

Dispossessed by Development: Struggle for access, rights, and livelihoods in Praia do Sono,  
Brazil

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## **Abstract**

Praia do Sono is a traditional fishing community that falls within two environmentally protected areas on the Atlantic Forest Coast of Brazil. Praia do Sono has a long history of resistance to antagonists trying to remove the community. Current antagonists to the Praia do Sono community include a neighboring gated community of vacation homes for the ultra-elite, conservation policy which protects against real estate speculation but limits development, and a growing tourism sector sewing divides within the community over the best avenue for development. After conducting ethnographic observation in Praia do Sono and semi-structured interviews of Praia do Sono residents, this study uses a political ecology lens to examine the forces shaping the community's experience of development and tactics used by residents to resist such forces. Data suggest that the two forces that most shape the community's experience are neoliberal conservation forces and the growth machine. The main resistance tactics used are leveraging the Caiçara identity and strong individual community leaders, although drawbacks include lack of community engagement, divides over the best strategy for development, and policy paradoxes that limit community agency over the trajectory of their development.

## Key Words

Caiçara, Costa Verde, Brazil, Political Ecology, Neoliberal Conservation, Growth Machine, Community Resistance, Ethnography

## **Preface**

I waited on the wooden dock and gazed groggily across the marina. Taxi-boats driven by leathery men buzzed around on the water, and even rows of palm trees framed the native Atlantic forest in the background. Two suitcases tagged with orange “heavy” warnings, a 60-gallon Osprey pack the same shade of blue as the ocean, a school backpack filled with electronic devices, groceries to supply beach kiosk for a week, and a floral print longboard all bobbed up and down with me on the dock. My two-day international journey was in its final stage. 30 hours of air travel, a one-hour taxi through São Paulo traffic, seven hours on a charter bus, one hour on a rickety municipal bus, and a ten-minute van ride past mansions with yacht parking would end with this last, quick passage on a taxi-boat. My boyfriend Cassio, who was renting a kiosk restaurant in Praia do Sono for the summer, negotiated with the taxi-boat driver as my luggage and his groceries would occupy an entire boat. After settling on a price, the two men loaded our gear. The driver directed precisely where each item should be placed with intimate knowledge of the weight distribution and balance on his boat. I staggered into the boat, plopped onto the bench, and the boat pushed off the dock.

The sun glittering on the aquamarine waves and the warm wind from the boat evaporated my sleepiness. The taxi-boat zoomed out of the marina into open water and was immediately beset by ocean waves rolling in from the South Atlantic. The boat rose up past the crest and crashed brutally back down into the trough of each wave. Gentle rise, brutal crash. Rise... crash! Rise... crash! I clutched the boat’s brim, but Cassio assured me that this was routine. He explained that the men driving the taxi-boats grew up in this community and played, drove, and worked with these boats since childhood. Women brought their infants across the passage in all weather conditions. Children rode alongside their fathers who taught them how to read the

language of the waves. A boy became a man when he could enter the ocean from the beach into the unrelenting barrage of waves which would flip the boat if he chose the wrong moment to enter. These were the Caiçaras.

We rounded the cove and entered the final approach to Praia do Sono. In front of us stretched 1.3 kilometers of white sand beach. Velvety Atlantic forest that sloped gently upwards forming a peak. I didn't even notice the houses and kiosks until Cassio pointed them out. They were nestled between magnolias forming the border between beach and forest. The motion of the boat calmed, now going with the direction of the waves, and we rode them to shore like a surfer.

As we neared the beach, the boat slowed to a float and made a U-turn. I looked at Cassio with confusion. He smirked and told me to hold on tight. The boat driver waited as a few large waves passed under us. The boat truly was surfing, waiting to catch the perfect wave. When the boat driver sensed the right moment, he hit the gas, and the boat came about to face the beach once again. We rode the wave and accelerating directly towards the beach. The wind whipped my hair and the sand rushed closer and closer. The boat was about to hit the ground! I realized. I braced for impact, life flashing before my eyes. At the last moment before water ended, the boat driver expertly raised up the engine, the boat made contact with the sand, and we cruised smoothly up onto the beach.

My introduction to the Praia do Sono community, or “Sleepy Beach” in Portuguese followed a typical model. I arrived as a tourist looking to enjoy the peace and beauty of the beach nestled within two protected areas on the Atlantic Forest Coast without knowing much about the amazing community of people who occupied the area.

A resident of Praia do Sono once told me that to survive there you must be extremely strong. There's no health clinic; if you get sick on a stormy day you're out of luck and have to suck it up and be strong. Don't let the majesty and color of the environment fool you, "life here is not for everyone," she said. The more time I spent struggling with the daily difficulties of life in Praia do Sono, the more awe I felt towards the locals. Survivors, warriors. Every day living in Praia do Sono is an act of resistance.

I would like to thank the incredible residents of Praia do Sono for welcoming me into their community and for sharing their thoughts and ways. The questions I asked were very pointed and I greatly appreciate the insight and openness of all of my respondents. Additionally, I would like to thank my advisors. David Ciplet, Dale Miller, Patty Limerick, and Colleen Scanlan Lyons. Dale and David, thank you for helping me initiate this process from computer screens half way across the world. Dale, thank you the encouragement that I was actually capable of writing an honors thesis, your encouragement and wisdom that made the process manageable, and of course, thank you for ensuring we (almost) always have baked goods. David, thank you for instructing me though every intellectual step of the way, every turn, and every new discovery. Your guidance and patience have been invaluable to me. Patty, thank you for telling me exactly what I needed to hear, one cold day in your office. I was struggling with the prospect of more community interviews, and you said to me "you chose this topic, you have to finish it" which reinvigorated me and played cheerfully in my head for the rest of this process. Colleen, thank you for helping me craft interview questions that elicited beautiful, rich responses that served as the backbone of this thesis. You guys have all been so special to me through this adventure, and I appreciate and admire you all so much. Lastly, muito obrigada a Cassio para me apresentar à comunidade da Praia do Sono, sua curiosidade, e sua empatia durante as entrevistas.





## **Introduction**

### Research Questions:

1. What are the forces shaping the Praia do Sono community's experience?
2. In what ways are these forces experienced?
3. What are the forms of community resistance? What are inhibitors to such resistance?

Praia do Sono is a traditional fishing community in the municipality of Paraty, Rio de Janeiro State, Brazil. Praia do Sono, "Sleepy Beach" in Portuguese, has approximately 380 residents or 70 families, and has existed on the beach for six generations. The community can only be accessed via boat or 3km hiking trail. Traditional residents of communities on the southeast Atlantic Forest Coast are known as Caiçaras, an ethnic group traditionally characterized by a strong relationship with the Atlantic Forest and the sea. Historically, Caiçaras were primarily subsistence fishers and farmers, although now their livelihoods are shifting towards tourism and the service sector. Construction of the first highway in the 1960's opened the region to widespread development interests and real estate speculation, against whom Praia do Sono and other Caiçara communities have historically resisted. Some developers, including a gated community of vacation mansions and the descendants of a man who legally "claimed" a piece of land including Praia do Sono, are still in direct conflict with the Praia do Sono community today.

Praia do Sono now falls within two environmentally protected areas, one federally managed and one managed by the state of Rio de Janeiro. The environmental regulations offer protection against real estate speculation by outside developing agents, but they also limit the development interests and forest-based livelihood activities of the community itself. The infrastructure in the Praia do Sono community is neglected by the municipal government of Paraty. Additionally, a growing tourism sector brings in more and more outsiders to Praia do

Sono which adds a source of livelihood yet, some claim, has a negative impact on local culture. Furthermore, there are divides within the community over the best method of development, especially across generations.

Using a political ecology lens, this study aims to identify the forces shaping the Praia do Sono Caiçara community's experience of development, how those forces are experienced by the community, and forms of community resistance and inhibitors to such resistance. I performed ethnographic observation and conducted semi-structured interviews (n = 17) in the Praia do Sono community with multiple visits in 2016 and 2017 to get a deeper understanding of their experiences. During this time, I observed changes in lifestyle between low and high tourism season and changing relationships to antagonists during different times of year.

The two forces that most shape the community's experience are the growth machine, where the interests of a land-owning elite influence public policy disproportionately to non-elite, and neoliberal conservation policies, where protected areas are created to commodify ecosystems and traditional culture, at the expense of local livelihoods and at the benefit of an outside consumer.

## **Background**

### *History*

#### Caiçara Identity and Livelihoods

Caiçaras are traditional ethnic group descended from the intermingling of escaped slaves, 16<sup>th</sup> century European colonists, and indigenous peoples. They are found on the Atlantic Forest Coast of southeast Brazil in the states of Rio de Janeiro, São Paulo, and Pará. They have participated in multiple resource boom and bust cycles, notably sugarcane in the last 19<sup>th</sup> century. However, Caiçaras are most famous for their artisanal fishing and subsistence agriculture “between the mountains and the sea,” to which they turned to after the sugarcane bust. Some traditional practices include making canoes and fishing nets by hand and an artisanal method of slash-and-burn agriculture to grow manioc, beans, tropical fruit, and many other products in the fertile Atlantic forest.

Caiçara communities in the region are transitioning to a tourism-based economy. Large-scale development and multi-national investment began in the 1960’s with the construction of the BR-101 Rio-Santos highway. The new highway facilitated access to the previously remote coastal region and massively increased real estate speculation. Caiçara communities throughout the region have faced immense pressure to leave their traditional lands on the seashores. Praia do Sono is no exception, and has had a very strong historical resistance movement against many, at times physically violent, antagonists.

Caiçara communities still practice traditional fishing and agriculture methods and rely heavily on access to the sea. However, today their main economic activity is moving more and more towards tourism due to the picturesque nature of the beaches Caiçaras inhabit as well as

protected area regulations limiting their livelihood rights. Although on paper they legally have protection from a 2006 federal law protecting indigenous rights to land and livelihood, in reality it is common in Brazil that the rights of traditional communities are considered less important than elite development interests and tourism consumers.

