or agriculture, limiting residents' full ownership of their land, even if they
have lived there for multiple generations. Their organization into groups increases
their political activism while also involving them in local patronage politics.

Land, beyond its economic value, is particularly significant because home
ownership is probably the single most significant marker of middle class status.
Local groups invade and occupy to enter the middle class and government
programs put people into homes as a way of creating citizens and consumers
(Holston 1991a, b). One of the most successful programs of social inclusion in the
shanty towns of Rio de Janeiro has been the land titling process which has given
people legal title to their homes (Rio 2004). This, more than any other single
factor, has given them the ability to move into the middle class, especially in such
a valuable real estate market as Rio de Janeiro, where older favelas have become
established neighborhoods. Based on these experiences, one tentative
recommendation might be programs to legalize homeowner's titles to their land to
allow lower class residents in Itacaré to fully benefit from the recent economic
growth.

However, this does not mean that increasing legibility and legalization are
perfect solutions. The case of popular neighborhoods in Itacaré recognizes that the
laws, as currently instituted, most often favor those in power, requiring creative
political agency of the poor in gaining use rights to these lands. This fits with
Partha Chatterjee's notion of popular politics in which the poor are required to operate in ways that “frequently mean the bending or stretching the rules, because existing procedures have historically worked to exclude or marginalize them” (Chatterjee 2004: 66). This focus on traditional systems of land tenure highlights the resistance and participation of lower class residents in the processes of urbanization and place making. Part of this resistance is simply the establishment and creation of their space, their refusal to be invisible and marginalized (Koster and De Vries 2012). Conflicts between social classes can also be observed in the different architectural styles visible in these neighborhoods.
Chapter 5: Tourism, changing architectural styles and the production of place

When I arrived in Itacaré, my family and I immediately began looking for houses. We stopped at all of the for-rent signs we saw, called people, and asked everyone we met if they knew of anywhere that was available. It was the low season so there was huge housing stock that sat empty, waiting for the flood of tourists that arrive in the summer and we probably looked at thirty houses in two weeks. We looked in different neighborhoods throughout the city, even though all the real estate agents strongly discouraged us from renting in any of the non-tourist neighborhoods, even refusing to show us houses there. The rent prices varied dramatically from $100-900 USD per month, depending on the size, location, but also on the aesthetics and interior design. These differences were not just a function of quality of construction but different ways of imagining living space, of sociality, and relationships to nature.

Typical of tourists, we couldn't bring ourselves to rent anything that didn't have enough windows, a preference that excluded a large number of the less expensive houses. We also wanted to be nearer to the beaches and commercial establishments so we wouldn't need a car. Eventually we found exactly what we wanted, a large four-bedroom house in Pituba. The house was on the second floor, with two potential commercial spaces below us that we prayed would not be turned into bars during our stay. Our neighbors were a restaurant on one side and a pousada on the other. The house had a veranda overhanging the street where we hung two hammocks. These were connected to the house by two large folding
glass doors that opening entirely, creating lots of ventilation and natural light. The kitchen was open, and the living room had high ceilings with two bedrooms downstairs and another two loft bedrooms on top with wicker walls and wooden railings. Later I found out that lofts were a way around building codes that limited buildings to two stories. Over time we discovered that the appealing openness of the house had some downsides. A constant layer of dust from a nearby dirt road covered everything, mosquitos had free access, and on stormy days water would run under the glass doors and puddle in the living room.

The commercial spaces underneath were rented for a few months in the summer but we enjoyed the tenants, a small boutique clothing store and a tour agency. To our dismay, the backyard was turned in to a camping area, and we had a steady stream of hippies and back packers camping out for a few months over the summer. We made friends with some of them and only became worried with the regular traffic of people to buy marijuana. Our own living experience shaped how we understood and interacted with the city. My research would have undoubtedly looked quite a bit different if I had ended up in another neighborhood. Holston writes that, “houses are both concrete embodiments and imaginary representation of people's relations to their conditions of existence. Moreover, they are 'good to think' because they channel personal experience into a public idiom, architecture” (1991a: 456). I was often impressed about the material ways that many people described the recent transformations to the city; like canoes, cars, iPods, air conditioning, and glass windows. This chapter specifically explores the changing history of Itacaré and its transition to tourism through its architecture, explicating the connections between the materiality of homes and
changing social structures.

Because tourists travel to experience specific kinds of places, the production of place is essential to tourist development. Tourist production of place emphasizes historical sites, traditional cultures, or natural features (MacCannell 1999, Urry and Larsen 2011). For example, in tourist sites people build homes oriented towards dramatic expressions of nature like waterfalls, ocean views, and jungle scenery or contain markers that document historical authenticity (Duffy 2004, Lofgren, 1999). Rather than simply assume that tourist developers are successful in remaking places, I examine the competing visions of place in Itacaré, drawing upon anthropological analyses of urban space that see space as heterogeneous and constantly remade through social interactions (Harvey, 2006; Low 2009, Massey 2005). It is through the production of place that people negotiate citizenship, economic aspirations, and accompanying processes of social inclusion or exclusion (Banck 1994, Caldeira 2000, Holston, 1991). This work also examines how place is dynamic and performative, challenging scholarly work on tourism that assumes that cultures are “not merely located but circumscribed and rooted” (Coleman and Crang, 2002: 5).

The places I examine in this chapter are principally individual homes but also some business establishments. Through an examination of homes we can also see how architecture changes overtime. Jones, examining the occupation of neighborhoods in Peru argues that,
Bringing the homescape to the fore is important because it circumscribes our interpretation of domestic, private spaces as largely passive and separate from the public when, in fact, forms of organization, language and actions in a space inform a complementary set of organizations, languages, and actions in another. (Jones 1994: 2-3)

By blurring the distinction between public and private this work also connects private bodies and public spaces and the relationship between the two. Furthermore, vacation homes and locals’ and migrants’ homes speak to the identity and relationship to place as exurbanization and tourism continue.

To think about how the aesthetics and spatial organization of homes creates new social relationships, I draw upon two important Brazilian social theorists, Gilberto Freyre and Roberto DaMatta. Freyre writes, “there are houses whose facades reveal a whole way of life in its most intimate details” (Burke and Pallares-Burke 2008: 141) and that houses are “one of the most powerful social forces of human experience” (Freyre 1963: 107). Houses both reveal and shape social life in important ways. Gilberto Freyre's seminal work, Casa Grande e Senzala (The Big House and Slaves Quarters)49 and a later work in the same series entitled Sobrados e Mucambos (Mansions and Shanties) illustrate the relationships between architecture and social changes in Brazil. The opening pages of Casa Grande and Senzala contain an illustration of the big house, floor plans, and descriptions. The “architecture of the big house shaped the behavior of the people

49 Literally translated as The Big House and the Slave's Quarter, this book is usually translated into English as The Masters and Slaves, which unfortunately ignores the role of architecture in his analysis.
who live in it, the masters no less that the slaves, as well as embodying the 
dominant values of the local culture” (Burke and Pallares-Burke 2008: 55). The 
squat yet expansive rural ranch house is a “fortress, chapel, school, and 
workshop,” and embodies the patriarchal power structure of the plantation
(Freyre 1946: 41). Freyre's big house includes everyone as family, all subordinate 
to the master of the house, creating intimate but highly unequal relationships
across racial and class differences, encouraging the physical and cultural 
miscegenation that gave birth to Brazilian society.

In Sobrados and Mucambos, Freyre documents the urbanization and 
Europeanization of Brazilian society in the beginning of the 19th century as the
agricultural elite moved to the fashionable townhouses in the city and created new
social distance between different classes and races. Nascimento’s analysis of
Sobrados and Mucambos describes how laws governing publics spaces in Brazil,
“develop from defensive postures in response to rural bosses attempting to make
urban spaces into an extension of their property” (Nascimento 2002). From this
analysis, we begin to see how public spaces become sites of conflict within a
newly urbanized society and the dichotomy between house and street begins to
take shape. Homeowners are forced to “respect the street” and build their homes
“and in a straight line along it” and new laws were passed that prohibit people
from chopping firewood in the streets or throwing out dirty water (Freyre 1963:
xxvii, 151). Architecture acts as an interface between private domestic life of the
home and the public life of the street. This dichotomy of public and private
encouraged the seclusion of whiter, upper-class women in private spaces while
dangerous public spaces were occupied by upper-class men and lower class

207
women and non-whites who relied on these spaces to work. Their association with
the street reinforced their social position and marginalization.

Freyre's work has been critiqued for focusing more on the big house and
townhouse at the expense of the slave's quarters and shanties, serving as an
apology for racial oppression in Brazilian society. In his defense, Freyre saw the
townhouse and shanties as mutually constitutive, part of the same developing
social formation. Later, his work was used by the military dictatorship to develop
the myth of a racial democracy, in which Brazilians lived in a non-racist society
shaped through the cultural and racial miscegenation described in his works
(Cleary 1999, Fry 2000, Langfur 2006). However, many cannot see beyond this
unfortunate alliance, ignoring Freyre's close attention to the mundane artifacts and
details of daily life: how people dress, what they eat, and where they live, and the
quotidian stories these objects tell. This chapter explores the stories architecture
tells about racial, regional and class identities as people learn new cultural
practices and aesthetic perspectives.

Unlike Freyre, Roberto DaMatta's dichotomy between street and home is
primarily a symbolic and structural account of social relationships and space,
rather than a material one (DaMatta 1984). The house is a feminine domestic
space that is private and protected. The street is a public, masculine, and
potentially dangerous space for work. Thus in traditional Brazilian society,
children and women were not to spend much time in the streets. This dichotomy is
a social fact and shapes political, economic, legal spheres that go far beyond the
domestic realm. For example, this dichotomy creates an understanding of public
life as dangerous and polluting and politicians as categorically dirty. Because a
houses symbolically and structurally mediate the encounter between public and private spheres it reveals these changing social patterns over time. As we read previously, newcomer's descriptions of Itacaré before the road placed the entire town as home: everyone was related, houses were left open, and residents slept on the streets. The entire town was described as a safe domestic space marked by the open movement between the inside of houses and the street. DaMatta does not inquire as to how this dichotomy might look different to different individuals according to their racial, economic, or gendered identities. In Itacaré, these descriptions primarily came from people who moved to Itacaré from larger urban areas, indicating how newcomers might map a rural/urban dichotomy onto home/street. It was primarily male, upper class urbanites that interpreted the entire rural town as safe, welcoming, feminine, and undiscovered. By exploring how class, race, and other identity categories shape how different people unconsciously use and occupy space I develop a more nuanced understanding of DaMatta's model of home and street. In a sense, a place is physically, socially, and imaginatively different based on your position within it.

Homes, identities, and the production of place

As Itacaré shifted from a sleepy fishing town to an international tourist destination, architecture is an important site for people to negotiate identity and belonging (Hummon 1989). Newcomers came to Itacaré for new idyllic environment, the beaches and waterfalls, and their homes represent new ways of interacting with the environment. Homes thus shape both social and environmental relationships. Marcos, an architect and surfer from São Paulo,
moved to Itacaré in 2005 to join his brother who moved to Itacaré a few years earlier to rent out some small apartments and open up a tour agency. Marcos skillfully links the different ways that outsiders and locals build their homes and perceive the environment based on their historic, economic, and cultural differences.

The people that are born here in Itacaré don't see things the way we do—the way that people from outside see them. It was all jungle. They are able to see that there is a jungle, but the difference is that for the people here, they are indifferent to the jungle...But the people from outside came to enjoy the jungle, the beaches, to take advantage of all of the nature that's here. They, the residents here, will only see it when they leave here, when they go to other places and see what the capital is like.\textsuperscript{50} They will see there and see here. But for right now they don't see it. So they have a piece of land and they want to make a second floor, to close everything up. Look at my house [pointing to an open air courtyard between the front office and his house in the back]. There's an open space for ventilation. They think this is a waste of space. Because of this, their houses are all closed up, divided up. You see five rooms without windows...There's a history behind this. (Marcos, Interview, January 3, 2012)

\textsuperscript{50} Brazilian urban and rural space is conceived in terms of the capital and interior, based on the political, economic, and social centrality of state capitals.
Marcos connects locals’ indifference to and outsiders' enjoyment of the environment with the type of houses they construct. A house mediates the human/environmental relationship in concrete ways but it is also representative of larger cultural currents and, like identity, marks a node where individual personalities interact with larger cultural patterns within Brazil. Homes, as human habitats, are built by residents in relation to their unconscious aesthetic tastes, perspectives, and ideals—their habitus, that they develop as a result of their position in social hierarchies in conversation with their unique experiences (Bourdieu 1984).

Relationships with nature, made visible through architectural styles, are discussed through dichotomies of urban/rural, Southeastern/Northeastern, and local/outsider identities and the negotiations between these groups. Locals use these terms to assert their right to place as they are excluded from tourism based development and increased migration from the outside (Couto 2006). However, the ways people use these terms are also complex and situational. For the purpose of this chapter I am primarily interested in the local/outsider distinction and its relationship to regional identities of Northeast and Southeast. Although these distinctions are often co-constructed with other racial or class based identities, people primarily use place-based terms in relation to towns, states, or regions to talk about their identity.

This focus on place, identity, and architecture, “turns away from the

---

51 For example, poor, black people from nearby areas were more likely to call themselves local, even if they were not born in Itacaré or had not been there that long. People from the Southeast talked about how they felt like foreigners, even if they were still in Brazil, and some even called themselves gringos. However, when Southeasterners were talking to tourists or obvious foreigners they might say they were from Itacaré. Natives born in Itacaré do not recognize anyone as local who was not born in Itacaré, no matter how long they've been there.
commonsense idea that such things as locality and community are simply given or natural and turns toward a focus on social and political processes of place making, conceived less as a matter of 'ideas' than embodied practices that shape identity and enable resistances” (Gupta and Ferguson, 1997: 6). Newcomers helped to establish protected areas, environmental NGOs, and claim a connection to place through their appreciation of, care and concern for the environment. They claim to belong because they have chosen this place, and because they value and protect its scenic beauty and cultural history. Local people resent these claims, which often limit their productive activities, and claim a historical connection to place through their livelihoods of fishing and farming.\textsuperscript{52} Home construction is an embodied practice that reflects these different perceptions of nature and political struggles over place. Place making and establishing connections to nature becomes the loci for activism both for and against larger political and economic forces (Escobar 2001).

Houses, as one of the most significant material investments in most people's lives, become an expression of identity, a relationship with nature, and place in a social hierarchy. Houses physically and symbolically mediate the intersection between people, society, and the environment. The layout and design of a home can mediate and express the resident's desired relationship with other people and nature. This analysis of architecture emphasizes the connections between the materiality of people's daily lives, aesthetics, class structures, and the ongoing transformation of local society. As architectural styles change over time in Itacaré we can observe social, economic, and cultural shifts. As Marcos notes,

\textsuperscript{52} Two common terms for locals are sons of fishermen and sons of the earth, both of which connect them to the environment and place through productive activities of farming and fishing.
architecture is fundamentally about history and each style of architecture “marks an historical moment” that can be “read” if we understand the architectural language (interview, January 3, 2012). This chapter is a preliminary reading of five stylistic/historic periods of architecture that I have observed in Itacaré. I define them as the following: 1) Colonial, 2) Cacao Mansions, 3) Northeastern Art-deco, 4) Rustic Chic, and 5) Regional Modern. Each style marks a distinct period of history and social relationships although there are many variations, mixtures, and hybrids throughout the city that challenge any rigid boundaries between these different styles.

**Colonial Architecture**

The only significant examples of colonial architecture in the town are the Church of São Miguel (1732) and the Jesuit House. Both are built with thick walls, deep windows, and unadorned concrete sides characteristic of Brazilian Colonial architecture. The Jesuits built them with defense in mind, considering the attacks from indigenous groups, French Corsairs, and the Dutch that were relatively common during the early history of the Brazilian Northeast. There were rumors about a tunnel that runs from the Church to the Jesuit house and from the Jesuit house to the hill in the back, built as a way to escape from Indian attacks in the early years of the settlement and several described how gold was hidden there.

---

53 The Jesuit House is the older of the two building but has suffered some reforms that have altered the original design, making it more reminiscent of later styles. After the removal of the Jesuits, the building was used to house the Municipal Government and later belonged to a private family. Now it currently serves as the house for the parish priest.
In addition to defensive arrangements, the layout and planning of the city points to the larger Jesuit social project in Itacaré. The Jesuit Fathers placed the church on the top of a small hill, making it the tallest building in the center, establishing religion as the center of social, political, and economic life (Banck 1993). Almost 300 years after it was built, it is still one of the largest and tallest buildings in the town. Like Salvador da Bahia and other Brazilian colonial cities, city organization reflects social structure. Respectable homes radiate out from the church, sloping downhill while slaves and others lived further away still, establishing a physical dialectic between the high/low city and center/periphery where geography reinforces social divisions.

The restoration of the Church of São Miguel is at the center of current social conflict. During a recent renovation of the church the roof was replaced, removing the ancient tiles. These old tiles were made from slabs of wet clay shaped on the thighs of workers. The term, “made on the thigh,” still refers to
something made quickly and poorly, denigrating the rough aesthetic from this period. Several residents to Itacaré salvaged what they could of these tiles when they were removed because they valued this historical, imperfect, and rustic aesthetic. Along with the new roof, the murals on the interior ceiling were painted over with a solid layer of bright blue paint. Although the parish paints the exterior every year in preparation for São Miguel's day and the anniversary of the city on January 29th, there is little work that goes into maintaining the structure, and the wooden altars inside are badly deteriorated. In order to get money to be properly restored, the church would have to be declared a historic site by IPHAN, the National Institute of Historical and Artistic Patrimony. The local Priest and congregation were against this designation because it would limit what they could do with the building, but a local activist went ahead and submitted the paperwork to get it designated. If it were to become registered, it would be the only building in the Municipality with this recognition. Without any buildings designated as historical sites, there are few formal regulations that control the preservation of older buildings in Itacaré. However, sometimes the Municipal Government does require someone to preserve and restore a facade if they want to get permission to remodel a house. Many residents, especially newcomers, complain about the constant destruction and remodeling of historic architecture by the local and regional property owners, whom they view as oblivious to the historical value of older houses. Of course what counts as restoration depends on the aesthetic perspective of the owner. I would often stop and talk to builders at work in different projects and most of them seemed to think they were restoring an older house if they were patching holes, painting, and fixing it up, without necessarily
worrying about restoring the original aesthetic.

Unlike many of the houses in the center, the Church of São Miguel is facing the river and ocean. I heard several stories explaining the current position of the church. In one, the church was going to be built on the same spot but facing inland and in another it is was to be built further from the sea. In both versions of the story, the workers would begin to build and the next day any progress they had made would be destroyed and the statue of Saint Michael would be turned around facing the ocean or moved to a new site near the ocean. It wasn't until the orientation and placement of the church and the patron saint was shifted to face the ocean that the building was able to progress. The church faces about 45 degrees to the Northeast. This could be in line with Christian sacred geography in which chapels are built facing towards the East in order to be in line with either the rising sun, Jerusalem, or the direction from which Christ will return. While the front of the chapel opens almost in a direct line towards the Holy Land, it was usually the chapel and altar, at the other end of the building, which should control chapel's orientation, so that the Priest would pray looking east. Given that most people arrived in the town via the ocean and river during the Jesuits period, the church's position is perhaps simply an appropriate response to local topography. In either case, these stories about the church's orientation highlight the ongoing importance of the ocean for local livelihoods, from fishing and shipping to tourism.

Most of the earliest popular architecture in Itacaré and in the Brazilian Northeast was **taipa**, a local wattle and daub. Taipa houses were made as thin vertical and horizontal sticks were lashed together to form a wooden lattice and
then plastered with mud mixed with dirt from termite or ant mounds that contain natural adhesive compound created by the occupants. The roofs were either thatch or tile. Sometimes the walls were plastered and painted to look like concrete. Because so much early architecture was built from wattle and daub, there are no known examples of popular architecture from the colonial period in Itacaré. These types of wattle and daub construction are used in Africa as well as southern Portugal and both could have been the sources for introduction of these techniques to Brazil.\textsuperscript{54}

\textbf{Sobrados from the Cacao era}

The most prominent and numerous historical buildings in Itacaré are called \textit{sobrados}, or townhouses.\textsuperscript{55} In Itacaré, the townhouses were mostly built at the end of the 19\textsuperscript{th} and the beginning of the 20\textsuperscript{th} century by the elite families that controlled cacao production during the peak of the town’s importance as a site for shipping cacao. Many of these elites were rich cacao farmers who owned large farms in the interior along the Contas River and had townhouses in Itacaré. The men would spend most of their time in the interior on their farms while their families would live in Itacaré, the urban center of the Municipal government and were more closely connected to the capital of Salvador through shipping lanes.

\textsuperscript{54}Another type of taipa is made from rammed earth walls, or taipa de pilao, which is more common in Southern Brazil and in drier areas in the interior, a style also introduced from the Portuguese.

\textsuperscript{55}Although the term sobrado literally refers to a suspended space, a second floor, so houses can literally have one, two, three, or more sobrados, I use the term to designate all of the upper and middle class urban homes from this time period, including some that have only one floor (Lemos 1989)
In Brazil generally, the Court of Dom Pedro II popularized this style when the Portuguese court resettled in Brazil following the invasion of Portugal by Napoleonic forces in 1808. The coming of the Portuguese court is also the moment Gilberto Freyre designates as the beginning of the urbanization of Brazilian life and the transition from the rural big house to the urban town house and the modernization of Brazilian society. Brazil's new status as empire instead of colony meant that friendly nations could visit the ports that were previously closed and manufacturing was now allowed to develop, increasing cultural exchange and the development of urban centers (Martins 2005). At this point, Iberian urban architecture began to take a stronger hold in Brazil and towns were designed to look like Portuguese ones.

Urban lots in Itacaré are typically thin and narrow, a characteristic of Iberian city planning dating back to the Middle Ages, that heavily constrains building constructions. A minimum lot size is 125m², which is usually realized as a 5 m by 25 m lot, or one that is five times longer than it is wide. Town houses are
typically tall and narrow, with the facade occupying the entire front of the property. This maximizes the number of houses that open onto the street and in Brazil this layout is also important because it minimizes contact with the street, which is seen as polluting. Corner houses, with two sides exposed to the street were typically considered unlucky for this reason (Freyre 1963: 165). The four outer walls were built with thin bricks that were made from local clays and then stacked with thick layers of cement. In some of the older buildings, whale oil was used in the mortar to make the walls more durable. In addition, much of the concrete was made with lime from crushed seashells, which sometimes led to constant moisture and mold in the walls. The ground level was tiled and the second and third floors were built on wooden floors that were suspended on beams between the outer walls. Thick beams across the walls supported heavy tile roofs. Interior walls, even in rich houses, were often built of wattle and daub and then plastered to look like a smooth, finished concrete wall. The most important division in the houses was between the house and the street, maintaining a proper appearance while the wattle and daub internal structures were considerably weaker. Many of the “restored” older houses have only preserved the facade and the entire interior has been rebuilt.

