

Between high hopes and disappointments: Community-Based tourism in Prainha do Canto Verde, Beberibe - CE.

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ABSTRACT: This study analyzes the territorial repercussions of the development of Community-Based Tourism (CBC) in the Resex region of Prainha do Canto Verde, a community located in the municipality of Beberibe, on the coast of the State of Ceará, Brazil. This initiative is one of fifty CBT projects supported by Public Notice No. 001/2008 of the Ministry of Tourism. The analysis carried out considered some important dimensions for the structuring of the tourism modality discussed here, such as popular participation, the relationship between the community and the inducing agent, the project management model and the socio-spatial conflicts that arise with the development of tourism in the territory. To this end, bibliographic and documentary research was carried out on works produced on the fifty CBT projects supported in 2008, in addition to field research in Prainha in 2020 and semi-structured interviews, carried out remotely with representatives of the Rede Cearense de Turismo Comunitário (TUCUM) throughout 2021. The study promotes the understanding of CBT as a means of promoting community participation in the process of constructing, operating, managing and monitoring tourist activity in territories that present social and economic vulnerabilities, generally characterized as traditional communities.

Keywords:

Community-Based Tourism;
Sociospatial Conflicts;
Prainha do Canto Verde.

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INTRODUCTION

The first Community-Based Tourism (CBT) initiatives emerged in Brazil in the 1990s in the states of Santa Catarina, Rio de Janeiro and Ceará. They started independently, without government support, relying on the mobilization of the capacities and endogenous energies of traditional communities that saw in tourism an opportunity to improve their lives. Since 2003, this tourism modality has gradually come to be included in the actions of the National Tourism Policy, as a possible means of including vulnerable social groups and generating work and income for the poorest populations.

Years later, CBT gained greater prominence when it motivated the launch of a Public Notice of financial support for emerging initiatives in the country. The public tender was called in 2008, through the Ministry of Tourism (MTur), and contributed more than R\$5,500,000.00 (five million five hundred thousand reais), distributed among the fifty approved projects. In Brazil, this form of tourism has been seen as a way out of the social problems that affect the populations of the poorest regions, and that have little or no voice in the hegemonic tourist circuits. In the Northeast Region, for example, the discourse of tourism as a factor for reducing inequalities or promoting social inclusion has been an ever-present strategy of public policies implemented in recent years, seeking to legitimize the model of tourism development in the country, yet it is still concentrated in just few regions, and is not all-inclusive.

According to the MTur (p. 01, 2008), CBT is "a model of tourist development, guided by the principles of solidarity economy, associativism, appreciation of local culture, and mostly carried out by local communities, aiming at enabling these communities to benefit from tourist activity". According to Silva, Ramiro and Teixeira (p. 362, 2009), CBT is an alternative model of tourist development "based on self-management, associativism/cooperativism, the appreciation of local culture and, in particular, the protagonism of local communities"

Based on these definitions, this work understands that CBT should be seen as a model of tourism development and management carried out on a local scale. In this model, it is important that different actors (individuals or social organizations) participate in the activity, from the planning, through to management of actions related to tourism, so that their interests can be addressed through the tourist development of the place. This indicator needs to be constantly measured in Brazilian communities that have received funds for the development of CBT.

In view of the above, this study aimed to analyze the territorial repercussions of the development of CBT

in the Resex Prainha do Canto Verde, a community located in the municipality of Beberibe, on the coast of the State of Ceará. This analysis considered some important dimensions for the structuring of the tourism modality discussed here, such as popular participation, the relationship between the community and the inducing agent, the project management model, and the socio-spatial conflicts that arise with the development of tourism in the territory.

Prainha is notable for the simple way of life of its some 1200 inhabitants, for its artisanal fishing, and for its preserved natural landscape. Most of its population is directly or indirectly involved in tourism. Local entrepreneurs work in the fields of accommodation, gastronomy and providing tourist tours, while others work in commercial establishments that serve residents and tourists. The local economic mainstay continues to be fishing, but tourism now represents a significant part of families' incomes. In 2009, by federal decree, it was elevated to the status of an Extractive Reserve, following a long period of struggle for land rights.

THE RESEARCH AND DATA COLLECTION PROCESS

This research is predominantly ontological in nature, as it considers subject-object interaction as a guiding approach for its construction. This is because social reality is produced from the relationships established between people and the social context that governs them, i.e., reality is intersubjective, perceived on a collective instance (Saccol, 2009). For this reason, the research bases were established considering that the perception of the phenomenon to be studied – the process of implementation of CBT initiatives supported by the MTur in 2008 – would be achieved through interaction with the representatives of these projects who, in turn, would gain practical experience in the implementation, territorial management and local and institutional dialogue that prompted the development of this activity.