### Development of the Paraty Coast

In 1974, Rio de Janeiro Governor Carlos Lacerda appropriated a piece of land on the Atlantic Forest Coast of Paraty called Laranjeiras Farm, named for the Caiçara community on the property, Laranjeiras. It was sold to the construction group Brascan and Adela, funded in part by the United States, to build a luxury community of vacation homes called Condomínio Laranjeiras, the first of its kind in Brazil. To construct Condomínio Laranjeiras, it was necessary to remove the Laranjeiras Caiçara village that occupied the coastal space. Brascan & Adela made a deal with the Laranjeiras Caiçara community members to receive a payment of R\$20,000 and a new house built inland. An 87-year-old interviewee from the original village of Laranjeiras remembers this and thinks moving was worth it because they got to purchase a mattress for the first time and were provided a livelihood working for the new vacation home resort. Many of those residents have resettled in the inland area bordering the condominium, now named Vila Oratório. However, residents of Vila Oratório have completely lost their artisanal fishing tradition to do lack of direct beach-front access.

On the other side of the ridge one beach over, a man named Gibrael arrived in the Praia do Sono Caiçara community in the late 1970's with promises to help the community invest in social and infrastructure projects. In reality, he tricked illiterate residents to sign over deeds to

their land using thumb prints, despite that none of the residents of Praia do Sono possessed formal land title. This new parcel of dubiously acquired land was called Santa Maria Farm. Residents resisted Gibrael, and the conflict violently escalated. The developer set fire to Caiçara houses, and brought loose bulls to destroy property and subsistence vegetable gardens. Residents clandestinely rebuilt houses, replanted agricultural systems, and resisted. According to local accounts, one day Gibrael arrived with armed men and went for a swim in the pristine water. As he exited the water in his speedo, a female resident beat Gibrael with a poisonous branch on his back and torso until he allegedly defecated himself in pain and never returned in Praia do Sono. Praia do Sono residents supported by leftist student activists lobbied for the creation of a preserve so the Caiçaras could live in peace on their traditional lands. This led to the creation of the Juatinga Ecological Reserve in 1992, against which descendants of Gibrael have pending litigation in Brasilia.

## Access to Praia do Sono

The construction of BR-101 and Condomínio Laranjeiras infrastructure facilitated access by opening a bus route from Paraty to Vila Oratorio, although Praia do Sono is still very remote. There are only two entry points: one via taxi boat, and the other via hiking trail through the forest



**FIGURE 1:** Map of current access routes to Praia do Sono.

From Paraty, the average person takes a municipal bus on the BR-101 to Vila Oratorio, and from there is a choice to take either take the trail or a taxi boat. The public trail to Praia do Sono is three kilometers over the pass from Vila Oratorio and takes approximately one hour for an able-bodied person. However, not everybody is capable of making the 3km hike, including fishers bring fish to market in Paraty, restaurant owners carrying supplies into Praia do Sono, the elderly, and anybody with mobility issues.

To take the boat, passengers must cross through the Condomínio Laranjeiras gated community to reach the dock. Despite that the dock is the traditional passageway used by all Caiçara communities on the peninsula for generations, it now falls within the boundaries of Condomínio Laranjeiras and is controlled by the gated community's management.

### Tourism Industry

Praia do Sono receives up to 7,000 people visiting and camping in their community over the New Year's holiday period. Residents involved in tourism make infrastructure adjustments to accommodate the influx, such as digging new sewage systems and preparing campgrounds. Year round, Praia do Sono has restaurant kiosks and campgrounds lining the beach. Generally, residents who work in tourism make most of their money for the year in summer high tourism season, from November to April in the southern hemisphere, and supplement the rest of the year with other secondary service sector jobs. In high season, people work at kiosks making and serving food, tending to campgrounds, some rent out rooms, and others drive taxi boats. Each boat holds no more than three passengers. Additionally, in high tourism season Condomínio Laranjeiras adds an extra van, segregating locals to the *kombi* and driving tourists in a shuttle bus.

## *Current Conflicts*

### Condominio Laranjeiras

Today, Condominio Laranjeiras gated vacation home community has approximately 200 luxury vacation properties. There are now four beaches included in the Condominio Laranjeiras complex, due to the construction of the man-made marina that bisected a beach where Caiçara communities traditionally traded and conducted activities. Amenities include a golf course and private, man-made marina backed up to some properties in the gated community. Vacation homes in Condominio Laranjeiras are currently on the market for R\$2.3 million R\$25 million (US \$760,000-US\$8.3 million) according to Mitula.com. A more comprehensive review of rental sites during high tourism season of from Christmas to Carnival show that renting a house in the gated community costs between US\$1,000-US\$2,000 per night, frequently with 10-day minimums and mandatory daily cleaning fees. Premiums are even higher during Carnival and New Year's. Nobody lives full time in Condominio Laranjeiras. Rumored property owners in the gated community are soccer player Ricardo Kaka, the head of Itau bank, the CEO of a major Brazilian grocery store chain, fashion designer Jean-Paul Gaultier, and vice-president of media giant O Globo Jose Roberto Marinho.

The main point of conflict between the Praia do Sono community and Condominio Laranjeiras is that the vacation home complex has privatized access to the only dock where residents of Praia do Sono and Ponta Negra, a neighboring community, come and go from the communities to fulfill basic needs in Paraty. Residents use the dock for human physical access as well as for supplies, groceries, stock for restaurants, construction materials, trash collection, ice for food storage in the community before they had electricity, and for transporting fish catches to



markets. Under Brazilian federal law, all beaches are public spaces, therefore there are public trails to all Condominio Laranjeiras controlled beaches. Additionally, Condominio Laranjeiras has hired a private shuttle to transport people from the bus stop in Vila Oratorio to dock used to access the Caiçara communities via boat. However, this shuttle is irregular and unreliable, and residents of Praia do Sono sometimes must wait for hours at a time, since they are prohibited from walking the 1km distance through Condominium Laranjeiras.

Originally, Condominio Laranjeiras allowed tourists and residents of the Caiçara communities on the peninsula free access to the dock and passage through the gated community. However, beginning around 2008, Condominio Laranjeiras began imposing more and more rules and restrictions on the traditional communities' passage. As it stands, nobody is permitted to pass through Condominio Laranjeiras on foot, and must wait for a van provided by Condomínio Laranjeiras. In early 2016, the van only operated at certain hours during the day, meaning that any passage at night had to happen via trail or be a severe medical emergency, evaluated at the discretion of the guard on duty. Furthermore, the gated community does not allow Caiçaras to transport construction materials through the resort to the dock, and historically they forbade groceries, ice, and fish transportation as well. Lastly, a new rule imposed as of summer 2016-2017, Condominio Laranjeiras dictates a daily maximum on the number of tourists that can access and leave the community via boat, which stranded tourists after New Year's. Interviews with residents and ethnographic observations, and personal experience show that these restrictions have severe economic, health, and livelihood impacts on residents and tourists.

Praia do Sono won a victory in 2016 when Condominio Laranjeiras granted residents van passage at whatever hour residents wished. Additionally, residents may now bring restaurant supplies and fish through Condominio Laranjeiras in personal vehicles. There is ongoing

animosity between residents and Condomínio Laranjeiras management, and this arrangement is fragile.

### Environmental Policy Paradox

Praia do Sono falls within two environmentally protected areas, federally managed APA Cairuçu, created in 1983, and state managed Juatinga Ecological Reserve. APA Cairuçu is managed by Chico Mendes Institute (ICMBio) and IBAMA the main federal environmental bodies (Decreto N° 89.242). Originally, the APA allowed for eviction of local communities in favor of a fortress conservation model, but communities resisted and remained within the protected area. Juatinga Ecological reserve was created in 1992 in response to conflict with Gibrael and managed by Rio de Janeiro state environmental body INEA (Decreto Estadual n° 17.981). Although it protects against real estate speculation from outside actors, the environmental policies also severely restrict community growth. These regulations restrict how forest resources can be used, locations where the community can build their houses, ban the traditional Caiçara slash-and-burn agriculture method, and require that the Caiçaras living within the parks stay true to their traditional activities or lose the right to live within the protected area. However, the regulations heavily limit traditional livelihood activities, like subsistence agriculture and forest-based crafts, putting communities into a paradox.

In 2000, the federal government created SINUC, a nationalized system for protected area management (Decreto n° 4.519 ). The category “Ecological Reserve” was not included in this management system, therefore this triggered a reclassification of the protected area which is ongoing. Since the creation of Juatinga Ecological Reserve, Praia do Sono leaders have been

fighting to reclassify Juatinga Ecological Reserve as a “Sustainable Development Reserve” (RDS), allowing Caiçara communities to once again engage in regulated forest-based livelihood activities.

Furthermore, a 2008 deal made between Praia do Sono leadership and state-managed INEA gave Praia do Sono electricity for the first time in exchange for adherence to more stringent environmental regulations.

### Municipal Government Neglect

The Paraty municipal government has failed to provide many basic services to the Praia do Sono community such as regular trash collection, sewage collection, or consistent running water. Additionally, there is no medical clinic in Praia do Sono, and no full school within the community. All of these on-site services are essential because, during storms, residents are stuck in the community when the ocean is too dangerous to make the passage via boat.