These facades are built flush with the street, with the windows opening onto the sidewalk, allowing female occupants to interact with people outside without actually going into the street, maintaining proper decorum. These front rooms are typically formal parlors, where important guests were received and they often remain closed at all other times. The houses have a long hallway either down one side, or in larger houses down the middle with bedrooms along the sides
and the kitchen at the back. Because the windows and doors are only on the front and back of the house, interior rooms have little light or ventilation. In some sense this is to protect the people in the house from the street, air and sun and maintain the “exaggerated desire for privacy of the patriarchal family” (Freyre 1963:135, 157). Freyre critiques this patriarchal privacy that isolates and “protects” the women of the house from any outside influence as being unhygienic, trapping the women indoors without healthy exposure of the sun and air. In some larger homes, the high ceilings allow for greater air circulation and in some smaller homes the interior walls don't reach all the way ceiling, both adaptations to the tropical heat. As you progress from the front of the house to the back, you go from public to private space. The last room is the kitchen, the center of domestic life. Close friends and relatives often come in and go directly to the kitchen. If there were two floors, the more accessible first floor, more closely connected to the street, was used for servants’ quarters, commerce, storage, and business while the upper floors were the family living areas. From the design of the house, we can see how social values of public/private, house/street, and male/female are built into structures of domestic and urban life.

The exterior designs are built on the front of the house, the facade. The sides either share walls with neighboring homes or are unadorned. The doors and windows are tall with small wooden or glass panels above that extend their height. Until recently, glass was extremely expensive and its use signaled the economic status of the occupants. Around the windows and doors are moldings that have designs that are often geometric but sometimes faces, birds, fleur de lis, or other designs. One of the most distinctive features of the facades is *platibandas*, or
ornate continuations of the wall that hide the tile roof. Platibandas often include the dates they were built, initials of the owner, masonic symbols, or other decorative elements such as “sculptures of women, eagles, symbolizing independence and liberty, royal signs, baroque shells, arches, columns” (Costa 2007). The fact that platibandas are often dated is particularly helpful for examining how aesthetics change over time. Costa describes how platibandas mix, “gothic, neo-classical, and even art nouveau” styles (Costa 2007). These ostentatious, eclectic, and ornate designs give them a kind of wedding cake aesthetic built to show wealth and family status.

The eclecticism is deeply Brazilian, as local elites freely borrowed from a wide variety of European architectural styles with money newly made from the export of cacao, coffee, or rubber. Architectural Historian Carlos Lemos describes how glass, ironwork, wood, door knobs, curtains, and all of the interior and exterior design elements of these houses were shipped from Europe, with only the sand, clay, and rocks from Brazil being used, a trend that continued until World War I when European shipping channels were disrupted and the United States took on a more important role in providing these items (Lemos 1989). Although these European elements were probably not as developed in a small town like Itacaré, the eclecticism and cultural orientation towards Europe is still clearly evident. Priscilla, the owner of a recently opened hostel in one of the largest townhouses, described how her great grandfather, Isaac Souza Soares, an important cacao baron, brought over an architect from France to design and build his townhouse, stressing the European elements in its design.56

56An urban planning project in Rio de Janeiro inspired by Haussman's work in Paris was called
Salvador undoubtedly set the patterns for urban development in smaller towns throughout Southern Bahia during this time. People went to Salvador to go shopping; upper class children often attended boarding schools in Salvador; and most of the region's cacao went to Salvador before being shipped across the Atlantic. The first building code in Salvador in 1921 controlled the aesthetics of buildings, requiring that all houses built in urban areas have platibandas to hide the gutters and be built in line with the street (Costa 2007). These codes reinforced urban development that created cities that looked like Portuguese ones, part of the larger neocolonial movement that celebrated the European colonization and influences in Brazil rather than African or indigenous ones. From the early 20th century and up until the widespread acceptance of modern architecture in Brazilian architecture, national law required that all public building that represented Brazil must be neocolonial. These laws reinforced a Brazilian nationalism built around its Portuguese colonial history and rejected the eclecticism of 19th and 20th century Brazilian architecture. This was also the time that eugenics-influenced immigration policies were instituted in an attempt to whiten Brazilian society, a process seen as essential for modernization and nation building. Gilberto Freyre’s writings celebrate the African, Indigenous, and Portuguese influences in Brazilian national development, in part, against these national trends. Despite the European design, the houses internally still contained Brazilian elements. Lemos, in his history of the Brazilian house,  

_Civila-se,_ or to civilize yourself, indicating the extent to which urban design was seen as having a Europeanizing and civilizing influence on society (Banck, 1993).  

57 This work was also influenced by Freyre's studies with Franz Boas at Columbia University and Boas critique of eugenics and race in the United States as well as Boasian ideas about national cultures (see Cleary 1999).
describes how urban town houses were often formal, closed, and European in the front and then Brazilian internally and in the back, with the kitchen being in the back and often partially outdoors, similar to earlier indigenous designs (Lemos 1989). The back of the houses were also much more open, allowing for light and ventilation. These Brazilian elements were usually much better adapted to the tropical climate.

At the end of the 19th century when slavery was outlawed and freed slaves moved to urban centers, mucambos developed as places for these poor urban blacks to live. Freyre writes how freed slaves built houses with a back door and windows, design features prohibited in slaves’ quarters. Some freed slaves even built porches where they could relax outside for everyone to see, celebrating their new free status (Freyre 1963: 194). Urban planners criticized these wattle and daub neighborhoods on the outskirts of urban areas for their lack of hygiene. Government regulation of hygiene were often linked to larger projects of social control and provided incentives to gentrify urban space at the expense of poorer residents. Gilberto Freyre, however, was sympathetic towards the wattle and daub shantytowns, describing them as hygienic and extremely well adapted to the tropical climate when built correctly in drier areas (Burke and Pallares-Burke 2008). The thick thatch roofs provided excellent insulation and many of them were raised on stilts, avoiding the moisture from the ground. Freyre's defense of the mucambo was in line with his larger cultural project of acknowledging and accepting African and indigenous influences in Brazilian culture and critiquing many European elements of Brazilian society, including the townhouses of European origins and the patriarchal oppression of women they stood for. In
Itacaré these wattle and daub homes were primarily built in Porto de Trás, a neighborhood where most black population traditionally lived, working as fishermen or as dock men, loading or unloading cacao onto the ships. The older residents still remember when there were no brick homes on the entire street.

When the importance of Itacaré as a port city diminished, many of the wealthy cacao producing families left the area and moved to cities in the interior. Their houses in Itacaré became summer homes where they came for a month or two every summer and many were sold over time, abandoned, and generally unoccupied for much of the year. Because of this, many of the older townhomes are owned by people who live in the surrounding cities. In the center there are a large number of lots that are abandoned and overgrown with weeds as houses have collapsed over time. The mixed construction techniques with taipa interiors mean that these buildings have not survived very well. In the case of fire the interior of the houses are often gutted and only the exterior walls remain. In other cases the roof tiles break, the wooden roof beams rot and the roofs and wooden interiors collapses inward. A comparison of a dozen photos from the 1940s with photos I took in 2012 showed that the large majority of townhouses from that period have been destroyed. In numerous instances, just the facade remains, a freestanding wall, while the entire house behind it has been destroyed.

The mansions along the riverfront were all built with their backyards extending out to the river and ocean. As I talked about this with people, residents had a variety of theories as to why this might be, all of which illustrated different historical understandings of private and public spaces. One theory describes how the river/ocean was seen as an area of work, a shipping lane, and a site of
commerce, not as a civilized or domestic space. Through the backs of the houses entered products, servants, and slaves. The house should be turned to the city and proper society rather than nature and the workers associated with it. Similarly, one architect described how the front of the house should face the street so that the women wouldn't look at the fishermen working along the riverfront. In this explanation, nature is aligned with masculine work, danger, and consciously separated from the domestic home. The home is created to keep nature out, not invite it in. This corroborates Lemos' notion of a closed European front and open Brazilian back, where Europe is aligned with civilization and Brazil is seen as natural along with the hierarchies implied by these categorizations (1989). From these perspectives, orienting the more open ended back of the house to the ocean breezes make sense functionally as well as culturally. All of these explanations interpret the house and its relationship to the surrounding space through gendered, racial, national, and regional lenses, viewing the ocean, river, and beach as a male areas of work, not as sites of leisure or scenic beauty. Within these different explanations lie gendered histories of work, changing ways of seeing the environment, and aesthetic values.

While the cacao mansions are valued for their connection to history and tradition, they have been remodeled in predictable ways that illustrate changing social values and relationships in a tourist economy. Many of the mansions have been bought by outsiders and repurposed for tourism, being turned into bed and breakfasts or restaurants. These renovations include bright colorful exteriors, large glass windows, outside porches, and a new orientation towards the water. Several of these mansions are named after their new colors and are called the yellow,
green, blue, or pink mansion. These colors work to create the colorful, diverse, and cheerful aesthetic that tourists expect to see as manifestations of Bahian culture. Bahia Turse, the Bahia state agency that promotes tourism built a number of signs to mark important sites, including one in front of the first restored townhouse. The sign officially names the house as the “Yellow Mansion,” referring its visual appearance rather than its historical ownership or any other cultural features. The colorful designation make these mansions easy to find and remember for the tourists that come and go throughout the year but flatten local social histories, ignoring the historical context of their development. Another prominent feature of the renovated mansions are the large glass windows, which work to include the natural scenery as part of the home but without the noise and social interaction. Porches, as outside living space, can potentially include both scenery and social interaction. Newcomers often build porches to be either hidden or separated from the street by their height or position, maintaining the view but limiting their ability to increase social interaction. These natural views generate a significant part of the value of tourist rental and homes, which should be understood within the context of a long history of visual primacy in Western thought and tourist activities more specifically (Urry 1990, also Lofgren 1999). Urry's work on the tourist gaze argues that tourism is about seeing and then capturing certain views and to see something is to know and experience it. This visual primacy in tourism has developed hand in hand with material technologies like camera obscura, clau de glasses, cameras, video recorders, and now digital

---

58 In Santa Cruz, California it has gotten to the point that even a peek of the ocean from one window in an obscure area of the house warrants advertisement in real estate listings.
cameras that have propelled and shaped these developments. As these mansions are renovated they have been flipped around, with the front entrances, windows, and porches being built towards the river and ocean, the new post-tourism focus of public life, and their back towards the urban areas and the expanding neighborhoods of poor residents that live there. These architectural renovations highlight the changing relationships to landscape and urban space that have developed as the new tourism entrepreneurs from the Southeast and abroad gradually replace the old agricultural and mercantile elite. These changes are even more visible in the new tourist architecture that has been built in the last several decades.

**Northeastern Art-deco**

The next style of architecture in Itacaré, Northeastern Art-deco, covers a period from the 1940s to the 1980s. This style preserves many elements of earlier architecture with platibandas and facades directly on the street but simplifies the ornamental designs to include geometric patterns, turrets, stripes, and simple bas-relief. Often the shape of the platibandas from this period is the minimal necessary to hide the roof from view, a pared down version of earlier excesses. Because platibandas are often dated, it is relatively easy to observe and document changing aesthetic patterns, especially in larger cities with more houses. While visiting Valença and Camamu, larger nearby cities, I clearly observed a gradual simplification of decorational elements and a shift towards more geometrical ornamentation in facades starting in the 1930s until they were no longer being built, probably sometime in the mid 1980s. Because Itacaré's economy was
already in decline during this period, most houses in this style are smaller and simpler than the townhouses from the previous period. Many of these houses belonged to people who worked in the Municipal government or to successful fishermen, the two main sources of employment in the town for decades. These houses were mostly built with solid mass produced bricks that were produced locally.

![Figure 9: Northeastern Art Deco Homes and Secondary School, 1930-1980](image)

Some architects in the city characterized this simple geometric aesthetic as art-deco, an important futuristic and modern aesthetic that developed at the beginning of the 20th century. In Northeastern Brazil, the art-deco style is both forward looking, through the geometric, industrial inspired designs and traditional, as it continues to make use of older internal layouts and decorative elements like platibandas. State government projects like the municipal government building and the high school also exhibit this style and indicate potential paths for the introduction of these stylistic elements into the city. These types of houses are typical throughout the interior of Northeastern Brazil and are even more pronounced in surrounding cities that had more economic development and growth during this period.
Functionally, having a platibanda means that there is a section of a wall uncovered by roof tiles and a hidden gutter to redirect rainwater from behind the facade to the street. In a moist tropical climate these design elements make little sense. In traditional colonial houses, the eaves overhang the side of the house and they often have large porches that extended the protective roof even further. These features are designed to keep rain water off and shade the walls and are much better adapted to the tropical climate. Given the introduction of platibandas from Europe and their association with the urban elite, the adoption of this aesthetic throughout rural towns in the Northeast can be seen as an attempt to reproduce modern, urban, and high-class homes. This suggests that the aesthetic was borrowed and adapted by lower classes in order to signify their growing economic status, despite being ill-suited to the climate. Many of the poorer people in the town also lived in these homes, which are now called, “fishermen's houses.”

Anthropologist Antonius Robben's research on a similar fishing community in Southern Bahia done in the early 1980's describes how fishermen would build brick and concrete platibandas in front of wooden houses (Robben 1989). This practice shows how platibanda functioned as an indicator of wealth and signaled the owner’s social position. Furthermore, each platibanda is unique and signifies the individuality and autonomy of the residents in comparison to plantation homes or workers’ homes that generally lack this ornamentation.

These fishermen’s houses are built upon an interior floor plan that is very similar to the earlier townhouses although they are quite a bit smaller. There is a front room that opens to the street where visitors are received. Often the windows are open, allowing for easy conversations with people who are on the street.
Walking down the street in one of these neighborhoods, I often felt a little bit like an invader, as you can peer into people's living rooms, see what they are watching on TV, or even unintentionally overhear conversations. From the front doorway, a hallway usually runs along one side of the house to an entrance in the rear. Behind the front room are usually two or three bedrooms running from the front to the back of the house with the kitchen in the rear and then a yard with an outdoor area for cooking and washing. Robben diagrams and describes how the interior layout creates and maintains a movement from the semi-public front room to bedrooms until the private and domestic kitchen in the interior of the house (1989). He even traces the origins of this layout to a set of 1755 instructions from the Portuguese colonial rulers to the newly settled area in Southern Bahia, prescribing the exact dimensions of the house, separate bedrooms for parents and children, and even the number of doors and windows. These prescriptions mandate the cultural shift that had recently happened in vernacular homes in Europe from one large room to smaller, more specialized rooms for sleeping and eating, indicating new social desires for privacy and the increasing separation of work and leisure. This layout also reinforces the dichotomy between street and house. There are numerous traditions and practices about doors and windows that substantiates this distinction, such as painting a “five pointed star or the initials JMJ (Jesus, Mary and Joseph) on the front of the door to ward off the evil eyes of passerbys” (Robben 1989: 161). These houses, like the earlier townhouses, represent a synthesis of European and Brazilian cultural practices.

Because the windows are usually only at the front and back of these houses there is little natural light in the interior rooms. In some of these houses the
interior walls do not reach the ceiling; providing ventilation throughout the house but limiting privacy in the bedrooms by allowing noise to travel freely throughout the house. When outsiders from Europe or Southern Brazil buy these homes, they invariably adapt them to suit their preferences, often in creative ways. Some install clear roof tiles into different parts of the house to allow more light into the interior. In larger homes, they might turn one of the interior rooms into an open-air courtyard to allow light and ventilation. Those who have moved to Bahia from colder climates value its tropical climate, bright sunlight, and ocean breezes in ways that locals generally do not. Similar to sobrados, the remodeling of these houses shows how the new aesthetic points towards new set of values surrounding people’s relationship with nature. These values and relationships can best be seen in the next style of home, which I call rustic chic. These homes, built specifically by and for tourists, display a remarkably different attitude towards the natural world.

**Rustic Chic**

The first three architectural styles are generally appreciated by newcomers, tourists, and even many locals because of their connection to history and tradition, which are seen as contributing to Itacaré's rural aesthetics, sense of place, and thus its status as a tourist destination. The last two styles (rustic chic and regional modern) are not chronologically separate, but rather occur simultaneously during the last 30 years of the city's development. Each style is associated with regional, racial, and class-based distinctions. Generally, rustic chic homes are built by outsiders who are typically wealthier and whiter, while regional modern homes
are built by people from the region, who are darker and poorer. As we have previously discussed, regional, racial, and class-based identities overlap to produce distinct social groups in Itacarê.

Figure 10: Rustic Chic Homes and Businesses

Rustic chic homes are a romantic response to modernist architecture, a rejection of its sparse, efficient, and manufactured designs for colorful, eclectic, and natural ones. This style relies heavily on wood, stone, thatch, and other natural materials. The wood is often rough-hewn beams or twisted driftwood, emphasizing its natural origins. The floors are usually not tiled, but rather simply a burnished concrete slip over the subfloor often inlaid with wooden decorative elements or a handful of hand-painted ceramic tiles are placed throughout the
floor. Both of these elements are considered traditional to the region, and highlight how these designs try to connect with an imagined rustic past. In addition, people will make cement walls that are rough and look like traditional wattle and daub. To add to this, they add hand prints, purposely uneven cement finishes, and even an exterior paint that looks like a traditional chalk whitewash but is much more durable and doesn't come off on your clothes in order to imitate poor, rural constructions for their naturalness, simplicity, and authenticity but without sacrificing comfort or durability.

Rustic chic buildings look similar to tourist architecture in many places in the world. Drawing upon ideas of an exotic other, the new tourist architecture of Itacaré includes stylistic elements from Polynesian, Southeast Asian, and indigenous cultures worldwide. Adriano, an architect from Salvador, describes “rustic chic” as a “a mixture of this, half Indonesia, half Oriental, these chalets, roofs with wooden shingles, are more of something from a colonial ranch house” (Adriano, interview, July 12, 2012). This aesthetic often includes steep peaked roofs covered in thatch or wooden shingles. This eclecticism is both a continuation of Brazilian miscegenation as well as linked to the transnational cultural influences brought by the hippies and surfers who first arrived in Itacaré in the late 1970s. This architecture points to the ways that tropical places have been homogenized as tourist routes developed since the 1960s.

The buildings are painted bright colors, with large glass windows, and large porches, almost always including hammocks. These outside spaces take advantage of views and create opportunities to experience the surrounding nature. Large glass windows are also distinctive feature of these new houses as well
because they point to an appreciation of a view. To the architects who design these houses, the windows serve two purposes, natural light and ventilation. Windows are also distinctive because there was very little glass in traditional architecture, with windows usually having wooden shutters. Some of the mansions had small glass panes above a door or window, but glass was expensive, hard to transport, and impractical. Because closed glass heats up a building without promoting circulation of air, it can only work if there is also air-conditioning. Unlike homes in Northern climates, there are few instances where you would want to be able to see through a window but not open it up for circulation as well. Now, large glass windows are ubiquitous, as people want to see nature, but at the same time have the ability to be protected from it. As Adriano described it, there is “a big contradiction in what that majority of people want. They want a very open house, with a lot of doors and windows to open, … and at the same time, you have to allow them to close it, when it rains, or fills up with mosquitos. It’s more difficult to have to be open and at the same time protected from everything” (interview, July 12, 2012). In some sense this encapsulates the tourist experience; people want to see and experience new places, new adventures, but with the ability to shut it all out when wanted.

A key feature to rustic chic architecture is the porch. In traditional rural estates, large porches along the front served to regulate the tropical climate by shading the walls, providing sleeping space for guests without necessarily allowing them into the home as well as storage for agricultural products. Porches were probably introduced by the Portuguese who observed them in tropical India (Lemos 1989). As a characteristic of rural colonial architecture in Brazil, the re-
introduction of porches in Itacaré signifies its new relationship as a rural tourist destination in relation to larger urban centers, and not as an urban center in relation to its own rural hinterlands. The previous two types of houses in Itacaré were trying to look urban, to develop a respectable city center in relationship to rural country houses where most of the municipal population lived. With the growth of tourism, the urban population in Itacaré surpassed the rural population for the first time in the 2010 census. At the same time, the houses in the city began to look more like rural homes. These new geographical relationships are largely a product of developing transportation networks that place Itacaré in a larger network in which it serves as a rural periphery to the regional and national metropolises and changing ideas of nature that encourage migration from cities to smaller rural areas.

All of these design elements indicate a new kind of relationship with nature. Because the first tourists in Itacaré were people escaping modern urban centers for rural tranquility, the house are designed to create interaction with nature. Marcelo notes that his clients “are more concerned with leisure [rather than work], so the house is more open to the exterior, there is more veranda, there is a bigger outside area to receive guests. It is not a really urban house” (Marcos, interview, January 3, 2012). The country and rural areas are associated with increased sociality, leisure, and relaxation, far from the urban streets, schedule, and work. This is a new vision of nature and rural areas as sites of leisure, which have long been important sites of work in their own way. Pierre, a French architect who had lived in the city since the mid-90's, had participated in the APA management council, worked with urban planning with the municipal government
for several years was blunt in his analysis of this transition,

Those who come here want to see the opposite of the city, they spend all their time working in an organized universe. They want something more authentic. Building materials, like wood, are not industrialized. So when they build a house they use wood, palm fronds braided together, they use lamps made from coconut fronds, so that you have expressions of nature. The people that come here want to see nature because that's what they miss in the city. So they want to have a contact with mother earth and the fundamental elements of the earth. (Pierre, interview, March 12, 2012)

The tourist architecture is designed to feel more natural, to look more connected to nature, although many locals often pointed out that the extensive use of wood is not particularly ecological. These houses are built to meet the demands of foreigners who come wanting to build houses that allow them to enjoy the sunshine, breeze, and natural panoramas they moved to Bahia for. The houses represent an attempt to create a living space that allows them to freely interact with nature.

Several Brazilian architects described building inappropriate features.

---

59 Many of the early houses were built with locally logged hardwood, a practice that is highly illegal. Some of the wood used now comes from similar Amazonian hardwoods but because of their price the most common solution is to use eucalyptus logs from plantations that are quickly becoming ubiquitous throughout much of the old Atlantic Rainforest areas in Southern Bahia. The wood is often sold as rough trunks rather than boards that are easily incorporated into the new tourist aesthetic. The questionable ecological value of eucalyptus plantations and the use of wood in general highlights that the architecture is made more with a concern to look and feel natural rather than actually be environmentally friendly. Critics of this style call them eucalyptus and glass houses, focusing on two of the more distinctive elements.
because their foreign clients insisted on them; such as open spaces that require people to walk in the rain moving from different parts of the house, huge open spaces for ventilation that later have to be closed after the residents experience their first winter rains, and excessively lit bedrooms that don't allow anyone to sleep after the sun rises.\textsuperscript{60} They all stated how foreigners want lots of natural light, sunshine, and ventilation. Coming to the tropics they want a house that is open to the elements. Pierre continued,

People from outside generally build a more rustic style, a combination of wood, stone, and brick, which has created this aesthetic, a little bit of a beach architecture. It’s about handmade things that give the impression they're not very well made: that has given it the nickname of low-tech. The more you see the hand of the maker in the architecture, in the construction, the prettier it is. It looks like the house has a history, a signature. So the people from outside that come here generally like nature, another style of life, Bahian culture. It's very different style from these mansions where everything is flawless, straight, perfect...

People from São Paulo, the big city, look for a natural style, with a lot of wood, a beach style, with grass roofs, piassava. (Pierre, interview, March 12, 2012)

While perfectly describing this style, Pierre also conflates Bahian culture with a

\textsuperscript{60}A typical Brazilian bedroom can remain very dark until the shutters are opened, catering to a culture where dinner is past 8 and not even little children go to sleep before midnight.
natural and traditional aesthetic. Local nature and culture are conflated and best appreciated by those coming from the outside. From this perspective, an outside gaze, an outside aesthetic, is needed to both appreciate local history and nature. Multiple outsiders mentioned that if it were up to the local elite, all of the historical buildings would have been destroyed. Indeed, outsiders did own most of the houses that have been preserved. While this new style is supposed to create the aesthetic of an imagined rural fishing village, it does so according to the imaginations of outsiders, often in direct contradiction of the traditional architecture of the town itself. In a strange irony, local aesthetics are demeaned, while outsiders’ interpretations of what a rural Bahian house should look like are celebrated for their appreciation of Bahian culture. In many ways the urban/rural dichotomy that resurfaces is also a regional dichotomy in which the Southeast is urban and the Northeast (conveniently ignoring the large cities) is rural and natural. While rustic chic valorizes the aesthetic of a rural fishing village, it does so according to outsiders’ imaginations.

