Obstacles and Solutions to Community-driven
Ecotourism in Brazil’s Cacao Coast:

A Socio-Environmental Case Study of Itacaré, Bahia

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Date Submitted: April 11, 2014
“O turismo e o meio ambiente vão estar sempre juntos. Sem a preservação das belezas e das riquezas naturais será difícil convencer as pessoas a visitarem o nosso País.”

“Tourism and the environment will always be interlinked. Without the preservation of beauty and the natural assets it will be difficult to convince people to visit our country.”

MARINA SILVA,
Brazilian Environmentalist
# TABLE OF CONTENTS

Abstract .............................................................................................................. 1

Introduction ...................................................................................................... 2

Literature Review ............................................................................................. 4

Methodology .................................................................................................... 12

Results ............................................................................................................. 18

Policy Recommendations .................................................................................. 42

References ....................................................................................................... 45

Appendix .......................................................................................................... 48
Abstract: The community of Itacaré, located in the picturesque Cocoa Coast of the Brazilian state of Bahia, has been developed as an important focal point for ecotourism. The tourism model at this locality, however, has deviated largely from its initial ambitions of community development and environmental protection. Rather than being managed by local people, the industry has been controlled by external corporate actors, who have prioritized mass marketing and commercialization of this lucrative sector over the social and environmental wellbeing of the receptive community. These actions have resulted in the widespread land speculation and appreciation responsible for gentrifying local residents and rural migrants to the most impoverished and marginalized areas of town. Among the social-environmental issues inflicting the local population are spatial displacement, limited job opportunities, the dwindling availability of potable water and the improper management of garbage and human waste. In this manner, the main objective of this study will be to 1) analyze the relationship that tourism has with these socio-environmental, and 2) document the work that community agents are doing to curb these tourism-induced obstacles with innovative locally-sourced solutions. Methodologically speaking, this research was conducted as a participatory study, with the use of an extensive literature review, primary data from the municipal government as well as personal interviews with local residents and community organizations throughout the community of Itacaré.

Key words: Ecotourism; community-based tourism; impacts of tourism, socio-environmental; Itacaré; Brazil

Resumo: A comunidade de Itacaré, localizada na Costa do Cacau, Estado brasileiro da Bahia, desenvolveu-se como importante pólo para o ecoturismo. O modelo de turismo nesta localidade, no entanto, se desviou em grande parte de suas ambições iniciais de desenvolvimento comunitário e proteção ambiental. Ao invés de ser gerido por pessoas locais, a indústria foi controlada por atores externos, que priorizaram o marketing e a comercialização deste setor lucrativo sobre o bem-estar social e ambiental da comunidade. Essas ações resultaram na especulação e na valorização dos espaços locais, responsáveis por empurrar os moradores locais e migrantes rurais para as áreas mais carentes e marginalizadas da cidade. Entre as questões sócio-ambientais que atingem a população local, se destacam este deslocamento espacial, as oportunidades de trabalho limitadas e a diminuição de água potável, além do manejo inadequado de lixo e esgoto. Desta forma, o principal objetivo deste estudo será 1) analisar a relação do turismo com estes problemas socioambientais, 2) documentar o trabalho que os agentes comunitários realizam para reduzir os obstáculos gerados pelo turismo, com soluções inovadoras de origem local. Metodologicamente, a pesquisa foi conduzida como um estudo participativo; utilizou-se uma extensa revisão bibliográfica, inclusive com dados do governo municipal, bem como entrevistas com moradores locais e organizações comunitárias em toda a cidade de Itacaré.

Palavras-chave: Ecoturismo; impactos do turismo; bem-estar social; saúde ambiental; Itacaré
INTRODUCTION

Originally encouraged as a new economic alternative, tourism arrived in Itacaré as a renewed hope of employment and social mobility following the abrupt decadence of cocoa. Due to the local abundance of natural beauty and biodiversity, tourism in this community was initially framed to provide visitors with interactive and holistic experiences with nature and the local population. Activities in which visitors, entrepreneurs, and locals alike could collectively learn about the environment, take part in its advancement and protection, while also attending to the ecological and social development of the host community. Shortly after implementation, however, the industry’s objectives began to deviate from the local development ambitions it had set out to promote. The benefits and opportunities of this industry never trickled-down equitably to the receptive community. The economic potential of tourism was promptly taken and controlled by the interests of external actors, rather than locals themselves. Meanwhile, the collective promotion and safeguarding of the local environment never fully materialized. The ecological tourism—or “ecotourism”—paradigm established in Itacaré became largely based on marketing efforts aimed at drawing visitors to attractive natural assets, with little or no concrete planning to promote the wellbeing of people or the environment by which this industry depended on.

The lack of sound tourism planning has resulted in serious impacts for the host locality. In the case of Itacaré, not only was it local people who received unfavorable terms on the sharing of tourism’s benefits, they were also those who took on a disproportionately large part of the negative impacts associated with this growing industry. In socioeconomic terms, the growth of this sector had various effects across the community of Itacaré. Among them are rampant real estate speculation, the displacement of the native population, the skewed and erratic labor market and, most notably, the rapid and chaotic urbanization in the outskirts of the city. Consequently, the gentrifying effects of local tourism also present themselves in a series of environmental dimensions.
Many of these impacts are also linked to the ongoing lack of potable water and poor sanitation seen in the impoverished local neighborhoods of this frequented tourist destination. These ongoing issues present themselves not only as critical obstacles to the social wellbeing of the native people, but also as serious challenges to the vitality of the rich and fragile ecosystem indefinitely linked to the viability of tourism and the wellbeing of the whole community.

The social and environmental challenges of this destination are a direct effect of the current tourism model. They are also a critical obstacle to the integrity and future prosperity of this very same industry. With this in mind, while appreciating the role that this industry plays in the local economy, it is necessary to objectively investigate the social and environmental gaps that tourism has caused and, thus far, has provided no concrete solutions to solve. Similarly, there is a great subjective need to include the participation of those individuals most prone to the adverse effects of this economic activity, local dwellers. With these conditions, the purpose of this participatory study will be twofold: 1) it will observe and document the opinions of local dwellers in regards to the social and environmental impacts of tourism in their community and, 2) explore the work that local agents are doing to address these impacts with locally-sourced solutions. As these are better understood, the feedback collected across the community will be used to construct comprehensive recommendations for more participatory tourism policies. The end objective will be to establish a more viable and community-driven tourist framework that effectively reduces the adverse effects of this sector, while also promoting the prosperity and progress of the local people and the environment at-large.
LITERATURE REVIEW

In recent decades, tourism has been internationally highlighted for its ability to promote social mobility and economic opportunities in the areas where it is received. Despite that its benefits and impacts, vary greatly across regions, countries and localities, there has been an ongoing emphasis on the potential that this economic sector can have in fostering developing in the most impoverished and marginalized corners of our planet. The tourism arm of the United Nations, the World Tourism Organization (WTO) has been underscored for this industry’s potential in advancing the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs), among them the eradication of poverty and the safeguarding of environmental sustainability. The WTO has suggested that, if implemented and managed appropriately, tourism can provide an indispensable source of employment, income, and livelihood necessary for significant poverty reduction and inclusive growth to take root. Similarly, tourism has also been conceived as a viable alternative to advance and protect the wellbeing of the environment where it operates. This is not only a topic of discussion in diplomatic circles of the Conference on Sustainable Development (RIO +20), it also takes part in the conversation that small communities all around the world are having about the development role that tourism can play, as well as the prospects that this industry can foster for local people and the environment alike (“The Future We Want " June 19, 2012).

Besides its potential benefits; tourism, as with any other industry, can also pose serious obstacles to the local people and the environment. As discussed by United Nations Environmental Programme (UNEP), this economic activity can deplete a locality’s natural assets like water, while creating an amounting pressure on local resources like energy, food, and other raw materials; which in many tourism destinations may already be in short supply. By the same token, the UNEP has also suggested that the intrusion of a poorly-managed tourism can also expedite the process of environmental degradation, as it increases air pollution, sewage pollution, as well as the production
of solid waste in ways that the local environment is not able to cope. These problems not only affect the tourists who frequent these destinations. Most importantly, they can have a lasting effect on the social wellbeing of the people who live and work within such locality.

With this logic, many frequented destinations around the world are leading the way for ecologically-based tourism, or ecotourism, which in line with Weaver (2008) constitutes: “The form of tourism that fosters learning experiences and appreciation of the natural environment, or some component thereof, within its associated cultural context; it is managed in accordance with industry best practice to attain environmentally and sociocultural sustainable outcomes as well as financial viability” (17). Following this definition, ecotourism is a topic of inherent interest to the world’s emerging economies, as many of them seek balanced ways to promote socioeconomic prosperity for their impoverished populations, while also preserving their rich and vast natural environment.