In this phase, a bibliographic and documentary survey was carried out of scientific articles, theses and dissertations in the Periodicals Portal and Bank of Theses and Dissertations of the Higher Education Personnel Improvement Coordination (CAPES), in addition to consulting the technical and promotional publications of the MTur on the fifty CBT projects. The intention was to identify and discuss fundamental aspects of the concept of this modality, such as popular participation, profile of the inducing agent, and the territorial management model.

The work also used ethnography, in order to conduct field research in Prainha do Canto Verde. The purpose of this data collection technique is for the researcher

to be immersed in the experiences and worldviews of a certain group of people, capturing the knowledge incorporated by the subjects belonging to a community; their ways of thinking, living and creating (Mattos & Castro, 2011). The field research was carried out over a period of ten days, between January 27th and February 5th, 2020, and was supported by the executive coordination of the Ceará Community Tourism Network (Rede Cearense de Turismo Comunitário - TUCUM), which helped mobilize the respondents and accompanied the researcher during some of the observation activities carried out in the territory.

During the stay in the community, the views of several individuals who work directly and indirectly with the tourism activities were gathered, through semi-structured interviews with members of the executive coordination and founders of the initiative. Unstructured interviews were applied with other subjects where were available and had the potential to discuss the researched questions.

All the observations were stored in a virtual field diary, an instrument used by the researcher to record the activities in Prainha. This is a technique that has different specificities that can be used by ethnographers, and that helped the researcher to organize the collected information and its nuances. According to Brazão (2011), this instrument can be used as a method for collecting data, describing the processes and strategies of the research itself and analyzing the subjective implications of the researcher. To make the process practical and efficient, and capture as many observations as possible, the interviews were recorded using the audio recorder of a mobile phone. The files were then saved in Google Drive and later transcribed. In all, 5 hours and 43 minutes of audio were captured.

It was also necessary to schedule new interviews with the representatives of this initiative, this time in remote format, to consolidate the proposed study. Thus, in March and July 2021, the executive coordinator of TUCUM, Beatriz Goes, was interviewed again. Her father, Mr. José Roberto, founder of the CBT initiative in the territory, was also interviewed during this period, adding a further 2 hours and 28 minutes of audio and image captured.

Background to community-based tourism in Brazil

One of the priorities established by the federal public policies for tourism implemented during the first decade of the 2000s was the inclusion of the poorest populations in the opportunities generated by the activity. It was intended that this inclusion would not be limited to the offer of work in large tourist enterprises, or the generation of informal jobs in areas with high traffic areas of the country. The most vulnerable populations should have the opportunity to develop their own initiatives that would lead to the constitution of a popular,

but organized and qualified production chain.

According to Silva, Ramiro & Teixeira (2009), this premise guided the discussions about CBT within the scope of the Federal Government in that period, as it was provoked by pioneering initiatives in Brazil formed by traditional communities that aimed to reduce the exploitation operated by conventional tourism and build a role that would enable them to significantly improve the lives of their populations.

It was then that, during the 35th Brazilian Congress of Travel Agencies, held in 2007, the possibilities of CBT were discussed, with the presence of technicians from the MTur, Ministry of Agrarian Development and Ministry of the Environment, as well as representatives from the following Brazilian initiatives: Acólhida na Colônia (SC), an association founded in 1999 on the slopes of Serra Geral in Santa Catarina that brings together numerous family farmers that offer food, lodging and rural tourism tours; Projeto Bagagem (SP), an NGO that emerged in 2002 with the aim of promoting solidarity visits to traditional communities in the interior of the states of São Paulo, Rio de Janeiro and Minas Gerais; and Fundação Casa Grande (CE), founded in 1992 with the objective of providing social training to families living in Cariri, Ceará and promoting tourist experiences to traditional communities in the region.

This movement resulted in an action by the MTur to stimulate the emergence of new alternatives to the conventional model of tourism in the country, culminating in the launch of a public tender notice for the selection of projects with a view to promoting and financially supporting CBT initiatives spread across Brazil. The public notice was published in 2008 and was supported by organizations directly involved with the modality, being revised and adapted several times through public consultations and debates carried out at the II International Seminar on Sustainable Tourism, held in Fortaleza in 2008 (Brandão, 2014).

Through this public notice, the Federal Government sought to promote existing initiatives organized and/or identified as CBT across the country, in addition to supporting the strengthening of segmented itineraries, focusing on the territory, seeking qualification, certification, support for associated production and local development/social inclusion (MTur, 2008).