The openness of the house often extends to the interior layout. These houses often have open kitchens, usually at the front of the house and connected to the living room or dining room instead of closed and at the back of the house. These are called, “American kitchens,” marking their difference from traditional Brazilian kitchens. This foreign otherness creates a different kind of sociality and gender relations in which women and women's work of cooking is allowed to take place in the public areas of the house, a shift that happened somewhat earlier in the United States. This is linked to growing ability of women to interact in public spheres as well as changing ideas about families.
The extreme of this architectural style is perhaps best seen in the creations of Maria Cubana, a Cuban America from Miami who moved to Itacaré after reading the article in Fluir, a Brazilian surf magazine. At the time, she was living in a commune in Salvador in the early 90s. With long curly hair, a rainbow tattooed on her arm, and earth toned clothing she now spends her time between Hawaii and Itacaré. She owns a pousada where she built the railings, staircases, and much of the structure with twisting branches and driftwood that she collected over the years. There are Indonesian statues tucked into alcoves, colorful hammocks hanging everywhere, and the entire structure is tucked behind an enormous Indian Almond tree. Her personal house is a few kilometers away, on a big parcel of land with her own waterfall. Her house is built with thatch and rough wood pillars but without doors or windows, or even some walls, so the circular wooden platforms are entirely encircled by the surrounding rainforest. She connects this aesthetic to regulations that prohibited permanent constructions on the beach and to an aesthetic gathered through her own travels.61

I would go out to the jungle and pick up wood that they would leave behind, stuff on the ground, stuff left over from other things. My pousada is burnt: it's from forests that were burnt. The style came from the materials that I had to use. Also I had visited Indonesia, so it has a little bit of that flavor. It’s just my style. Everything I've built after has all been the same style. It's very rustic, my home that I

61 Because all land 33m from the high tide belongs to the Federal Government and is only leased to others to use, there are regulations about what can be built there.
just built in the last two years. It looks like an Indian
[house], not from India, but like an indian would build his
house, very jungley, rustic. That's just the style that I like.
Actually everyone liked it so much they built just like me
on Tiririca and on the other beaches as well. They kind of
stole my style but it's nice because it all looks the same. It's
become very popular and people like it. My pousada is
very rustic looking with a lot of branches and wood but
inside its very luxurious. I have some simple rooms but in
a lot of them I even have jacuzzis and [they] are really nice
on the inside. (Maria Cubana, interview, July 6, 2012)

Like most people, she clearly sees this style as an expression of her individual
personality, travels, and experiences. While her style has undoubtedly influenced
others in the city, its also points to changing ideas about nature as new migrants
establish themselves in Itacaré. Like many of these outsiders, she eventually
moved from the city to the surrounding rural areas as the town became
increasingly urbanized.

Within Itacaré, this architecture is most developed in Pituba and Concha,
neighborhoods that developed later as part of the growing tourist economy, but
there are also an increasing number of rustic chic houses scattered among the
older buildings in the center of town, and elements of this style are often
incorporated into a variety of other houses and remodels of older houses. This
style can also be seen in expensive homes and hotels built along the southern coast
and in rural areas. We see it equally in vacation homes, tourist businesses, and
newcomers’ homes. When possible, these houses are built on larger lots and surrounded by yards filled with tropical, flowering plants. Because the houses are set back in the lot and often surrounded by fences and walls, they become very private and separate from the town. They want to be close to nature, but also have social distance from others. These houses and their yards and fences mark upper class neighborhoods, separating them from the more densely built popular neighborhoods. Ironically, these “rustic” homes are the face of gentrification in Itacaré.

A telling episode happened as I walked along the Rua do Forte that leads to the port. The houses along the road were mostly small one-story houses on the street level although without platibandas. A second group, also built by people from the region and are large, blocky, two story houses. Very recently, another two large houses were built that climb up the rocky hill with enormous glass windows, porches, hammocks, and large wooden posts, built entirely to take advantage of the view. One of the owners described how he built seven different views into the house. One afternoon I talked to the owner of the smallest house. With an abandoned car in front and covered in old political campaign advertisements from the last election his home was a stark contrast to the newest neighbors. 62 He told me about a considerable sum of money he was planning on inheriting and the house he was planning on building when he got the money. He said, “I don't want one of these matchbox houses,” derisively pointing to one of his neighbor's square shuttered two story house, “but a nice one, like those,”

62 Because politicians often pay homeowners to use their outside wall for propaganda these types of billboards are extremely common in lower class neighborhoods and entirely absent in richer ones.
pointing to the large glass and eucalyptus houses a little further down the street. The new aesthetic redefines what is desirable and residents want to have a house like the tourist houses they observe around them.

**Regional Modern**

Nina was one of the first people we met in Itacaré. She worked cleaning the pousada we stayed at during our first visit in 2010. When we moved back a year later her daughter, Jorgina worked as our maid, helping to cook, clean, and wash clothes and became a family friend. All the family lived together in several houses built together on a lot in the neighborhood of Passagem. Nina described how they moved to Itacaré eighteen years ago from the surrounding rural area so that her kids could attend school. Her husband left her soon after and she raised her kids and built her house by herself with money saved from cleaning pousadas over many years. Her first house was built with mud (a local wattle and daub), the next was built with wood, and finally she had made a house out of brick. These different building materials physically and symbolically signified her progress in life. Recently she added a second floor with two houses and one of her sons lived and ran a small bar on the street level below. Her house was a “palace,” a “gift from God,” and the concrete materialization of all of her hard work. She had rustic lamps made out of palm fronds by a cousin who sold them to tourists, a bamboo sofa she had bought from some Paulistas moving back to São Paulo after their ice cream shop failed, and a narrow porch that wrapped around the entire house with several hammocks. It was often through the idiom of houses and architecture that local, working class people described the development of Itacaré and their own
changing class status, often incorporating elements of rustic chic architecture as markers of this status.

I call this popular architecture “regional modern”: regional because they are largely built by people from Itacaré or the surrounding areas, and modern because the houses aspire to be modern, developed, and urban rather than rural and rustic. I also use the term modern in relation to the significant role of modernist architecture in Brazilian urban development and class-consciousness for the last half-century (Guiamaraens & Cavalcanti 1979; Lara 2008). These houses are visible throughout the city except in Concha, the most expensive neighborhood. This style is primarily visible in places where new working class neighborhoods are being built or where traditional fishermen's houses are being renovated and expanded, but they can also be seen as older elites built tourism establishment that are meant to be modern rather than rural or traditional. Throughout Brazil, poorer and working-class residents build their own homes without the involvement of an architect, a process called auto-construction that
speaks about the rise of the middle class and growing urbanization of Brazilian society. James Holston writes that, “Auto-construction is a domain of symbolic elaboration about the experience of becoming propertied and participating in mass consumer markets, in which both ruling-class and working-class ambitions for developing new social identities intersect” (Holston 1991a: 447). Through housing ownership people participate in democratic processes through resident associations where they demand basic rights and enter the middle class through home ownership. In Itacaré, these houses take on a specific aesthetic and characteristics that teach us about how local residents have adapted to the development of tourism and the increasing urbanization and gentrification due to tourism-fueled economic growth.

The single most important characteristic of these houses is the construction of a second floor. The first step to build a second floor is to “bater laje,” or “pour a slab of concrete” over the first floor in order to be able to expand upwards. When the slab is made it usually extends over the sidewalk, adding a few extra square feet to the second floor. Often this space is converted to a small veranda on the second floor. The amount of labor, concrete bars, bricks, and cement required to create this slab is expensive and the second floor is a hugely important sign of social advancement for lower class families. Pierre notes that, “the expression 'pour the slab,' is a sign of social status. When you pour the slab it means you have a minimum of resources. It's a sacred thing to pour the slab” (interview, March 12, 2012). Often friends, family, and community are invited to help and complete the difficult process of mixing the cement by hand and handing it up to the roof in five gallon cans. The slab itself is so important that many people will add the slab
without having money to build the upstairs, leaving it open to rainwater, which can lead to mold. This illustrates the highly symbolic value of upward mobility expressed by the slab. In many ways, the slab has replaced the platibanda as the most important status symbol for those striving towards the middle class. This rejects Bourdieu's notion that working class aesthetics are simply a product of survival and argues that the fashion, architecture, and art of the most marginalized groups signify their middle-class aspirations, changing global consumption patterns, and aesthetic sensibilities rather than being limited by functional concerns (Banck 1994, see also Holston 1991a). Uncovered slabs or concrete platibandas in front of wooden houses corroborate this because they have little practical value but do contain a rich array of symbolic and historical identifications that make their presence significant.

Like older urban designs, the fronts of these houses are often built to fill up the entire lot. Usually only the bricks on the front, and sometimes the back, of the houses are covered in concrete and painted with the sides being left bare, as it is assumed that the neighbors will soon expand their houses upwards as well and the sides will no longer be visible. It also illustrates the extent to which these houses are built gradually over time as people slowly save money to buy materials and work in their spare time over years and even decades to complete their home. The aesthetic focus on the front of the house is similar to the brick facades and platibandas built in front of older wooden houses in earlier times, in which the house must look presentable from the street but not necessarily from any other direction. The emphasis on the front of the house also indicates the significance of the symbolic work these houses do to signify people's social status as well as the
importance of maintaining a proper symbolic distinction between the street and home.

Regional modern houses are the ones that the professional architects in the city love to hate. Although many people have two story houses in Itacaré, Pierre associates these homes with a local Bahian aesthetic noting that, clearly each type of architecture corresponds with a group of people, and the houses with laje and little verandas generally are owned by people from the interior of the region, from Ubaitaba, from Jequie, from Ilhéus. People who don't have much of an architectural reference and build a house without much attention to the aesthetics.

(Pierre, interview, March 12, 2012)

Adriano described them as “really, aesthetically, the worst quality...functionally, in terms of health it is another disgrace” (interview, July 12, 2012). He went on explaining how the slab destroys the circulation that used to flow over the interior walls and because the long sides of the houses still don't have windows, the interior rooms often have no natural light and little ventilation, increasing mold and other problems. Interior rooms are for sleeping and there is little interest in allowing light into these spaces. Because older houses with platibandas were often converted using this style, destroying the straight facade in front with the overhanging veranda on the second floor; these houses have also been criticized by newcomers for destroying the historical aesthetic of older neighborhoods. These architects critique regional modern architecture not just for its poor aesthetic, but link these aesthetics considerations to sanitation and historic

246
preservation, highlighting the ways that gentrification and discrimination against popular constructions are couched in functionalist terms (Sandler 2007).

Despite the criticisms of their aesthetics and functionality, these houses are a product of a certain historical moment in the city. In addition to their symbolic purpose, they are a function of real estate speculation and the rise in land values, which encourage people to maximize the land they have and build it up to the greatest extent possible. Building a second floor is both about symbolic representation of social status as well as a good practical way to increase your revenue stream. These houses are not just built for residences but are often created with the idea of renting out rooms or renting out a small commercial space on the first floor facing the street. Many of the locals who have been able to succeed in the tourism market have been able to do it through maximizing their most valuable possession, the land they own. Through renting out commercial space, rooms to vacationers, or second homes many local families have been able to benefit from the growth of tourism in the city. These houses have also been built with security in mind and gates, high walls around the back, iron bars over the windows and doors on the ground level have become standard. Some are even equipped with electric fences as well and other security devices that point to the perceived break down of community safety. In many ways these houses are a practical response to the changing socio-economic conditions in the town. These homes are also part of a larger Brazilian national currents, including modernist architecture.

Leo, a native fisherman turned electrician and environmentalist, is somewhat unique in Itacaré. His well-reasoned opinions cannot be easily
characterized as fitting in with one group or another. His analysis of the changes to the city included a commentary on the changing architecture that reflects some of the challenges of tourist development.

The city developed, but the native crowd stayed behind, really, really, really behind. What do you see in a tourist city like this? Let’s say there are 210 tour agencies, one belongs to a native. If there are 100 pousadas, one belongs to a native. So you can see that there's this enormous inequality. So how did this enormous inequality come about—that the people that were the owners are now the employees of the people that came from the outside and bought property here? They ran out of money and became employees of the same people that bought them out. You can see that there is this huge inequality. I always tell people, people in the city, that it's a beautiful city, but ordinary. They didn't work with the city, with the mentality of the natives. And today, I'll say even more. Itacaré was already in a tourism process that was a lot bigger. It used to be like this [holding his hands far apart] and today it likes this [holding his hands close together]. If it does this [moving his hand even closer] we're going to be underwater. When it was a village everyone has a small house and a big yard. That was our subsistence, manioc, banana, avocado, what we planted we could eat. Now our
minds have shifted, with tourism. When tourism came saying it would bring money for everyone, so what did everyone do? They got their yards and extended their houses. If tourism declines much more we're going more than thirty years back in time. Thirty years ago, we had a little house but a yard that fed us. If tourism declines and people have their houses but not their yards, we won't have any way to feed ourselves. I see this as a double-edged sword. (Leo, interview April 30, 2012)

Leo's analysis documents the shift from a subsistence economy to a service economy through the changing architecture, noting that any kind of reversal of this process is difficult now that the town is now dependent and potentially vulnerable to larger shifts in the tourism market. The expanded houses demonstrate particularly well these changing social and economic systems and some of the potential problems they create.

Most of what is written about Brazilian architecture focuses entirely on modern architecture. Modern Art Week in São Paulo in 1922 marked the beginning of the modernist movement in Brazil, although it probably took decades for these ideas to find their way to rural Bahia. Brazilian Modernist architecture represented a radical break from previous architectural styles and gained worldwide recognition through the work of Oscar Niemeyer, Lucio Costa, Burle Marx, and the influence of Le Corbusier. Their public works projects, skyscrapers, museums, and the new capital in Brasilia finished in the mid-1960s, radically changed the architectural landscape of Brazil. Together, they presented a positive,
modern image of Brazil abroad. Unlike in Europe and North America, modernist design elements are also widely visible in middle class homes throughout Brazil. Lara writes about this phenomenon, crediting the widespread growth of the modernists aesthetic to the growth of the middle class in the 1950s, urban growth, and government propaganda and print media that celebrated this type of architecture as distinctly Brazilian (2008). Although the elite dismiss these modern middle class homes as kitsch and crude reproductions, these homes demonstrate a creative, popular engagement with modernist architecture that warrants serious attention (Guiamaraens and Cavalcanti 1979).

Many of the elements mentioned by Lara in popular modern homes can be seen in Itacaré, including squared or inverted volumes, exterior tiles, thin metallic columns, and asymmetric windows (Lara 2008, 39). Some of these elements are visible in the art-deco houses of fishermen while others appear in the regional modern style. The outsiders’ rejection of these houses is compounded because of these modern components, which they see as discordant with Itacaré's vocation as a traditional fishing village. Even though rustic chic architecture is, in some ways, a conscious rejection of the modernist architecture, it also contains some elements of modernist architecture as well, particularly in relationship to open interior spaces and the express value of functionality. By explicitly comparing rustic chic and regional modern homes, we can see one space where regional, racial, and class-based differences are expressed.

**A comparison of Rustic Chic and Regional Modern homes**

Popular houses are also critiqued for their (mis)appropriation of elements
from more rustic vacation homes. For example, many popular houses like Nina's contain traits from rustic chic homes such as verandas with wooden railings, hammocks hanging outside, possibly thatch and rough hewn timbers, and in a few cases, large glass windows. Elites often decry the popularization of these tourist elements in popular neighborhoods as kitsch. For example, Adriano described how the Txai resort added a fringe of plaited piassava thatch underneath their tile roofs as a decorative element. Because it was a relatively cheap and easy addition, pousadas in Concha borrowed the idea and soon enough you could see them in houses scattered throughout the poorer neighborhoods as well. Maria Cubana was sure that half of the city had copied her unique style. Locals absorb rustic chic aesthetics from working in or even building pousadas and homes for upper class clientele, watching television shows where these kinds of homes are portrayed, and even from print media like surf magazines. However, rather than simply copying, local builders freely borrow from Brazil's modern architectural heritage as well as Itacaré's current tourist architecture with a distinct Brazilian syncretism. Chico talked about how none of the older houses in Itacaré had verandas but he “based his house on the magazines he would look at, surf magazines. Even in Hawaii surfers liked to have verandas on their houses. I saw this and said to myself, my house has to have a veranda also” (Chico, interview, July 5, 2012). Chico noted that none of the older houses in Itacaré had verandas and drew inspiration from surf magazine rather than older Brazilian country houses. His verandas are an expression of his identity as a surfer, a connection to a cosmopolitan Hawaii, and a break from previous architectural traditions. These experiences illustrate the multiple ways that locals adopt the new aesthetics and
values. It is somewhat ironic that when the wood, thatch, and other rustic elements that are meant to be signs of local tradition and authenticity are reincorporated by poorer classes as symbols of improving social status they are deemed to be inauthentic.

When talking about Bairro Novo, a friend from São Paulo noted how the streets and houses had been built so that none of the windows on the front of the houses could appreciate the excellent ocean view they had from on top of the hill. Like critiques about the lack of windows in popular homes, middle class residents of Itacaré regularly assumed that poorer residents couldn't appreciate nature or natural views based on the ways they built their houses. However, while talking to people in Bairro Novo and other popular neighborhoods, many people regularly talked about the views from their houses and offered to show me views from different spots in their homes or from the unfinished roof slabs. In another conversation, another middle class outsider couldn't understand why people in Porto de Trás didn't repaint their houses every year to make the neighborhood more attractive, presumably for tourists. Because poorer people are assumed to be ignorant of tourism aesthetics and related tourism behaviors (like customer service norms), they are excluded from participation in customer service jobs within the tourist economy and their homes do not appreciate or have the same rental value as more tourist-looking homes. These outsiders’ analysis ignores the economic impacts of rising real estate prices, historic patterns of discrimination in different neighborhoods, and the complicated history of land titling that have served to disenfranchise local people from participation in the tourist economy. That said, the outsider was correct in that the locals who are better able to understand and
adapt to the cultural and aesthetic shifts that have developed within the tourist economy have been better able to position themselves.

The disagreement over what counts as restoration of older homes highlights the extent to which cultural differences are visible in these aesthetic decisions. While regional modern homes often change the external part of the house they typically remain true to traditional internal layouts. With outsiders’ remodeling projects the opposite is true, they generally preserve the exterior while entirely recreating the interior of the house. This maintains the exterior appearance of a traditional fishing town while hiding the extent to which the population and social dynamics are changing. While outsiders see themselves as valuing local culture through their restoration work, they are actually valuing a pan-tropical tourist aesthetic that validates the external appearance of alterity while maintaining the dominance of outsiders’ cultural ideas of space, relationships with nature, and social interactions. Despite the traditional exterior, these restored houses teach us much more about tourism than about local culture.

There was also considerable discussion about the preservation of historic architecture. Outsiders critiqued natives for failing to value historical architecture and noted that outsiders were needed to value local history. Agnaldo critiqued a Mayor who had,

At the end of his term, destroyed the mark of the city's establishment. I don't know how many years ago. We were fighting to preserve the old mansions, fighting to preserve the beautiful architecture of the city. We were fighting to at least create a law that would preserve the facades of the
houses, at least. For the last twenty or thirty years, everything has been destroyed by the people that came. The natives didn't really destroy much because they didn't have the means to build a shack. ...Jarbas didn't want to approve the law. He was all about modernity. That might not be a bad thing, but not destroying the history, destroying the memory, the culture of a people. Itacaré has a beautiful history back to the discovery of Brazil. He took a 300-year inheritance and threw it on the ground. He ordered the roof tiles of the church to be removed. He took it apart. He destroyed the paintings on the ceiling of the church. We fought for years. He took the roof tiles, made on the thighs of slaves...He took apart the bandstand where the bands used to play, that rural thing, the philharmonic band used to play... Jarbas destroyed all of the historical patrimony. (Agnaldo, interview, July 17, 2012)

Although not a native, Agnaldo is from the surrounding region and his middle-class background aligns him with the environmentalists and others from further away. We can begin to see two opposing viewpoints of Itacaré, often depicted as a conflict between outsiders and locals—one as a small town striving to be modern and developed, and another trying to remain rural, historic, and authentic. However, Jarbas' rush to modernity also offended many natives, who also valued this historic downtown park he dismantled, among other things, illustrating how these issues did not always neatly separate out between locals and outsiders.
The incorporation of rustic elements in both regional modern and rustic chic homes is also about creating a home that is unique and individual. Like Robben's descriptions of platibandas, these houses contain elements that are designed to be representative of the owners that live there. A study of “kitsch” architecture in the working class suburbs of Rio de Janeiro reveals a similar concern with individuality and authenticity as homes are built to express something unique about the owner (Guiamaraens and Cavalcanti 1979). Holston sees this as people asserting their independence and autonomy against industrial mass production (1991a). A local builder described how a wooden porch makes a home “diferenciado,” meaning different and unique but also a term used to express a higher economic value. Both rustic chic and regional modern homes contain similar attempts to reject certain aspects of modern industrial society as they experience it (Nuijten et al 2012). Rustic chic is trying to reconnect to nature and reject mass production through natural and human made elements while regional modern homes are rejecting their invisibility and social marginalization through home ownership and the individualization of their home designs.

As a tourist destination, the town itself is constantly on display and there is considerable discussion in the Environmental Protected Area Management Council meetings about different architectural styles and their impacts on the town. I attended several meeting at which the Council heatedly debated the Urban Development Plan (PRUA), which detailed the regulations for the urban area of the city as part of the Itacaré/Serra Grande Environmental Protected Area. The PRUA closely regulated the height of city buildings, stipulating that they could not be over 7.5 meters or have more than two stories. From these meetings,
several possible interpretations emerged. Some people assumed this to mean that you could build three stories if you didn't exceed the 7.5 meters or that you could have a higher ceiling as long as it was just a two-story building. There was even a long standing practice of granting construction permits to houses with thatch or wooden shingle roofs that were over 7.5 meters because a steeper roofline was needed for these kinds of roofs and you couldn't build a two-story building under the 7.5 meter requirement. There was also a discussion about whether the building height was measured from the street or the foundation as many newer houses were built on steep hillsides as the town has expanded. The requirements were meant to stop people from building apartment buildings and growing the town vertically which would mar the town’s rural feel, but the way these regulations were implemented meant that most of the violators were regional modern buildings trying to maximize their space by expanding vertically while the rustic chic homes were often given an exception because of the steeper angle required of their roofs. Many people built wooden lofts inside their houses as a way of hiding a third floor within their construction and working around these requirements. Of course, the town was also full of all kinds of buildings that exceeded these limits and there was few effective means of enforcing the regulations, especially for many homes that were built without the necessary permits. Thus the regulations served mainly to control larger tourist development projects that needed to operate legally because of their size and visibility. Other regulations about minimum required lot sizes and, in a few new subdivisions, rules that require a certain percentage of the lot to be undeveloped were created to encourage less urban density and a more rural aesthetic.
The heated debates in the council meetings indicated the degree that architectural styles were not just about aesthetics but about the conflicts between different social and regional groups, differing visions of the direction Itacaré should develop, and fights over the power to control urban development. Many conversations that seemed to be just about architecture were actually coded critiques of class, regional, and racial differences. Outsiders wanted to see the town remain a quaint fishing village surrounded by rainforest and resented the increasing urban density and expanding footprint of working-class neighborhoods. Locals and poorer migrants wanted to see Itacaré developed, but most importantly, want to be included in these developments, building houses that signify and allow their participation in a tourist economy. However, locals who are better able build homes and develop property that better meet tourists' expectations have been able to benefit more within the new economy. Drastically different rent and sale prices for houses between tourist and non-tourist neighborhoods and homes illustrate the power of these aesthetic differences.