One of the developing countries leading the way in this economic activity has been Brazil. Ecotourism in this country was formally institutionalized in 1994, when the federal government in Brasilia established the Diretrizes para uma Política Nacional de Ecoturismo. The objective of this National Policy Framework for Ecotourism was to foster a “segment of tourism activity that sustainably makes use of the natural and cultural heritage, encourages its conservation and seeks to foster an environmentalist consciousness through environmental interpretation and the promotion of social wellbeing for [local] populations” (Pereira and Campos 2009: 257). Therefore, in Brazil, ecotourism was framed to encompass environmental protection, cultural exchange and the generation of income and employment for the receptive communities. Today, ecotourism generates more than R$ 500 million (approximately 250 million USD) in revenue, holds 7 percent of all tourism revenues, and is taking an increasing market share of Brazil’s tourism market (Pereira and Campos 2009: 256). This has become increasing more prevalent as more and more localities throughout Brazil are betting their stakes on the potential of this emerging industry.
Origins of the Ecotourism Model in Itacaré

One of the Brazilian communities that have established itself as an attractive ecotourism destination has been the Municipality of Itacaré, located in the picturesque Cocoa Coast of the state of Bahia. The natural beauty and rich biodiversity surrounding this locality has made this coastal community a hotspot for this type of socially and environmentally-conscious tourism. The growth of tourism in this locality was initially prompted by various economic and structural changes. Prior to the 1980s, for example, Itacaré was a small coastal town with a very limited number of annual visitors. Tupinambá and Bomfim (2011) have noted how the tourist profile at the time was primarily backpackers, adventurers and surfers who frequented this place on a very small scale. Most of them practiced an “alternative” type of tourism motivated by their urge not to consume, but rather to get in tune with nature, practice and learn alternative sports, and immerse themselves into the local culture. The original tourist profile of this locality was not only small-scale; it was also of low-impact, as it coexisted harmoniously with both the local society and environment at-large.

Interestingly enough, the beginnings of this socially and environmentally-conscious tourism market coincided with the abrupt decadence of cocoa, a crop whose production had— for decades— dominated the economic activity of the municipality and region (Bomfim and Tupinambá 2011: 49). In part because of the spread of the Crinipellis pernicious fungus, or vassoura da bruxa (witch’s broom) as its colloquial called, and the reduction in global demand, the cocoa industry came to a halting stop. This decline in the main source of income had profound impacts not only in Itacaré but throughout Bahia’s Cocoa Coast. It left community dwellers scrambling for a new source of employment that would supply them with the necessary wages to ensure the wellbeing of themselves and their families.
As an economic alternative to cacao, state-level officials implanted the Programa de Desenvolvimento do Turismo (Tourism Development Program) (PRODETUR). This publically-funded program identified the local culture and nature of Itacaré, as well other localities throughout the state of Bahia, as a unit for potential sustainable tourist use. One of the most prominent efforts of this state-imposed model was the creation and safeguarding of the Área de Proteção Ambiental or Environmental Protection Area (APA) of Itacaré-Serra Grande, one of a number of state conservation units found throughout the state of Bahia (Meliani 2011: 127). Another important initial aspect of PRODETUR was its role in conducting public hearings with community agents and leading environmental education seminars to achieve and divulgate the concept of what was “environmentally appropriate” tourism. Meliani (2010) has mentioned that, as an essential part of this initiative, the state government also implanted a bold marketing plan to “sell” Itacaré as a scenic ecological tourism destination.

Equally important, however, was the state’s investment in creating the necessary infrastructure to connect and supply the tourism market in Itacaré. Bomfim and Tupinambá (2011) have noted how this structural change occurred in 1997, when the 65 KM track of the BA-001 state highway connecting the town of Itacaré with the port city of lhléus was finally paved over.
infrastructural link to the rest of the state attracted a wave of external investment in the form of large-scale purchases on local tracks of land. These investors were particularly prompted by the sudden access to a relatively untouched real estate market with huge potential for tourist development. Meliani (2010) has noted how in time this initial wave of external investment gave rise to the countless externally-owned tourism establishments (e.g. hotels, inns, resorts, etc.) currently found throughout Itacaré.

**Alterations to the Original Tourism Framework**

The current tourism model in Itacaré has deviated largely from its origins and socio-environmental ambitions. Despite that the initial PRODETUR-based tourist model began with modest aspirations to promote both the social development and the environmental protection of the community. Some years after implementation, however, the efforts of the PRODETUR framework were no longer sufficient or constant to sustain the necessary level of socio-environmental awareness among the community, entrepreneurs, and tourists alike. The approach to tourism in Itacaré was eventually altered so that instead of emphasizing the local community and environment, it began prioritizing the marketing of this location. Rather the acting to protect the natural splendor of the destination, the altered model rested largely on commercial marketing efforts. Meliani (2010) suggest that these were market-driven processes in which, “the sea, the beach, the proximity of the two…the comfort and the quality of life” in the locality were used to add commercial value to this destination in order to attract entrepreneurs willing to invest and tourists will to consume (2). In this manner, ecotourism in Itacaré became embedded by “green marketing” notions of commercializing the natural assets of the community instead of their actual conservation and preservation. The commercialized tourism scheme undertaken in Itacaré did not materialize into the socioeconomic benefits for the community. In line with Meliani (2011), the marketing of ecotourism publicized the locality “as an abstract product deprived of its social content” (130). Most detrimental, perhaps, was
that rather than prioritizing the interests of the local community, the tourist model began promoting those of entrepreneurs—many of whom were from other countries, or from other more affluent areas of the country.

Table 1. Diverging Ecotourism Models, according to Layrargues (2004)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Community-based Ecotourism</th>
<th>Commercial-based Ecotourism</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>The community is the self-operator of the local ecotourism industry, fostering community</td>
<td>The operator of the ecotourism enterprise is not native to the local community, which makes the distribution income much more challenging</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>empowerment, and a more favoring income distribution</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The income generated remains within the local community, and is more equally distributed</td>
<td>The income generated is directed as profit for the external entrepreneurs who finances the activity</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>among the workers of this economic sector</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>There is space for social inclusion and upward mobility, since the community itself is</td>
<td>It generates employment opportunities for the local community, but in only service-oriented positions, not as operators or owners of such ventures</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>responsible for managing the activity</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The ecotourism package involves multiple and intertwined dimensions: nature, history and</td>
<td>The ecotourism package prioritizes the surrounding natural beauty</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>culture</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The tourist immerses into the local reality and experiences the everyday life of the</td>
<td>The tourist immerses into a fantasy and superficial reality and only experiences an idealized contact with an idyllic nature</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>community</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The tourist experience direct contact with local reality, with little mediation from the</td>
<td>The tourist experiences an indirect contact with the local reality, with strong mediation from the guide(s)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>guide(s).</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
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Sources: Pereira and Campos (2009)

Following Layrargues (2004) dichotomy of ecotourism, the model implemented was not community-based (Figure 1). In other words, members of the community did not have local control or ownership over the ecotourism sector, as their initial entrepreneurial role was eventually pushed aside by business operators from outside the community. For this reason the revenues from this sector did not remain with the community’s native population. The financial profits and general benefits of the sector went to the external entrepreneurs who financed this commercially-driven tourism. Due to the disproportionate distribution its benefits, tourism did no materialized into the economic opportunity or the social mobility that locals had hoped. What the industry was able to generate for the local population, however, was employment. Bomfim and Tupinarambá (2011) suggest that despite the large number of jobs created by this industry, most tended to be usually low-
paid and low-skilled positions in which the local dwellers had little possibility or professional capacity to lead ecotourism ventures of their own (52).

Local residents, however, were not the only ones affected by the disparity between a community-driven ecotourism and one that was commercially-based. The experience and, therefore, the connection between the tourist and the receptive locality were also altered. As discussed by Pereira and Campos (2009) in a community-based ecotourism the visitor is effectively “immersed in the local reality and is impregnated in the daily life of the community” and its protect spaces. In other words, the tourist experiences a sense of connection between him or herself, and the surrounding environment. In this type of ecotourism, the visitors are more deeply in tune with the wellbeing of the people and environment that receives them. Whereas, a commercially-based ecotourism “immerses the tourist into a made-up reality,” in which the visitor only experiences “an idealized contact with an idyllic nature.” This indirect and surficial contact prevents tourists from becoming connected or much less concerned with the wellbeing of the population or natural environment, resulting in a distortion between the ecotourism marketed to the tourist and the one they actually experience once at the destination.

**Figure 2. Seasonal fluctuations in The number of tourist arrivals**

**Figure 3. Expected growth of Tourism in Itacare**
Another worthwhile aspect of the altered ecotourism model was its large-scale and erratic nature. In terms of size, the tourist demand of this paradigm has become disproportional and unsustainably high. According to the Itacaré’s Tourism Institute (2005), the municipality receives approximately 200,000 visitors each year. As showcased in Figure 2, the greatest demand is concentrated in the summer months—December, January, and February—as well as July, when the tourist inflow may exceed 25,000 tourists per month. This represents an incredibly high figure of visitors considering that the city of Itacaré is only inhabited by some 13,612 people (Table 2). Not to mention that, as indicated by Figure 3, the number of visitors is only expected to grow more in the coming years.

Likewise, it's important to note that the demand created by this commercial-based model is incredibly erratic as it is susceptible to huge seasonal disparities. In the high season, for example, Itacaré can expect upwards of 25,000 tourists per month. In the periods of low-demand, however, this number drops to less than 15,000 tourists (ITI 2005: 19). Meaning that, during the low-season, many of the tourism enterprises will either close or decrease the amount of jobs they provide. This is particularly significant as scholars like Rodrigues (2006) have made note of the fact that tourism fuels one in every two jobs in this locality. Meaning that when tourism takes a downturn during the low season, local people will also experience a decrease in the number of jobs and, consequently, the amount of income they receive.

Aside from being disproportionally large and causing stark seasonal labor variations, the current tourist demand created by this externally-sourced commercial model can also degrade the local environment. The United Nations Environmental Program has asserted that, similarly to other demographic increases, the surge in the number of tourists can place additional pressures on a locality’s resource base. The growing demand coupled with a limited supply can create periods of scarcity or complete depletion for essential resources, such as water. It can likewise hamper the
ability of communities in providing its residents with basic environmental services (e.g. potable water provision, trash collection, sewage management) (UNEP). Essential resources and services; which, if constrained enough, can unquestionably alter the wellbeing of the local people and the integrity of the environment.