The document also emphasized that the initiatives to be supported should seek to build an alternative model of tourist development, based on self-management, associativism/cooperativism, the appreciation of local culture and, in particular, the protagonism of local communities, enabling them to enjoy the benefits arising from the development of tourist activity (MTur, 2008). The justification, therefore, was to strengthen initiatives that promoted ac-

tivity characterized by solidarity, and fair networks, with a focus on local development, following the example of other Latin American countries that had already been encouraging CBT as an alternative to conventional tourism.

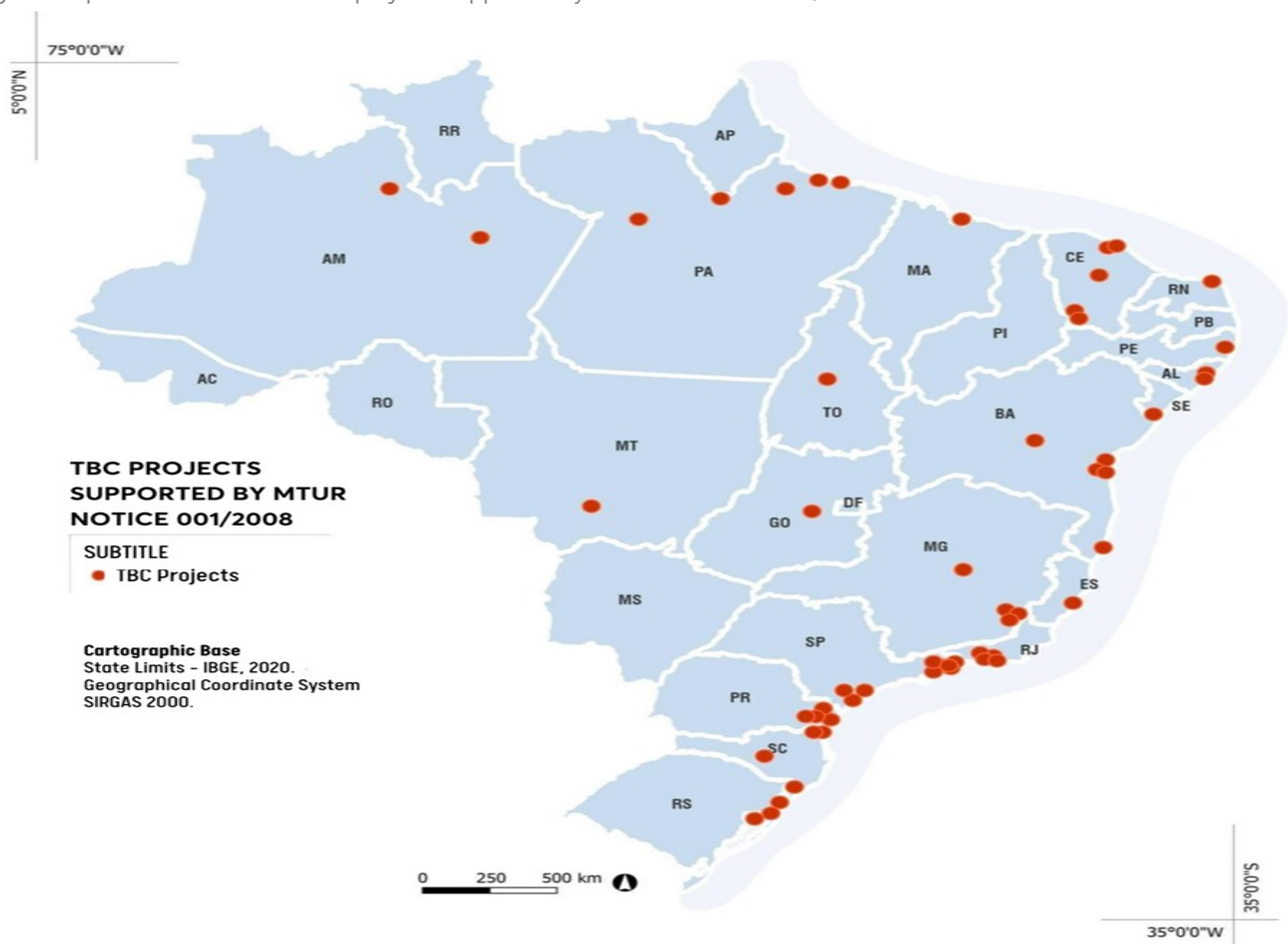
The experiences of several countries, such as Ecuador, Peru and, notably, the Tusoco Network of Bolivia showed the possibility of developing tourism activities based on a model in which local communities actively participate in planning, execution and monitoring tourism activities and, as a consequence, generate additional income and strengthen the local production chain (Hallack, Burgos & Carneiro, 2011).