This historical analysis of architectural styles in Itacaré reveals the extent that changing cultural and economic values in a tourist economy are visible in the built environment. Architecture reveals class differences but also the attempts of different groups to challenge their position in class hierarchies. These class hierarchies are not just economic but are regional and cultural as architectural styles are situated in conversations about Southeastern and Northeastern Brazil, about Brazil and Europe, or about rural and urban spaces. These categorizations of houses and the people that build them are not neutral but contain value judgments discussed in terms of hygiene, aesthetics, and functionality. Ultimately, people's
homes also reveal the ways they position themselves in relation to others in society and in relationship to nature. Homes are part of identity construction and help reveal the ways that tourism has changed how different groups build an identity in conversation with others around them. Because of the significance of tourism in transforming communities worldwide, understanding the concrete ways that tourist architecture is a site for the construction, negotiation, and production of place is essential to analyzing its effects on local communities.
Chapter 6: Public space and public power: parks and beaches

Public spaces are often the principal arenas for contests over political, economic, and cultural power and “urban public space embodies political ideals within a particular cultural milieu” (Low 2010: xiv). In Latin America, the modern contests over these spaces began with colonization as Europeans appropriated, modified, and replaced previous indigenous designs for public spaces. The Spanish constructed plazas surrounded by churches and government buildings; built as spaces for military exercises and public gatherings continuing European modes of social control through urban design (Curtis 2000, Lejeune 2005). While most historical work has focused on the European elements of Renaissance rationality and social planning that created colonial cities in the New World with central plazas and grid-like squares, Low emphasizes how these plazas throughout Latin America combined European and indigenous influences, creating central plazas that included Aztec and Incan elements as well as Spanish design elements (Low 1995). Although Itacaré’s urban parks are more recent and insignificant in comparison to these metropolitan plazas, they are equally instructive about the ways that local economic and social hierarchies change over time.

When the Portuguese court arrived in Brazil in 1808, the praças, the Portuguese variation on the plaza, began to be developed into garden-parks based on the French cultural influences, principally in the capital city of Rio de Janeiro.

---

63 The Law of the Indies regulated Spanish Urban development in the New World, stipulating how cities should be laid out in rational ways. A similar process did not happen until much later in Brazil until the Marquis de Pombal in the 18th century began to encourage a more enlightenment approach to colonization. Colonial Brazilian settlements were much more tangled and followed natural topography over strict grids (Curtis 2000).
(Curtis 2000). Similar to architectural developments that happened around this time, the development of a garden aesthetic with fountains, benches, and landscaping was meant to reflect and produce a more civilized society modeled on Europe. Later, architect and designer Roberto Burle Marx, rejecting Rio de Janeiro's cultural dominance and drawing upon the regionalist movement of Gilberto Freyre, developed a distinctly Brazilian urban park that included native plants and rocks, and emphasized Brazil's tropical environment. Then the modernist movement produced parks that were large, open, and abstract, what Curtis describes a coming “full circle, back to the austerity and symbolism of centralized authority that characterized the early colonial square” (Curtis 2000: 488-489). Curtis's description of the evolution of praças in Brazil shows the relationship between political, cultural, and economic development and a given aesthetic that structures social relationships.

As society became increasingly urban and industrialized, public parks became spaces to bring city dwellers into contact with nature. In the US, city planners like Frederick Olmstead used parks and exposure to the moral value of nature they provided to instill civic virtues among the urban masses. Governments used public spaces as tools to create virtuous citizens and civilized society. Rather than the grids and squares of enlightenment rationality, designers made these parks to appear natural and sublime with serene lakes, scenic hills, and wandering paths. While the aesthetics and social projects were different, both projects illustrate how public spaces are crucial sites that both embody and create social structures.

Because of this, public spaces are often ground zero for resistance to social
hierarchies and social planning, as people occupy them to protest dominant social ideologies. The mothers of the Plaza del Maio in Argentina and student protests in the Largo da Sé in São Paulo are Latin American examples of resistance to the respective military dictatorships (Rosenthal 2000). More recently, the Occupy movements throughout the United States and democracy movement in the Middle East have occupied public spaces to challenge the existing power structures. Similar to architecture, “the plaza also provides a physical, social, and metaphorical space for public debate about governance, cultural identity, and citizenship” (Low 2010: 32). By examining the histories of resistance and daily occupation of public spaces in Itacaré, this chapter explores the changing social, economic, and political structures with the advent of tourism.

This chapter examines public spaces as a space for contests of power between different groups (Low 1996). Because public spaces are by definition, not privately owned, they are used and occupied by different parties in constant negotiation. The right to use and occupy these commons is not haphazard but is governed by a hybrid of traditional practices, federal law, and local political negotiations. Like neighborhood development, conflicts over public spaces illustrate competing notions of ownership and contrast traditional and legal tenure systems. In Itacaré, government attempts to control public spaces have been limited and diverse groups compete for control, access, and use of different public spaces, recreating the town through these and in conversation with larger tourism based development. Tourism has been associated with the enclosure of public spaces. For example, American tourism and the accompanying construction of shopping malls in the 1920s were credited with destroying the five central plazas.
of Tijuana and similar processes were at work in Buenos Aires (Rosenthal 2000). Similar to architectural styles, public spaces symbolize and construct a variety of social ideals and are affected and reconfigured by tourism.

The first section explores why municipal government build public works and throw parties as part of redistributive political system and to demonstrate public accountability. I compare the history, development, and daily negotiation over use and occupation of two parks in Itacaré to illustrate these processes. The second section documents the history and imaginaries of the beach and how it has come to be the preeminent public space in Brazilian society. I then focus on the use and occupation of beaches in Itacaré and conflicts over beach access and use. Because tourism in Itacaré revolves around the beach, contestation over beach space is particularly important for understanding the impact of tourism. Similar to other processes of urban development already examined, the distribution of use rights in the parks and beaches are political processes and thus tend to favor longtime residents who are connected to local politicians and each other through patronage relationships.

Several key issues arise almost immediately from this analysis of the use of space of public parks and beaches in Itacaré. The first, similar to neighborhood development, is the discrepancy between the legal and informal land use. The fact that Federal Government regulations are continuously changing as it reinterprets its role in the managing the coastline makes illegibility and confusion the norm rather than the exception. Discussions around public spaces focus more distinctly on access, ownership, and use rights and how these are maintained without being centrally organized in any significant way. Because most tourism in Brazil is
focused around the beach, who controls beach use and access has important economic implications. Second, the conflicts around the use and development of beaches also revolve around place-based identities like locals/outsiders, and Northeast/Southwest with locals being able to more effectively mobilize claims to these spaces and exclude outsiders to some extent. Included within these identities are different relationships to the environment and ideas of public spaces.

**Parks, Parties, and Public Works**

When I talked with people about the state of the town and the current government, the two most common complaints they voiced were the run-down parks and the lack of decent parties. Maintaining these public spaces and then using them for successful public entertainment were seen as basic governmental responsibilities. The government is commonly referred to as the “public power,” and both parks and parties are highly visible ways to establish this public presence and avoid charges of corruption. The maintenance of public space is seen as promoting tourism, bettering society, and as evidence of responsible governance. A popular blog in Itacaré writes that “infrastructure problems, the lack of parks and cultural events, allow in this way, increasing criminality” (Itacarénoticias.com), illustrating a continuing correlation between public spaces and moral citizenry.

There is a long history of government support of popular Catholic and state festivals as a way to redistribute wealth and build personal political followings. In a tourist economy, good bands and well-organized parties for New Years and Carnival (which marked the beginning and end of the tourist season
respectively) at least partially organized and funded by the Municipal government, were seen as especially important to attract tourists and generate revenue for the city (Getz 2012). The Mayor Antonio Damasceno (2009-2012) was largely elected through local evangelical churches and put on a number of evangelical musical festivals and gatherings, but chose not to fund the traditional Catholic festivals in the city or organize successful New Years and Carnival celebrations, generating significant opposition among the more traditional Catholic residents and the tourist business community. There was even some talk that the Mayor might ban the traditional launching of small boats to the Iemanjá, a syncretic combination of Mary and Mother of the Waters that traditionally happens at New Years. The ban was ostensibly because of concerns about pollution along the beaches but most suspected that it had to do with evangelical prejudices against Afro-Brazilian syncretism. Government support (or lack thereof) of parties reflected the changing religious dynamics in the city that often mirrored class dimensions, with the evangelical churches drawing heavily from poorer neighborhoods while the more well-off locals and outsiders were mostly Catholic and often sympathized with Afro-Brazilian Candomblé.

Because of their highly visible and public nature, parties and public works demonstrate that local government is not embezzling public funds but using them to benefit the people (Lazar 2007, Nugent 2001). When people describe what different mayors did, or contributed to the city, they begin by listing the things they built. At a political rally in preparation for an upcoming election the incumbent mayor distributed a flyer that simply had pictures of everything he had built in the last four years. A popular expression says, “to each mayor their park,”
indicating how important physical construction is for politicians in terms
demonstrating political honesty, competency, as well as leaving a concrete legacy,
usually literally.

Accordingly, each public building or park has a plaque that recognizes the
politician who built it. Given the lack of municipal archives, I used these plaques
to reconstruct a timeline of the different mayors in order to better understand the
recent history of municipal politics and development. Similar to these plaques are
larger temporary signs that adorn all works in progress, stating, at least for federal
projects, how much money is being spent and which government organizations are
involved. Both kinds of signs mark and claim public spaces although the
meanings and significance of these claims are constantly contested and
challenged. In Itacaré, almost all of the urban praças were run down or in some
stage of construction during most of the time I was doing fieldwork, and were an
area of considerable conflict between political parties and different segments of
society. The following section discusses the histories and conflicts associated with
two of these: Praça São Miguel, the central park of the city and the Praça da
Mangueira located in Pituba, to illustrate the role of these public spaces in the
creation of tourist space in Itacaré.

Praça São Miguel

The Praça São Miguel is the center of the old downtown, located in front
of the original harbor and the Church. The praça was built in 1929 during the end
of the peak of cacao production and shipping. It contained a small obelisk, four
large planters, topiary shrubs carved into different shapes, and a small hexagonal
bandstand. At this time, the park was built to showcase the urbanization and modernization of the city. The enclosed square planters and manicured topiary represented nature that was contained and civilized, as the cacao planters turned the surrounding jungles into cultivated fields. Over time, the planters filled with enormous trees and weeds, and the park began to look overgrown as the city and cacao plantations declined. People remembered this park as a typical, quaint park for a small rural town, as its original modern aesthetic became provincial and dated. While many people thought the park needed some care and upkeep, they appreciated its historical significance.

In June of 2007, the historic was demolished by the Mayor Jarbas Barbosa who planned to rebuild a modern garden and museum to the history of cacao. The mayor's vision was to have the entire first level be a parking garage with the gardens, buildings, and landscaping built on the roof that would be level with the hill of the church. There was supposed to be museum about cacao, an ornate
curving ramp and marble staircase leading up to the church flanked by fountains with colored lights. This modernist aesthetic was in direct contradiction with what many residents perceived to be the new rural, rustic, and traditional character of the city. Most of the residents, new and old, were against rebuilding of the park. They described how the park was destroyed either overnight or early in the morning and when they woke up, most of the destruction had already been done. As the Mayor was cutting down the ancient trees, residents rallied around them, linking arms to prevent them from being cut down (Praca Sao Miguel 2010, February). Despite their protests, eventually the old park was completely destroyed and a new one was begun. Mayor Jarbas's modernist aspirations were directly pitted against new and old resident’s desire to preserve the historical patrimony of the city. While a number of meetings were held to decide how the park should be rebuilt and what should be included, the final plans took little of this into consideration. Residents complained about the proposed Museum, noting that cacao was never planted in Itacaré, merely shipped, and that fishing was a much more significant part of the economy. Only the small elite that operated the shipping had any significant connection to cacao.

Despite their efforts, the old park was destroyed and a new one was never built to replace it. All that was built were unfinished bathrooms, an empty lobed circular concrete building, supposedly representing a cacao fruit cut in half, and a marble clad stair case and curving ramp, flanked by two fountains that led from the waterfront up to the Church. The entire modernist project seemed to have been significantly downgraded as construction progressed. According to an ongoing investigation from the Tribune of Municipal Accounts, R$ 424,752 was spent on
the destruction and incomplete “reconstruction” of the park of which R$ 33,600 was unaccounted for (Jones 2010). This seems typical of municipal spending patterns in which large amounts are spent without significant improvements to local infrastructure. There also seems to be a connection between grandiose building projects and money laundering because larger projects justify excessive budgets, and the money is harder to track. With the construction of Brasilia in the 1950s and the building of stadiums for the 2014 World Cup serving as prime examples.

The reconstruction of Praça São Miguel was halted by the Public Ministry in July of 2008 because of residents’ complaints about the destruction of historic patrimony. The complaint was filed and protests were led by the “Clube da Melhor Idade;” a group of elderly women who wanted to preserve the historic patrimony of the city. Their gender and age combined to give them a moral legitimacy that effectively stopped the project (Jones 1994). As a result, the National Institute for the Preservation of Artistic and Cultural Heritage (IPHAN) reviewed the situation and condemned the cacao museum, bathrooms, and staircase to be destroyed because they did not harmonize with the 18th century architecture of the Church, which is a valuable historic building (Praça São Miguel 2010, February). From 2007 until mid 2011, when reconstruction began again, the square remained a closed-off wasteland of broken concrete, bent rebar, dirt, and dusty weeds, a monument to local political corruption and urban planning gone awry.

Also at stake were different aesthetic visions of the future of Itacaré in which a modernist program was increasingly at odds with the desires of many
residents, especially those involved in tourism, who wanted to preserve the historical colonial and neo-colonial architecture that was seen as more authentic and appropriate for a rural tourist town. Several people said that the city needed a praça that looked like something from the interior, a small town square, not something fancy and urban. Wanderley, owner of the first pousada in Pituba and longtime resident of Itacaré, described how the new proposal did not fit into his vision of Itacaré.

During the government of Jarbas they destroyed the obelisk. It was an hundred years old. The oldest people in the city used to go there with their dates. They enjoyed it eighty years ago. A city that doesn't preserve its ancient things doesn't have a history. It ends up without history, without an identity. They destroyed the park and were going to build another and you can see what happened. They destroyed it because they wanted to build a glowing fountain, like a park you would see in a capital city, like Paris. In a city like Itacaré, we don't need this. We simply need a place to sit and look at the ocean. They wanted to build a Babylon, like a capital city. That doesn't work here. People come here to see the simplicity of the place.

(Wanderley, interview, July 2, 2012)

Wanderley's description of the park draws upon an imagined tourist who has come to see the beach, to relax, and enjoy the simplicity of rural life. By creating multiple dichotomies between the capital and interior, between Brazil and the
exterior, and between nature and the city, he establishes Itacaré's new rural identity. Itacaré's identity as a place is historic, rural, and natural, situated in opposition to modern, urban capital cities and not to its own rural hinterland. His analysis also situates the praça as a site of collective memory, an important reason for its symbolic importance in discussion over the city's future (Rosenthal 2000).

Jarbas, as a member of one of the older elite families of Itacaré, wanted to develop developing Itacaré as a modern, urban city to separate it from other rural areas, a position that is out of touch with newer migrant's imaginaries and future visions for the city.

In 2008, under the auspices of a new mayor, a community meeting was held to gather input for the rebuilding of the park. “Some residents demonstrated a desire to rebuild the band stand and obelisk like the originals, but the state entity that takes care of public heritage [IPAC] prohibits this kind of construction, because it is characterized as a false history. If the community wants, they can make similar monuments that should be identified as replicas” (Praça Sao Miguel 2010, February). The state's concern with authenticity in the rebuilding of the park combines with touristic desires for authenticity, both of which ignore how history if already constructed. Following these regulations, the newly planned park is similar to the original with a subtle influence from the rustic, hippy aesthetic that permeates the city. The planters, obelisk, and cobblestone ramp way going up to the church are reminiscent of the old park, while the kiosks for vendors, the stage for presentations (in place of a bandstand) are modern reinterpretations. The playground for kids is a totally new, but valued, addition. The Municipal architect who designed the project is well known for his rustic vacation homes and has
helped to adapt the old park design to the new natural aesthetic that dominates the town's tourist establishments.

It should be noted that the new park (along with three others in the city) is being financed through the PRODETUR, a federal level program aimed at promoting tourism, the state Tourism Secretariat and CONDER, the state urban development program. Each of these parks is being built by federal funds in order to promote tourism in the region and with an eye on the 2014 World Cup and the Rio Summer Olympics in 2016. Itacaré has been designated as a second tier destination for tourism resulting from these events and is entitled to some funds for this preparation. In front of the park is a large sign which display the amount the project costs and the responsible parties. People throughout the town were split between two perspectives on this federal government help. The far more common view is that this federal aid to rebuild the parks is completely unconnected to the current mayor and that the benefits of state and federal funds come to the city despite him. While he might try to take credit, the current Mayor has nothing to do with the actual construction of these parks. A second perspective is that the current Mayor was able to pay off outstanding Municipal debts to the Federal Government and thus became eligible for federal funds again. It was the hard work and political connections of the Mayor to Salvador and Brasilia that brought these state and federal resources to Itacaré. Otherwise, Itacaré would simply be ignored as in times past.

While the park was supposed to be finished by Christmas 2011 and had been steadily progressing since I arrived in early September 2011, the construction stopped in mid-December. Some people said that the Federal Government wasn't
releasing the funds, while others blamed ongoing investigations corruption investigations into the Mayor's financial practices. Building sped up again a few months before the election in October of 2012 in order to complete the parks before the election. Who would occupy the kiosks was another source of speculation, although most people assumed that they would be given out to reward some of the Mayor's loyal supporters rather than through a fair, transparent process.

The destruction, abandonment, and reconstruction of the Praça São Miguel demonstrated conflicting visions of the future of Itacaré, as different political and social groups challenged each other. Conflicting groups used rumors and accusation of mis-management, embezzling, and waste of public funds, as well as notions of historic preservation, to mobilize government agencies to investigate and challenge the construction of the park. Because Praça São Miguel is the central park of the city, in many ways it embodied the political state of the city. The whole process of construction and why it was constantly starting and stopping, who was paying for it, and how it was happening was totally opaque, even to those who were worked for the municipality. However, because the park was abandoned or under construction the entire time I was in fieldwork, I couldn't observe the actual occupation and use of the space. To observe these processes, I will analyze another park that was heavily used but with little overt government involvement.

\textit{Praça da Mangueira}
Continuing along the main tourist street that runs from the center of town to the beaches you run into the Praça da Mangueira (Mango Tree Park), also located directly in front of the house I rented during fieldwork. The Ranch Conchas do Mar deeded the land for the park to the Municipal government as a *contra partida* (along with the land across the street that houses an elementary school) to the Municipality in order to be able to develop the Conchas subdivision. The park has no sidewalks, planters, or walkways but rather bare dirt and a number of trees scattered about, including a large mango tree in the middle of the park that gives it its name. In the middle of the park there is a concrete capoeira circle that's never used and an odd scattering of concrete benches around the mango tree. Despite the lack of infrastructure, the park is heavily used by local vendors because of its location at the end of the main commercial strip in Pituba, providing access to tourists that is not available in other neighborhoods.

Within the park there were multiple groups of vendors, each occupying a specific area. There were craft vendors in uniform, white tents along the back, several mobile food carts that set up in the evening under the mango tree, a spot for motorcycle taxis in the front of the park along the street, a number of vendors that set up along the street at the front of the park in the evening to sell their jewelry, and the Itacaré Longboard Association renting surfboards at the far Northern end. Examining how each of these groups establishes their right to occupy the space, how this is contested, and the conflicts that arise shows how traditional use rights are established in public spaces, a similar process to what I observed along beaches, roads, and others public spaces throughout the city.

The craft vendors occupied the back of the park, in a line of eight identical
white tents donated in 2011 by the Municipality. In exchange, the Municipality tore down their plywood stalls, making the area look more homogenous, organized, and clean. By destroying the more permanent structures, the Municipality limited the vendor's ability to claim the space as permanent occupants. However, individual vendors resisted this impermanence by modifying their tents to make them more permanent by pouring concrete slabs for the ground, adding hard doors and sides to their tents so that they can lock up their wares at night and to be better able to display them during the evening. The vendors have also organized an association to maintain their right to occupy the park. Their association gives them political clout but also provides a way to organize taking care of the area. They collectively buy light bulbs to illuminate the park at night and clean up the area around their stalls. Many are from Passagem or Bairro Novo, poorer neighborhoods without tourist activity and have come here to have access to the tourism market.

Figure 13: Craft Vendor Tents at the Praça da Mangueira

On afternoon I stopped to talk to Marcos, a young painter from Passagem,
who had hired a friend to help him build a concrete platform for his tent. While we were talking, the Municipal Environmental Secretary came by, just to check if it was anyone from outside trying to establish themselves. After he left, Marcos mentioned that another person came by earlier and asked them to stop but they simply ignored him, saying that they were from Itacaré, had a right to be in the park, and weren't doing anything wrong but simply trying to earn a living. The vendors, as Itacaré natives, feel entitled to occupy and use public spaces and reject the criminalization of their activities. Given these constant challenges, outsiders would find it difficult to establish themselves informally in the area and claim public space. Although some investment helps to establish their claim to the space, the vendors don't want to invest too much in the area because of uncertain tenure and a Municipal project that has been floating around for several years that will supposedly remove the current tents to construct a permanent building for the vendors.

On the street side of the park, there are several different activities taking place. The motorcycle taxis occupy a tent near the front of the park and are part of a citywide association that assigns members to multiple parks throughout the city where they sit on benches and wait for business. Next, there is an area along the street used by a group of artisan to sell their handmade jewelry. Most of the artisans are from other areas, and as a result, they haven't established any kind of permanent structures. Despite what seems like an informal gathering, each vendor has their pre-determined space and arguments are not uncommon if newer vendors arrive and try to encroach on someone else's space. Because of this, newcomers must move around, selling on the beaches or in front of abandoned buildings. In
preparation for summer the vendors gathered wood to construct a small terrace so that they would have more space and their area would be flatter. Throughout the park, each group of users slowly modifies their area to better meet their needs. However, like the food carts, the jewelry sellers are mobile and invest little into the park. Their mobility also means that they cannot be accused of illegally occupying public spaces because they will simply move on when confronted.