In effect, the tourism model established in Itacaré has diverged largely from its original ambitions of community development and environmental stewardship. With this in mind, it will be essential to assess how this modified ecotourism paradigm has inflicted severe obstacles to the local population and the surrounding ecosystem. To this end, this study will integrate the opinions of community dwellers in regards to the socio-environmental impacts that tourism in this locality has created, but, to a large extent, has left unaddressed. Equally important, will be incorporating the work that community agents are carrying out in order to curb these very effects (Appendix A). By including these participatory views, the study will be useful in presenting locally-sourced solutions to make the ecotourism model in Itacaré more reflective of the impacts that it can create as well as more inclusive of the community’s own socio-environmental needs.

METHODOLOGY

Nature of the Study

The research in this study was directed at exploring the social and environmental effects of tourism in Itacaré, Bahia, Brazil. The study was both quantitative and qualitative in scope. In a quantitative context, it employed a wide range of secondary sources; including a detailed literature review based on numerous academic journals, scientific articles, thematic maps and case studies on ecotourism and its specific impacts on this destination. The study was also comprised by primary sources in the form of data personally consulted and collected from local people as well as a series of public and private entities throughout the Municipality of Itacaré. The connection between these quantitative and qualitative sources was fundamental and practical in nature. As is noted by Tahara
et al (2010) the combination of these methodological techniques facilitates in seeing the points of convergence between different tourist models, while generating significant information and extracting the data and the most effective way possible.

In structural terms, the study was made up by two main phases. The first phase consisted of interviews with community residents conducted during May 2013. The interviews were administered through brief questioners that were aimed at documenting the personal views of participants in relation to ecotourism and the impacts that this industry has on their community (Appendix B). As part of these interviews, some data on the socio-demographic characteristics of each participant was acquired. This included quantitative information (e.g. number of years living in Itacaré) as well as qualitative data (e.g. gender, profession, etc.). The point of this information was to have a more comprehensive idea of not only the participants, but also a better socio-demographic representation of the area where the study took place. Despite being structured to a large degree, the surveys were an important method in grasping a better understanding on the perceptions, concerns and criticisms that local people have about the tourism sector in their community.

The second phase of this study also involved the use of interviews. This time, however, the interviews were conducted in March 2014, as part of the second round of data collection for this research. Rather than procuring individual local dwellers, the questionnaire were directed at the leaders of several community organizations (Appendix C). The organizations highlighted in this study were picked due to their well-documented work in the area of community-driven ecotourism (Appendix A). The point of this second-round of interviews was to document the ongoing work that local agents are doing to curb the impacts of tourism and modify the existing tourist model to foster a type of ecotourism that is more participatory and reflective of the social and environmental needs of the local community.
Instruments

Interview questionnaires were the main instrument of this two-phase ecotourism study. For Phase One of the study, structure questionnaires were used to document the opinion of individual local dwellers. In total, 30 different local residents took part in these interviews. Most of the participants were from the neighborhood of Barrio Novo, which is the urban segment with the highest concentration of local people (ITI 2005: 84). The rest of the interviews took place in other locally-occupied spaces such as the neighborhood of Passagem and Porto de Trás. Besides the social-demographic components previously mentioned there was seven additional question categories planted for these participants. The categories chosen were based on the most relevant social and environmental issues affecting this tourism-oriented community. The justifications for choosing these categories of socio-environmental problems were based on the recommendations of Agentes Comunitários de Saúde (community health workers) in charge of conducting field assessments on the epidemiological, sanitation, and medical conditions of the locality.

The first questions categories included: 1) price and supply of potable water, 2) quantity of trash in the streets. For each of these initial questions there were two subdivisions added: one for the tourist “high” season as well as one for the tourist “low” season. The purpose of this seasonal distinction was to see if community dwellers perceived any alterations in these socio-environmental effects between one tourist season and the next. Among the points covered for Phase One were also questions about the participant’s access to basic environmental infrastructure. This questions included: 1) the type of water source (e.g. public network) in the household, 2) their method for disposing of garbage waste (e.g. public collection, incineration, open air disposal), and 3) the type of water treatment system used at home (e.g. filtration, boiling, chlorination, or no treatment). The interviews for Phase One concluded with two open questions. The open questions were aimed at collecting participant’s positive and negative perceptions on the social and environmental effects of
tourism in their community. These types of questions allowed participants to respond in their own words, thus allowing greater freedom of expression and more exact collection of their views about the subject matter (Tahara et al 2010: 64).

Interview surveys were also utilized for Phase Two of this study. In contrast to Phase One, however, these questionnaires were only semi-structured in nature. The interviews consisted of a total of fourteen different open questions. They included general questions like 1) the mission of the organization, 2) the factors that led to its creation, and 3) the share of local people active. These were followed by more specific inquiries about the local ecotourism trade, such as 4) the organization’s role within this industry, 5) their general perception about ecotourism (the pros and cons), 6) the entity’s involvement in promoting the pros/lessening the cons of this economic sector, 7) their perceptions about the public sector’s role in ecotourism, 8) their views about private sector involvement within this sector, and 9) the role that local people can play in creating a more participatory and socio-environmental sound ecotourism model. The interviews then proceeded to ask more specific questions about the group’s work in regard to local ecotourism. This included: 10) previously implemented programs/projects, 11) ongoing projects in the process of being executed, and whether 12) any of the programs/projects mentioned were done in partnership with any public or private entities. The interviews were concluded with two remaining, yet important, questions: 13) the organization’s expected prospects and challenges for the future, and lastly 14) the policy recommendations they would give to local lawmakers about ecotourism.

After completing all the necessary interviews for both Phase One and Two, the collected information was stored in a private computer database. Through the use Microsoft Excel, the information was broken-down and divided to categories to better compare the opinions across individual participants and relevant community organizations. Aside from the mentioned questionnaires, the only other instrument used for this study was an Apple iPhone 4. The device was
used solely for its photo-taking properties. The use of the phones’ camera tool permitted a better visual of the social and environmental issues that if not for the use photographic illustrations would be difficult to document. After being taken, the photos were transferred to a computer, where they were put into the proper JPG format in order to be used as illustrative representations of this study.

**Procedures**

To begin Phase One of the study a wide array of community contacts were established. The first of which consisted in reaching out to the Division of Epidemiology within Itacaré’s Municipal Health Secretariat. The agency confirmed the implementation and the focus area of this study, as well as provided hard data necessary for its realization. Local contacts were also made with the Municipal Environmental Secretariat, which provided essential ecological data and thematic maps of the locality. Most important to the objective of this study phase, however, was the assistance of officials from the local *Postos de Saúdes* (health posts).

Particularly helpful was the direction played by the *Agentes Comunitários de Saúde* from the post in Barrio Novo. As part of their official responsibilities, these health agents performed daily neighborhood rounds to administer basic health services, clarify concerns about Brazil’s universal health system, and document epidemiological, medical, and sanitation-related data for the municipality. Thus their knowledge about the neighborhood and the people living there were essential for this participative study. Not only did they work in close proximity to local dwellers, they were also well aware of the effects that tourism had in this locality. They were also knowledgeable about the social and environmental barriers that people living in this community faced, as well as where the most urgent of these problems were concentrated. Most important, however, was the physical presence of these agents during the interviews. Their presence was a critical factor in reducing the participant’s tension and stigma of talking to a foreigner about the problems inflicting
their community. In this manner, their collaboration was vital as they voluntarily served the role of both community guides and cultural interpreters between the researcher and the participants.

The second phase of this study also employed the use of numerous community contacts. In particular, it relied on established connections with numerous locally-based entities with relevant work around the area of community-driven ecotourism (Appendix A). In total seven different organizations were chosen. These included: 1) Associação de Afro-Desenvolvimento-Casa do Boneco de Itacaré 2) Associação de Canoeiros do Rio de Contas, 3) Associação dos Condutores de Visitantes de Itacaré (ACVI), 4) Associação de Surf de Itacaré (A.S.I.), 5) Instituto Turistico de Itacaré (ITI), 6) Mecenas da Vida and 7) the Quilombo D’Oiti. All of the seven organizations contacted willingly volunteered to participate in this study. Each entity internally selected one of their own members to be part of the interviews. Besides the interviews, some organizations shared some of their own materials (e.g. magazines, pamphlets, CDs) to better comprehend the work they were carrying out. Some of the materials given were used to complement the findings of this study.

In both Phase One and Phase Two, willing participants were explained the rationale and the purpose of the study. They were also verbally informed about the Institutional Review Board (IRB) Informed Consent Form and were encouraged to read it over. Prior to initiating the questions, the participants were asked if they had any questions or reservations about the interview process. When all these conditions were met the interviews were set to begin. All the questions were administered verbally in Portuguese. To expedite the data-collection process, participant’s answers were hand-written, in Portuguese, by the researcher. Each question was written down in detailed with everything the participant had mentioned. For Phase One, the average time of each interview was approximately seven minutes, while for Phase Two they were about twenty minutes each. In both phases of the study, participants were not given a maximum time limit to answer questions. They answered each question at their own pace and provided information at their own discretion. This
interview framework permitted the study to be more inclusive, allowing greater and more substantive involvement and knowledge from the local population.