## Literature Review

### *Caiçaras in Literature*

Environmental protection and conservation serve as disguises for real estate speculation (Viera de Melo & Serafini, 2015), especially in the Paraty municipality and the Costa Verde Region (Bloomberg, 2012). In other regions in the state of Rio de Janeiro, communities have been evicted through creation of environmental regulations forbidding habitation, eminent domain, or private pressure and agreements with residents to sell land (RioOnWatch.org, 2016). Similar events occurred in Praia do Sono with the creation of the Juatinga Ecological Reserve, but the Praia do Sono residents have thus far resisted pressure. Viera de Melo and Serafini of the Commission for the Defense of Human Rights and Citizenship of the Rio de Janeiro State Legislative Assembly examined expected and observed human rights violations due to the planned construction of a resort in another Caiçara community in Rio da Janeiro state. Also studied were the impacts of environmental licensing associated with resort construction, examining current tactics being implemented by the cooperation of private sector and government development interests (Viera de Melo & Serafini, 2016). Additionally, Begossi has conducted multiple ethnoecological studies in Praia do Sono and the neighboring Caiçara communities on their fishing strategies and artisanal fishery management (Begossi, 2013, 1992). Lopes has examined the connection between protected area policy and Caiçara livelihoods in the region (Lopes et al, 2013, 2013, 2015). Additionally, a thorough discourse analysis and ethnography of Praia do Sono's neighbor Ponta Negra was conducted by Idrobo in 2012 which examined the Caiçara identity in relation to protected area policy of the Juatinga Ecological reserve. Other sources exploring Caiçara history, identity, culture, and resistance movements in

Paraty include found-footage documentaries *Vento Contra*, originally made in the 1980's published on YouTube 2016, and *Trindadeiros 30 Anos Depois*, 2013.

### *Political Ecology*

The theoretical lens through which this study examines the forces affecting Praia do Sono is political ecology, an intersectional, multidisciplinary approach for examining the relationships between humans and the environment using frameworks from sciences, social sciences, and political economy (*Environment and Ecology*). The term was coined in 1972 by Eric Wolf, combining multiple fields of study to gain a complete understanding, such as local ecological context, social and ecological history, and intergroup relations (Wolf, 1972). Contemporary political ecology was developed by Bryant and Baily in 1997, with the main tenants that costs and benefits associated with environmental change are distributed unequally and the unequal distribution reinforces or reduces existing socioeconomic inequalities. These inequalities impact politics regarding the power dynamics of unequal distribution of costs and benefits, with applications in conservation and anthropology (Bryant and Bailey, 1997). Conservation policy is an example of competition for environmental control. Protected areas establish jurisdictions and borders that define exclusionary rights, implemented by powerful social and institutional actors often at the expense of less powerful groups with benefits enjoyed by a third set of actors, tourists and scientists (Vaccaro et al., 2013).

Development organizations are beginning to take an ethnographic approach and ask structural questions when performing development, and through doing so identify areas where important changes can be made (Watts, 2001). Intersecting policy research, institutions, and stakeholders can address policy and social and alternative development movements, (Abakerli,

2001). The anthropological method of multi-actor ethnography, which identifies and differentiates social and natural actors, uses different spatial and temporal levels of analysis is a useful method in political ecology to detect latent conflicts with traditionally marginalized communities (Little, 2007). The field has been an important source of critical analyses of the social and ecological effects of economic development and conservation initiatives, focusing particularly on the material and discursive aspects of property rights, with a focus on environment and identity (Neuman, 2009). There is a growing scale and scope of criticism of conservation with widespread international policy recognition that biodiversity conservation can and does have significant social impacts, and that these need to be addressed (Adams, 2007).

Many case studies use political ecology to explore power relations between governments, locals, and conservation initiatives. A common theme is that local communities receive the short end of the stick in relation to conservation policy and benefits from natural resource use. In Ghana, one study concludes that the post-colonial power structures remain unchanged, and benefits of gold extraction remain unequally distributed (Arubayi, 2014). A case study in Greece exemplifies how government policies and environmental governance ahead of 2004 Athens Olympics fit the model of unequal power and access; elites made many of the decisions while locals were left out and conservation was not really prioritized (Apostopoulou & Pantis, 2010). In Brazil specifically, regional development and conservation policies have promoted tensions between resident peoples' livelihoods and the protected area paradigm and reinforced the legitimization of social exclusion and environmental disruption under the rhetoric of nature protection and tourism development. (Greenberg & Park, 1994). This theory will be applied in Praia do Sono to examine the actors involved and analyze the phenomena and power dynamics at

play between various stakeholders including the Caiçara residents, Condomínio Laranjeiras and real estate interests, the local government, and a growing tourism sector.

### *Growth Machine*

The growth machine is an idea articulated by Harvey Molotch in 1976 that a city or locality is the expression of aggregate interests of a land-based elite. The elite at the top of the local power structure set priorities and decide how to allocate land use, public budget, and urban social life. (Molotch, 1976). Elites profit through intensification of land use where members have common interest, and elites compete with each other for investment in their areas. Government authority at all levels is used to assist growth at the expense of competing localities. The desire for growth motivates and unites politically mobilized local elites (Molotch, 1976). Government becomes arenas in which land-use interest groups compete for public money and attempt to mold decisions for land-use, and localities compete to gain pre-conditions of growth (Molotch, 1976).

Growth machine and the idea of gentrification applied to commercial fisherman on America's coasts show that many coastal communities, particularly those experiencing rapid recreation- related development, will have to take explicit steps to protect the land- dependent portion of their commercial fishing fleet (Gale, 1991).

Resistance to the growth machine in the literature primarily entails applying growth management strategies.

## *Neoliberal Conservation*

Neoliberal conservation policy is the reregulation of nature through forms of commodification and territorialization: the partitioning of resources and landscapes in ways that control, and often exclude, local people by making areas attractive to transnational elites, the outcomes of neoliberal policies can be problematic for conservation goals and local livelihoods (Igoe & Brockington, 2007). Set forth by McAfee that “Neoliberalism has turned land, fauna and flora into *'natural resources'* whereby their principal value is their exchange value and their right to existence based on what the market is willing to pay for them in monetary terms” (McAfee 1999). Igoe and Brockington give an overview of the dominant discourse around neoliberal conservation, the deregulation, reregulation, territorialization, and commodification of nature, adding value to these landscapes as touristic and consumptive experiences thereby creating a private market (Igoe & Brockington, 2007). Neoliberal conservation policy permits and relies on non-government actors such as the private sector and NGOs to control conservation by commodifying nature, thereby assigning value to protected areas. Additionally, Igoe and Brockington note that there is a rhetoric in the neoliberal conservation world claiming that this type of conservation yields win-win situations for conservation initiatives, economic interests, and local communities by creating a network of actors responsible for conservation initiatives (Igoe & Brockington, 2007).

Many other studies are highly critical of this rhetoric as well as neoliberal conservation as an effective strategy. Bnscher and Dressler’s (2007) notes the idea of the “discursive blur” where rhetoric becomes more and more self-referential to portray participation and sustainability as a “win-win” solution without actually examining the complex realities of these types of policies,



which may in fact have harmful environmental as well as social consequences (Bnscher and Dressler, 2007).

The main tenants of neoliberal conservationism as outlined by Igoe and Brockington are deregulation, the scaling back of states and their capacity to regulate, assuming less intrusive government regulation improves the lives of citizens (Igoe & Brockington, 2007). Next, they cite reregulation the use of states to transform previously untradeable things into tradable commodities (Castree 2007) through privatization (Vandergeest & Peluso 1995) the sub-division of collectively held land by granting individual titles to rural communities, allowing them to enter business ventures with outside investors (Lemos & Agrawal 2006), or through state-controlled territories being made available to investors through rents and concessions (Igoe & Brockington, 2007). Territorialization adds new types of value to areas that have not been directly territorialized, as with the real estate booms coinciding with the creation of new protected areas (Igoe & Brockington, 2007, Fortwangler 2007, Berlanga & Faust, 2007). Protected areas are an example of reregulation and territorialization that adds economic value, available to transnational interests and national elites, often at the expense of local rural communities (Ferguson, 2006). As the most proximate and visible threat to protected areas, they are often treated as the primary threat. According to the dominant perception, local communities are treated as the primary threat to protected areas, and bringing them into the market through the ecotourism industry as conservationists is viewed as their only hope, (Brockington & Igoe, 2006).

A case study in the Yucatan showed that locals gained less competitive advantage as more competitors entered the tourism market, resulting in increased sale of land to outside investors (Berlanga & Faust, 2007). Another case study examined conservation easements which

increased value of land but could not fully compensate people who depended on access to that land for their livelihoods (Igoe & Croucher, 2007). In some cases assuming locals will be assimilated into tourism industry serves as justification to remove them (McAfee, 1999). Local livelihoods such as fishing, farming, and hunting are criminalized or land outright seized (Giroud, 2006). Neoliberalism's emphasis on competition, along with its the rolling back of state protection and the social contract, creates spaces in which local people are not often able to compete effectively in the face of much more powerful transnational interests ((Igoe & Brockington, 2007).

In Brazil, Abakerli examined conservation in another protected area, Lencois Maranhenses National Park. She noted the policies assumed that utilitarian use of natural resources by tourism development would ensure nature preservation and were implemented using top-down approaches at odds with livelihoods of local communities (Abakerli, 2001). This type of conservation promoted tensions between resident peoples' livelihoods and the protected area and reinforced the legitimization of social exclusion and environmental disruption under the guise of nature protection and tourism development (Abakerli, 2001). Environmental governance characterized by continuous fragmentation of actor alliances and networks, commodification of nature and a gap between rhetoric and reality, creates an environment of the competitive behavior of actors with diverging values (Buscher & Dressler, 2007). Dove explored a case in Indonesia where external actors appropriate a forest resource as soon as it begins to gain value. Although a common belief is that forest dwellers only use resources because they have no other livelihood source, a better approach is to examine institutional forces restricting forest dwellers ownership and productive use of forest resources (Dove, 2009).

A 2006 review by West, Igoe, and Brockington claim that indigenous communities in Latin America have treated protected areas as an opportunity to protect their traditional homelands (Chapin, 2000, Winer, 2003), but they have also learned protected areas can be a front for outside commercial interests (West, Igoe, & Brockington, 2006).