There is another group of vendors who own businesses on the other side of the street in front of the park but use sections of the park as an extension of their business. The motorcycle taxi point, for example, is surrounded by plants that were planted by the owner of a pousada across the street from that area. Another restaurant has put a trashcan, no littering sign, and a promotional sign for his restaurant in the park across from his establishment. At the far end of the park, there is section that has been cared for by the President of the Itacaré Longboarding Association. He has planted a large number of trees in the park in front of his house including Brazil Wood, Pitanga, Banana, Coconuts, Pandanus, Mango and others. He creates makeshift fences to keep cars from parking on top of the plants, keep out kids traveling to and from the elementary school, and he periodically cleans out the trash. He has been taking care of the area in front of his house for 12 years since he moved to the city and many of the trees are becoming established. Although he lives across the street, his house is located behind another establishment, without a storefront on the main street, so he uses the park to run his business in the summer. There are a number of makeshift wooden benches, a surfboard rack with board rentals, and lights to create a small surf shop where he sells surf lessons, rents boards, and some surf accessories. He is
constantly arguing with his neighbors who take their dogs to the park to defecate, take sand from the back of the park for construction, or dump construction waste. They counter that he is destroying the park just as much by setting up his business there and that he has no more right to the area than anyone else. He responds that he is beautifying and taking care of the park, which establishes his right to be there. He is actively working on getting a letter from the Municipality that gives him rights to occupy and take care of that section of the park but Municipal officials politely listen to and then ignore his requests.

Similar to the occupation of land, people, usually locals, establish their claim to public space through building, planting, and taking care of a certain space for an extended period of time. The Municipal government does little to maintain the park, other than occasionally cutting back some of the larger trees. Most of the landscaping, cleaning, and maintenance is done by residents who live around the area or use the park for their small businesses. Throughout the town, whenever I noticed landscaping in public spaces it was almost always connected with local residents and businesses rather than the Municipal government. The Pituba Resident's Association and park users have also proposed multiple projects to organize and develop the park by building planters, a small area for vendors, and landscaping but the Municipal government lacks the political will and funds to complete the projects.

As urban public spaces, parks are areas where we can see clearly an interaction between the public power (government) and citizens. What is obvious in most of these cases is the almost complete lack of local government action, maintenance, regulation, or enforcement in any of the local parks. In the case of
the Dog Park, at the other end of Pituba, the government has actually asked that
the Itacaré Tourism Institute to take over the maintenance and managements of the
park in conjunction with local residents who are already actively planting and
caring for the park. 64 We can also observe how different groups organize to
operate in the public sphere in the absence of government action. This is
especially relevant for those with commercial interests, who use and take care of
public spaces as extensions of their commerce. The care that they give the parks is
both motivated by a desire to beautify their surroundings but is also a way of
claiming space in traditional tenure systems through use and care over time.
Because parks are Municipal property, local politicians are highly responsive to
organized local associations, generally respecting their traditional claims and are
unlikely to forcefully remove local residents but will negotiate with them to
produce changes. Conflicts, then, are mostly between residents or different
politicians and their differing visions of local development. Similar processes are
at work along the Itacaré beachfronts although the beaches are more central to the
tourist economy and subsequently sites of significant conflict over access to this
space.

The cultural development of beaches in Brazil

Brazilian beaches are important sites for the creation of national identity
(Oliveira 2007). Carvalho writes about the cultural significance of beaches in

64 The Itacaré Tourism Institute is an NGO completely funded by the Gois family with interests to
developing socially responsible tourism in the area. While this kind of financial backing makes it
somewhat suspect, the two women that operate it are well respected in the community. One, a
lawyer from São Paulo is married to an Afro-Brazilian activist who helps run the Porto de Trás
community center. The other is from the region and has lived for 11 years in Itacaré. They sponsor
a number of other NGOs, operate as the Executive Secretary for the Governing Council of the
APA, thus doing much of the communicative work to keep it functioning.
Brazilian society by looking at their representations in literature, music, and poetry. Carvalho describes the urban beaches of Rio de Janeiro as cosmopolitan sites for relaxation, renewal, and social experimentation. He discusses how the idea of the beach as a democratic space, like the idea of a racial democracy, is not a mere myth but rather an ethos; a value that shapes how people understand society (Carvalho 2007). Beaches' position as liminal spaces in between the ocean and land, nature and culture, mark them as democratic, free, and egalitarian public spaces (Fiske 1983). In Brazil, the beaches are spaces that most closely allow for the myth of racial democracy, where different groups interact across class, racial, age, and gendered differences representing a social ideal, while as the same time recognizing that social divisions still exist (Kallman and Lins e Silva 2007, Godfrey and Arguizoni 2012). However, most scholars concur the beach eventually reinforces established social hierarchies as different social classes, age groups, or cliques congregate in different sections or at different beaches. Nonetheless, when compared to the concrete walls, armed guards, and barbed wire that separate social classes in other parts of the city, the beach is actually quite porous, with significant interaction across social differences (Lopes 1999, Freeman 2002, Carvalho 2007). In this sense, beaches represent a more democratic space in relation to the strict segregation that is increasingly becoming the norm in Brazilian society (Caldeira 2000).

The association of beaches with ideals of leisure, freedom, and sensuality has a specific history that begins in Western Europe and spread through colonization. Corbin unearths this history, explaining how Medieval and Renaissance literary references to the ocean and the beach describe it as evil,
chaotic, and repulsive (Corbin 1994). European colonization and discovery diminished the fear of the ocean and brought images of tropical sensuality from the South Pacific that began to influence ideas about the beach (Lencek and Bosker 1994). In England around the middle of the 18th century the beach became a site for prescribed health ritual of sea bathing and an accompanying seaside resort industry developed (Lofgren 1999). These practices transformed seaside space but also changed bodily practices and experiences at the shore. The sensory and experiential smells, sounds, and feel of the ocean were important parts of these transitions. Changes in scientific theories of creation, the Romantic movement, the Grand Tour, and other cultural changes gradually paved the way for beaches to be perceived as sublime, peaceful, and playful, establishing the foundation for their centrality in modern tourism and leisure by the end of the 19th century.

Brazil followed a similar pattern with most of the historical analysis of beaches in Brazil centering on Rio de Janeiro and the specific history that developed around the beach in the Marvelous City. Brazilian elites took an interest in the ocean when sea bathing became encouraged as a public health measure in the 19th century. Bathers wore long clothing and avoided the sun because the focus was on the salt and not the sun and they wanted to avoid darkening their complexion and being associated with the working class (Iwata and Del Rio 2004). At first bathing was made difficult because of the trash that littered urban beaches (Freyre 1963: 198). Gilberto Freyre, in writing about the urbanization of Brazil describes how,

Until the early years of the nineteenth century, the beach
below the walls of the city residences of Rio de Janeiro, Salvador, and Recife was a place where one could not walk, let alone bathe. Here garbage was dumped; here the huge barrels of excrement, litter, and the refuse of houses and streets were brought and emptied; here dead animals and Negroes were thrown. Sea bathing is a recent habit of gentry or bourgeoisie in Brazil, who, in colonial days and the early years of independence, preferred to bathe in the river. 'Beach' in these days was synonymous with filth (Freyre 1963[1937]: 146).

The notion of the beach as dirty comes not only from their use for trash dumping and defecating, but also from their association with lower classes and occupations like transportation and fishing. The development of the beach as important public space in Brazil has a specific cultural history that has shaped how the space is used and occupied.

In Rio specifically, the development of the beach was also linked with specific public works projects, cultural transformations, and urban development initiatives. In the early 20th century, the state opened up tunnels through the mountains from the city center to the Southern Atlantic beaches and trolley lines that made these neighborhoods develop as the new area for urban elite, re-centering the city around the Atlantic Beaches (Godfrey and Arguizoni 2012). The development of beachfront apartments, hotels, and walkways in Rio and accompanying natural activities like surfing and rock climbing made possible by the readily accessible mountains and ocean developed new ways of seeing and
interacting with nature that accompanied new kind of urban development (Dias 2008). Because of Rio's position as a cultural center for Brazil and the national capital, these initiatives then expanded throughout the country.

Dias traces the urban development of Rio as it expanded towards the Atlantic beaches and connects it to the musical, artistic, and literary counter culture that developed in Brazil in the fifties and sixties. The beaches became a “stage for non-conformist demonstrations” and counter-cultural revolutions, including the use of bikinis in Copacabana in the 1950s (Dias 2008: 98). For example, tropicalismo celebrated rather than denied stereotypes of Brazil's tropical nature: the heat, humidity, and social and moral undress that resulted. The Bossa Nova hit “Girl from Ipanema” by Antonio Carlos Jobim and Vinicios de Moraes typifies this new beach scene and its international popularity that placed it at the center of foreign imaginaries about Brazil (Iwata and Del Rio 2004).

Olha que coisa mais linda
Look what a most beautiful thing
Mais cheia de graça. É ela menina
So full of grace. It is her, the girl
Que vem e que passa
That comes and goes by
Num doce balanço a caminho do mar
In a sweet cadence, on her way to the sea

Moça do corpo dourado
Girl with a golden body
Do sol de Ipanema, o seu balançado
by the Ipanema sun, your cadence
Ê mais que um poema
Is more than a poem
Ê a coisa mais linda que eu já vi passar
It's the most beautiful thing I've ever seen go by
Ah, por que estou tão sozinho
Ah, why am I so lonely?

Ah, por que tudo é tão triste?
Ah, why everything is so sad?

Ah, a beleza que existe
Ah, the beauty that is out there!

A beleza que não é só minha
The beauty that is not just mine

Que também passa sozinha
that also goes by alone

Ah, se ela soubesse
Ah, if she only knew

Que quando ela passa o mundo sorrindo
That when she passes, the whole world

Se enche de graça e fica mais lindo
Gets filled with grace and becomes more beautiful

Por causa do amor
Because of love

(lyrics and translation from wikipedia.org)

Within these lyrics, the ocean, sun, youth, beauty, and Ipanema beach become the focus of a tropical, Brazilian identity centered on Rio de Janeiro. Beaches became important sites for remaking tropical space and embodiment through new physical practices and urban developments. Beach, and beach culture in Brazil produce specific kinds of beach bodies, usually sun darkened women in skimpy bikinis and then these bodies produce the culturally marked space of the beach, a place that reinforces gender, class, and racial norms (Goldenberg 2002, see also Adelman and Ruggi 2008). “Skimpy bikinis, semi-nude people, oiled bodies, posing, physical exercise and eroticism are essential elements of the life in the beach in Brazil.” (Knijnik et al 2010: 1173). These bodies, sometimes male but mostly female, then becomes emblematic of an erotic, sexually available, physically
attractive symbol of Brazilian national body as beaches come to represent the
nation. Bodies and places, habitats and habitus co-construct each other through
conge c concrete practices of moving through, shaping, and perceiving space.

However, although Rio de Janeiro played a significant role in establishing
the centrality of beach culture in Brazil, the history of Rio is not the history of
Brazil. Unlike the urban beaches of Rio de Janeiro, beaches in traditional fishing
villages were not initially idealized as free, uninhibited, liminal space occupied by
semi-naked women but rather were similar to DaMatta's conceptualization of the
street; a public, dangerous, and male social space where fishermen hang out but
women were notably absent (Kottak 1983, Robben 1989). With the arrival of
outsiders and a tourism economy, beaches in small fishing towns transform from
being strictly sites of work to becoming sites of leisure, changing the relationship
between work and play and between genders. As Northeastern Brazil is being re-
imagined as a part of a tourist economy (and not an agricultural or industrial one),
there is a renewed emphasis on the undeveloped beaches and tropical nature found
outside the more urban Southeast. The beaches of the Northeast come to signify
Brazilian tropical sensuality, playfulness, and paradise for European and Southern
Brazilian tourist consumers.

Tourism is significant to understanding the role of the beaches as public
spaces in Brazilian society because the spatial, temporal, and cultural organization
of tourism in Brazil is heavily focused around the beach. Most tourists in Brazil
are Brazilian, and most Brazilians that can afford it go to the beach for their
holidays from Christmas until Carnival. This is the middle of summer but also
coincides with the New Year's Eve Celebration when much of the country flocks
to the beaches to make offering to Iemanjá. In this case, summer weather, religious pilgrimages, and school holidays all come together to strengthen people's identification with the beach as a nationally significant public space.

**Occupation, use, and ownership of beaches in Itacaré**

Most of the tourism to Itacaré is based around the beaches. The beaches in the region are unique because most of them are surrounded by rocky headlands that are covered with the Atlantic Rainforest, a rare site anywhere in Brazil. This combination of rainforest and beach creates a unique visual effect that accounts for much of Itacaré’s scenic appeal. Another important aspect of the beaches in Itacaré is the surf. The continental shelf near Itacaré is a mere seven kilometers away, one of its narrowest points along the Brazilian coastline. This means that the swells produced by the south Atlantic storm season arrive with more force to the beaches along Itacaré. The rocky headlands also work to focus the swell to produce better quality waves for surfing.

Unlike many places in the world, all Brazilian beaches are property of the Federal Government from the ocean up until thirty-three meters from the mean high tide mark of 1831. The fact that beaches cannot be privately owned is significant for how beaches have developed as important public spaces. The Federal Government can grant use rights to people to build, use, and occupy the area with the understanding that this can be revoked at any time and is conditional. Historically use rights were managed by the Municipalities, allowing for local mayors to distribute beachfront use rights as political favors although gradually this role has shifted back to the Federal Government, controlled by the
Secretaria da Patrimônio do União, or SPU. The presence and absence of federal control opens up certain possibilities for beach use while restricting others. Although this could play out in a number of ways, in Itacaré federal ownership in connection with local activism has encouraged the democratization of the beach, limiting the power of large landowners in controlling use and access of the beaches and creating space for smaller businesses to establish themselves, providing important access to tourist markets. However, because the space is ultimately federal property, this access is always contingent and threatened.

In September 2010, the SPU called a meeting in Itacaré and announced that everyone occupying federal land along the beachfront would be removed after the next summer, in March 2011. Similar removals had already happened in and around Salvador and there was a lot of speculation as to when and how this might happen. Within that zone were not just small shacks for selling food but homes, restaurants, bed and breakfast establishments, hotels, surf shops, and a variety of other businesses. However, nothing happened until over a year later in April of 2012, when a surveyor from the SPU arrived unannounced and surveyed all of the beaches in Itacaré with a GPS and a notebook to determine which structures needed to be removed. According to the surveyor, all of the building on the sand itself would have to be removed while the building within the thirty-three meters but not built on the sand, would be registered and pay a use tax, a new interpretation from the previous meeting. He projected that all of this would be done by the beginning of the World Cup in June of 2014, although as of the writing of this chapter in July of 2014, no concerted federal effort to remove

---

65 Translated as the Secretary of Federal Property.
structures from the sand is in progress. Federal activity is often in sync with these kinds of public events in which Brazil is placed in the global public eye. Two large-scale municipal projects to regulate and remodel beach vendor shacks in Rio de Janeiro coincided with the 1992 UN Earth Summit in Rio and the 2007 Pan-American games (Godfrey and Arguizoni 2012). These events serve as impetus to crack down on unregulated vendors who are perceived as poorly representing Brazil as a developing nation. Furthermore, as people talked about SPU's attempt to remove vendors, they often explicitly compared Brazilian beaches with European and American beaches, that don't have the small-scale vendors established on the beaches. The federal attempt to remove the vendors was seen as an attempt to create an aesthetic in line with foreign beaches.

The overshadowing federal policy change also influences what kinds of developments happen along this area with few large investors willing to invest in bigger projects until they see how things will play out. When the municipal sewage system was built in 2010 the government was originally planning on including all of these beaches onto the grid because many of their septic systems are quite close to the ocean and streams. At the last minute this decision was changed to only include the Cabanas on Concha Beach but none of the further away beaches. Some say this was done because there was a doubt as to how long the developments on the beaches would be allowed to remain there because of the enforcement of these federal laws. Ironically, the Cabanas on Concha are built on the sand, and are the only ones threatened with removal by the SPU under the most recent reinterpretation of the law. Some beach occupiers along the Atlantic beaches suspect that their exclusion from the sewage system has more to do with
the ongoing land conflict with the Ranch Conchas do Mar, whose owners do not want to further legitimate the businesses’ presence by providing sewage treatment.

Conflicts over the beaches as public spaces illustrate social division, tensions, and alliances between different groups in Itacaré as well as larger tensions within Brazilian society. One of the first conflicts over the beaches was over camping. The Itacaré Surf Association, in collaboration with the Municipal Government, worked to prohibit all camping on the beach. In this case they wanted tourists to pay money into the local economy instead of staying for free. There was also concern about the impact of pollution and sewage from the campers. Similarly, city ordinances prohibit tour buses from entering the town in the packed summer months and bringing their loads of mostly lower class people to visit Itacaré's beaches as a day trip. Like other public spaces, beaches are controlled by residents and the stronger claim one has to place the more rights you have on the beach. They are democratic by providing space to local residents that are marginalized, but they often exclude outsiders, especially poorer ones.

Many residents prefer to have higher-class tourists who will stay in the town, eat at local restaurants, and contribute to the local economy. Although both of these ordinances are explicitly classist and prohibit poorer tourists, they are seen as necessary for limiting the environmental impact on the city's limited resources and are supported by a broad section of the local population who want high-end tourism. However, Wunder describes how poorer tourists in Ilha Grande in Southeastern Brazil actually benefits poorer local residents because they require less infrastructure and amenities than richer tourists (Wunder 2003). This is corroborated by the fact that the most expensive resorts in the region are all
located entirely outside of the town of Itacaré, sitting on remote Southern beaches with heavily regulated access. So, in fact, it may be in the local resident’s best interest to rethink this preference for more affluent visitors.

The rest of the chapter is organized geographically as three different groups of beaches and the conflicts over use and occupation of these spaces. First I examine Pontal and Coroinha, two less developed beaches used primarily by locals from Itacaré's working-class neighborhoods. Next, I describe Concha and four Atlantic beaches, all of which are surrounded by the Conchas do Mar Ranch and have developed within that context. Finally, I describe and analyze the rural Southern beaches, which are mostly owned by large landowners or large resorts, examining conflicts around access. Through examining the beaches in Itacaré we can see how tourism reorganizes social space, the continued influence of local politics in the distribution of public spaces, and conflicts between social groups around these spaces.

Figure 14: Urban Beaches of Itacaré (Satellite imagery from Google maps)
Pontal and Coroinha: the local's beaches

Pontal is the long beach to the north of the Contas River and is considered the local's beach. Before the bridge north across the Contas River was built in 2010, a small ferry would take cars across to a dirt road on the opposite side where they could continue the journey north. Because locals without cars could ride the ferry for free they would all climb on board on Sundays and spend the day at Pontal. This could be in part because of its proximity to the older neighborhoods near the river or simply their desire to have their own private space away from the tourists for a day. Although Pontal is still primarily used by locals who own boats, their numbers have diminished now that the ferry service is no longer operating. This illustrates how different groups congregate at different beaches.

Across the river from Pontal is Coroinha. Coroinha, often simply called the orla or shore, is where the church and surrounding townhouses line the sheltered bank just inside the river mouth. It is the most urban of all the beaches and used to not really have a beach at all. Older residents describe how the water was several meters deep right up next to the break wall and large ships that came to haul cacao would anchor close offshore. The break wall was built around the same time as São Miguel Park, at a time when nature and culture were being physically separated. Later a broad avenue was built on top of the break wall with planters down the middle and a sidewalk and railing on top of the wall. This created a sharp division between land and water with no in between space. This separated the houses from the river that used to fill in the backyards, creating a sharp
division between nature and the city.

After several dams were built upstream (which reduces large flow events that wash out sedimentation), sand gradually began to gather at Coroinha and a beach formed, with shallow water extending out for a hundred meters or so (Campos 2002). The only reminder of the area's previous vocation as a port is the rusted boiler of the steam ship Humaitá that sank after running into the break wall, now half buried in the sand. The beach is mainly used in the late afternoons and weekends by local kids and has several volleyball nets and soccer goals scattered along its length. The fishermen also wade through its waters to their small boats moored farther offshore but there are almost no tourists except an occasional couple laying out or someone jogging along the beach.

Because Coroinha is sheltered from the eastern and southern winds and protected from the winter waves it is often the calmest for bathing. Despite this it is the only beach that hardly ever has anyone swimming, probably due to the small river on the eastern end and several storm drains that discharge sewage at several points along the beach. The river runs down from Bairro Novo where many houses put wastewater directly into the stream. Many say that the water quality and sewage has improved immensely in the last few years since EMBASA built a sewage treatment plant for the city in late 2010. The sewage grid runs throughout the city, including Bairro Novo but individuals must connect themselves so only a relatively small percentage of the city is actually connected. The unconnected residents rely on septic tanks or run their untreated sewage directly into the nearest watercourse. Tracking sewage through the natural waterways and the unmapped storm water drainage system has been challenging.
for the municipal environmental agents and there has been little effort to control this outflow. As a result, the main urban beach is hardly used, diminishing the potential and value of historic downtown real estate and the development of the area for tourism. However, as we will see later, sewage is a problem at all of the urban beaches but none are shunned as completely by tourists and outsiders as Coroinha, indicating how social concerns overlap with ecological ones.

Despite the problems with sewage, there are some signs that the historic downtown is undergoing some renovation. The rebuilding of the Praça São Miguel, the restoration of several neo-colonial mansions along the historic waterfront, and some new homes and restaurants built along the end of the beach all point towards a renewed interest in the area and an increased number of attractions to draw tourists to the area. It is also the site for most of the large shows and celebrations including New Years, Carnival, São Miguel's Day, and the city's birthday. Those invested in the area point to the ocean views and historic buildings and note that this area should be the tourist center of the town. Furthermore, the municipality has been talking about redeveloping the waterfront and creating an extended beachfront park from the Coroinha to Concha that could revitalize this area. However, this redevelopment could potentially displace a large number of vendors.

The main commercial activity on Coroinha are a number of kiosks that line the median of the street, shaded by the large Indian Almond trees that run in between the two lanes. The kiosks, simple concrete rectangles with square roofs, were built by the Municipality in the early 1980's and then given to the people who lived behind them so they would have a small commercial spot. At this time
the street was paved with cobblestones, trees planted along the median, and
planters placed along one lane nearer the houses. More kiosks were built in the
early 1990's in order to expand the number of kiosks available. The pattern of
Mayors distributing use rights to public spaces in order to increase their support is
common. Somewhat differently from the subdivision of neighborhoods, residents
are explicitly granted use rights because the space is clearly public.

Along the road that runs parallel to Coroinha there are also some semi-
permanent food trucks and carts that have been set up as well. Both directions of
traffic occupy the lane on the river side while the lane on the town side that was
full of planters is used for parking or has been claimed by different kiosks and
restaurants who have set up tents, plastic tables and chairs, built planters, poured
concrete pads and generally used the space to expand their businesses. This is a
fairly typical practice in Brazil where businesses will expand into surrounding
public spaces of parks and streets. Each of the restaurants or small vendors takes
care of the space immediately surrounding their business, landscaping, cleaning
up, and trying to control traffic. Like other forms of occupation; use, care, and
maintenance help to establish ownership and use rights to a space even when the
space itself is clearly public. Most people recognize that, although they own the
buildings and the improvements they have made, the land belongs to the
municipality and is subject to the changing land use decisions of the city. Despite
this, the kiosks are still bought, sold, and rented like any other property.

I conducted a survey of the kiosks and found that there are twenty-two
kiosks with most of them in use. There used to be more but several were bought
by the homeowners behind them in order to either tear them down to improve

293
their view or simply keep them boarded up to pre-emptively avoid a small bar opening in front of their house or occupation by another vendor. Several of these have been recently remodeled to match the house behind them so they obviously look like an extension of the house. About a third of the kiosks are operated by their owners, while the majority of the kiosks are rented out. Roughly half of these have been open for less than a year, indicating a high turn over rate among people renting and the challenge of making a profit. Only one kiosk has been operated continuously for eighteen years by the same owner, while another has been operated intermittently over the last twenty-two years by the original owners. Almost all of the people running businesses are from Itacaré or the surrounding area, probably because of the lower start up costs of opening one of the kiosks. A handful of the kiosks have been bought by outsiders but only two of these are open.