RESULTS

Phase One: The Social and Environmental Impacts of the Ecotourism Model

The socio-environmental impacts perceived in the community of Itacaré have a direct and apparent link with the local tourism sector. In a social context, the local tourism model has been responsible for inflicting serious harm to the wellbeing of this community. Among the social issues highlighted by the local respondents of this study were the detrimental roles that tourism played in displacing native dwellers and creating a skewed and erratic labor opportunities. In ecological terms, tourism has also left a considerable footprint in the environmental health of this locality. Among the environmental issues most perceived by community dwellers are serious discrepancies in the supply of potable water and the proper elimination of waste. In particular, the study details how tourism’s high and erratic demographic inflows can result in serious seasonal fluctuations in the way that local people have access to these basic, yet vital services. These social and environmental impacts can affect people in a number of ways and under different magnitudes. Such discrepancies in tourism’s effects creates variations in the way that local inhabitants perceive the local merits of tourism in fostering social and environmental wellbeing for the community. In this way, the results of this study phase will serve to present the differences opinions that exist in relation to the effects of local tourism. The results for Phase One of this study will be presented categorically as follows:

Displacement, Exclusion and Urbanization

One of the most apparent social impacts of Itacaré’s tourism has been the spatial displacement and exclusion experienced by local people. As of the 2010 Census, most local residents lived with the perimeter of the municipal seat, the city of Itacaré (IGBP 2010) (Table 2). By the same token, it is in this urban core where most tourist-oriented establishments—
accommodations, retail shops, restaurants, travel agencies, etc.—are concentrated (Guzman et al 2010: 99). Despite the fact that both tourists and locals tend to concentrate in the urban reaches of Itacaré, there is clear and growing spatial division between the spaces where tourists stay and frequent; and the urban segments where the local population carries on their lives.

As showcased by Figure 5, the east segment of the city is composed by neighborhoods like Concha and Pituba (blue contour) areas where the majority of tourist-oriented services and products are based. Due to the high concentration of externally-sourced tourism investment these are also the areas with the most apparent degree of urban development in all of Itacaré. Not to mention that they are also strategically in close proximity to the beaches and Atlantic forest—the natural attractions most frequented by visitors in Itacaré. The west segment of the city, in contrast, is comprised by areas almost exclusively occupied by local dwellers (Figure 5, orange contour). These local spaces, as discussed by Ferreira (2011), tend to be working-class neighborhoods, where most of the individuals who provide services to the local tourism industry live. These areas exhibit a much
lower level of urban development, as most of the investment and infrastructure are disproportionately concentrated in the tourist spaces across town.

Prior to the tourism arrival, however, most of Itacaré’s original inhabitants lived in centrally-located neighborhoods in close proximity to the city’s various points of interest (Figure 4, yellow contour). As tourism investment was strengthening, there was a surge in the demand of these strategic places, and with it the value of the land in which they sat. As these lands appreciated in value, local owners were prompted to sell their plots—oftentimes for a nominal profit—to external investors eager to transform such underdeveloped spaces into new tourism-related ventures (Matias 2011: 38). The surplus-value of land prompted by tourism was actually detrimental for many local people, as their stagnant purchasing power was no longer sufficient enough to sustain them in these now highly-desired and appreciated areas (Meliani 2011: 138). In this manner, the commercial-driven tourism model was actually responsible for serious spatial distortions, as it encouraged external entrepreneurs to select and purchase the most favorable areas for tourist use while displacing the people who had traditionally occupied these spaces.

Another important effect of this sudden increase in tourism investment has been the rise of rural-to-urban migration. As these real estate investments gave way to more and more tourism-related establishments, there was a sudden need for cheap manual labor to sustain such enterprises. With every passing year, more and more individuals and families from across the rural segments of the municipality and surrounding areas made their way to Itacaré in search of the new employment opportunities with the emerging tourist sector (ITI 2005: 84). The sudden demographic growth in this locality is clearly apparent in the census data collected by the Brazilian Institute of Geography and Statistics (IBGE). According to the IBGE, the urban nuclei of Itacaré consisted of only 4,275 inhabitants in 1990. By the end of the decade, following the implementation of initiatives to promote tourism, the population in the town had grown by more than 86 percent to represent 7951
people (Table 2). By 2010, the local urban population was estimated at 13,642 inhabitants. This represented an urban population growth of over 300 percent in just two decades alone. This unprecedented demographic growth clearly showcases how the alleged opportunities surrounding tourism created the necessary conditions to attract a large magnitude of rural people into this urbanizing locality.

**Table 2. Urban Growth and Rural Exodus in the Municipality of Itacaré, Bahia**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Urban Population (number of inhabitants)</th>
<th>Percentage of Urban Population</th>
<th>Rural Population (number of inhabitants)</th>
<th>Percentage of Rural Population</th>
<th>Total Municipal Population (number of inhabitants)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1970</td>
<td>2,656</td>
<td>18.83</td>
<td>11,148</td>
<td>81.17</td>
<td>14,104</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1980</td>
<td>3,005</td>
<td>22.75</td>
<td>10,202</td>
<td>77.25</td>
<td>13,207</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1990</td>
<td>4,275</td>
<td>23.19</td>
<td>14,156</td>
<td>76.81</td>
<td>18,431</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2000</td>
<td>7,951</td>
<td>43.88</td>
<td>10,169</td>
<td>56.12</td>
<td>18,120</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2010</td>
<td>13,642</td>
<td>56.09</td>
<td>10,676</td>
<td>43.91</td>
<td>24,318</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: IBGE (2010)

Ultimately, the intrusion of tourism to the locality of Itacaré evicted the native population and pushed aside the newly-arrived rural migrants to the less-desired undeveloped spaces in the city’s periphery. To aggravate their exclusion, many of these displaced groups had no option than to informally settle in areas with little or no urban planning (Meliani 2011: 130). Oftentimes this meant invading private parcels as well as forested spaces of already protected land in search of places to construct their homes. This lack of planning, coupled with the high demand for cheap available land, resulted in the expansion of informal and structurally-inadequate urban spaces (Photo 4). These precarious neighborhoods showcased a large degree of disparity when compared to the paved roads, luxury buildings, and infrastructure facilities found in tourist-oriented segments of the city (Meliani 2011: 134).

Be it in local or tourist-occupied spaces, the rapid and unplanned urban growth in this locality has caused a profound and apparent impact in the health of the local environment. The
sudden acceleration and concentration of people in a given physical space triggers the necessary environmental processes for degradation to occur (Coelho 2009). Within this Malthusian logic, the environmental and poverty issues in this locality have been amplified as chaotic demographic increases—from migrants, entrepreneurs, and tourist—have put further pressure in the availability of local resources such as land (Ferreira and Matias 2011: 4).

In the case of Itacaré, the clearest examples of such precarious social-environmental conditions are largely concentrated in the city’s only favela (shantytown), Barrio Novo. This is not only the urban segment where many of the displaced native inhabitants and rural migrants alike call home, it is likewise the most populated and impoverished neighborhood in the whole city (ITI 2005: 84) Neighborhoods like Barrio Novo (Santo Antonio), Passagem, and Porto da Tras—as illustrated by Figure 6—are also where most of the local environmental problems are showcased. These impacts are largely concentrated in these areas since a significant portion of these urban segments lack here the as lack access to basic services such as running drinking water, trash collection, and sewage management, (Ferreira and Matias 2011). It’s also worth noting that despite that most environmental effects are centered in these locally-occupied areas there also prevalent, although to a lesser extent, in the spaces tailored to tourists. Consequently, these urban spaces are also the most susceptible to recurring environmental calamities like landslides and flooding. These problems, however, not only affect the people and the environment within these precious segments. They can likewise result in a direct and destructive impact to the environment at-large.
For the purposes of this participative study, most of the spatial exclusion documented in this research were concentrated in the favela of Barrio Novo and neighborhood of Passagem. After all, it was in this urban segment where many of original dwellers had to relocate to following the rampant land appreciation associated with tourism (ITI 2005: 84). The data collected in this study supports these well documented cases of local displacement. According to the conducted interviews, one in every three participants answered that they were native Itacarenses. Among this group of original residents, 20 percent of them answered that they had to relocate to the favela because it was the only area of the city where they could find affordable housing, while another 40 percent of this group cited that the favela was the only area with parcels cheap enough to construct a home.

However, the impacts of exclusion are not only apparent within Itacaré’s original population. A large part of the participants of these study—66 percent in fact—were not native dwellers to this locality, but rather rural migrants from the surrounding municipalities and several other remote areas across the state of Bahia. While they cited numerous reasons for migrating, a significant proportion of them—90 percent—cited employment as the main drive to move to Itacaré. Considering that
tourism fuels one in every two jobs in Itacaré, it is appropriate to assume that a significant portion of these migrants were attracted to the job market associated with tourism (Rodrigues 2006). In similarity to Itacaré’s displaced native dwellers, many of these rural migrants had no option but to relocate to precarious sectors like Barrio Novo where they could find plots and/or housing affordable enough to live.

**Photo 1. Makeshift housing in the Barrio Novo neighborhood**

The most detrimental aspect of this displacement, however, was not the physical or spatial relocation that native dwellers along with rural migrants had to undergo. Rather it was the fact that these groups were pushed aside to peripheral sectors with limited or no access to adequate housing and other basic services. According to housing data gathered at the Municipality of Health Secretariat: about 80 percent of the inhabitants of these marginalized neighborhoods lived in improvised dwellings erected with poor building materials and with little or no safety and environmental guidelines (Silva Cardoso 2013). This apparent lack of appropriate planning, along with the absence of suitable construction materials not only affect the social wellbeing of the people; it can also have a profound impact the health of the surrounding environment. Such irregular structures also make local people particularly vulnerable to the reoccurring environmental factors like mudslides and floods. In this manner, the displacement of local people and rural migrants
carries an important question about the social-environmental side effects of local tourism. Particularly since the gentrification of spaces traditionally occupied by local dwellers, most of which laid in areas with huge tourism potential, has been a direct product of the widespread real estate speculation triggered by external tourism investors. Meanwhile, it also calls into question the inability of Itacaré to absorb the high inflows of rural workers in search of jobs within this sector.