Büscher critiques neoliberal conservation because it idealizes “nature” and alienates locals for the benefit of non-local consumers. peoples thereby affected become constrained to participate in and benefit from neoliberal conservation initiatives to the extent that they accept associated opportunities and compensation only in particular economic terms (Büscher, 2012). Dressler and Roth 2011 offer case studies in Southeast Asia examining coerced and elective livelihood change, noting that neoliberal conservation forces can cause local communities to welcome emerging market opportunities and simultaneously feel coerced by them (Dressler & Roth, 2011).

There is no consensus in the literature for combatting neoliberal conservationism. Suggestions include direct compensation for ecosystem services as well as returning to a Community Based Natural Resource Management system, but both are heavily criticized.

## Methods

Using a political ecology lens, this study uses ethnographic observation and community interviews of consenting adults to identify the forces shaping the Praia do Sono Caiçara community's experience of development, how those forces are experienced by the community, and forms of community resistance and inhibitors to such resistance with multiple visits from January 2016- January 2017. From January to July 2016, I performed ethnographic observation of the community. In August 2016, I conducted semi-structured interviews with members of the Praia do Sono community using the questionnaire in Appendix 1, interviewing five men and two women. I received a UROP grant in Fall 2016 and returned to Brazil over winter break, where I conducted more ethnographic observation and community interviews in January 2017, this time with community facilitator and translator Cassio Otto Fernandes who joined me for all interviews. I used questionnaire from Appendix 2 in this round of interviews. The total number of residents formally interviewed in 2016 and 2017 was  $n = 17$ , ten men and seven women. Participants were recruited in person in Praia do Sono as well as via the snowball method.

Recruits for formal interviews were read the recruitment script (Appendix 2) where it is made clear participation in interviews is optional, voluntary, and confidential if they choose. The interviews began when verbal consent was granted for participation and recording the conversation. It was made clear that participation in the semi-structured interviews were voluntary, and they could skip questions or stop completely if they ever felt uncomfortable.

Additionally, consent was obtained verbally to ensure all participants felt comfortable. I used verbal consent as to not make residents of the traditional fishing community feel uncomfortable due to a) lack of access to education may make them feel intimidated and lower

on the educational power structure had they needed to sign an official consent form and b) they may be wary of signing contracts due to predatory land acquisition practices have occurred in Praia do Sono in the past. To even the power dynamic and put residents at ease, and since no harm is expected to participants in my study, I obtained verbal consent.

A physical list of participant names was kept in a private notebook that is locked in my private apartment in a locking drawer, kept with me at all times while in the field or in transit, and kept locked at home otherwise. The participants spoke with me with times ranging from 8 minutes to almost two hours.

Once the interviews were complete, recorded interviews will be coded and analyzed using the audio files. The saved recordings were given an interview number unrelated to any identifiable information. Each translation/transcript was labeled with the interview number and does not include identifying information about the interview subjects (even if this information is provided in the recording). I was the only person with access to the data. The hardcopy master list of interview subjects' names will be burned by the PI 10 years after the end of the study. The remainder of the de-identified data will be kept indefinitely on a secure hard drive, as it may need to be accessed in the future to check or compare findings, or to be used again in longitudinal comparisons of the processes if the research decided to undertake this type of study. Risk to participants was minimal in this study. All data was de-identified or given a pseudonym for direct quotes, or reported in aggregate to remain completely de-identified. No physical harm was expected to participants by participating in this study, and emotional harm was minimized by making it very clear that no question is mandatory, and participants may withdraw at any time they felt uncomfortable.

## Results

### *Condominio Laranjeiras*

Condominio Laranjeiras is the most blatant antagonist impacting the experience of residents of Praia do Sono. All (100%) residents interviewed formally and spoken with informally noted the gated vacation home community as the main issue they experience. Through observation, conversations with residents, and personal experience, three primary conflict points with the gated community came to light. The first is that Condominio Laranjeiras is physically controlling the principal access route between Praia do Sono and the highway to Paraty, the closest urban center. Secondly, Condominio Laranjeiras controls the number of tourists allowed to pass into Praia do Sono. Despite that there are many Caiçara communities with tourism activities on the peninsula, including Ponta Negra and Martim de Sá, their most restrictive tourism rules only apply to Praia do Sono, their adjacent neighbor. Thirdly, Condominio Laranjeiras forbids construction materials to pass through the gated community and be transported from the Laranjeiras dock, meaning that Caiçaras looking to undertake any construction project must have their materials shipped from Paraty around the entire peninsula adding extra time and cost. Additionally, these regulations and rules are constantly changing keeping residents in a perpetual state of uncertainty. Between January 2016 and January 2017, there were multiple observed changes in the passage protocol.

Residents repeatedly expressed that their main desire is to have access to their traditional routes returned. "We want our passage which is linked to our Caiçara identity, which our ancestors used without issue. Our problem is [Condominio Laranjeiras] who invents new rules all the time, every day another restriction," said one 41-year-old resident.

## Passage of Residents

Originally, according to resident testimony, Condominio Laranjeiras allowed caíçaras and tourists to pass through the gated community on foot. However, following the wider trend in Brazil, their security has become tighter and armed. Praia do Sono residents estimate that Condominio Laranjeiras implemented the *kombi* system in 2008. A *kombi* is an old-model Volkswagen van painted white, a common informal transportation method in Brazil. The motivation for implementing the *kombi* rule is unclear. Condominio Laranjeiras decided that their homeowner fees would pay for a kombi to routinely circulate between the public bus stop near the BR-101 highway in Vila Oratorio, through the gated vacation home community, and to the traditional Caiçara dock. Passage on foot has since been forbidden.

Residents describe many scuffles and conflicts at the gates of Condominio Laranjeiras since the implementation of the kombi rule. A 2009 UOL news article describes one resident who received a judicial notice for passing through the gated community on foot with construction materials (UOL, 2009). Additionally, multiple residents interviewed referenced the story of a pregnant women in labor needing to leave Praia do Sono to get to the hospital. Condominio Laranjeiras forbade her passage on foot since there was no kombi circulating, but someone managed to find a car to drive her through the gated community to receive medical attention. Furthermore, this past year a woman was had an urgent commitment in Paraty and needed access to the bus. After waiting for an uncommonly long amount of time for the *kombi*, the woman decided to cross the 1km distance on foot. She was grabbed so hard by security that it left bruises on her arm, and she was also knocked to the ground, recounted residents.

Residents describe increasingly strict rules regarding the kombi. In the early stages of the system, interviews show that the kombi would operate at all hours with multiple kombis making

the circuit at all times, especially during summer high-tourism season. However, this quickly degraded. Already in 2009 residents were complaining about long wait times and severe regulations about supplies allowed in the kombi. “[Condominio Laranjeiras] created many restrictions. Tourists cannot pass. They also don’t let cars pass with ice for fish. In summer we throw a lot of fish away. Boats cannot unload [at the dock]. Many fishers have sold their boats,” (UOL, 2009).

In early 2016, this study also observed long wait times for the kombi and infrequent intervals, although some market supplies were allowed passage in the kombi. During week days, the one kombi would circulate regularly with a one-hour break for lunch. It was assumed that kombis would begin and end operation during daylight hours as soon as taxi-boats were in operation, but not circulate at night except in case of severe emergencies, evaluated at the discretion of the Condominio Laranjeiras security staff. On Sundays, however, the kombi operation was erratic with wait times up to an hour for lunch breaks as well as driver changes. This was extremely impractical because the bus back to Paraty operates at regular intervals one hour apart, causing an even longer wait if one misses the bus they intended to catch before getting held up at the kombi. This was observed happening to many tourists, residents, and myself. Praia do Sono residents appeared to understand the kombi operation breaks and waited patiently. The most vocal critics of this inconvenience were weekend tourists from Rio de Janeiro and São Paulo with work the next morning. Bus tickets departing out of Paraty on Sundays filled up and sold out quickly, with no refund or transfer if the passenger didn’t make it. Tourists caught unexpectedly waiting up to an hour for the Condominio Laranjeiras kombi and then another hour for the municipal bus to Paraty frequently missed their busses home to the



capital cities if not familiar with the Condominio Laranjeiras restrictions, resulting in many grumpy complaints leveled at the austere, armed security guards.

After my last visit to Praia do Sono in August 2016, a new manager was hired in Condominio Laranjeiras. In the 2017 round of interviews, many residents expressed that this manager is much worse than previous managers in rhetoric as well as implementing new restrictions. One resident shared a story of how a well-known Praia do Sono community member threw coins at the new Condominio Laranjeiras manager and accused him of being “bought off” at a public meeting, epitomizing the frustration many community members seem to feel about his rhetoric and harshness.

#### Resistance and the Results of November meeting

Praia do Sono leaders along with a public defender from the Public Ministry fought Condominio Laranjeiras on the tightened passage restrictions. However, Condominio Laranjeiras has the financial means to hire a legal team of seven of the best private attorneys money can buy, whereas Praia do Sono only has one public defender who also defends many other communities.

In the 2017 interviews, many residents recounted the results of a November meeting between the residents of Praia do Sono supported by a public defender, and the new Condominio Laranjeiras manager and their private legal team which resulted in a new protocol for the *kombi*. Residents demanded their human right to passage in and out of their territory, due to the fact that the trail was inaccessible to children, the elderly, the disabled, or anybody with any sort of baggage or supplies. In addition to a Brazilian federal law mandates that all beaches are public and must have public access. Condominio Laranjeiras claims that their land is private property and they are within their right to control who how, and when anybody enters and passes through.

The two parties came to an agreement that Caiçara residents must have access to the kombi at any hour they wished.