There was a greater propensity to support existing initiatives aimed at strengthening organized groups that were already producing goods and services catering for the tourist demand in their communities. NGOs, foundations, associations, OSCIPs (Civil Society Organizations of Public Interest) and consortia, as well as bodies and entities of the direct or indirect public administration of the States, Municipalities and the Federal District were eligible to participate in the public notice. All the entities had to demonstrate expertise related to tourism, local development and social inclusion through evidence of previous work. For the evalu-

ation of the proposals, each proposing entity had to contemplate at least one thematic line and provide for a request for financial support of between 100 and 150 thousand Brazilian reais, to be invested in a project to be executed within a period of eighteen months.

As highlighted by Silva, Ramiro & Teixeira (2009), the initial forecast was to receive around 100 projects, with 10 to 15 being selected for financial support. However, more than 500 projects were received, going far beyond the expectations of the Federal Government. The Southeast (34%), South (23%) and Northeast (22%) regions were those that sent in most proposals, given that initiatives with potential for the development of CBT already existed in these regions. Several municipal and state government entities participated in the public notice, as well as non-profit organizations, such as NGOs, foundations, higher education institutions, associations, cooperatives and other community entities. The projects were selected by a panel of experts, made up of representatives from public authorities and universities. For the selection, proposals that presented a well-defined territorial cut-off were prioritized, focusing on groups that were already organized for tourism, with clear strategies to encourage community participation.

Figure 1: Spatial distribution of CBT projects supported by MTur Notice No. 001/2008.



Source: the author (2022).

Fifty projects were chosen: twenty-five to be formalized in 2008 and twenty-five for the following year, as shown on the map in Figure 1. In September 2008, the formalization of agreements began, signed under the guidelines of the new legal framework for voluntary transfers of Union resources¹. One of the main innovations of this change in legislation was the implementation of the Federal Government Agreements and Transfer Contracts Management System (SICONV), with the creation of the Agreements Portal. The MTur was one of the first bodies to adopt the procedures for the formalization of agreements in SICONV, which required the immediate qualification of its technical team, with participation in events and training, to learn how the system works and pass on the guidelines to the proposing entities.

The MTur's decision to support CBT considered that the management of tourist activity should be under the responsibility of the local communities, combined with indicators that pointed to the success of other experiences that had been supported by the body before the Public Notice was launched. In addition, Hallack, Burgos & Carneiro (p. 11, 2011) reported a growing interest in international tourist demand for experiences in traditional communities, in which "national and international research shows the growing interest of tourists in experiencing different cultures and preserved environments, revealing the potential of community tourism initiatives in Brazil".

With the contribution of the MTur to CBT, it was hoped, through the various initiatives, that the development of this type of tourism would bring substantial gains for the territory and its population, whether through generating jobs and income, or through the appreciation of the local culture and natural resources, or through the improvement of basic infrastructure, stimulated by the flow of visitors to the communities. Silva, Ramiro & Teixeira (p. 363, 2009) report that "the interaction between the community, strengthened in all aspects of sustainability, and the external visitors, can generate well-being gains for the local population, as well as for the visitor's experience".

Managing the transfers of financial resources from the Public Notice was the responsibility of the Department of Qualification, Certification and Production Associated with Tourism (Departamento de Qualificação, de Certificação e de Produção Associada ao Turismo - DCPAT) and the National Secretariat for Tourism Development Programs (SNPDTUR). It is important to emphasize that this line of action is founded, as emphasized throughout this research, on the guidelines of the National Tourism Plan 2007–2010 – A journey of inclusion (Plano Nacional de Turismo 2007–2010 – Uma viagem de inclusão), based on a discourse that combines tourism growth with income distribution and the development of territory and people.

Overview of cbt initiatives supported by mtur

One of the initiatives supported was the Bagagem Project, which was national in scope. It was based on the identification of NGOs that are references in Brazil for their projects in several areas and, through them, supports the formatting of tourist itineraries that stimulate community participation in the areas served by the identified institutions. According to Bartholo, Sansolo & Bursztyn (p. 374, 2008) "its strategy is to support the creation of tourist itineraries that primarily benefit the communities visited through income generation and the direct participation of the local population". The idea was to stimulate the flow of tourists in communities that are served by these NGOs in their social projects.