**Divided and Erratic Labor Market**

Another detrimental effect of Itacaré’s tourism has been the role that this industry has had in skewing the local division of labor. Despite producing significant employment—one in every two local jobs—most touristic enterprises in this locality are not managed nor owned by locally-sourced people. Rather, most tourism ventures in this community are the direct product of entrepreneurs from outside the community, particularly from other more affluent areas within Brazil as well as other countries (Bomfim and Tupinamba 2011: 52). In this sense, local residents have been largely excluded from seriously partaking in the value chain of their locality’s ecotourism. In the case of Itacaré, most local people associated with tourism have only benefitted from the nominal income they receive in exchange for the low-skilled services they provide.

These documented claims of labor division parallel those shared by local participants in this study. As stated in the study interviews, many local dwellers earn their living in low-paid, tourism-related jobs with little or no formal qualifications. Among the professions in which locals participate are: domestic workers, small informal sellers/traders, rural workers, cooks, construction workers, fisherman and others—professions that, in one way or another, supply the labor necessary for local tourism to stay afloat. While the income from these jobs helps support their families to some extent, most of this work provides limited prospects for upward social mobility and economic status. Out of the 30 participants interviewed, only two people—a college student and a civil servant—had qualifications with the potential to materialize into better labor and socioeconomic opportunities. In
this manner, the skewed division of labor in Itacaré has a significant relationship with that of the local tourism trade.

**Figure 7. Seasonal Fluctuation in the availability of tourism jobs**

Aside from being disproportionately beneficial towards external entrepreneurs, the local labor market is also prone to huge seasonal fluctuations. Whereas in the high season the number of tourists reaches 25,000, in periods of low-demand this number drops to less than 15,000 tourists (ITI 2005: 19). Meaning, that a large part of the ninety-seven hostels and hotels (with over thousand accommodation units); hundred and sixteen restaurants, scores of bars and beach shacks, 14 tourist agencies, and nearly fifty retail stores must reduce their demand for local labor in order to stay financially afloat during the business downturn of low tourist season (Guzman et al 2010: 99). As illustrated by Figure 7, the less tourist activity in the town the less employment there will be for local people. This variability on the availability of employment and, consequently, income can be a critical obstacle for the socioeconomic wellbeing local inhabitants, particularly since tourism and its associated economic sectors generate one in every two jobs locally Rodrigues (2006).

**Water Supply**

One of the main tourism-induced environmental issues in this locality has been the supply of potable water. Despite the fact that the Itacaré’s water network covers a relatively large share of
household users (75 percent) as well as a high incidence of treated water (90 percent), it does not always guarantees that the network will be able to keep up with a growing demand or much less reach all the neighborhoods that it needs to. It is precisely this question of adequate water supply which is closely related to the ecotourism sector, especially since this industry attracts large number of visitors, which in turn, place further stress on the availability of water for local consumption. This is an issue that is primarily evident during the summer months—December to February—when occasional periods of drought decrease the level of the water table. This problem of drought is further intensified in the summer as it is also the peak tourist season, a period in which 25,000 monthly visitors significantly increase the demand for water. According to Norvai Pereira (2013) this rise in the number of tourist constitutes a surge in water demand from 68,000 liters per month (in the off season) to over 77,000 liters per month (high tourist season). In other words, the increase in tourism’s demographic flow constitutes a 13 percent growth in water demand from just one season to the next.

This surge water in demand, however, is by no means a surprise to neither people nor municipal officials in this community. Each year, the Water and Sanitation Company of Bahia (EMBASA), the state-sponsored enterprise in-charge of supplying and treating water for public consumption, anticipates the exponential surge in water demand and even acts on increasing the supply available to this population. Despite the state’s efforts, hundreds of families across Itacaré are periodically left without access to running water during these summer months. Many of those affected households are disproportionally concentrated in the working-class neighborhoods where most of the local people live.

To better understand the effect that tourism has on the availability of water for local people, this study emphasized the need to ask participants if they saw any changes to their supply of water between one tourist season and the next. When asked about variations in the water supply during
the summer season, 66 percent of respondents cited a perceived decrease in the availability of water in their homes; while the remaining 33 percent cited seeing no change in the supply of water during this period. It is worth noting that among the group that noted no alterations; half did not actually obtained their water through the public aqueduct as they had private ground wells in their own homes. This means that they are able to extract directly from the water table, and thus are without affected by the problems in the public network. When the interview participants were asked about variations in water availability during the low tourism season, only 10 percent of them noted seeing a decreased in their domicile water supply In contrast, 90 percent of respondents cited seeing no changes in their water supply during this period. This goes to note that the demographic inflows of tourism have a negative correlation on the supply of water available to the people in this community.

**Table 3. Alterations in local’s supply of water from one tourist season to the next**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Share of respondents who perceived a decrease in the supply of water in their home</th>
<th>High Tourist Season (December to February, July)</th>
<th>Low Tourist Season (Rest of the Year)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>66%</td>
<td>10%</td>
<td></td>
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<thead>
<tr>
<th>Share of respondents who perceived no change in the supply of water in their home</th>
<th>High Tourist Season (December to February, July)</th>
<th>Low Tourist Season (Rest of the Year)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>33%</td>
<td>90%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

To conclude this part of the study, the participants were asked if they saw any alterations in the price of water between one tourist seasons and the next. Two in every three participants noted no price changes during high season, while in the low season nine out every ten respondents saw no price variations during the low season. This has to do with the fact that EMBASA imposes a fixed annual rate for each unit of water consumed. Not to mention that it offers registered low-income households discounted water rates through the federal program of *Bolsa Familia* rated to people of impoverished backgrounds (Norvais Pereira 2013). It can be conclude that although local tourism
can altered the local water supply, there are institutional mechanisms in place to avoid seasonal price alterations for consumers.

**Waste Management**

Another pressing environmental issue associated with tourism has been the proper elimination of local waste. For the purpose of this study, two types of waste were highlighted: garbage (*lixo*) and sewage waste (*esgoto*). In terms of garbage-related waste, most this town—approximately 84 percent—is covered by the municipal trash collection (Silva Cardoso 2013). While the remaining 15 percent of inhabitants of these neighborhoods must dispose of their garbage through other means such as incinerating it, burying or leaving it to rot out in the open. For local people, however, having access to public trash collection does not always guarantee that the garbage in these segments will be collected properly nor in a timely manner. This occurs for two reasons: 1) many of the neighborhoods inhabited by locals are located on steep hillsides with poor road access, which makes it difficult for trash trucks to effectively reach all areas, and 2) these segments of the city produce more trash than municipality is able to collect (Leal 2013).

**Photo 2. Accumulated garbage in the Rua de Miranda, Barrio Novo**

As with the case of the water supply, the problems of trash collection are intensified by the demographic inflows of the high tourist season. During these periods, the high inflow of visitors exponentially increases the amount of garbage produced within this locality. According to a report from the Itacaré’s Tourism Institute, on an average the city can expect to generate up to 15 tons of
waste per day. During the high tourism season, however, this volume can increase to more 22 tons of garbage per day (Plano Itacaré 2005: 85). This 47 percent increase in the volume of trash presents itself as a serious obstacle in the ability of the public collection to properly gather and dispose of all this waste. Not to mention the harmful effects that these high quantity of unpicked trash can have on the social wellbeing and the health of an ecosystem as fragile as Itacaré (Leal 2013)

The challenges of trash collection are not only apparent to local officials charged of keeping Itacaré’s streets free of garbage. They are also apparent in the opinions of the local residents who participated in this study. When participants were ask about the amount of uncollected trash in their neighborhood streets, 24 of 30 participants—all of whom had access to the public trash collection—commented that there was a visible rise in the amount of uncollected trash in the streets during the summer months. By contrast, when asked about the low tourist seasons, 87 percent mentioned not seeing any change in the volume of waste. Meanwhile, the remaining 12 percent cited seeing an actual decrease in this amount of unpicked trash during this same period. In this way, it is easy to see how the fluctuating inflow of visitors can erratically alter the quantity of trash as well as the capacity of the municipality in managing this waste. This is not only significant to marginalized local spaces like Barrio Novo; it is also a problem affecting the community at large. Especially when, scholars like Ferreira (2011) have previously documented that for local dwellers the prevalence of trash is seen as the single greatest socio-environmental problem afflicting this tourism receptive community.

Table 3. Alterations in the amount of uncollected garbage in the streets

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>High Tourist Season (December to February, July)</th>
<th>Low Tourist Season (Rest of the Year)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Share of respondents who perceived an increase in the quantity of garbage on the streets</td>
<td>80%</td>
<td>13%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Share of respondents who perceived no change in the quantity of garbage on the streets</td>
<td>20%</td>
<td>87%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Another waste-related issue afflicting this community is the lack of proper management when it comes to dealing with human waste. As it has been documented with water and trash, this is a challenge that disproportionally affects local people living in neighborhoods such as Barrio Novo, as these proportions of these spaces areas lack basic access to the local public sewer system. According to the sanitation data from the Municipal Health Secretariat, only about 38 percent of households in these areas are actually served by this system. Meanwhile the outstanding 62 percent of households must dispose of their sewage waste through inadequate means. These can include using fossas abertas (ground pits) or, as in the case of trash, letting the waste simply rot in the open air. These improper methods of disposing of human waste have been cited in previous research as the second worst socio-environmental challenge impacting the local population (Ferreira 2011: 122).