This was a victory for Praia do Sono residents. In my interviews, residents repeatedly said that they simply wished to gain access to their traditional passage. Their ancestors lived there long before Condomínio Laranjeiras was built and began imposing laws on their traditional activities practiced for generations. They recognized that in our contemporary system Condomínio Laranjeiras owns the land, granting them all appropriate private property rights, but they believed in and demanded their basic rights to come and go from Praia do Sono, considering passing through Condomínio Laranjeiras is literally the only passageway for some citizens in the community incapable of using the trail.

#### Passage of Tourists (number, arms race, attrition)

The November 2016 meeting also resulted in new regulations regarding tourism. In Summer 2015-2016, there were no limits on the number of tourists that could pass through Condomínio Laranjeiras to access Praia do Sono via taxi-boat. Tourists had unrestricted access to bring camping gear, surfboards, and the like in the kombis. Boat drivers were a main economic contributor to the Praia do Sono community during this time.

In the 2017 round of interviews, Praia do Sono residents shared that the November 2016 meeting resulted in newly implemented regulations on the number and time of day that tourists headed for Praia do Sono could board the Condomínio Laranjeiras van. The rule, passed in 2009 but never previously enforced, stated that a maximum of 500 tourists can come in and out of Praia do Sono via boat-to-van on weekends and holidays, and 400 tourists on regular weekdays.

This was monitored closely through a physical numbered card system. At the Vila Oratorio bus stop boarding the van towards Condominio Laranjeiras and Praia do Sono, tourists were given red “going” cards with a number 001-500 which they returned to a person stationed at the dock before boarding the taxi-boat. Leaving Praia do Sono, a taxi-boat driver would give each tourist a green “returning” card marked 001-500 which they would return to the security guard stationed at the dock before entering the van, passing through Condominio Laranjeiras and returning to Paraty. An important distinction is that the 400 or 500-person limit exclusively applies to Praia do Sono, despite the fact that there are multiple other Caiçara communities who use the same dock, and taxi-boat system to ferry tourists to their respective communities, also crossing through Condominio Laranjeiras in the *kombi*.

According to residents, Praia do Sono averages about 5,000-7,000 people camping, renting rooms, and visiting the beach during the New Year’s period. Many tourists bring camping supplies, coolers, groceries, surf boards, stand-up paddle boards, and other gear that would be too cumbersome to transport via trail.

Multiple residents shared the same story about New Year’s 2016-2017 with the new limit. In the days leading up to New Year’s Eve, initially the limit did not pose an issue because tourists arrived in a spread out manner beginning approximately December 28th. Community members estimate that this year there were a total of 2,000-5,000 tourists total vacationing in Praia do Sono, with 500 arriving daily via taxi-boat with gear. Residents noted that this tourism season was a bit weaker than normal which many attributed to the current financial and political crisis in Brazil after the impeachment/coup of Dilma Rousseff. This view was also shared anecdotally by people working in tourism in the city of Paraty. Tourists enjoyed, ate at the beachfront restaurants, filled campgrounds, rang in the new year by jumping seven waves, and

then everybody packed up to return home on January 2<sup>nd</sup>. Nobody was prepared for the chaos that ensued when all 2,000 tourists tried to leave Praia do Sono on the same day, many residents shared. The newly-implemented 500-person taxi-boat limit caught many tourists unawares, and people were forced to hike the 3km trail with full camping gear.

The January 2017 interviews revealed that not only did tourists struggle to leave Praia do Sono at the end of their New Year's vacation, but taxi-boat drivers from the community took a severe hit economically due to the new regulation. Normally Praia do Sono residents make the bulk of their year's income during high tourism season and survive on those savings for the rest of the year. With the new limit, the number of tourists per boat driver severely decreased. Residents estimated that during high-tourism season taxi-boats would reach the 500-person limit at about noon. Anecdotally, it appeared that there were fewer boats in the water at any given time compared to the same period in January 2016, although residents interviewed did not have any conclusions about this observation, when asked.

To combat the 500-person limit, Praia do Sono, taxi-boat drivers found a loophole that resulted in a regulatory arms race between Condominio Laranjeiras and the taxi-boat drivers. A taxi-boat driver told the story of the taxi-boat community this tourism season. He said that when the limit was created, this had an immediate impact on the taxi-boat drivers, so they had to come up with a plan to survive. He said that the same tourists return many times to Praia do Sono, so the taxi-boat drivers made agreements with them, especially tourists returning later with heavy supplies. Instead of picking up tourists at the usual Condominio Laranjeiras-controlled dock, boat drivers and tourists agreed to meet on Laranjeiras Beach, accessible on foot from the Vila Oratorio bus stop. Laranjeiras Beach trail is an easy 15-minutes as opposed to the Praia do Sono trail which is very steep and challenging to hike while carrying any non-specialized gear or

supplies. Any tourists who arrived after the 500-person cut-off and didn't want to hike the Praia do Sono trail could embark on the 15-minute walk to Laranjeiras Beach where taxi-boats would pick them up and take them to Praia do Sono. They viewed this as a win-win situation for tourists with gear as well as boat drivers circumventing the 500-person limit. Tourists with bulky gear could save themselves a strenuous hike, and taxi-boats could continue to work despite the new rule.

Condominio Laranjeiras management quickly caught on to this scheme because Laranjeiras Beach is within the borders of the gated community. However, the same federal law mandating access to Praia do Sono also mandates that all beaches in Brazil have a public access, therefore tourists were within their rights to hike to Laranjeiras Beach. Condominio Laranjeiras countered with the legal argument that boats were forbidden from landing on their beach. Coincidentally, the maritime authority then reclassified the aquatic zone to "open ocean" forcing taxi-boats to undergo expensive upgrades to their hulls, which delayed the boat drivers from working. The Caiçaras upgraded their boats and resumed taxi services. At the time, this was a very recent story and the resident was sure there would be legal ramifications to follow for the boat drivers participating in this scheme.

### Construction materials

Another Condominio Laranjeiras rule that heavily affects the Praia do Sono community is the inability to transport construction materials via the gated community. The most efficient way to get from Paraty city center to Praia do Sono is the BR-101 highway, through Condominio Laranjeiras to the traditional dock, onto a boat, and arrive in Praia do Sono. In a private vehicle,

the entire trip takes less than an hour. The gated community's ban on construction materials forces the Praia do Sono community to ship materials around the peninsula from Paraty on a barge. Each trip takes about four hours and costs R\$1,000 (US\$330), if inclement weather doesn't delay or cancel the trip entirely. Community interviews indicate that it takes eight or nine trips to build a house, adding an extra R\$9000 (US\$3,000) per house. Multiple residents said that it almost costs more to ship the materials than the materials themselves.

Many impacts Condominio Laranjeiras has on Praia do Sono are targeted and economic, such as the tourist cap and materials passage, but others are less obvious. The mandatory *kombi* takes away an element of agency of Praia do Sono residents coming and going from their homes. In addition, residents as well as tourists with whom I have shared a *kombi* point out the injustice about how Condominio Laranjeiras treats its Caiçara neighbors. The *kombi* rule makes it seem “as if they don't want poor people putting a toe in their community,” rhetoric used by multiple residents and tourists, while forcibly chauffeuring Caiçaras through one of the most elite gated communities in Brazil, past mansions with yacht parking spots. The majority of people who make these sorts of comments are middle-class tourists experiencing the *kombi* passage for the first time.

A considerable limitation in this study is that there were no interviews with management, homeowners, or temporary renters of Condominio Laranjeiras, leaving no direct explanation of their actions and rules. When asked to speculate on the intentions of the gated community, the Praia do Sono respondents split evenly leaning one of two ways. Half believed that Condominio Laranjeiras wanted to fully eliminate the community of Praia do Sono through attrition and have the beach to themselves. “They want to make life so difficult us that we leave and they can take the beach for themselves,” said one Praia do Sono resident, echoing the sentiment of all who

responded that way. Additionally, residents pointed out “private property” signs along the highway and trail, despite the fact that they are in the protected area.

### Resistance

The Praia do Sono Residents’ Association led by strong individual leaders has been the best resistance to increasing pressure by Condominio Laranjeiras. The Residents’ Association has 11 members, but the individual leaders themselves are the drivers of progress, change, and advancing the community’s interests. The individual leaders meet regularly with management of Condominio Laranjeiras, their legal team, and the Public Defender. It is through meetings such as this, as well as meetings attended by the entire Praia do Sono community that have gained them some ground in the ongoing conflict. Victories include gaining passage at any hour of the night in the *kombi*, separate kombi and van for tourists which streamlines travel during high season, and the right to have Caiçara’s cars drive through Condominio Laranjeiras with any supplies other than construction materials.

### *Environmental Policy*

The role and perception of environmental protections are the most nuanced issue impacting the Praia do Sono community. A majority of interviewees acknowledged the complicated relationship. On one hand environmental protections serve as a bulwark against real estate speculation by forbidding any new construction by anybody except a Caiçara or spouse of a Caiçara. However, this takes away an element of freedom from the community and imposes many regulations on traditional forest-based livelihoods. However, the prevailing attitude, and a

common phrase from interviews is was that environmental law “doesn’t hurt us and doesn’t help us.”

On one hand, residents believe that conserving the environment is important, and that the policies are valid for conservation. “It is important to preserve what we have here,” said one resident. “People shouldn’t be allowed to cut down trees, people shouldn’t be allowed to build a house by the waterfall. [Other residents] need to learn.” Others believe that environmental law has a negative impact on the community using words like “they hinder us” or “they inconvenience us.” Many traditional activities practiced by Caiçaras rely on the use of forest resources which environmental law now forbids. Most commonly cited annoyances with environmental regulations include gaining permission from environmental bodies before construction, no construction near the waterfall size regulations on new buildings, and no taking trees from the forest. Some believe that these regulations protect against real estate speculation while others speculate that Condomínio Laranjeiras is influencing the environmental policy decisions to make their lives more difficult and ultimately leave Praia do Sono.