The disproportionate ownership of these small kiosks by families from Itacaré or the surrounding region is related to the original distribution of the area by the municipality as well as the visitors who frequents the area, who are generally natives from Itacaré and regional visitors. There are very few foreigners or tourists from Southern Brazil that visit the area, especially in the evening and many think that it's dangerous. The local and regional users are teenagers or young adults and come mainly in the late afternoon and night and on the weekends. They blast arrocha music from their parked cars with the trunks open, often resulting in complaints from surrounding residents. This is a different crowd from the alternative, backpackers, or foreign tourists that occupy other beaches. Several resident Paulistas have told me, horrified, how their children have learned
the scandalous *arrocha* music and dances from their peers at school. The different visual and soundscape that dominate Coroinha separate it from the spaces organized around tourism as well as along regional, racial, and class based divisions.

Pontal and Coroinha illustrate how different social groups occupy different beaches. Given these differences in occupation, any potential redevelopment could possibly displace not only the vendors but also the local recreational users. One resident responded to complaints about their use of this space by saying, “It's the beach, where else are we supposed to go and listen to our music and hang out on the weekend.” Although the beaches are characterized as democratic and are ideally open to everyone, different groups of people still separate out, each using the different beaches at different days of the week and different times of day. While tourists are always the biggest group on a given beach and are there most of the day and at almost all of the beaches, they are joined by residents who are there to both play and work. While the beaches are not a complete mixing of different people, they are the most common place for different groups within the city to meet across social, racial, and regional identities. For example, young local men looking to meet female tourists spend a lot of time at the beach.

Locals use the beach principally as a site of work although it is also used as a site of recreation. For example, surf instructors, lifeguards, and sometimes even vendors might stop to play soccer at low tide on a slow day. One local vendor who works on the beach is able to keep an eye on his twelve year old son who is often surfing nearby when he is not helping out. A clear distinction between the beach as an area of work and play is nearly impossible. Even those
that are working for an employer and not able to take breaks or hang out, still enjoy that their work is at the beach, a place that is considered desirable. This ambiguity between work and play on the beach is one of the many ways that the beach is a liminal space that bridges different categories of nature and culture, land and sea.

Tourism development on Itacaré's urban beaches and Conchas do Mar Ranch

The rest of the urban beaches of Itacaré were all once part of the Conchas do Mar Ranch and the history of their development is connected with the associated land struggles. The Ranch initially fought the occupation and a few of the oldest occupants have memories of the beach shacks on Concha, Resende, Costa, and Tiririca being burned down and dismantled. Near the entrance to Resende Beach is the foundation of a house that was burned by Ranch employees at night, almost killing the sleeping residents in order to clear the posseiros and others who had claims to the land. Like most areas around Itacaré, the current “natural” state of the beaches belies the violence through which old residents were removed in order to sell the land to developers.

One of the longest running conflicts with the Ranch is around a ten hectare piece of land that surrounds Costa Beach, the smallest and least developed of the Atlantic beaches. Most of the land surrounding the beach belongs to Rui and Juliana’s Eco-camping, developed in 2004 as tourism increased. The campsite is built into a hillside with a number of terraced campsites, a bathroom, kitchen, place to wash clothes, and a dining area. All of the structures are built back from
the ocean and are outside of the federal area. The owners bought ten hectares of coconut groves in 1964 as a vacation home and would come during long weekends or the summer. They claimed that the previous owner, who sold them the land, had lived there for his whole life and was almost a hundred, giving them legal title to the land as well as beachfront use rights granted from the Federal Government.

Despite all of this, they have been in almost continuous conflict with the Conchas do Mar Ranch since the 1980s. During an interview, they described Gois, the Ranch owner, as a terrorist and grilheiro who took people's land by force through mobs, fires, and terrorism. In their case, these kinds of practices continued as recently as 2009 when hooded men came and started cutting down their fences with chainsaws. More recently they described how the Ranch's tactics have changed a little, in part because Juleval Gois's son-in-law has taken over and has a slightly different approach to these situations. The change could also be due to a slowly changing legal culture that is beginning to hold people more responsible. With better communication networks it is easier and quicker for people to get help as well. In the days before electricity, reliable transportation, and telephones, people were much more isolated and larger landowners could operate with impunity. Much of the conflict continued because they claimed such a large piece of land within the Conchas do Mar that included significant area far from the beach. In cases of land conflicts along the beach, locals were able to assert their rights to beachfront space because of its unique status as federal property and thus public space.

For example, at Concha beach in the late 1980s, FUNDESC, the same
early activist organization that helped establish Pituba, invaded the beachfront in order to take advantage of the location for entering the tourist market and provide space for locals to sell food and handicrafts to tourists at the beach. Despite some initial intimidation by the landowners, in 1989 the occupiers worked with the Municipal government and the Federal Marines in Ilhéus to get use rights to develop and occupy the coastline. Agnaldo, an early activist in the battles for Pituba and Concha, left a job in a bank and moved to Itacaré from a nearby town and quickly became involved in the local land struggles. He now lives in a rural area outside of the town and recounted the story of the original fight to get access to Concha Beach.

Well, concluding the story of Concha, after a lot of struggles we came out ahead. Concha Beach itself, those beach restaurants had to occupy that space...because there's a Brazilian law that says that thirty meters from the high tide, above where the water hits the beach, these thirty meters belong to the Marine Corps. In all of this struggle, we had access to the document where we discovered that Juleval Gois, he had land title given him by Antonio Carlos Magalhaes, without recognizing the posseiros that were there more than fifty, a hundred years in the area. However, there was a detail, the federal beach area. He hadn't legalized it. He had a false title, but the

---

66 Magalhes was the governor of Bahia at the time and the last of an old guard of politicians heavily involved in traditional patronage politics. He was also responsible for much of the tourism development during the nineties.
beach area still belonged to the Marine Corps. So what did we do? … So there was this Mr. Pedro, I still remember the dude's name. He … worked with the Secretary of National Patrimony (SPU), which is the federal agency that grants permission to build on the beach. He gave us these documents. He had power to do this. Any citizen before the law, requesting this area from the Marine Corps, can get it. The Conchas Ranch hadn't made the request so we entered in the space. That's how we got all of the restaurants on the beach. It was all jungle but that's what happened. He subdivided the other side after the Pousada Piratas but the beach remained with the posseiros. Tiririca was the same. Resende already has some shacks. Some remained on Ribeira. So that’s how we took this area of the Marines from Juleval Gois. (Agnaldo, interview, July 17, 2012)

Through their relationship with local officials, the occupiers were able to effectively claim the beach and distribute it in thirty meter long parcels to the local residents who were already selling food and drinks out of coolers on the beaches. Since their original distribution, despite federal ownership, parcels on Concha and other beaches are essentially treated like any other kinds of private property and the owners rent or lease them out, sell them, or even subdivide. Rights to the space are also claimed and developed through business licenses, construction permits, and other legal documents that show local legal approval of one's occupancy over
time.

There are now fifteen cabanas that provide significant business opportunities for the residents who have retained their use rights. Although there is only one Cabana that is still owned and operated (for over twenty-three years) by the original occupant, a number of others are still owned by the original owners but rented out. Several are closed, even in the high season, and another five have been open for less than a year, indicating a fairly high rate of turn-over and lack of stability for these small restaurants. However, in contrast, another five have been open for longer than fifteen years. Not surprisingly, all of these are operated by the owners because they can make a profit with a lower rate of return because they don’t have to pay rent. This is similar to what I observed with the kiosks along Coroinha. Because use rights at a prime location were politically given to residents both of these remain important areas where local residents can successfully insert themselves into the tourist economy. Although the parcels are not public space, it is their status as ultimately government owned (despite use and possession by private citizens) that has allowed it to be a site for residents to remain.

On Tiririca and Ribeira beaches, the only beaches with freshwater streams, there were already existing land claims that were also able to remain there after initial intimidation, similarly based on federal ownership of the area.\(^67\) For example, the first structure on Tiririca was a summerhouse built by a family from

---

\(^67\) The Ribeira stream has a dam upstream created in the 1960s provides most of the freshwater for Itacaré. To build the dam, the town participated in a public work project during which everyone donated their labor with the understanding that they would not have to pay for the water piped into town. Then about a decade later the state water company, EMBASA stepped in and decided the water needed to be treated and created a treatment plant and began to charge people for fresh water.
the surrounding cacao region probably built around forty or fifty years ago that is now a surf school. Another property nearby that is currently a restaurant was an occupation that turned into a legal land title through the owner's friendship with the Mayor Jose Alves in the 1980's. Beyond these few early claims, most of the land was granted by Mayor Hudson in the 1990s to outsiders so they could begin to develop tourist businesses. For example, Mayor Hudson gave the land for the Pousada Hanalei to Julio, one of the first surfers from Salvador and first lifeguard in the city for his work. Around the same time, Hudson gave another adjacent plot to Paulo, a journalist from a nearby city in exchange for an article he wrote to publicize tourism in the city. In Ribeira Beach, this process began about a decade earlier. The first restaurant there opened thirty-seven years ago and has been open continuously over several generations. It was a small wooden and palm frond shack bought from a fisherman. The owner came from a nearby city in the interior. She raised her nine children in the area and several of them own sweet shops, stands, and restaurants throughout the city. The Cabana they use now was built by the Mayor Dr. Jose in 1984. Gradually over time as fishermen and posseiros sold and subdivided their land to others who built restaurants, pousadas and other developments until both Tiririca and Ribeira became quite densely developed.

Because the beachfront was federal land and the Municipal government was clearly within its power to distribute use rights, there was significantly less conflict than other neighborhoods. It also illustrates how close relationships with local politicians can support local people in the fight against outside developers and provide access to key public spaces for private development. Julio, a surfer
from Salvador who moved to Itacaré in the eighties and the owner of a pousada on Tiririca describes how they received the right to occupy the land from the Mayor and used that to avoid conflict with the Conchas Ranch.

Conchas do Mar says they are the owners of all of Itacaré so they have tried to get rid of us. I had problems with them in Pituba and here on Tiririca. They tried to stop me from building, saying they were the owners of this area. But I told them, “Well, you guys have to go and talk with the Mayor. I didn't invade here, it was the Mayor that gave me his land. You have to go and work things out with the Municipality.” But truthfully, these areas are for public use (i.e. federal land). They didn't bother me any more; in Pituba, yeah, in the beginning. They think they own everything. (Julio, interview, June, 2012)

By reframing the conflict as between the Municipal Government and Conchas do Mar, the first occupiers along the beach were able to avoid a direct conflict with Conchas do Mar. Although large developers clearly influence local politicians, they must also negotiate with the Municipality to successfully develop their land. Because the distribution of land titles or use rights to public land is one of the ways that governments build popular support, local governments are willing to advocate for local residents.

However, the residents resisted Conchas do Mar’s claims in other ways as well. In the mid 1990s, Conchas do Mar Ranch proposed a subdivision and tourist development for Resende that would close beach access for local residents and
urbanize the area leading up to the beach. In response, the Black Dolphins Ecological Group and other groups in town began to organize against the project. They contacted the Federal Environmental Agency (IBAMA) to make sure that the developers had obtained the necessary environmental permits and organized marches, demonstrations, and worked with the State Environmental Ministry and the National Public Ministry to stop these developments (Couto 2007). Their activism was successful and the Public Ministry effectively prohibited the development of the area, in part through the ecological zoning being created as part of the Itacaré/Serra Grande Environmental Protected Area. The area was designated as a Zone for Visual Protection that had to be developed in a way that maintained the visual aesthetic essential for tourism development. In this way it was not just the fact that the beach was federal land, as much of the development was slated inland from the thirty-three meters, but that the surrounding aesthetic of undeveloped beach was a significant resource for the whole town, which allowed locals to resist the development of the beachfront.

Of all the urban beaches in Itacaré, Resende is the only one with no construction on the beach itself. This is a source of pride and one resident told me, “When they build a bathroom at Resende, I'll know it's time to move” (Marcelo, interview November 1, 2011). Unlike the other beaches, Resende is reached by a 100 meter long trail from the road through coconut groves and a grassy lawn. Because it is less developed, it is the favorite beach of foreign tourists and expats and Brazilians from Southern Brazil who live in Itacaré. Couto writes, perhaps prematurely, that, “until this day, Resende Beach is maintained as a bulwark of resistance against unorganized development and a kind of tourism that the
majority of the population doesn't want for the locale” (Couto 2007: 226). For this reason, the beach is the site of capoeira classes every afternoon that include locals as well as tourists and foreigners living in the city. It is significant that the beach, as a liminal space, provides the best meeting ground for capoeristas from diverse backgrounds.

These examples illustrate how the beach, as public space, became a significant site for resistance to large developers and to include locals in the tourist economy. It is both the legal status of the beach, as well as its visual and symbolic importance for the town more generally that makes this resistance possible. As we examine the daily conflicts and struggles between different groups, conflicts over beach access, and the development of large resorts, we will see the continuing importance the beach as a crucial site for understanding the tensions and negotiations between different groups involved in the production of place in Itacaré.

Resende and SVEA, the possibility of better big business

In the early 2000s, a Swedish company, SVEA, bought the entire headland between Concha and Tiririca, which includes the entire area of Resende, from the Ranch and has been working on a development there for the last several years. This was the piece that Conchas do Mar Ranch had unsuccessfully tried to develop previously. SVEA plans to build twenty-four high-end vacation homes, a small luxury resort, and a restaurant on the bluff between Resende and Tiririca. Unlike previous developments in the area, this one has almost full community support. The company came in and worked with the community from the
beginning in order to create this supportive atmosphere. This different approach is often credited with the fact that they are a European Company with a different culture and mindset. For example, their buildings are described as being ecologically sensitive and hidden in the forest, invisible from the road or the beach. The beach area itself will not have any buildings and remain open to public access. Unlike other high-end resorts that have all been built on beaches to the south and are largely isolated from the city itself, SVEA is building their resort in the city so that the tourists can interact with the urban community. Immediately after buying the land, SVEA worked with the Itacaré Tourism Institute to find a community project in order to provide a contrapartida to their development.\textsuperscript{68} Through this partnership, SVEA built a large community center in Porto de Trás. This contrapartida, especially since it was finished well before their development project had even begun, gained strong community support. Another positive example of SVEA's interactions with the community is the way that SVEA has dealt with posseiros on the land.

Several posseiros in this area had been in conflict with the Ranch for years before Conchas do Mar sold the land to SVEA. Through intimidation and legal battles, the majority of the posseiros were removed before SVEA bought the land. One posseiro, Pedro, one of the first local surfers in the area, held on through a number of different court hearings. At the first hearing in Itacaré he won and was given title of posse. The Ranch appealed the case and it went to a higher court in Salvador, at which neither Pedro nor his lawyer could be present. As a result he

\textsuperscript{68}Contrapartida are unrelated side projects to benefit local communities that developers to gain community support for their projects. Most government or private developers are expected to provide contrapartidas as part of the development process.
describes having to get the results of the decision by reading the court proceedings. He was given freedom from prosecution but lost his rights to the land. He appealed the decision, but the case was not resolved. When SVEA bought the land, they gave Pedro R$ 50,000 and a 2.5 hectare piece of land to the south of the city near Jeribucassu with full legal title. In addition, they hired him as a caretaker to maintain the fences and trails, and make sure no one invaded, a job he has had for seven years. He felt that he was fairly dealt compensated for his land and supported SVEA's development efforts.

There is also a land claim from Jefferson, who claims to have bought a parcel from Caetano, a worker for the previous owner. Although Jefferson has a bill of sale documenting this transfer, Caetano did not have any legal document for the land and has since passed away. Because of the widespread community support for SVEA there is general criticism of Jefferson, claiming that he never built anything there and is just making up his claim. Many people criticize him for suing SVEA instead of Conchas do Mar. They say that Jefferson's case complicates things for SVEA because the “gringos” are trying to do everything legally, but do not have any political connections and do not know how to make the justice system work for them. Because Jefferson is not originally from Itacaré and bought the land as an investment rather than living or working on it, his claim is considered less valid than those who are from Itacaré and have lived and worked on the land they claim.

Another use of Resende, because it is the only beach without any built structures, are concerts which are put on there periodically by the Itacaré Surf Association (ASI) as fundraisers for different projects. Pedro also had to work to
get them to stop holding the concerts on the beach, which extended well past the thirty-three meters of Federal land and onto SVEAs land. In exchange for their cooperation, SVEA works with ASI to sponsor surf contests, giving ASI the land where their clubhouse already occupied at Tiririca. Many of the concerts are now held at Tiririca instead. These examples illustrate the multiple ways the company has tried to negotiate with local users while clearly establishing its right to the space.

Part of Pedro's job of maintaining the land has put him in conflict with small vendors on the beach. The only built structure on Resende is a small shack made from upright pieces of coconut trunk crudely nailed together and thatched with coconut fronds run by Roque, a local who lives nearby. On weekends, holidays, and during the summer he is joined by a handful of other vendors who set up makeshift shacks from tarps and metal poles to sell drinks. SVEA asked Pedro to talk to all of the people with small shacks on the beach to get them to move. After two years of working with the other vendors, they dismantled their shacks, which were mainly metal poles and tarps and now they only sell on the beach with coolers or little carts. Roque, on the other hand, has repeatedly refused. His shack had been torn down several times when the land was owned by Conchas do Mar but he continually rebuilds. At one point, he even tried to expand his shack to include a place to cook food instead of just serving cold coconuts and drinks. Lots of residents who liked the lack of development on Resende complained at this point and he eventually made it smaller again. Pedro explained that SVEA was willing to negotiate with Roque and give him a great offer, possibly even employment, but he is was not interested and wanted to remain his
own boss. Pedro criticized Roque for being ignorant, stubborn, radical, and not recognizing that the big company will eventually win out. SVEA is also building a case against Roque. They have sent investigators to the beach several times to see if Roque was working there year round like he claimed or if he was just there in the high season. If he is not permanent, he has less claim to the area and is more likely to lose the space.

Roque lives nearby in Pituba and is a native of Itacaré, son of a fisherman, and surfer. He claims to always be at Resende and says that he practically lives there. He's often there in the early morning clearing brush, cutting down old coconut trees, burning leaf litter, and getting the logs for his shack. Although he admits that he makes most of his money in the summer, he claims to be there constantly, taking care of the beach, and the surrounding area. He described how he regularly cleans the beach, watches out for the sea turtles that come and lay eggs on the beach, and helps out the lifeguards when someone is in trouble. He talks to people who try to bring motorcycles or ATVs onto the beach, helping to protect the environment there. Although he has a sister who lives in Italy, he wants to stay in Itacaré because he loves the beaches. Caring for it, improving it, and continuous occupation all increase one's ability to claim use of and potentially ownership or use rights on a certain piece of land. Pedro and Roque both use the same criteria to judge the legitimacy of Roque’s claim but disagree over whether the claim is legitimate.

The other vendors on the beach have been there between four and nine years. Many began with coolers and then gradually began to build more permanent structures on the beaches. Many would like to build year round
structures but the ongoing conflict with SVEA prohibits this. Every year at the beginning of the summer when they transition from selling from coolers to more permanent tents made from tarps and metal poles, the representatives from SVEA file complaints against their occupation of the beach. During the high season, the Municipality went to inspect the shacks and agreed that they could place impermanent structures on the beach during the high season with the understanding that they would be removed during the low season. The type of construction and seasonality are important because they weaken the case for the vendors to establish any kind of permanently claim to use the land they occupy. At the same time, the Municipal government is unwilling to completely prohibit local vendors and alienate local residents.

Many of the vendors assert their right to occupy the beach as natives and as Brazilians. They argue that the Municipality should not allow gringos to buy the beach and “force the natives to take off, this beach here is ours.” This kind of conversation illustrates what is at stake for local government's response to these conflicts. On one side, local government wants tax dollars from tourist development while alternatively they don't want to offend their local constituency by removing them from the beach. Almost everyone working on the beach has a business license from the Municipal government that proves that they are legal. In most cases, these licenses are for “walking vendors” that walk or push carts throughout the city, ignoring the fact that most of them have established a certain fixed point, usually on the beach or leading to it, to sell their products.

Although many people support SVEA's development initiatives and ways of interacting with the community, there is still some potential displacement of
local beach vendors as SVEA occupies the beachfront. How this plays out once the project is built remains to be seen although it is probable that the small-scale vendors will be removed as SVEA tries to create a beachfront experience that caters to the elite clientele staying in their resort. In most cases, there is no empty space, so that any outside development will displace locals who occupy the area, mostly without compensation because they do not have legal titles to the land. The idea of a pristine, untouched, and natural landscape (or beachscape) is a myth, mostly created through recent displacements.

**Daily practices of use and occupation**

Although SVEA is generally praised as the good kind of development: environmental, socially responsible, and willing to work with local residents, it is still in conflict with the small-scale vendors that sell on the beach. Conflicts also happen between more established pousadas and restaurant on the beach and smaller scale beach vendors, revealing the constant negotiation between different groups of residents over how the beaches should be developed and who should benefit from these developments. Local identity is often articulated by some vendors to claim their rights to space and to exclude new developers like SVEA that don't have as long of a history in Itacaré. But in both cases, locals and outsiders, there are certain daily, ongoing practices that are used to establish legitimacy to control and use beach space.

Even for established restaurant on Concha, there are daily practices that the cabanas along the beach use to claim beach space in front of their establishments and a trained eye can see the invisible lines that run in between the
restaurants and down to the water, leaving little space for outside vendors. For example, each morning restaurant employees clean and rake up the trash, driftwood, and during certain seasons, the masses of Baronessa vines along their beachfront. 69 The invisible lines of beach ownership are made clear as the driftwood and trash present in front of closed restaurants contrasts with the expanse of clean white sand in front of open restaurants. There is some conflict between different cabanas along the border regions and a few have even created signposts to demarcate the line between their respective beach spaces. The most obvious markers between different cabanas' spaces are the different styles of wooden tables, bright yellow and orange plastic table, lounge chairs, and umbrellas that spills out from the open shacks and onto the beach, usually up to the high tide mark. Similarly at Ribeira, the three restaurants that are nearest to the beach have divided the beach into three uneven sections with each restaurant claiming an area more or less in front of their establishment.

69 Baronessa is a floating plant that thrives in the still waters created by upstream dams. When water is released large mats of Baronessa float downstream and are deposited on the beaches.
At both beaches, because restaurants entirely occupy the beach and on high tide, one must weave their way among the tables to walk along the beach. Locals and tourists who do not want to eat at a restaurant table move along the beach to find an open area of the beach, usually at the south end of both Ribeira and Concha where no restaurants claim the space. This spatial organization of the beach means that each section of sand is, in a very real sense, claimed by the business that occupies it. While most of the cabanas are only open during the day, several open occasionally at night for a beach party. In order to be able to charge admission, they create a makeshift fence of palm fronds and string to cordon off an area of the beach just for their guests. At the very end of the beach Cabana Corais offers music every night. Usually the owners do not bother charging and make money off of consumption of food and drinks, However, for large New Years Eve celebration they set up a tall metal fence enclosing a large section of
the beach for their private party. Thus, restaurants owners use a variety of practices to mark their sections of public space. While everyone would agree that the beach is public, they also recognize the right of the business that cleans, maintains, and occupies the beachfront to utilize the clearly public space in front of it, or at times, actually fence off the beach itself. The current system has worked reasonably well for tourists and business owners because there are numerous services on the beach including restrooms and places to sit and eat. In both cases, the occupation of the beach by restaurants forces a segregation of paying customers (tourists) and non-paying beach goers (mostly locals but some tourists as well).