Photo 3. Open sewage between irregular homes, Barrio Novo

Despite that poor access to sewage system is not a direct effect of tourism, it is to a large degree a byproduct of the displacement, chaotic urbanization, and lack of planning associated with this economic sector. Improper management of sewage waters not only affects the households that lack the necessary infrastructure, it can likewise cause great degradation to the environment at-large. This situation is most alarming during times of high precipitation, when heavy rains washes the sewage water from many precarious dwellings and dumps them into waterways that lead directly to local beaches (ITI 2005: 85). This occurs as the improper handling of this waste, mainly through the
use of ground pits, can effectively contaminate the potable water network as well as the surrounding soil; extending ecological havoc from the neighborhoods of origin to the community at-large

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**Phase Two: Community-driven Solutions for the Current Tourist Model**

Itacaré’s commercially-driven ecotourism model has had an undeniable connection to the social and ecological detriments apparent this community. As it has been documented, this type of externally-managed tourism has been responsible for displacing the population and giving no substantial employment opportunities for these people. While at the same time it has degraded Itacaré’s rich environment by pushing local dwellers to areas with limited access to basic environmental services like potable water or waste management systems. As a response to these unfavorable effects, a wide range of community agents are taking proactive steps to combat these obstacles (Appendix A). Despite that these local entities operate in various fields, there is a clear trajectory in all of their work: to foster inclusive growth for the locals, while safeguarding the natural environment by which economic opportunity and social mobility are achieved. In this manner, the second phase of this study will be aimed at documenting the past and ongoing work that community organizations are doing to tackle these tourism challenges with innovative locally-sourced solutions. The results for Phase Two will be presented in the following manner:

**Tackling Spatial Displacement and Exclusion**

As it has been previously documented, corporate-driven ecotourism has been linked to the rampant land speculation and displacement seen throughout Itacaré. Despite these ongoing challenges of spatial exclusion, the community agents who participated in this study were cleared that there was little that they could do to reverse the gentrification that has already taken place. What some of these entities were assertive about, however, was the potential role that they can play in preventing these issues from continuing in the future. One of the most active organizations in this
regard has been the local association for Afro-Brazilian development, Casa de Boneco. As part of their determination to exert pressures on municipal, state, and federal institutions, they are currently pushing forward local land reform. Their objective is twofold: 1) make municipal institutions and policies more reflective of the community’s land needs, and, most importantly, 2) address the spatial displacement caused by the real estate speculation linked to the emerge of tourism.

In conjunction to the work of Casa do Boneco is the work being carried out by Itacaré’s other leading Afro-oriented community development organization, the Fazenda Modelo Quilombo D’Oiti. The Fazenda acts as an education-oriented model for empowering Itacaré’s Afro community, by integrating the participation of local people in every aspect its own community-driven tourism planning. In early 2014, the Fazenda launched an ambitious plan to bring about structural changes to the space of land they legally occupy. As part of these efforts, there is an ongoing project to transform their largely uninhabited land into a communal *vila* (village), in which *moradias* (houses) can be collectively build for “people of the community” to come and live (Malta 2012: 8). Like other structures already build within the reaches of the Fazenda, they will have to abide by community-imposed bio-construction and permaculture standards. These construction methods will allow for the proper use and recycling of rain water as well as discarded materials (e.g. glass bottles), resulting in not only more ecologically sustainable homes for local people, but also less degradation for the environment that surrounds them.

There is also some ongoing work being done to curb the mass influx of rural people coming into Itacaré. Heading these efforts has been Mecenas da Vida. Rather than focusing in bringing opportunity to rural migrants in the crowded urban nuclei of Itacaré, Mecenas is prioritizing the need of fostering socioeconomic inclusion within the surrounding rural spaces. The objective of their effort is to provide rural people with the opportunity they need within their own pastoral settings, so they do not have to abandon their lands in search of employment in the city. With this in
mind, Mecenas da Vida has instituted *Turismo CO₂ Legal*, a program in which tourism enterprises and tourists alike can help neutralize the carbon dioxide emissions generated by their businesses and trips, respectively. As part of this program, enterprises and visitors compensate their emissions by giving a nominal contribution to the organization. The funds raised are then destined to local agricultural families in the form a “Bolsa Conservação” (conservation stipend). By receiving the monthly stipend of R$ 300 (approximately 150 USD), registered farmers agree to remain tending their plots. Among other conditions, they are also required to carry out significant conservation works, such as conserving the remaining forest within their property, reforesting already deforested areas, and adopting ecologically sound agricultural practices (Mecenas da Vida 2010: 3). Thereby, the work of this local entity covers both social and environmental dimensions. In a social context, it provides traditional farming families with the supplemental income they need to carry out their rural livelihoods without the need of migrating to urban spaces like Itacaré. Meanwhile, it ensures that these rural families conserve and protect the environment, by which they, the surrounding community, and the local tourism industry depend on.

**Fostering More Inclusive Labor Opportunities**

Another social front that local agents have been active in is the creation of more inclusive labor opportunities within tourism. Most of this community-oriented work has been directed at providing local dwellers with training and employment programs necessary to promote skillsets and careers associated this sector. One of the community organizations at the forefront of these endeavors has been Itacaré’s Casa do Boneco. Since 2010, this Afro-oriented entity has prioritized five different work areas, among which are the acquisition of technical skills for members of the community (Malta 2012: 6). As part of these efforts, Casa do Boneco has instituted the *Tambor ao Computador* (Drum to the computer) technological program. The program has two main goals: 1) to educate participants about the cultural importance of Afro-Brazilian groups, and 2) to provide local
people with virtual learning circuits that enable them become better prepared for the demands of the local labor market, including the tourism industry. These locally-sourced online education and training services, which are free and open to the general public, are administered through computers stationed in their community headquarters. While the program is entirely managed by the organization, part of the funding is derived through competitive grants awarded to Casa do Boneco by the Brazil’s Ministry of Culture.

While some of these training and employment programs have been internally-run, a large portion of them could not be realized if not for established partnerships with both private and public entities. In the case of private partnerships two clear cases stand out. One is the work being done by the local association of river canoeists; Associação de Canoeiros do Rio de Contas. In the past, they have partnered with Itacaré’s five-star Txai Resort to connect their affluent hotel guests to the tourist services provided by this local group. As part of this partnership, the resort entrust the help of these canoeists to take their guests on engaging excursions along the scenic Rio de Contas. The other clear example of this type of work is the ongoing partnership that exists between the association of local guides, the Associação dos Condutores de Visitantes de Itacaré (ACVI) and numerous private tourism enterprises. ACVI, for example, has created the Adote um Guia (Adopt a Guide) program that connects these enterprises (e.g. hotels, inns, resorts) to registered local guides, so they can provide their services to the guests of these private establishments. The benefits of these collaborative efforts are twofold. One the one hand it allows tourists participating in these services to break away from the highly superficial setting of their place of stay and into direct contact with the reality of the natural environment (Layrargues 2004). On the other hand it connects local tourist workers, many of which have decades of experience living in the environment in which they operate, to more clients and, consequently, more income to promote their socioeconomic wellbeing.
Besides connecting tourist workers with employment opportunities, community organizations have also been proactive in partnering with private entities to ensure that the local workforce has the skill capacity to succeed in the tourism trade. The local agent heading these efforts has been the Itacaré’s Tourism Institute (ITI). As of 2014, they had two active job training programs aimed at the local community. The first one, accomplished with the technical assistance of Brazil’s National Commercial Training Service (SENAC), is tailored to local dwellers seeking to gain greater skills for the tourism market. Meanwhile the second program, implemented with the help of the Brazilian Service for the Support of Micro and Small Enterprises (SEMBRAE), has been directed at community-operated micro and small businesses wanting to take advantage of the community’s tourism demand.

In addition, public partnerships have also been established to create more inclusive labor prospects for local people. Among the work currently underway is the cross-sector alliance between Itacaré’s Municipal Tourism Secretariat and the Associação dos Condutores de Visitantes de Itacaré. The Tourism Secretariat is charged with conducting vocational training to make this group of local guides more adapt to the demands of their trade. In these trainings, registered guides receive formal preparation in first-aid response as well as learn to keep oversight over the services provided by other guides. Another instance of such public cooperation is the agreement currently established between Itacaré’s Tourism Institute (ITI) and the Univerisidade Estadual de Santa Cruz, the region’s state university. Within this accord, the public university with support from ITI has implemented a training course to teach participants about the promotion of the region’s historic and cultural heritage as well as guidelines for community-based tourism marketing.

**Water Usage and Resource Management**

Community organizations have also been assertive in curbing some of the degrading environmental effects produced by Itacaré’s commercial-based tourism model. In particular, local
agents who participated in this study have highlighted their roles in protecting the natural resources of their community. While their presence in this area is not as profound as that of tackling exclusion and fostering labor opportunities, their current work does represent important strides in divulgating the necessary ecological conciseness to make tourist, entrepreneurs, and locals aware of the importance of safeguarding the natural resources of this rich ecosystem. As an essential component of this environmental work, community agents have been active in two primary areas.

One of areas that have been highlighted is the role that tourism enterprises play in depleting the community’s resources. In previous external publications, such as the Plano Itacaré 2015, the Tourism Institute of Itacaré has stress the need for these businesses to adopt mechanism to lessen their footprint on the environmental. ITI has called on these commercial enterprises to make better use of the resources they used. Among the resources emphasized have been the rampant and disproportion use of electricity, food, and water by these commercial agents (ITI 2005: 91). After all, these are vital resources for the local people, which are increasingly constrained by the large tourist inflows of the high tourist season.

The other environmental platform that local organizations have been working in is promulgating ecological education that teaches tourists and locals about the importance of protecting these important natural resources. Among the efforts currently under way are those of three organizations interviewed in this study. The first is the Fazenda Modelo Quilombo D’Oiti and their efforts to teach visitors and local people, particularly young individuals, about the importance of bio-construction. As part of these endeavors, members of the Fazenda promulgate building methods that make more optimal use of available resources, including the collection and storage of rain water. The second of this entities is the Associação de Surf de Itacaré, the local surfing association, whose work is primary composed of giving environmental lectures in local school about the importance of young people to become future stewards for the local environment. Since the year
2000, the organization has carried out this education-driven work in partnership with the Secretariat of Education. Their educational lectures teach local youth to make better use of these resources as they can have a detrimental effect not only for them, but the community as a whole. The last of these organizations is Mecenas da Vida. Their ongoing work with rurally-based tourism is oriented at teaching a wide range of visitors, including cruise groups from National Geographic, about the social and ecological impact that unsound tourism can create for people from these remote communities.