Additionally, the protected areas were created as reserves in which human populations were not considered, despite 14 communities living within the Reserva Ecológica Juatinga (cite). For communities to continue living within the park, they must maintain “traditional” activities and livelihoods. However, the environmental protections themselves forbid such activities. One resident elaborates: “They want to keep us living as traditional Caiçaras, maintain our culture. But also Caiçaras are forbidden from going into the forest to collect timber to build a house or carve a canoe.” Some subsistence livelihoods such as hunting and bamboo-based crafts are now eliminated. Environmental policy on fishing, the other main traditional caiçara livelihood,



regulated through marine protected areas and ocean-focused agencies was not examined in this study.

Residents describe the paradox of having to remain true to their “traditional” culture to comply with environmental policy and remain in their homeland while navigating environmental regulations that forbid those very activities. One resident touches on this delicate balance. “Creating a reserve with a community inside is unjust.” “Without these protections, all of Brazil would have been bought [by developers].”

The environmental laws offer strict protections and grant rights to the Caiçara community under the Brazilian federal law (2006) granting indigenous and traditional peoples territory. Caiçaras and their families can live and build within the reserve. However, they cannot sell their land, and construction is highly regulated. Additionally, with growing families the heavy regulations are becoming a hassle when a “father wants to build his son a house” many residents noted.

Caiçara identity and culture is hard to officially describe. Almost every single resident made a statement identifying that they themselves “were born here” with “parents, grandparents, or great-grandparents born here” or alternatively their “parents, grandparents, or great-grandparents died here at x-years old.” However, livelihoods are drifting away from traditional artisanal fishing and agriculture due to environmental regulations and economic forces. Thus, using Caiçara identity as a distinguishing factor in environmental policy is a delicate, complicated paradox.

Having noted this, community leaders are pushing for a recategorization of the protected area. Community leaders and the Residents’ Association are looking actively to take part in this

discussion. Their goal is to reclassify the protected areas from a no-take reserve to a Sustainable Development Reserve (RDS) meaning that Caiçaras would be allowed regulated forest resource use. One resident suggested decision makers come experience Praia do Sono first hand. In 1992, Reserva Ecologica Juatinga was created after a one-day visit by an official with no direct community input. Regarding the decision-making process, the resident proclaims that “from the moment the community has a voice, from there is where you create laws to protect [this area.]” A fear is that the land gets reclassified to a category where people are no longer allowed to live within the park at all.

#### *Paraty Municipal Government Services*

Caiçara, indigenous, and traditional communities are historically underserved by Brazilian government. Praia do Sono is no exception. Until 2008, the Praia do Sono community did not even have energy and used stocks of ice to refrigerate food. Additionally, the Ponta Negra community further on the peninsula still does not have electricity to this day.

When initially observing Praia do Sono, the most noticeable lack of public service is trash collection. According to one resident, a common misconception by tourists, as well as my initial first impression, was that residents don't care about their trash and allow it to pile up on the beach. However, this backlog of trash is created due to a sub-par collection system. Trash is collected by a municipal barge. Residents gather their trash on the beach and it waits there until the collection barge arrives. When ocean conditions don't allow the barge to pass or the barge is delayed for any reason—also anecdotally common in Brazil—trash bags accumulate on the beach in Praia do Sono. According to resident testimony as well as first-hand observation, trash

collection in summer high tourism season is fairly regular to accommodate for the 13-fold population increase experienced yearly by Praia do Sono infrastructure with the presence of tourists. Trash collection is scheduled for twice a week, although it is unclear if the trash barge actually adheres to this schedule. In winter, however, collection decreases, scheduled for once a week. However, this appears to not happen regularly. Residents are forced to come up with other waste disposal methods such as burning or burying trash if the boat doesn't arrive within a reasonable amount of time.

Nearly all residents interviewed noted erratic trash collection as a main issue facing the community. Community leaders noted that they have “gone after solutions” in meetings with Paraty officials, but trash disposal has not markedly improved during the research period. Issues to instituting better trash collection include the long distance, as trash collection using the most efficient route through Condominio Laranjeiras is not permitted. The barge must come from Trindade, a beach further away crossing through open ocean. This leaves the system at the mercy of weather conditions which are commonly severe during winter. Additionally, according to residents, the Paraty municipal government has been reluctant or unable to allocate more resources towards this issue.

Another sanitation issue in Praia do Sono not addressed by the government is sewage treatment and drinking water provision. In many cases, especially with the beach kiosks, raw sewage is outlet directly into holes in the sand on the beach. The Paraty government provides no municipal sewage collection system. Since this is a serious health issue, the Oswaldo Cruz Foundation (Fiocruz), a federal medical research and outreach branch started a project in Praia do Sono to install banana tree-based biological sewage treatment systems. Residents believe this to be progress to an extent, but many expressed doubt at the validity of “hippy” treatment and

would prefer the municipal government to take responsibility and install traditional sewage treatment. Furthermore, the banana tree systems have not been installed in all residences.

Although many people, especially women, were hesitant to participate in official semi-structured interviews for this study. However, in informal conversations with female residents in the community in the kombi and at kiosks, all women unanimously expressed the need for better education. Of all interviewees 100% of women and a majority of men interviewed cited the lack of complete schooling in Praia do Sono as a severe problem in the community as well. Until 2016, Praia do Sono only had a school educating young children up to 10 years old in a schoolhouse with one teacher.

After leaders in the Residents' Association lobbied the government of Paraty, In 2016, they implemented another step of education for children up to fourteen years old which is now in its second year. Many residents were doubtful that this would continue and described a precarious, fragile school system that might close at any given time leaving kids stranded and without a school. However, many are still unsatisfied with the state of education in Praia do Sono because tweens in the community are left idle. This leaves children with nothing to do other than get in trouble at a fragile age. Residents resist by lobbying the government and have proposed to have the government pay for a teacher to live in the community. It is unrealistic for teachers or kids to complete a full school day having to take the boat then wait for the bus to Paraty. Also, on days with a rough ocean they cannot leave the community at all. They need a full school on site.

Another basic service for which residents expressed a need is a health clinic within Praia do Sono. The permanent inaccessibility of the trail to non-able-bodied individuals and elimination of boat passage on days when the ocean is too rough increase the severity of medical

emergencies. Many residents told stories of how they create makeshift stretchers and hand-carry people via the trail to the bus stop on days when boats cannot navigate. “A father lost his son on the trail this way,” said one resident. Women in labor, heart-attack sufferers, snake bites, and other injuries inhibiting mobility were instances other residents mentioned requiring the community to carry them via stretcher.

The Resident’s Association continually attempts to receive their basic services from the municipal government of Paraty, yet receiving the resources from them has proven to be difficult.

### *Tourism*

Tourism is a growing part of the contemporary Praia do Sono livelihood. The community has considerable tourism infrastructure including beachfront restaurants, campgrounds, and rental rooms. Many men earn income by shuttling taxi-boats between their beach and Condominio Laranjeiras and women, generally, work in the restaurants and campgrounds. Praia do Sono residents depend on the revenue they make during high tourism season for the remainder of the year, although it is common to have a supplemental job during winter. Tourism is positive because it allows an additional source of livelihood other than traditional Caiçara subsistence activities. However, residents and tourists share a complicated relationship. Although tourism stimulates the Praia do Sono economy, the influx of outsiders is fundamentally changing the culture of Praia do Sono. Many tourists, myself included, visit Praia do Sono for the natural beauty and calm, despite knowing nothing about the local context, customs, history, or struggles.

Many tourists partake in ecotourism and enjoy the natural beauty of Praia do Sono without considering the context of the human residents. Tourists “want to bring São Paulo to Sono,” said one resident in their interview. They listen to music unfamiliar to community members, get crazy by drinking and doing drugs, and even sell hard drugs to the youth of Praia do Sono. Outsiders rent restaurant kiosks for the summer arrive without any knowledge of the situation they are getting into. Talking about this type of eco-economic tourism, one resident expressed displeasure at how little these types of tourists know about the local context and struggle; “they arrive here and say, ‘how beautiful.’ But it’s not even that. They just want to make money. But they aren't the ones fighting the environmental agencies. They aren't the ones fighting [Condominio Laranjeiras]. They don't carry the trash [for collection by the barge]. There's a lot of work to do to live here. It's really beautiful, but it's hard living here.”

This tension caused by cultural and contextual differences came to a head in June 2016. One of the outside renters of a kiosk in Praia do Sono decided that they were going to host a rave during low tourism season without consulting residents or community decision-makers. Many people, including young residents of Praia do Sono, were thrilled by the idea of an electronic music rave on the beach. The event was released on Facebook and quickly garnered thousands of RSVP’s. However, community leaders were strongly opposed to this plan and vetoed the event.

According to multiple community members in their interviews, the reason for this was multifaceted. Firstly, leaders fully understood the connotations of an electronic music rave: loud music, drug use, and wildness. They were afraid that an accident such as drug overdose would have severe repercussions for tourism to Praia do Sono. They shared that Condominio Laranjeiras was on board with the rave idea, but residents believe the gated community’s underlying intentions were nefarious. If an accident happened, residents feared the

environmental agencies would forbid access for outsiders killing their tourism industry which would be “one more point for Condominio Laranjeiras,” residents expressed. Additionally, Praia do Sono has a common saying that 80% of the population “once was, is currently, or one day will be Evangelical.” Respect for these community members, elderly residents, and families, all of whom had no desire to be exposed to rave environments, also compelled the community leaders to cancel the event.

Residents told the story of how the community leader most responsible for vetoing the rave went around to everyone in the community explaining her this analysis, despite receiving heavy criticism and pushback from young residents. Young residents were initially upset about the cancellation but changed their minds when they understood her logic and “realized that she was putting the community first” as many recounted.