The largest restaurant on Ribeira was built by a Paulista in 2009 after he arranged a ten year lease for two spaces from two vendors who already occupied the beach with small wooden shacks, and then applied for and got permission from the Municipality to build a large kitchen, bathrooms, and serving area with the dining area being entirely on the beach. Both the negotiation with the previous occupants and with the Municipality was used to establish his right to the space, not any kind of negotiation with the SPU who theoretically owns the land. He described the area as a dump when he arrived which he cleaned, developed, and improved. Although several other cabana owners in the area tried to impede him from getting established, he has made an effort to be on good terms with them. For example, the owner has worked to take care of the area by providing free meals to the lifeguards, paying for a security guard at night, having his workers clean the beach, and taking care of most problems that arise. He claims that he is the only one on the beach who has initiative and leadership, because he is from...
São Paulo where everything is more developed and organized and that because the rest of the cabanas are owned by Baianas, they just do the minimum to get by. Similar to historic architecture, newcomers establish their right to space by caring for public spaces. Even sometimes challenging local's rights to place by citing their lack of care for the environment or historic buildings.

Two other examples illustrate this. Further up the stream at Ribeira there are several more cabanas along the stream near where a small dam turns the stream into a long natural pool for swimming. The last one belongs to a young woman from Minas Gerais. She described the area as full of trash, dirty diapers, and condoms. When she established her restaurant she built wooden benches and tables along the side of the pool, planted hibiscus and gingers, and generally cleaned up and organized the area. In another example, at the North end of Concha is the Ponto do Xareu, a rocky point that marks where the river meets the ocean. The point itself is covered in grass and planted with tropical hibiscus, plumeria, and heliconia. The small trail that leads to the point from the road is covered in gravel and there are interpretive signs developed by the state tourism development company, Bahia Turse, that tell what you are looking at. Before the development of this little park, this end of the beach was the trash dump and the point was where residents went to use the bathroom, with the rocks providing some privacy. Now, with the improvements made, the Point is an important destination where tourists and locals gather every evening to watch the sun set across the river. Because of the consistent crowd of tourists there are also a regular group of walking vendors who show up with crafts, musical performances, and snacks. This is a tourist destination in every sense of the word, it is a location
created around a specific view at a specific time of day. It becomes an experience that a tourist must participate in if they visit Itacaré and is discussed on internet sites, guidebooks, and by word of mouth. Despite its importance as a tourist site for the city, the improvements to the destination were created by the nearest restaurant, which has adopted the point in order to beautify the area around its business and increase its revenue. Both destinations, the Ponto do Xareu and pool at Ribeira are created and maintained by nearby businesses rather than the Municipality showing how public spaces are mostly developed by businesses owners rather than the government. Even when made possible through government intervention, it is local businesses or individuals who are invested in the area who create these space and maintain them.

On Costa, the continued and long-term occupation by Ruy and Juliana’s Eco-camping has excluded others vendors from establishing themselves. The current owners clean, maintain, and have planted the coconut trees and grass on the beach to establishing their presence. Even though there are about half a dozen vendors along the road, none of them have any kind of built structures that might establish some kind of right to the space. They all sell from wheelbarrows, coolers, and pack up daily. Although the majority have been selling along the road between five to ten years, the daily presence of local landowners have limited the vendor's ability to more fully occupy the space through building or planting. On one hand, the owners of the camp sites are in conflict with the Ranch Conchas do Mar, while on the other they are working to exclude smaller vendors from establishing themselves in their land.

This conflict also involves disagreements with Charles, who organizes the
public parking area at the end of the road near Resende. Once the small parking area fills up, Charles begins parking cars on the grass and along the beachfront at Costa, a practice the owners of the Eco-camping resist. The owners of the camping, through their use concession rights from the SPU, feel that they have rights over the entire beach and small grassy strip between the road and beach. After trying to talk unsuccessfully with Charles they are looking into legal recourses. They claim that he charges five or ten Reais per car and is making money off of public areas. He claims that people pay what they feel like, with a wide variation in prices and that he is providing a service by organizing the parking and protecting the cars, a common practice on streets across Brazil, where parking might be unorganized and chaotic except for men sitting on street corners who will charge to watch your car, or even wash it, while you are away. The widespread use and occupation of public space, like streets, beaches, and parks illustrates how people fill in the space where local governments are not acting. In fact, most public spaces are public because government ownership prohibits private ownership but leaves the spaces relatively unregulated. Because the federal, state, or municipal government ultimately own these spaces, the use and occupation is always contingent upon current policies and enforcement.

Although most of the guides are just waiting to take people along the trail to Prainha, Charles is mainly there to regulate parking. A number of the other vendors have also complained about Charles parking cars directly in front of their stands, acting as if he owned the parking lot and as if they had no right to be there. Once a car is parked in front of them, their business for the day declines. Most of them have a vendor's license from the Municipality and feel that that gives them
the right to occupy their space. Although they resent Charles and his occupation and control of this space, no one has been able to directly challenge his control of the area.

There are also several guide associations organized to take people along a coastal trail that leads to Prainha, a beautiful beach three kilometers south of the town. One of these organizations was headed by Charles and the others were established to escape his control. Each organization tried to control the prices, so the individual guides would not undercut each other's prices but with little success. This kind of competition for customers and use of public space shows the confusion that results from the ambiguity over this space and absence of Municipal oversight.

This jockeying over public space is common and especially when people initially arrive at a space. Several vendors complained about a new couple that recently came from Gandu, a city in the interior. They claim that this is their third year in the spot but that is significantly less that the other two vendors in the parking lot who have been there for eight and eighteen years. The rest of the vendors are also from Itacaré, which is important in establishing their right to occupy the space. Another important consideration is how continuously people occupy the space, and those who just come during the peak tourist season are seen as interlopers, who come to city to make a quick profit at the expense of local residents who pay taxes and maintain the area, establishing their right to occupy these spaces. In reaction to these accusations, the newest vendors went to the Municipality to get a business licenses for small vendors, which they easily obtained. While everyone was happy about the increased control and licensing by
the local government to keep outsider vendors from flooding the area in the summer, it seemed the requirement only worked to deter those who were not willing to do the minimal paperwork required.

Most disagreements and challenges occur when someone is initially trying to occupy a space, because the longer the occupation is established, the more permanent it becomes. Beside Municipal licenses, some vendors form their own associations to regulate who can operate in a certain space, exclude outside vendors, and to collectively strengthen their claims to the beach space they occupy and bolster their position in relation to local government, similar to the ubiquitous neighborhood associations in occupied neighborhoods. This is particularly important for the vendors at Tiririca and Resende who mostly do not have restaurants or built shacks to sell from.

This section summarizes some of the ways that different groups continuously claim public space through quotidian practices of care, cleaning, planting, and occupying by building and use as well as the ways they challenge each other’s rights to these places. It illustrates the ways that businesses claim space through care, cleaning, and maintenance and the extent to which this control by businesses can exclude recreational users from areas of the beach. Although this process is relatively straightforward at Concha, other beaches illustrate the extent to which different groups contest each other’s rights to occupy and use these public spaces. In addition, the formation of associations and a variety of vendor, business, or construction permits from the Municipal government also serve to legitimize vendor’s presence. Although there are some exceptions, locals are generally more successful at making these practices work for them. Besides a
handful of long-term residents who were able to get use rights from the Municipality before the explosion of tourism, most outsiders who operate restaurants on the beach are leasing or renting their space from local owners. In some cases, their situation is tenuous and vulnerable, as we will see in this next section.

Local conflicts over sewage and space

The most significant conflict I observed over the occupation of beach space was on Tiririca. At the beginning of 2010, Mateus, a Portuguese man, decided to open a restaurant in order to receive his permanent residence visa to live in Brazil, which required that he invest US$40,000 in Brazil. In order to do this, he leased a local vendor's space on the sand for five years and then built a more permanent wooden cabana and hired several employees. Because the original occupant did not actually own the beach but was there because of his relationship with the Mayor, it is unclear what exactly Mateus was leasing. In many cases people describe renting the building from the original builder but in this case, similar to the Paulista's restaurant on Ribeira, the building was removed so he paid for the traditional right to occupy the space, although there was no official license from the SPU or even a Municipal organization. Although Mateus was successfully able to get a business permit to operate the first year, he was denied this permit in subsequent years because many people resented his construction on the beach itself. However, he continued to operate without a permit for some time, which is a fairly standard practice. Unlike the others who take down their tents during the low season, he was required to have employees
and operate year round, even at a loss, in order to fulfill the requirements for his visa. His structure is the most commonly cited reason given by residents to explain why the Public Ministry should remove all commerce from the beach. Despite everyone complaining about it, most people were on good terms with the operator.

Besides Mateus, there were six vendors that set up plastic tables, chairs, and umbrellas on Tiririca but these other vendors typically removed them when they shut down in the evening. They had originally agreed to each limit themselves to 10 umbrellas and tables surrounded by chairs but each gradually increased the number throughout the season. Besides Mateus, all of the shacks were owned by locals and while they admitted that they do not own the land they occupy, they feel they have a right to be there, either from some kind of permission, usually informal, granted by the Municipality or by their continued use of the area. Vendors claim to have improved the beach by providing food, shade, and a place to sit. As a result Ribeira, Concha, and Tiririca, with the most development and vendors are generally more crowded than Costa or Ribeira that have fewer amenities. The vendors claim that fewer people came to the beach before they began to provide these services. The vendors have occupied the beach between fifteen years and less than a year. The oldest vendor still sells out of cooler, in part, to avoid any legal problems. Besides Mateus, most of the vendors are from Itacaré and the surrounding region and many are evangelicals who support the current Mayor.

Many of the pousada owners and others who use the beach are opposed to the gradual increase in the number of smaller vendors and the tables and chairs on
the beach and have organized an effort to have them removed. Maria Cubana, a Cuban-American and owner of the largest pousada on Tiririca railed against the vendors. From her perspective the shacks on the beach have driven away the richer, higher-class tourists, ruining the beach:

They took over the whole beach, set up shacks with garbage everywhere and they attract really low-income people that scared away the quality tourism that we had. We had very high quality tourism. Everyone in the world wanted to visit Itacaré. Between all of the muggings that happened and because the Municipality allowed everyone to sell whatever they want, and build and create whatever they want on the beach they killed it. The people who come who have money, they don't want to sit on the beach with a bunch of poor people; they want nice virgin tranquil beaches. That kind of tourism we don't have in Itacaré. We have low-income tourism, people who are of lower income. It's a shame because the businesses are suffering. Itacaré had it peak. I don't know. It’s been about two or three years that it’s going down hill. The whole world has been in a crisis a last few years. It could be a mix of that. There was a lot of crime here for a while and that also has, and also the conditions at the beach. ... But still, a long time ago we didn't have one chair on the beach. There wasn't any plastic on the beach. Now you have chairs and
umbrellas, and maybe some people like that, but I'd rather
not have anything. I like the more natural look. Of course,
you can always go to another beach where they don't have
anything. (Maria Cubana, interview, July 6, 2012)

Maria describes the transformation on Tiririca from a high-class beach to a low-
class one with the increase of vendors and plastic tables and chairs. While all of
Itacaré is undergoing this transition to some extent, she clearly articulates it with
the changing use of space on the beach, environmental concern over trash, and the
aesthetics of the beach itself as it becomes cluttered with plastic chairs and tables.
Like popular architecture, critiques of local use are couched in environmental and
aesthetic concerns.

Eventually a group led by the Edison, the President of the Itacaré Surf
Association, several Municipal environmental agents from southern Brazil, and
some of the owners of pousadas at Tiririca met to remove the vendors from the
beach at Tiririca, Resende, and Jeribucassu. They chose these three beaches they
deemed them to be the most problematic, or favela-like, a term which implies
unorganized, ugly, and low-income occupation. Many, but not all, of the people
involved owned businesses on Tiririca and would benefit economically by
excluding the small scale vendors and making the beach more aesthetically
attractive. However, they couched their arguments largely in environmental and
legal frameworks. They complained about vendors dumping cooking oil in the
sand, trash being dumped in inappropriate places, lack of organization, and ever
expanding number of tables and chair on a relatively small beach. They talked
about going on the local radio station, organizing protests, hiring a lawyer, and

322
eventually getting the Public Ministry to force the Municipality to act. They met with the public promoter, the local representative of the Public Ministry, and he assured them that he was already submitting the case to the local judge due to the Municipal government's lack of activity. The promoter and his assistant were both surfers and held similar views of the proper uses of the beach put forward by the Surf Association. Once the judge approved the case to remove the vendors, the Municipal Government had two days to comply or face daily fines. A few weeks later a Municipal crew demolished and removed Mateus's wooden shack on the beach. Mateus was visibly upset, his investments in the area, immigration proceedings, and livelihood were all tied up in the wooden cabana on the beach. The other vendors, because their construction were less permanent and they were more connected to local politics, had been previously warned and simply removed their metal framed tarps, and mats off of the beach before the demolition began. In order to save face, the Municipal government described this action as coming from the Federal Government, acting as if the Municipality had no say in the matter, ignoring the fact that the move against the vendors began locally.

In response to the pousada owners’ critiques of the vendors’ environmental impact, the vendors responded that the pousada owners are actively pouring sewage onto the beach, a much more significant environmental problem. At the time, all of the pousadas had septic systems that leach into the ground or holding tanks. Given the rocky outcropping and shallow water table, the ability of the septic tanks to drain properly was questionable and sewage leaks were fairly common at several spots on the beaches if the septic tanks overflow or had not been pumped often enough. At the same time the vendors were temporarily
removed, the same municipal employee came to shut off the outflow of the septic tank to Maria Cubana's pousada, citing a federal regulation that requires that all septic tanks be at least a hundred meters from water, a requirement that none of those in the area met. Ana simply ignored this Municipal action and the tank did not back up as planned, probably because there were other outflow lines. Although pousada owners are working on creating an alternative solution, either building a line to connect to the Municipal sewage system or constructing their own small system, there is little agreement and cooperation among them, especially because the majority are outsiders who are renting the pousadas from owners who are not present. They also blame EMBASSA, the public/private company that manages the city's water and sewage, who, at the last minute, decided not to include the four Atlantic beaches into the recently completed citywide sewage treatment system. While some say this was because of the threats from the Federal Government to remove all of the development from the beaches, others say that it was because the owners of Conchas do Mar were working behind the scenes to delegitimize the businesses and residences along these beaches.

Similarly at Ribeira, none of the septic tanks are 100 meters from the ocean or river and they are often allowed to overflow. Each of the owners complained that the others have septic tanks that leach into the sand, and if they overflow they empty them directly into the river. These complaints about sewage, usually in relation to everyone else that occupies the beach is typical of most of the occupied beach areas. While outsiders often complained about locals not caring for the environment, it seemed the late introduction of a Municipal sewage system that excluded the Atlantic beaches as well as the entire neighborhood of
Concha made most tourist businesses and many residences equally guilty. Individual solutions were difficult and expensive and the local political system was incapable of resolving the situation.

Another source of conflict between pousada owners and small-scale vendors near Tiririca was garbage. All of the shacks on the beach cleaned the trash off of the beach and threw it in a pile near the river. The beach trash, combined with waste from restaurants, pousadas, and food shacks create an impressive pile of trash daily. The Tiririca Business Association decided to move the spot further away from the beach and the river and got the support of the Municipality to dig out a space on the side of the road. In the beginning, the pousadas bought and distributed large garbage bags to contain the trash but eventually this system broke down. Although the trash is no longer next to the river, it is still loose and municipal workers spend a lot more time than necessary shoveling it into the garbage truck. There used to be a container for the trash that was then deposited directly into a garbage truck, but for the last two years the Municipality got rid of this trash collector and is paying a local business without large metal containers to collect trash in the city. The local business is reputedly connected to the Mayor and does not have its own vehicle, using municipal trucks to collect trash. Similar to problems with sewage, incapable municipal action forces business associations to deal with collective issues like solid waste disposal and sewage treatment with limited success.

From examining the conflicts over the presence of local vendors and their occupation of the beach as well as disagreements over sewage and trash, we can see how different groups establish their rights to occupy a certain space and keep
other groups out. If care is an essential mechanism for establishing a right to occupy a space, then a lack of care can be grounds for removal. Outsiders without local political connections are more vulnerable because they have more invested in the area and have less leverage should something go wrong. We also see the conflict generated due to an informal land use system in which enforcement mechanisms (public opinion, social pressure) are weak and there is considerable disagreement about what form development should take. Although couched in environmental language, complaints about trash or environmental damage, the disagreements came down to differences in opinion about what a beach should look like, which is fundamentally an aesthetic decision. Some people imagine the perfect beach to be natural without vendors or plastic tables and chairs. Others see the beach as a site of relaxation but not necessarily natural, and are comfortable with a beach full of amenities. The aesthetic of a pristine, unoccupied beach is more common among outsiders who tend to be higher class and see Itacaré as a natural paradise. Importantly, these opinions are also held by many that work in the SPU, the federal entity that is ultimately responsible for the beachfront areas in Brazil.

*Beaches and the aesthetics of liminality and the SPU*

Federal ownership of the beach spaces shapes the aesthetics and development of the beachfront areas in ways that are not always readily apparent. Federal ownership means that people are also not willing to invest as much into the property, especially with the more recent talk of removing vendors from the beach. As a result, the structures are more likely to be cobbled together and poorly
built. In an odd paradox, the least exposed are the least permanent vendors whose impermanence makes them able to rebuild and return quickly if they are removed by either large landowners or the government. In Salvador, where the Federal Government actually bulldozed the restaurants and cabanas built within the thirty meters they have been replaced by small scale vendors selling from coolers, a situation that many complain is worse than the more established restaurants that were removed. In that sense, the cabanas provide a service that people want and the decision by the Federal Government to remove the cabanas from the beach represents an alternative aesthetic where people come to the beach to enjoy the beach without any of these services. The complete elimination of vendors would require a constant police presence as well as larger structural changes to the Brazilian economy that make informal sector work less significant, an unlikely change in the near future.

At Tiririca, Concha and Ribeira, cabana owners noted that the rustic aesthetic was dictated as much by legal requirements as by aesthetic concerns. At Concha, the Municipality stipulated that the cabanas could only be constructed with wood and thatch roofs, both to present a rural and tropical aesthetic but also to be purposely impermanent, in recognition of their temporary and conditional occupation of federal land. Building permanent brick and concrete structures were seen as establishing too permanent a presence on federal land. Although the majority are still made with wood, the thatch roofs have gradually been replaced with wooden shingles and some were strengthened with ceramic blocks, cement, and ceramic shingles. When the Mayor distributed land in Ribeira, the Municipality helped to build a row of similar looking cabanas with a round patio
covered with piassava thatch and attached to a square concrete kitchen in the back. Both the uniformity and rustic characteristics signal municipal guidance as well as recognition of the potentially transient nature of the occupation although they have been there for decades. Over time, portions of the constructions on the beach have been built with concrete and brick, although there are still considerable complaints if someone tries to expand their structure.

Even when not required by law, local residents have largely adopted a rustic aesthetic that promotes the rural and natural character of the beach. This is perhaps best seen at Tiririca, the principal surfing beach and center of the youth scene in Itacaré. On any given day, there are several dozen locals kids surfing, walking on a slack line, playing soccer on the beach, riding the skate bowl, or hanging out in the shade. Surfers see Tiririca as the epicenter of all of the cultural changes that have happened in the city. The earliest surfers describe how the beach was empty except for grass and coconut trees and how they would come and camp on the beach in the summer when they came to surf in the early eighties. Now there is a ring of Indian Almond Trees planted along the beach by these early surfers and lifeguards for shade. Right down the middle of the area runs a small stream, piped through two hollow logs to form a natural shower, and then down the rocks and onto the beach. At the north end, there is a grassy field with a concrete capoeira circle, a bowl for skating, and several small shacks for selling drinks, renting surfboards, beach chairs, and umbrellas. At the furthest north end of the beach is the Itacaré Surf Association's clubhouse, an octagon on stilts about three meters above the ground, overlooking the surf.

The development of the open space along the north end of the beach
illustrates the diverse groups at work in Itacaré and how they work together to transform public spaces. The Itacaré Surf Association (ASI) claims to have been a part of most of the projects that have happened in Tiririca, but they have principally done so in collaboration with other groups. The grassy area and capoeira circle were built by ASI and Yonic, an NGO that poured a lot of money into numerous projects in Itacaré for a few years until it disappeared. The skate bowl was built by Creme, a Swiss Skate Company in conjunction with Breathe Brazil, an environmental seminar that was held in Itacaré in April of 2010. The company built the skate bowl, painted it, and distributed forty skateboards to local kids in exchange for a bag of trash collected from around the city (Breathe Foundation). Earlier the skate bowl had been a pool of fresh water diverted from the stream. Gradually the pool was abandoned and filled in. The final stroke came in 2007 when the International Women's Professional Surfing Contest came to town and needed the space to build a stand for the judges.

Similar aesthetic changes can be seen with the small stream and waterfall that flows down the middle of the beach area. The waterfall once had a square concrete and tile shower and a changing room built on top of it. Only later was that demolished and replaced with the more natural looking shower made out of hollowed out logs. This same kind of aesthetic transition can be seen in Eduardo’s shack. Eduardo is an Itacaré native who has operated a small shack near the road at the entrance to the beach for twelve years. The original fiberglass shack was built in Ilhéus and is brightly painted with beach scenes, coconut trees, and a woman in a bikini. He said that when he originally built the stand, he received permission from the mayor to occupy the space. Recently he added a eucalyptus
log and piassava thatched structure to the front of his stand which sharply contrasts with the old fiberglass one. The move towards a post and beam structure covered with thatch is in line with the changing aesthetics of the city in general. Eduardo described his new addition as “more natural,” combining with the ocean and the coconut trees that surround the beach. He said that a concrete or tile structure would look out of place. He pointed at the thatch and wood shingles on the other restaurants and pousadas, saying that it was important to design something that blended in with the natural surroundings. This changing aesthetic illustrates how Itacaré natives begin to adopt the rustic tourist aesthetic as their own over time. Eventually he is planning on getting permission from the mayor to remove the stand from the back and expand the thatched structure so to make the whole building look more congruent. As an evangelical, he was one of the few people I've met who was supportive of the mayor at the time and sees him as someone who is accessible to the common people in town.

Figure 16: Eduardo's shack with rustic expansion

330
His expansion caused a number of conflicts with others who occupy the space. Edison, the President of the Surf Association had a fight with Eduardo about his recent building, saying it was leading to the favelization and uncontrolled development of the area. Other residents denounced him on Facebook, calling for the Municipality to be more stringent with zoning laws. A number of comments criticized the construction and lack of regulation in general. However, at the end of the day, his new construction remained because the municipal government was unwilling to seriously regulate this expansion and it would be unfair to target just one of the multiple vendors who have established themselves at Tiririca. Once something is built, it is generally accepted and it seems that conflict is generated when people try to change the status quo and expand what is already there.

While these different aesthetics are at work on different beaches, generally the Federal Government, in the form of the Public Ministry employees who forced the municipality to remove the vendors at Tiririca or the intermittent meetings by regional SPU representatives, tends to maintain the ideal of the beach as a natural space, in line with foreigners and outsiders notions of the beach. The current threat of SPU removing everyone from the beach overshadows all discussion of the use of beach. According to a representative from the SPU who walked the towns beaches in April, Concha is the only beach in Itacaré were everything will have to be removed, because the Cabanas are built on the sand and are quite close to the water. Some owners suggest that if the Municipality could organize a project that regulates, standardizes, and moves the restaurants further back, then there is a possibility for them to remain in the area. Danilo, one of the restaurant
owners from São Paulo, expressed concern that the Municipal government won't be organized enough to implement a project.