**Managing Waste**

The other environmental parameter that local agents are taking charge in is in the adequate disposal of garbage waste. These endeavors are tailored at minimizing the large quantities of waste that the demographic inflow of tourism produces but does not properly manage. Among the local entities active in the capacity are the Associação dos Condutores de Visitantes de Itacaré. Their work with waste management is directed at ensuring that the ecological trails and spaces in which they operate are clear of trash. Their work is divided in two dimensions: one is teaching the tourist who accompany them to protect the spaces they are visiting by not throwing or leaving waste behind. The other component of their work involves forming groups with the members of the association to periodically round up trash that may have accumulated in areas frequented by tourists.

The second organization active in this field is the Associação de Canoeiros do Rio de Contas. As part of their daily work, canoeists crisscross the local waterways. To ensure that these areas are clean of trash, they have partnered up with the Municipal government to create incentives for association members to collect garbage they may come across while riding their canoes. This is significant considering that a considerable amount uncollected trash in the town’s streets is eventually washed into local watersheds that lead into the Rio de Contas and eventually into the Atlantic Ocean. As part of this incentive, registered canoeists receive a small stipend from the
municipality to maintain those frequented water ways clean of trash. Despite the fact that members of the organization receive the stipend regardless of the amount of garbage collected, they cited that protecting these watershed ecosystems is important to every member of the association, as it ensures that visitors will keep coming in search of the rich and unspoiled natural beauty of this community.

The third local agent working toward in such capacity is the Associação de Surf de Itacaré (ASI). Their activities in the area of trash management are primarily concentrated in the area surrounding the coasts. Each august, the association organizes a three-day surfing championship in which thousands of surfers and spectators flock to Itacaré to take part in this world-renown competition. These events have three main conservation focuses: the ocean, the surrounding tropical forest, and the environment at-large. Included in this work is the coordination of volunteer-driven trash collection along the local beaches. The objective of these rounds is to keep these pristine areas clear of garbage before and throughout the surfing tournament. However, these rounds of trash collection are not only done through the extension of these popular events, they are wise organized by the association throughout the year.

Future Obstacles

The research findings in this study clearly point to the various obstacles that an unsound tourism models can bring to communities like Itacaré. In particular, community dwellers and organizations have made a connection between the socio-environmental problems that unchecked and unplanned ecotourism can have on the social wellbeing and environmental vitality of a locality. Despite the fact that local agents have been active in addressing and curbing such impacts, there are remaining challenges that community organizations must ultimately overcome in order to combat these issues. In this manner, an important part of this participative ecotourism study has been aimed at documenting the obstacles that these organizations will expect to tackle in the upcoming future. In particular, community organizations who participated in this study highlighted the obstacles that
the public sector, private enterprise and the community itself may pose for the future of the community-driven ecotourism model they are trying to conceive.

First, there are clear public sector obstacles that community agents will have to confront in order to create a more viable tourism in their community. One of the organizations that was particularly critical of public sector obstruction was Itacaré’s Casa de Boneco. In their interview, entity leaders pointed to the unfair treatment they received on behalf of public institutions. They, for example, mention how the Municipal Secretariat of Tourism favors conventional tourism entrepreneurs rather than the community-driven model they are trying to divulgate. This unjust treatment not only limits their work capacity, it also restricts their ability to provide their alternative product to the local tourism market. Another criticism of such institutions is that there is the apparent lack of appreciation of the cultural heritage within the tourism model encouraged by public actors. This is worth noting since socio-cultural organizations like Casa do Boneco and the Fazenda Modelo D’Oiti’s work revolves around strengthening traditional Afro-Brazilian knowledge throughout their Turismo de base or Community-based Ethnic Tourism platform.

One well noted criticism of the public sector is their lack of direction and oversight when it comes to local tourism. Entities like the Associação de Surf de Itacaré, for example, have pointed to the absence of public institutions when it comes to certifying local surf schools. Especially when the lack of oversight not only gives rise to unregistered surf schools, but can also lead to increase safety risks for the tourist who takes part in such informal services. Meanwhile, agents from the Associação de Canoeiros do Rio de Contas have complained that they still lack public sector orientation when it comes to the tourism industry. Another criticism of such governing institutions has been their lack of investment in relation to the socio-environmental issues inflicting their community. In particular, organizations like the Associação dos Condutores de Visitantes de Itacaré have expressed concerns that the inadequate public investment in education is hampering community efforts to teach young
people to became the next generation of environmental stewards. ACVI also noted that the municipality could be more active in providing further job training for local visitor guide. Especially when only 1 out of 60 registered local guides are actually fluent in the English language. The last of this publically-oriented criticism has been linked to the Municipality’s clear lack of strategic tourism planning. In this regard, Itacaré’s Tourism Institute has been pressuring public agents for years to establish a comprehensive Plano Municipal de Turismo, which as of March of 2014 was still inexistent.

Secondly, community agents have also been openly critical of the current private sector involvement in the tourism-related work they carry out. As in the case of the public sector, Casa do Boneco was particularly vocal in this regard. They, for instance, have called on private tourism enterprises to stop actively obstructing, and suppressing their efforts to establish an ecotourism model alternative to theirs. Especially when they see this corporate-driven model as being: 1) superficial in nature, 2) detrimental to the cultural uniqueness of the place, and 3) concerned only with monetary gains. Interestingly enough, these opinions also resonate with what other community entities are saying about the role of the private sector. Organizations like Mecenas da Vida and ITI, have appealed to private entities to create an entrepreneurial vision that is more reflective of the community’s cultural, environmental, and social needs. As part of these efforts, they are have been trying to partner with private enterprises to elaborate a tourism marketing plan that carries a strong social value for the people of this community, not just the profits that such businesses create.

Lastly, community agents have also called upon local dwellers to take charge of the tourism-related challenges that they themselves may be inflicting of their own community. Actor like the Casa do Boneco, for example, are trying to make local people aware of their need to invest more internally within their community, empower the next generation of local leaders, and promulgate the necessary socio-environmental consciousness to better secure the future of community-driven ecotourism in this locality. Meanwhile, other actors like ACVI have presented the need for locals to
consume less, be more proactive in the area of managing waste, as well as pushing one another to collectively supervise socio-environmental infractions that might occur throughout the community. This echoes what organizations like ITI are saying about ensuring that locals exert more pressure on local leaders so that the tourist model is not only more participatory, but also reflects and addresses the needs of the community as whole, not just the affluent and powerful entrepreneurial sectors.

POLICY RECOMMENDATIONS

Tourism in Itacaré, as the results of this study have come to show, has a direct impact on the social wellbeing and the environmental health of the community. Despite bringing visible benefits, most of the detrimental effects have been disproportionately imposed on the local population, particularly those from the most impoverished and marginalized neighborhoods in the city. Tourism, however, is not inherently adverse to the neither the local people nor the surrounding environment. What is problematic is the clear mismanagement of this industry, which rather than promoting the interests and needs of the local people and the environment, continues to prioritize the profits of externally-operated tourism enterprises. This is an important distinction to note as ecotourism, in contrast to just tourism, is supposed to advance both the social and environmental wellbeing the receptive community. Following the feedback obtained by community agents active in this sector, this paper will showcase a series of policy recommendations. These will be aimed at presenting an alternate view of how the current tourism paradigm should operate. The end objective will be to construct a more holistic ecotourism model that 1) effectively controls and decreases the impacts of the sector, 2) provides visitors with interactive experiences with the locals and the surrounding ecology, and most importantly 3) maximizes opportunity and prosperity for the local people. The recommendations will be organized as follows:
1) **Distribute the Seasonal Arrival of Tourists**

To reduce the adverse effects that tourism’s erratic seasonal fluctuations may produce, it will be necessary to develop public and private-driven incentives and marketing platforms that encourage tourists to visit the locality in periods that fall outside the high tourist season. Such mechanisms will help distribute the arrival of visitors more equitably throughout the year. These will not only ensure that local people have a more stable and perennial jobs. They will likewise remove some of the demographic pressures that these high tourist inflows have on the local supply of water and the production of waste.

2) **Educate and Encourage tourists to do their part**

Given that a significant portion of the socio-environmental effects in Itacaré have a direct link to arriving tourists, it would be wise to educate these visitors to do their part in promoting the community’s wellbeing and conserving the natural vitality of this place. To this end, public institutions, private enterprises, and community organizations should strengthen their ongoing partnerships to more effectively teach arriving visitors steps that they can take to improve the quality of life of locals (e.g. hire local guides, buy from locally-owned stores) and reduce the footprint they may inflict on the local environment (e.g. consume less water, properly dispose of waste).

3) **Involve local people in the ecotourism discussion**

During the inception of PRODETUR in the 1990s, the state and municipal government worked collaboratively to conduct public hearings with community dwellers in respect to the tourism model they were trying to conceive. Since then, however, very few of these participatory meeting have been taking place. In this manner, it is important that local residents, particularly from marginalized neighborhoods, convene regularly with public officials and private entrepreneurs to discuss debate and build democratic consensus on the desired direction for the local ecotourism model. To this end, there should be platforms in place that communicate the need for local residents to attend and provide input at these town meetings. The end objective of these meeting should be to create a comprehensive and participatory Plano Municipal de Turismo (Municipal Tourist Plan). The plan should guarantee that all stakeholders involved have a voice, and that the ecotourism model chosen integrates the needs of all segments in the community, not just the affluent and powerful ones.