A solution to the cultural misunderstanding between residents and tourists would be to create more education opportunities for tourists. It would be interesting to have a plaque explaining the history and customs of Praia do Sono. Many tourists experience and disapprove of the passage through Condomino Laranjeiras. These tourists, generally middle class and more politically powerful than the Caiçara community, could be made into powerful allies if they understood more about the context creating the conditions in Praia do Sono. Additionally, one resident interviewed takes it upon herself to educate tourists staying in her campground on the history and customs in Praia do Sono. She said this is an effective method to share the customs and history with average tourists. After her talks, she said, those staying in her campground act with more reverence towards the environment and residents.

### *Community Evolution and Divides*

Praia do Sono is experiencing a divide in how residents envision the development of their community. While some look to revive and celebrate a traditional past, others, especially younger residents, look outward towards tourists and mainstream Brazilian culture.

A major point of contention is the construction of a paved road into Praia do Sono. Many oppose the idea because they believe the road will bring unwanted quantities of tourism and real estate speculation on a large scale. Those who support the road believe it will make their lives a lot easier by facilitating access, therefore solving many problems Praia do Sono faces.

Also, there is a divide between people who sell plots of land to outsiders and those weary of outside influence. Although it is illegal, some residents sell plots of land or small vacation homes to outsiders. Some interviewed denounce this practice because it hurts their credibility with environmental agencies as well as opens the door for further real estate speculation. “Our biggest fear is that [someone from Condominio Laranjeiras] will buy here. It hasn’t happened yet, but it’s a great fear.” Additionally, renting out a restaurant kiosk is another avenue for outsiders to infiltrate the community. People arrive for a short period of time without understanding local context and participate in activities like loud music and drug use. At best, community members are not used to this, and at worst “they sell drugs and get our kids addicted,” said one resident. Many interviewees expressed apprehension towards things from the city, with “murder” and “violence of the city” commonly used phrases. Multiple residents shared that there has “never been a murder or serious fight in Praia do Sono.”



When asked about their favorite part about living in Praia do Sono, every respondent used some combination of the following words: peace, tranquility, freedom, and beauty. Those against opening the road believe that it will “end what we have here,” a phrase commonly used referring to the culture and social climate in Praia do Sono.

Although many interviewed have concerns about the outcome for their community, inspiring people to take action is difficult. Currently they are looking for a new president for the Residents’ Association, since the last president reached the term limit. Unfortunately, nobody has stepped up yet. Furthermore, among some older respondents they perceive the young people as only wanting to ride around on boats and not stand up for their community politically. Additionally, the outside influence of marijuana appears to contribute to this.

Moreover, young people have an increasingly difficult time staying in touch with Caiçara roots. Since forest resource use is now banned, traditional activities like a particular traditional slash-and-burn technique as well as hand-carving wood canoes is now banned. However, fiberglass-hulled boat culture and infrastructure is still strong. Some actively keep their culture alive by passing down traditions to their children and grandchildren. In one instance, a young-teenage boy wearing a billabong hat and orange Quicksilver bro-tank sat in front of his family’s kiosk weaving a fishing net in the traditional method using two dowels of wood. The next day, his father sat in the same chair working on the net, and the day after the grandfather continued weaving in the same manner. However, artisanal fishing is a diminishing livelihood in the community with more young people electing to drive taxi boats or work in the service industry for Condomínio Laranjeiras and the surrounding area.

Young people now listen to the mainstream radio with electronic dance music, pop, and Brazilian funk commonly heard on the beach. “Sorry” by Justin Bieber played multiple times a

day and seemed to be the most common song during the 2016 observation period. Paradoxically, the manager of Condomínio Laranjeiras uses this as ammunition against the community, with a resident quoting him saying “a Caiçara wearing Nikes is no longer a Caiçara.”

## **Discussion**

### *Neoliberal Conservation*

Praia do Sono's relationship to neoliberal conservationism is riddled with paradoxes. On one hand, protected area policy serves as a protection against real estate speculation, as it is illegal to buy and sell land within the reserves. However, the protected area policy has also forbidden many traditional livelihood activities. These policies have two opposing effects. On one hand, they push residents to look for other income sources through the tourism industry and buy into the commodification of their community by outside tourists. Yet protected area policy also forces them into a state of neglect and dependency by the Paraty government, due to the stipulation that they must remain "traditional Caiçaras," to remain inside the protected areas, yet using resources for traditional Caiçara artisanal and subsistence activities is forbidden.

Praia do Sono fits well within the scope of previous literature analyzing the effects of neoliberal conservation policies on local communities, showing a trade-off between environmental conservation, traditional livelihoods, and commodification for the consumption of outside beneficiaries. Praia do Sono's source of livelihood and unique relationship with Atlantic forest ecosystem resources is now a commodity for elite Brazilian and international tourists to consume, in line with McAfee's 1999 definition of neoliberal conservation and the findings of Ferguson 2006, that protected area reregulation and territorialization adds economic value available to elites. Caiçaras of Praia do Sono have traded their wooden canoes for taxi-boats. Although this may be caused in part by natural generational change, Dressler and Roth, 2011 highlight that neoliberal forces create a combination of willing and coerced livelihood change, which is what appears to be occurring in Praia do Sono.

Praia do Sono and the creation of an ecotourism industry mirrors Abakerli's study in the Lencois Maranhenses National Park, where top-down environmental regulation by the Brazilian government impedes traditional livelihood, since Caiçaras are no longer allowed to hunt or take trees from the Atlantic forest (Abakerli, 2001). However, Praia do Sono differs in the fact that they are more of an active participant in the policymaking process, exemplified by their lobby to create Juatinga Ecological reserve as a shield from real estate speculation, and their deal with environmental regulatory agencies to receive electricity in exchange for implementation of stricter environmental regulations. This does align with other Latin American indigenous communities protecting their traditional homelands via environmental policy (Chapin, 2000, Winer, 2003).

The body of literature suggesting that neoliberal conservation drives or forces livelihood shifts in local communities impacted is strongly at play in Praia do Sono. Traditional subsistence activities using forest resources and slash-and-burn traditional agriculture were outright banned, as observed in (Giroud, 2006). This also exemplifies the neoliberal discourse that locals are the primary threat to biodiversity conservation (Brockington & Igoe, 2006), despite the fact that this discourse is generally criticized in neoliberal conservation literature, and ethnoecological studies on Caiçara communities in the region also do not support the claim.

Additionally, the Caiçara residents of Praia do Sono and the myth of their traditional culture itself is commodified and used as another tourist attraction and legal requirement for them to stay on their land, exactly as Idrobo observed in Ponta Negra (Idrobo, 2008). This valuation of their traditional identity puts Praia do Sono at the mercy of a paradox of desiring to develop and modernize how they themselves determine, yet being shackled by the requirement to remain "traditional." What defines the Caiçara identity? Government agencies believe it is the

relationship between the Caiçaras and the ecosystem through artisanal subsistence activities, yet traditional livelihood activities are all banned or heavily regulated. Residents themselves believe their identity is rooted in the relationship with place, as all respondents put heavy emphasis on being “born [in Praia do Sono]” and having relatives live and die there in the community. The manager of Condomínio Laranjeiras who said that “you cannot wear Nikes and be a Caiçara” has bought into Caiçara culture myth and its commodification as a rural escape for tourists and elites to experience and consume when they choose. The municipal government of Paraty, as well, has profited from this narrative by failing to provide basic services to the community, therefore catering to tourists looking to gain the “traditional Caiçara experience” and reconnect with nature on the beach.

Lastly, residents are highly concerned about the further territorialization of their land on two fronts. One is the recategorization of the protected area. Possible outcomes are that 1) the area could become a park and they could be evicted or forbidden from any future construction, 2) they could gain a collective land title and the reserve would become a Sustainable Development Reserve, or 3) individual land titles granted to each resident, which would speed up the neoliberalization process explained in Igoe and Brockington 2007, that territorialization and real estate values increase when individual land rights exist and enter the market. Residents already sell plots of land under the table, but interviewees were horrified by the idea of the legalization, since collective land rights protect against real estate speculation, especially by Condomínio Laranjeiras, who want to acquire their land, according to some residents and circumstantial evidence in the area.

The literature addressing resistance to neoliberal conservationism frequently addresses policy itself, but this very difficult in the Praia do Sono community who has limited social capital due to

operation of growth machine dynamics favoring interests of elite Condominio Laranjeiras and middle-class tourists over traditional and indigenous people.

### *Growth Machine*

Growth machine dynamics are in the initial stages in Praia do Sono, as it is currently illegal to purchase land in the community, and construction development is highly regulated by the environmental bodies. However, the political aspects of the growth machine, where local government caters to the interests of the land-owning elite, appear to be in full force. However, the expansion of the tourism industry in Praia do Sono contradicts the growth machine because elites and city government are not in favor of its expansion.

Since a full multi-actor ethnography was not possible within the scope of this study, it is impossible to thoroughly analyze any actors other than the Praia do Sono residents with the data collected. However, residents of Praia do Sono offered interpretations of the actions of the municipal government and Condominio Laranjeiras. The most innocuous interpretation is that Condominio Laranjeiras just wants peace, quiet, and security for their elite residents, and part of that safety includes limiting access of people, tourists, and loud trucks with construction materials. Along those lines, residents in this category believe the environmental agencies are truly trying to protect the extremely endangered Atlantic Forest from further destruction. These theories would not follow the growth machine.

However, more cynical residents shared that they believe Condominio Laranjeiras wants to expand and acquire Praia do Sono and that they have influence over environmental agencies and municipal policymaking to achieve these means. Support for this theory is the newly enacted tourism restriction specifically targeting Praia do Sono and no other Caiçara communities on the

peninsula. Additionally, residents speculate that the political and financial power exhibited by Condominio Laranjeiras owners influences environmental policy. The neoliberal policy paradoxes trapping Praia do Sono residents could be read as a political attrition tactic to slowly remove residents from the community. The results of the imminent recategorization of the protected area will offer more evidence for the forces at play, and merit further monitoring and study.