There is also the possibility that the Municipal government doesn't do anything and when they come they destroy everything. Then it happens just like it did in Salvador. Have you been there? They bulldozed everything and now the traveling vendors come with their styrofoam coolers, leaving everything dirty, just like what happened in Salvador. They took the cabanas off of the beach and the traveling vendors invaded. Except that they don't clean up the trash. The quality tourists stop going to those beaches and then it becomes a beach for the farofeiros.\footnote{Farofeiros are low-class beach visitors, named after farofa, a manioc flour dish that they take as a lunch to the beach instead of buying from local vendors.} (Danilo, interview, April 30, 2012)

The SPU project to regulate the beachfront is a national project that began to be implemented in Salvador where they forcibly removed all of the beachfront restaurants. However, without continued enforcement on those beaches, new, less permanent vendors moved onto the beaches in Salvador. Soon after this same process of removal was supposed to spread throughout Brazil but the process slowed down as it became more politically problematic.

While federal ownership of the beach originally opened up space for local control of the beach, it also threatens to take it away as federal interpretation of the law and beach aesthetics changes over time. The Federal Government opens up space for smaller vendors not through a populist ideal but by making the
distribution of space a political process connected to local municipalities and by and by weakening everyone's claim to the space. The threat of potential removal creates a lack of investment as well as a rustic and natural looking. When Brazil receives international attention through large events, there is an increase in federal involvement in shaping and developing a beach aesthetic in line with European and American concepts of the beach as natural.

Itacaré’s Southern Coast and Luxury Resort Development

To the south of Itacaré are half a dozen or so beaches. Because of their distance and the challenge of finding them, these beaches tend to have fewer visitors, and visitors with greater means, who have access to a car or a bus fare, or are willing to pay a guide to take them there. Similar to the small urban beaches, these are relatively small beaches framed by headlands covered in Atlantic rainforest. Most of the coastline to the south is rocky, with little or no access to the water. Because of their distance from the city and because the main highway turns inland, most of these beaches require crossing private property to get there. Much of the conflicts over these spaces have been around access, although there is some conflict over vendors on the beach as well. In addition, many of these beaches are the sites of luxury developments, where their privacy and distance from the city make them more attractive to elite tourists whose image of the beach is one of unspoiled natural beauty, a white sand beach framed by verdant forests. These high-end developers are often at odds with local politicians and former Mayor Jarbas even created a municipal law to consider all beachfront property in the Municipality as urban (despite their distance from the town) to be able to tax these
businesses at a higher rate. The conflicts on the use and development of these beaches also revolve around place-based identities, environmental critiques, and ideas of public space.

Figure 17: Southern Beaches of Itacaré (Satellite image from Google maps)

Several of these beaches have luxury resorts built there. São José has a medium-sized resort and condominium development. Further south on Itacarézinho is the Txai resort, a four-star luxury resort and condominium development where the French President Nicolas Sarkozy, Brazilian President Lula, Paul McCartney and other dignitaries regularly stay. Local blogs regularly mentioned that one or another famous personality was in the municipality. These resorts are quite distant from the city and there was usually very little interaction
between the residents and those staying at these resorts. Most of the best jobs at these resorts go to people from the Southeast who are more educated, although there are always a handful of locals working in menial positions.

The history of the land along this stretch of coastline is particularly interesting. Like most land titles in Bahia, the majority of this coastline was part of larger properties, but because the communities of posseiros were smaller, these titles have had less conflict than those nearer the town. However, there was a small community of fishermen that lived at Itacarézinho that had a legitimate claim to the area. However, entrepreneurs bought them out relatively early on in the development of tourism, before anyone had any idea about the real estate values that would come from tourism. While some locals described this as the ultimate fraud, the entrepreneurs themselves saw it as the best way to preserve the scenic beauty of Itacaré's coastline. Beatrix, a French expat who lived in Itacaré who is married to an local Afro-Brazilian man from that area described the process like this.

Itacarézinho was a little village, a bunch of fishing families, the last remnants of indigenous people in the region. They didn't want to sell out. It was under a war of psychological pressure against them. They got the elders drunk and they sold while they were totally drunk. They signed the papers on the hoods of cars, totally absurd. They sold hectares of beachfront property for nothing. That's how they bought this land. It is still in the courts. They were going to make an extractive reserve there.
There was a jangada port there. They made palm oil. It was the last remnant of indigenous people in the region. It was crazy what they did and afterwards these people went to the slums of Itacaré and Ilhéus. Today, there's no one left there. The resorts bought everything. (Beatrix, interview, July 10, 2012)

Beatrix's tale is one of exploitation and scheming by large landowners to remove the fishermen. The villager's legitimacy to the land in described as being indigenous, with the potential of an extractive reserve and markers of regional identity like jangadas or palm oil production used to illustrate their strong claim to native identity. On the opposite spectrum is Vincente. Although he originally arrived decades ago as a surfer and poor clothing salesman from Rio, Vincente later married a doctor and together they gradually purchased significant properties throughout the region when land was still relatively cheap. Now he owns a piece of Itacarézinho valued at close to a hundred millions reais which he claims to have bought through lots of small purchases for less that eighty thousand reais, showing the dramatic rise in land prices in the region. When Vincente describes the process of purchasing this land, the narrative is in stark contrast with Beatrix’s. He similarly described the problem of drunkenness in this small village but then argued that,

[It was] the big businessmen, who saved Itacaré. If Itacaré is preserved today, it is because of these businessmen. Let me take myself out it. Act like I'm not included. I know I

---

71 Jangadas are a type of traditional fishing boat used throughout Northeastern Brazil and represents the traditional authenticity of the community.
did a lot for Itacaré but act like I'm not a part of this
group... But Itacaré, the Atlantic Rainforest, ecotourism,
all exists because of these businessmen. They bought
everything in practically the same year and they began to
preserve it. If not, look at Itacarézinho for example, there
would be 50 people there today. Because it is like this, one
person buys a piece, sells another piece, sells another, and
another, and everything was just beginning. Look at the
Ranch I bought, it was starting to be divided but the law
doesn't allow that [illegal subdivisions]. These
businessmen came and put an end to it. They preserved it.
And the value of Itacaré is huge because people see it as
an ecotourism destination. ...Those who do ecotourism
love nature, they value beaches. (Vincente, interview, May
29, 2012)

He went on to describe the numerous beaches around his native Rio that had been
destroyed by subdivisions and rampant development. Thus the scenic beauty of
Itacaré and the beaches have been preserved by large businessmen who bought up
large parcels of land and preserved them, allowing the southern beaches to remain
picturesque and untouched. Without the outsiders who bought up large chunks of
land, there would have been favelas, pollution of the rivers, and the unorganized
development that he saw as typical of other coastal areas of Brazil. Because of the
foresight of these businessmen, the rest of the city’s population has gained value
that came from the businessmen's insight to preserve the rainforest and pristine
beaches.

In a strange paradox, it is quite probable that both perspectives have some truth. Because Itacaré became known for ecotourism that catered to an elite crowd, it was able to quickly establish itself as a premier tourist destination. It is the unspoiled beaches, untouched rainforests, and beautiful vistas to the south of the town that made it stand out as a destination, all of which greatly benefitted people throughout the town. At the same time, the untrammeled nature that attracted tourists was not natural, but created through the exclusion of poor, marginalized residents that were already there. While this displacement was beneficial for the larger growth of tourism and accompanying benefits in the region, that does not minimize the impact of those who suffered it.

If Txai is one of the most expensive resorts in Latin America, the proposed Warapuru, a six star luxury hotel, would have been the first of its kind in Latin America. The envisioned hotel was a cluster of heavy-set concrete building clad in white Bahian marble that looked like modern Mayan temples rising from the lush tropical forests. They were large, ostentatious, and designed to impress. Surrounding them were several dozen vacation homes, large modern looking squares built with concrete, huge steel structures, and clad in slate and glass that were hidden along the stream and ridges of the valley. Construction began in 2004 but after four years the construction came to a halt. Since then, the huge carcasses of the half-built hotel and homes surrounding the resort are rusting and rotting in the humid valley. Large pools of standing water on the square roofs, rusting rebar, and broken piles of slate and marble are strewn about the site. Residents describe the buildings as something out of a horror film, an archaeological ruin, and a huge
safety liability. The ostentatious modernist design has made the remains all them
more offensive and out of sync with the surrounding forest. Multiple people
commented that a structure that was built out of wood and glass would be less
offensive even as it was rotting. Some architects have suggested that other
materials would preserve better. The modernist ruins offend on multiple
accounts—the waste, the architectural arrogance, the destruction of the scenic
beauty of the area, and the impact of the building project on the town itself.

Figure 18: Warapuru Ruins near Engenhoca Beach

There are multiple theories as to why the project came to a halt. One of the
most common was that the construction was stopped by IBAMA for lack of
compliance with environmental regulations. However, after talking with people
more closely connected with the project itself, a more complex analysis emerged.
The rising cost of manpower in Brazil caused by an increasing minimum wage as
part of the Workers Party's social platform, compounded by the rising value of the Real and the decreasing value of the Euro combined to quadruple the cost of labor over the four years. Moreover, the 2007 worldwide real estate and accompanying banking crisis hit the investors and Portuguese building company particularly hard. This highlights the ways that tourism economies are particularly susceptible to the rise and falls of international economic cycles.

The construction of the Warapuru was implicated in a number of different social processes. Many of the construction workers for the project moved to Itacaré from surrounding areas and then became unemployed, swelling poorer neighborhoods. In addition, locals blamed these workers for increased prostitution in the city and unemployment when the project ended. The taxes from the project were rumored to have given the money for the Mayor to destroy and attempt to rebuild the Praça São Miguel.

The successes and failures of large development projects demonstrate the vulnerability of tourist economic development for businesses of all sizes. In some ways, local businesses are designed to be more flexible in response to the changing tourist economy while larger investments have less flexibility. These large businesses are also not simply excluding local players. As we look as questions of access to the beaches where these resorts are situated we will see how local guides and surfers have been able to maintain access rights to most of the beaches to the south of Itacaré.

Large Landowners and Conflicts Over Beach Access

All of the southern beaches are accessible by short trails, either from
Itacaré or from the main road. There are many small businesses where local guides will take people along these trails to the beach. Prainha is the closest beach to Itacaré and is accessible by a three-kilometer trail that leaves from Ribeira and winds its way through old pastures, regrowing forests, and several small streams. The land was previously logged and farmed and but some of the areas that are on a steeper grade, including along the coastline, have more established forests. The trail is mostly within the Conchas do Mar Ranch until it gets close to the beach itself. There are a number of guides at Ribeira who take tourists on the trail from Ribeira to Prainha. The guides maintain and clear the trail periodically, establishing a limited right to use it. They make sure tourists don't get lost but are also there to protect visitors from potential robberies.\textsuperscript{72} The trails were seen as inherently dangerous places because the forests allowed for thieves to escape easily. While the police or private security sometimes circulated on the trail this was relatively inefficient. Working as a guide is one of the easiest ways for young local men to get involved in the tourist economy.

Because the majority of these beaches are surrounded by large private landholding, many landowners have tried to charge for beach access. They want beaches that are pristine, an Edenic vision of nature that necessarily excludes locals, especially vendors whose occupations visually transform the beach. They also want beaches that are exclusive and can keep their visitors separate from lower class people. This exclusion affects local tour guides, vendors, as well as surfers or surf schools who use these beaches. Many locals didn't necessarily have

\textsuperscript{72} The guide association recorded 28 muggings over a three week period in July of 2011 and in 2012 a large group of foreign biologists were robbed at gunpoint, an event that made the national media circuits. Throughout the time I was there, there were continuous reports of people being robbed on the trail.
a problem with charging tourists, but were appalled at the idea of charging natives for beach access. A series of organized complaints, protests, and lawsuits from local residents forced landowners to grant free access.

Because the waves are quite good at many of these beaches and surfers often also work as guides and instructors, taking visitors to these remote beaches, the Itacaré Surf Association spearheaded the movement to maintain open access to the beaches. Danilo, a surfer from São Paulo who has lived in Itacaré for 12 years, describes a period where most the beaches were charging entrance fees. In response, the surfers of the city

Started a protest. They took their boards. Surfers and non-surfers were both there, I remember there being a thousand people. There were some legal complaints. The protest was awesome, by the surfers themselves. Everyone took their boards and they paralyzed the city...The surfers have always protected the city from destruction. They were the warriors for the city...If it wasn't for them, there wouldn't be nearly as much area preserved. They the only group that fought and is still fighting. (Danilo, interview, April 30, 2012)

Surfers, because of their heavy use of the beach, are often the first to know about environmental problems on the beaches and have a special interest in the development of the beach, helping to shape Itacaré. As a group, they also represent a cross section of natives and outsiders, and the Surf Association has been one of the few productive spaces in which these groups work together for a
common purpose.

One example of this conflict can be seen at São Jose, the beach immediately to the south of Prainha. Access from the road was closed around 2000, when two resorts and a collection of expensive private vacation homes were built in the area. This land is owned by an elite local family that used to grow and ship cacao. All of this tourist development closed access from the road and later they tried to close access from the beach as well, shutting down the coastal trail that fishermen formerly used to travel from Itacaré to Ilhéus. In response, the Itacaré Surf Association organized a protest against the closure and demanded public access to the beach, which is required by federal law. They organized several boatloads of surfers, guides, and fishermen to occupy the beach. The resort had been warned by someone from the city and they were met by a large police presence. Edison, the past president of the Surf Association and one of the organizer of these protests describes their involvement.

The beaches were all private. All of the beaches to the south of Itacaré were privatized. We had a variety of protests in the city, with the population, the people revolted and made things happen. The Surf Association was involved. So one day we got a boat, because they wouldn't let us go by trail. We got a boat and went by the sea. We took seventy people and when we go there all the police from the city were there to put us in jail. But then we stayed on the beach and spent all day at the beach. When night came the police started to beat up the
protesters. We made a protest and pressured the justice department at the time and the Public Promoter and the Judge had a public hearing, which resulted in an Adjustment of Conduct Contract (TAC) for the beach of Itacaré. 73 If anyone closed access to the beaches they had to pay a fine of a thousand Reais per day. After this, the beaches to the South opened up. All of the beaches were opened. The beaches were all shut and they were charging to visit them. Prainha charged the most. Jeribucassu, all of the beaches charged admission. People stayed at gates at the front and if you wanted to arrive at a public space you had to pay. After the TAC, the beaches of Itacaré were opened. According to federal law you can't change access. All of the beaches are required to have public access. The access has to be included in the documentation of the property owner, in this case the hotel. The document has to recognize public access points. (Edison, interview, March 14, 2012)

Despite their success, several of the boat owners were prosecuted and have spent time dealing with these lawsuits. In the end, there was somewhat of a compromise as a result of a decision by the public ministry. The trail from Prainha is open, but you have to present documents to get past the guard at the entrance, making it more of a challenge to get to the beach. They have made access difficult enough

73 A TAC (Termos de Ajuste de Conduto) is a legal document that requires parties to change their behavior to comply with the legal requirements of the law or decision of the court.
that they can basically exclude most people from accessing the beach itself. Once on the beach, they do not allow people who are not guests to buy drinks, food, or use any of the hotel services, making the beach less hospitable for those who are not staying at the hotels. The new trail is also quite a bit longer than previous trails. Because of these restrictions, many people do not bother to go.

South of Prainha is Jeribucassu, accessible by a long dirt road 6 km south of Itacaré, near the Agrarian Reform Settlement of Marambaia. The dirt road goes through a variety of different scattered homesteads including many newer residents from Itacaré who moved away from the city for more peace and quiet as well as many poorer residents who have lived there for decades. After several kilometers, the road stops and a trail continues for a few kilometers to the beach. Surrounding the beach itself are a number of medium sized properties of richer and middle class families who have tried at different times to reroute or remove the access trail, which allows the poorer families from the Agrarian Reform settlement access to the beach to sell. However, this trail, like many others along these southern beaches, was once part of a trail that accompanied the telegraph line from Itacaré to Ilhéus and so it is a federally recognized right of way. Because of that, the landowners were unsuccessful in changing the trail and it remained in a place that is most convenient for the vendors that come down from the poorer settlements above to sell on the beach on weekends and during the summer.

On Engenhoca, the Warapuru developers succeeded in closing the access trail to the beach, but after lawsuits from the vendors and guides who used the beach, they were forced to build another trail. They rerouted this trail along the coastline, tripling the amount of time it took to get to the beach. They also never
maintained the new trail, especially after the company stopped construction. The maintenance was done by the vendors, who built handrails, steps, and periodically cleared back the underbrush. After the project was abandoned, the resort owners maintained guards who kept people out for several years but in 2011 the guards left and the old trail, which runs right through the middle of the hotel development, was re-opened by vendors, guides, and local beach users. When the Warapuru Corporation challenged the reopening of the trail, the judge noted that the Corporation was not maintaining the new trail they built and allowed the old trail to be reopened. Because the Warapuru doesn't effectively occupy the beach and trail—they are not actually using it, maintaining it, or caring for it, they are unable to exclude others and control the area. Legal rights in this sense are connected to the ability to use and take care of an area, despite the size and power differential of the groups involved.

These conflicts of access to the beaches have universally resulted in locals, surfers, guides, and fishermen being granted access to the beach. Landowners can, at best, make the requirement for access so onerous that is discourages local visitors but cannot prohibit them outright. Interestingly, we also see that even large landowners are required to maintain a presence if they want to enforce their right to control and regulate access. Large landowners, like smaller vendors, with a continuous and active presence are much more successful in maintaining control of their space and excluding small scale vendors whereas absentee landlords can easily lose this control.
Vendor and Landowners on Southern Beaches

Although there are fewer vendors along the Southern beaches because there are significantly fewer visitors, these vendors are often in direct conflict with large landowners who own the area around the beaches. Where the landowner is absent, vendors can establish themselves relatively easily. For example, along the trail to Prainha (all within the Ranch Conchas do Mar) there are three different vendors who have occupied three strategic points. The oldest, who has been there twelve years, is installed at a small waterfall and pool along the trail. He has built several small benches, a freshwater shower with water diverted from the river, and has a broken fridge that is converted into a cooler. Several other vendors have also built little rest spots by building benches along the trail. The two older vendors have also had their small structures destroyed several times by workers for Conchas do Mar in order to challenge their occupation of the land. But because their occupation is impermanent with small tarps and coolers, they simply return again and again and ultimately are left relatively undisturbed. Similarly at Engenhoca and Gamboa, there are several small vendors along the trail and at the beach that were removed by Warapuru during construction but have returned since resort was abandoned.

Alternatively, on beaches where large landowners have actively established a presence on the beachfront, they are effectively able to exclude small-scale vendors. The land around Prainha belongs to the owner of Hang Loose, a Brazilian surf wear company, who built a large beach house in the middle of the beach surrounded by a coconut farm. The entire area is designated as a RPPN, a private nature reserve that is recognized by the government. There
are fences that limit tourists to the beach area and signs that claim that all the vegetation inland is being restored. There are fences to protect sea turtle nests on the beach. The only restaurant on the beach is run by the landowner, and their constant daily presence prohibits other vendors from establishing themselves on the beach. They also have built public bathrooms, showers, and some tables for people to use, all adjacent to the sand but not on the sand itself. In this sense, because the landowner is able to effectively and continuously occupy, care for, and maintain the beach, there is little space for small-scale vendors to establish themselves. Similarly, a restaurant at Itacarézinho near the main access point to the beach controls all parking at the beach and has actively excluded any outside vendors that try to sell along the beach, although tourist who take the bus can walk in and access the beach without paying.
Conclusion

The small picturesque beaches of Itacaré, enclosed surrounded rocky coasts topped by tall green forests, are the epicenter of the changing social relationships embedded in a tourist economy. As public spaces par excellence, the conflict around aesthetics, access, vendors, sewage, and ocean front development closely resembles larger conflicts around power and place in Itacaré, similar to discussions of architecture, neighborhood expansion, or the establishment of conservation areas. In each of these cases, the constant negotiations between the Federal Government, the courts, Municipal authorities, small scale vendors, homeowners, and large tourist developers is an ongoing process, with winners and loser decided around an understanding of property and public spaces that looks quite a bit different than expected. Longtime local residents and small vendors, through Municipal political connections and progressive courts, are sometimes able to participate in the tourist economy on the beach, even as their neighborhoods and residences are excluded.

Despite their neighborhoods being outside of the tourist areas of the city, they have successfully established their right to exist and even challenged the marginality of their location. Although the larger resorts on the Southern beaches or expensive neighborhoods try to maintain their exclusivity, none have been able to exclude local residents altogether. Local surfers, guides, farmers, and fishermen, and their intimate connections to and knowledge of local geography, have been key in maintaining this access. Even larger resorts can only establish their right to occupy the beachfront in the same way as small-scale vendors, through use, care, and continuous occupation. The continued back and forth
between informal and formal land tenure opens up space for different local residents to maintain and claim space in creative ways.

Public space in this regard does not mean that the space is open and everyone has equal ability to use the space. Rather, this designation draws our attention to the political processes and negotiation through which use and ownership are determined. As sites of contest, conflict, and negotiation, public spaces reveal competing ideas about nature, regional affiliations, and economic practices. In practice, this conditional status of public spaces can benefit smallholders who are more willing to operate without permanent guarantees or legal status. For all users, rights to public space are established through occupation, use, maintenance and care over time. These use rights are most vulnerable when people are perceived as no longer taking care of the area, as in the case of the small-scale vendors on Tiririca. If the beaches, trails, neighborhoods, forests, and homes of Itacaré are cared for, cleaned, and maintained, it is not simply by the Municipal governments but rather by local residents, associations, and NGOs who occupy and use these spaces. As one vendor described it, “If it wasn't for us, the beaches would be abandoned. The Municipality can barely get the trash from the neighborhoods and doesn't do anything for the beaches. We are the ones who take care of the beaches.” (Paulo, interview, April 23, 2012). The vendors, businessmen, and surfers all claim credit, to some extent, for preserving and protecting the beaches. Without active municipal or federal oversight, the care and maintenance of public spaces is done by local groups. More importantly, it is through the idiom of care that different groups legitimize their presence and rights to use and occupy a given space.
BIBLIOGRAPHY


Breathe Foundation. Available at http://www.breathefoundation.org/


Campbell, J. M. (2009). The social life of an Amazonian highway: Speculation, mobility, and development politics in Brazil. PhD Dissertation in the Department of Anthropology at the University of California, Santa Cruz.


Studies, Harvard University.


Fearnside, P. F. (2006). Containing destruction from Brazil's Amazon highways:
now is the time to give weight to the environment in decision-making. *Environmental Conservation, 33*(03), 181-183.


Fontaine, P. (1986) *Race, class and power in Brazil.* Center for Afro-American Studies, University of California, Los Angeles.


Rio. Focus Filmes 94 min. Available at https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=0ao2bIOtQwk


case of Bahia, Brazil. *Journal of Sustainable Tourism* 13(1), 24-49.


Rutsky, RL, (1999), "Surfing the Other: Ideology on the Beach", Film Quarterly


Bachelor of Law, Universidade do Vale do Itajai. Centro de Ciencias Sociais e Juridicas, Campus Tijucas.


Vivanco, L. (2006) *Green encounters: shaping and contesting environmentalism*


Wolford, W. (2010). This land is ours now: social mobilization and the meanings