4) **Allocate funds to socio-environmental infrastructure and services**

Whether it’s the local water supply lines, trash collection mechanisms, or sewage networks; there is a clear lack of basic socio-environmental infrastructure in the locality of Itacaré. Thus, there is ongoing need to divert more municipal funds for the construction, expansion and provision of such vital services. Among the issues most frequently mentioned by the participants of this study was a growing need to make the water supply networks more efficient, collect garbage more regularly, and extend sewage connection to all community households. Particular urgent is the need to build up and improve the availability, access, and quality of these essential amenities in the impoverished urban segments where the tendency of socio-environmental effects is most prevalent. Investing in these services is critical as it not only improves the quality of life for local residents; it also curbs the rampant degradation currently seen in the local environment.

5) **Encourage local entrepreneurship**

Most tourism investment in Itacaré comes from entrepreneurs from other countries as well as other more affluent areas of Brazil. With this in mind there is an ongoing need to foster more locally-sourced entrepreneurship. To accomplish this, several steps must take place: 1) the municipal government should secure more state and federal funds to increase the access and availability of
low-interest loans to locals willing to invest in ecotourism enterprises with their community, 2) the credit provided should be directed at local enterprises whose proven business model promotes the social and environmental wellbeing of the locality, and 3) as a condition of acquiring cheap credit, local entrepreneurs must also enroll in classes provided by the Brazilian Service for the Support of Micro and Small Enterprises (SEMBRAE), so that when it comes time to operate their own business they are properly trained and can make better use of the Itacaré’s tourism potential.

6) **Strengthen public sector oversight**
Community agents have constantly criticized the lack of public oversight when it comes to the local tourist industry. With this in mind, Itacaré’s public institutions should be more watchful of the activities of private actors when it comes to this lucrative sector. As part of these efforts, municipal officials should keep oversight over the constant emergence of informal tourism enterprises (e.g. uncertified surf schools, unregistered guides) that not only pose a threat to legitimate local businesses but also the tourists themselves. In this way, the public sector should 1) hold illegitimate enterprises accountable 2) communicate to the visitor how to distinguish between a certified and non-certified enterprises 3) regulate improper activities by registered businesses.

7) **Empower the next generation of leaders and stewards**
As an essential part of sustaining a more inclusive ecotourism model, community agents, public institutions and the private sector, must work together to ensure that local youth acquire the socio-environmental awareness and the practical skills necessary to carry on the future promotion of local people and the environment. To this end, there should be a continued effort to teach young people, through educational lectures and field visits, about the important role they can have in safeguarding their community’s social wellbeing and the surrounding environment. While community agents like ASI and ACVI have excelled in this work, there needs to be increased participation from Itacaré’s public and private sector. Public entities like the Municipal Education Secretariat and the Environmental Secretariat, for example, can expand the institutional direction and learning materials given to these community organizations. Meanwhile, the private sector can be proactive in raising philanthropic donations to ensure that these community-led efforts are well funded and can be financially sustained. Empowering more young people in this field will ensure that the socio-environmental promotion in this community can be continued for generations to come.
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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name of Organization</th>
<th>Type</th>
<th>Demographics</th>
<th>Mission</th>
<th>Factors for Establishing Organization</th>
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</table>
| Associação de Afro Desenvolvimento Casa do Boneco de Itacaré | Socio-cultural community development association | • Approximately 40 Members  
• All are from the community of Itacaré | • Empower the Afro-Brazilian community and local dwellers at-large  
• Provide a center of sociocultural information for locals and visitors alike  
• Exert community-led pressure on local, state, federal policies that affect the community’s livelihood and that of the environment | • African legacy in Brazil’s tourism product  
• Limited tourism-related benefits and opportunities for the receptive community, particularly for local Afro-Brazilians  
• Need to educate locals and visitors about the preservation and promotion of cultural heritage and the surrounding natural assets |
| Associação de Canoeiros do Rio de Contas | Trade Association | • All the canoeists are from the community | • Promoting socioeconomic success for the group  
• Learn collective practices to work with the tourist sector | • Diminishing socioeconomic opportunities in fishing  
• No real collective direction among local canoeists |
| Associação dos Conductores de Visitantes de Itacaré (ACVI) | Trade Association | • 60 active guides in the community  
• 80% are from Itacaré  
• The rest are from other parts of Bahia and Brazil  
• NOTE: Brazilian Federal Law requires that individuals must reside in a community for at least five years in order to become guides | • To foster guide professionalism  
• Improve the quality of visitor service  
• Help improve the quality of life of guides | • Absence of professional development and direction among local guides  
• The apparent need to promote the standard of living of local guides |
| Associação de Surf de Itacaré (A.S.I.) | NGO | • Thirteen operating staff  
• All are from Itacaré | • Preserve and keep local beaches clean  
• Monitor and report environmental infractions in the beaches  
• Keep surfing as one of the prime attractions of local tourism | • No real environmental consciousness amongst the community  
• Teach locals the importance of safeguarding the environment for the next generation  
• Lack of environmental oversight in local beaches |
| Fazenda Modelo Quilombo D’ Oiti | Socio-cultural community development association | • Same members as the Casa de Boneco  
• All are native to the community | • Establish a community development center, based on sustainable practices  
• Promote Afro-Brazilian heritage through artistic and cultural demonstrations for visitors and locals | • Lack of participation and collaboration for a community-based tourism model |
| Instituto de Turismo de Itacaré (ITI) | Trade Institute | • Composed of two staff  
• Both are from Itacaré | • Provide strategic tourism planning with a focus on sustainable development, and cultural, environmental, and social responsibility  
• Connect tourism enterprises with the social development of local dwellers | • Lack of local participation and cooperate collaboration for a sustainable tourism model |
| Mecenas da Vida | NGO | • Operated by five Brazilians  
• One of the five is from Itacaré | • Neutralize CO₂ emissions from tourism activities  
• Provide rural farmers with alternative socioeconomic opportunities linked to conserving the environment  
• Conserve and protect the surrounding tropical forest | • Address the socio-environmental impacts that tourism creates  
• Bring tourism opportunities to local dwellers  
• Allow tourism entrepreneurs and tourists to neutralize the ecological impact they produce |
QUESTIONÁRIO SOBRE OS IMPACTOS SOCIO-AMBIENTAIS COM CONEXÃO AO TURISMO LOCAL

I. Características Socio-Demográficas Do Participante
   1. SEXO: ( ) Feminino ( ) Masculino
   2. ESTADO CIVIL:
      ( ) Solteiro(a) ( ) Casado(a) ( ) União de Fato ( ) Divorciado(a)/Separado(a) ( ) Viúvo(a)
   3. PROFISSÃO:
   4. PROFISSÃO DO(A) ESPOSO(A):
   5. LOCAL DE NASCIMENTO:
   6. TEMPO MORANDO EM ITACARÉ:
      ( ) menos de 1 ano ( ) 1 a 5 anos ( ) 6 a 10 anos ( ) 10 a 20 anos ( ) > 20 anos
   7. POR QUE MUDOU-SE PARA ITACARÉ?
   8. TEMPO MORANDO NESTE BARRIO:
      ( ) menos de 1 ano ( ) 1 a 5 anos ( ) 6 a 10 anos ( ) > 10 anos
   9. POR QUE MUDOU-SE PARA SANTO ANTONIO/BARRO NOVO?

II. Abastecimento de Água

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<td>Pico ou Nascente</td>
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<td>Outras</td>
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ALTERAÇÕES NO PREÇO DA ÁGUA:
- Durante a alta temporada turística (Até mais uma vez): diminuiu, não mudou, aumenta
- Durante a baixa temporada turística (Até menos uma vez): diminuiu, não mudou, aumenta

III. Destino Do Lixo

| TIPO DE DESTINO | ALTERAÇÕES NA QUANTIDADE DE LIXO NAS RUAS:
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TRAT. DA ÁGUA NO DOMICÍLIO

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49
Appendix C.

Obstacles and Solutions to Community-driven Ecotourism in Brazil’s Cacao Coast: A Socio-Environmental Case Study of Itacare, Bahia (IRB #031405)

Student Investigator: Andries F. Vascon
Principal Investigator: Robert Maguire, Ph.D., 202-994-3342
Sponsor: Elliot School of International Affairs - Brazil Initiative

QUESTIONNAIRE ON THE WORK OF LOCAL ORGANIZATIONS IN REGARDS TO COMMUNITY-DRIVEN ECOTOURISM

I. Basic Information
1. What is the mission of your organization?
2. What factors led to the creation of this organization? Are any of these factors related to the ecotourism industry?
3. What is the share of local people who are active in your organization? How does this demographic share compare to those who derived from other parts of Brazil and/or other countries?

II. Questions on Ecotourism
4. What is the role of your organization within the local ecotourism industry?
5. How does your organization perceive ecotourism? Is beneficial or detrimental for the community? Why so?
6. How does your organization promote the benefits/ lessen the detriments of this economic activity?
7. Could you discuss some previous programs your organization has implemented? Why or Why not were these community programs successful?
8. Could you discuss some ongoing programs that are in the process of being implemented? Are there any apparent promises or obstacles to this current work?
9. Are any of these programs done in partnerships with public or private entities?
10. As your organization moves forward, what prospects do you see for the future? What about challenges?
11. What benefits/challenges will the upcoming 2014 FIFA World Cup bring to this community

III. Recommendations
12. What recommendations would your entity give to policymakers regarding this economic sector?
13. What recommendations would your entity give to private enterprises regarding this economic sector?
14. What can locals do to ensure that the ecotourism model is viable for the environment and the social wellbeing of the community?