### *Political Ecology*

Political ecology ideally employs a multi-actor ethnography, and this study falls very short of that having only analyzed Praia do Sono and not other actors. Although it would have been informative to hear from representatives in Condominio Laranjeiras, the environmental bodies, or the municipal government of Paraty, my access was limited. Condominio Laranjeiras is a top-security facility, and the only contact outsiders have is with armed guards who guard the gates. Newspaper articles where they refused to comment as well as the general vibe of the security guards did not seem welcoming to a *gringa* researcher. Additionally, the contact information for the management was not readily available. Returning and completing the multi-actor ethnography would be an interesting and informative future study. It would be interesting to explore the level of awareness of Condominio Laranjeiras residents regarding the rights violations committed vis a vis their neighbor Praia do Sono. Additionally, it would be important to understand their motivations, plans, and intentions towards Praia do Sono.

### *Resistance tactics*

As they have done historically, Praia do Sono's biggest strength is individual resilience and resistance. One community-based initiative that seems to offer promise is further education for tourists on Caiçara culture by having a Praia do Sono Caiçara museum of some sort in the community. This would be a good solution for keeping alive the Caiçara identity and taking back agency over their own narrative, and be a benefit in the legal paradox inflicted by the current environmental policies. However, this would also further commodify their culture and buy further into the neoliberal system.

Another solution is to keep pushing for the "Sustainable Development Reserve" categorization which would allow more livelihood choice and allow community members to return to forest-based livelihoods if they choose. This would also remove the paradox of "traditional" but economically restricted, potentially leading to higher incomes and improved infrastructure in Praia do Sono.

Caiçaras show resistance to these forces by not selling their land and fighting for the recategorization to occur in their favor. They are split over whether they favor the construction of a road or not, whose construction would open their community for easier access and more economic development, as well as more opportunities for self-determination and education. Residents believe this would be a double-edged sword. They could develop themselves without having to cross through Laranjeiras but they fear the influx of tourists, increase in real estate prices, and further commodification of their community. This would be an extremely interesting developing situation to monitor through future study.

Lastly, residents resist by physically staying in Praia do Sono and demanding their human rights from outside actors. They creatively continue their own tourism industry, despite legal barriers. The boat drivers subverting the tourism restriction over New Year's exemplifies direct



resistance to elite-driven growth machine. Individual leaders in Praia do Sono need to continue to step up as well as gain public sympathy and allies in Brazilian and international society higher on power structures to pressure governments to take Caiçara interests into account. Inspiringly, when asked if they would ever consider leaving the community, 100% of respondents answered with a resounding “no.”

### *Conclusions and Recommendations*

The best ways for the Praia do Sono community to resist growth machine and neoliberal conservationist forces are to reclaim and redefine their Caiçara identity as well as to mobilize and fight for the Sustainable Development Reserve protected area recategorization. Caiçara identity is greatly stereotyped by tourists, policymakers, and even by some Caiçaras themselves. Many have a nostalgic view of a bygone era where residents lived off the land through subsistence agriculture and artisanal fishing, although now that is changing to tourism and services. Praia do Sono residents need to consciously acknowledge that the idealized past is gone, while still keeping their traditions alive. A young Caiçara can listen to Brazilian funk, use the latest iPhone, and still weave artisanal fishing nets. It is important for the community to define their own identity by honoring their traditions while adapting to the new tourism economy. To accomplish this, the community must be educated about their own history, and tourists must also be brought up to speed about the local context. One resident suggested having a Caiçara museum for the community to honor their history, traditions, and crafts, and educate tourists arriving with no prior knowledge.

Educating young people in the community about their own resistance history and opening the eyes of tourists to the not-so-nice realities of life in Praia do Sono could galvanize the next generation of resisters and allies. Most tourists, middle-class Brazilians, and foreign vacationers alike, arrive in Praia do Sono to enjoy the pristine beach. Many do not have any knowledge of the history and resistance movement of the community there. The eco-tourist demographic has disposable income and is generally progressive and tuned into social movements, therefore they could be utilized as powerful allies for the Praia do Sono community's resistance to stay in their traditional home with passage to come and go how they please.

This new coalition of residents and outside supporters could be used to lobby the environmental bodies in the imminent recategorization of Juatinga Ecological Reserve. The most beneficial thing for residents would be for the reserve to change to a Sustainable Development Reserve, once again granting Caiçaras access to forest resources used in traditional livelihood activities. This categorization is important because it would allow residents to reclaim their livelihood choices, and not be pigeon-holed into the tourism economy because they would have access to traditional livelihood sources not currently viable due to environmental regulations.

Additionally, Praia do Sono residents are currently having the discussion among themselves on how they best envision their development. Some residents look to a nostalgic, peaceful past and see tourism as a negative influence on community culture. Others see tourism as an opportunity to develop and tap a new economic potential. Coming to a balanced consensus behind a community leader will be essential in the road construction debate and future conflicts with Condomínio Laranjeiras. By educating the next generation of tourists and residents about the past and creating coalitions of activists for the future, Praia do Sono will retain and revive its

culture as well as galvanize a resistance movement. This will create a clear community-based development plan for which community leaders and allies can fight.

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## **Appendices**

### *Appendix 1: Interview questions—July 2016*

1. How does Condominio Laranjeiras affect your life? How significant is the impact? Has it always been like this?
2. Have you ever thought about leaving?
3. Do you think they have development projects for Praia do Sono, if so what?
4. How does the Praia do Sono community resist? What are the best strategies?
5. What do you think of building a road?
6. Do you think environmental laws here help or hinder the community?
7. Do you have any outside support in terms of resistance?
8. Is Condominio Laranjeiras the biggest threat to the community?
9. Why do you stay? Have you ever thought of leaving?
10. What do you want outsiders to know about the community?

*Appendix 2: Interview Questions—January 2017*

**Praia do Sono – Condominio Laranjeiras (identity, history, community)**

1. Why do you live in Praia do Sono? How long have you been living here? \_\_\_\_\_
2. What is the best thing about living here? \_\_\_\_\_
3. Have you ever thought about leaving? If yes, where would you go? If no, why not?
4. How does Condominio Laranjeiras affect your life?
  - a. List of 3 good and bad impacts
  - b. Other
5. How significant is the impact?
  - a. Scaling system 1-10
6. Has it always been like this?
  - a. Scaling of time (impact over time) How long?

**Development (neoliberal conservation, political ecology, development studies)**

1. Do you think they have development projects for Praia do Sono, if so what?
  - a. List: condo, road, health clinic, education
2. What do you think of building a road?
3. What other types of development are needed here? (what are the biggest community needs here)?
4. Are there environmental laws that affect your community?
  - a. If yes, which ones?
  - b. How do they affect your community?

**Activism/Resistance/Social Organization (social movements, resistance)**

1. Is the Praia do Sono community mobilized for action around what they need?
  - a. If Yes, see below
  - b. If no, why not, what are the barriers to mobilization? \_\_\_\_\_
2. How are they mobilized?
  - a. List of options: community leaders, an NGO, associations, procuradores publicos, institutions (Fiocruz), etc. (other)
3. What strategies for mobilization are useful?

**Closing Question**

1. What do you want outsiders, the rest of the world to know about your community?
2. Final thoughts?

*Appendix 3: Recruitment script*

*All will be translated into Portuguese and at a language level the subject can understand.*

Hello,

My name is Claire Lepercq and I am an undergraduate student in Environmental Studies at the University of Colorado Boulder. I am researching the Condominium Laranjeiras, the role of environmental policy, and tactics for development and land acquisition by outside interests in Praia do Sono.

I would like to interview you *because (sentence about the subject's knowledge and relationship to the Condominium, whether government representative, traditional community resident, or Condominium representative).*

The interview will take approximately one hour and remain confidential.

*Set up time for interview. Answer questions. Ask if they know any other potential participants who may be interested.*

#### *Appendix 4: Verbal Consent Script*

You are being read this script to ask for your consent to participate in the study, titled “Tactics used by outside stakeholders for development of Praia do Sono and forms of community resistance.

I invite you to take part in a research study because you have knowledge relevant to the study as a [local resident/government representative/developer/ legal expert/ NGO representative]. This study aims to investigate the ways that developers acquire land in Praia do Sono and local forms of resistance to outside development. This study will attempt to detail development pressure happening in the Praia do Sono community and potentially inform Brazilian policymaking.

Your involvement in this study is completely voluntary. You can choose not to participate. You may agree to participate and change your mind later, and your decision will not be held against you. You can ask as many questions as you would like before deciding to participate or not. During the study, you may choose to skip any question that makes you feel uncomfortable, upset, or unsafe answering, or for any reason you choose.

If you choose to participate, you will give an official interview. You will choose whether or not I can record the interview. You will be asked a series of questions about how Condominium Laranjeiras and its parent companies are attempting to acquire land in Praia do Sono, what tactics are used, the effect on residents, dynamics in the community, and forms of resident resistance to outside development.

This interview will last approximately one hour, but it may be longer or shorter depending on how much information you choose to provide. Approximately 40 people will also participate in this study.

Information collected in this research will be kept as confidential as possible, although we cannot ensure complete secrecy. Organizations that may inspect and copy your information include the review board from my university that verifies safety of human studies, called IRB. The data will remain as confidential as possible, and recordings will be stored without names on a secure hard drive. Only the principal investigator will have direct access to data that include your name and identifying characteristics. Anything you say in this interview can be published using a pseudonym, never your real name.

If you have questions or concerns, you may contact me via email, Facebook, WhatsApp<sup>1</sup>. Additionally, if you have any concerns or complaints that I cannot or fail to address, you may contact the CU IRB department<sup>2</sup>.

Do you give your consent to participate?