The Bagagem Project also aims to encourage other NGOs to develop CBT experiences and to mediate dialogue with ministries and state secretariats to raise technical and financial support in order to strengthen the activity in the country. The routes that emerged through the Bagagem Project were: Trilhas Griôs (Chapada Diamantina-BA), Amazon Riverside (Santarém-PA), Gurupá Terra das Águas (Gurupá-PA), Conexões Caiçaras (Guaraqueçaba-PR), Acolhida na Colônia (Rural Region of Santa Catarina), Lençóis Maranhenses, Fundação Casa Grande (Nova Olinda-CE) and International 1 - Northeast and Amazon TURISOL Network (Lençóis, Ceará coast and Pará).

A requirement of the Project was that the communities themselves own the tourist enterprises. In addition, they need to establish models of collective management of the activity. Thus, local governance was of paramount importance for these experiences to work within the principles that the MTur defined for the development of CBT in Brazil. According to the proposing association², the Bagagem Project has sought to invest, above all, in the structuring of new CBT centers with a view to forming networks and qualifying local actors to stimulate their activities in tourism.

The Project is active and is responsible for managing the Brazilian Network of Solidarity and Community Tourism (Rede Brasileira de Turismo Solidário e Comunitário - TURISOL), and one of its strategies of action is to integrate three programs: i) the network of community tourism destinations through partnership with local organizations; ii) the commercialization network, made up of partnerships with national and international tourism agencies, universities or organizations and; iii) the knowledge network, through the systematization and dissemination of methods that have proven successful in community tourism (Sampaio, Coutinho & Rodrigues, 2012).

¹Decree No. 6,170, of July 25, 2007 and Ordinance No. 127, of May 29, 2008.

²Available at: <https://www.projetobagem.org/historico>. Accessed on 06/06/2019.

The Southeast Region, with sixteen approved projects, was the region that received the highest levels of investments from MTur to promote CBT. This is due to the volume of projects received from this Region in response to its public tender notice (the highest volume, with 170 applications in all), as well as the fact that it is the Brazilian territory with the best financial capacity and the one with the largest supply of facilities and services for tourists, receiving the largest flow of national and international visitors. In 2018, the Southeast received more than half of all domestic flow of tourists in Brazil, with 3,626,186 million national air and land arrivals and about 90% of international flow, with 9,395,974 million international air arrivals, according to data from the Statistical Yearbook of Tourism (MTur, 2019).

In all, twelve cities in the region were benefited, Rio de Janeiro being the municipality with the largest number of projects. The capital of Rio de Janeiro approved four projects, most focusing on visiting favelas in Rio, an initiative that emerged in the early 2000s with itineraries called favelatours, which take tourists to communities such as Rocinha and Vidigal. The cities of Paraty and Angra dos Reis each had three projects approved, and sought to combine the cultural and historical aspects of these places with natural beauty and sun and sea tourism, the main segment explored in these locations.

The state of São Paulo was awarded with 5 projects, but none of them were actually carried out in the capital of São Paulo, a municipality whose tourism focus is concentrated on business travel, culture and art, both popular and erudite. Despite having a large cluster of favelas, the city of São Paulo did not have CBT initiatives in these areas in 2008, contrary to the case of Rio de Janeiro. One project was structured in an integrated way between the two states, as it was executed in the Serra da Bocaina National Park, which is on the border between the two states.

Minas Gerais, like São Paulo, did not have any project approved in its capital. There were three projects contemplated, all located in cities in the interior of Minas Gerais (Araponga, Rosário de Limeira, Fervedouro, Gouveia and Brumadinho), which in 2008 were already part of the main Brazilian examples in tourism governance and community organization. The main objective of the projects was to add value to the historical and cultural circuits already explored in the region and to stimulate interest in tourist visitation in areas of environmental relevance, with trails, horseback riding and consumption of products and services offered by families residing in the region. Espírito Santo was the state with the lowest number of projects approved in this region, with only two initiatives approved.

As pointed out above, the MTur's discourse during that period was to minimize social inequalities through tourism and ensure the inclusion of the most vulnera-

ble communities. However, the projects approved in the Southeast Region appeared to strengthen the tourist circuits and destinations that were already consolidated in the region, with the exception of some of the municipalities in the state of São Paulo where projects were approved.

The projects approved in the South Region took advantage of the area's traditional vocation for rural tourism, especially in the mountain towns. Since the 1990s, this segment has emerged as one of the main alternatives for families who own small farms. In addition, the Region has recognized expertise in community organization and cooperative work, which has favored the dissemination of the CBT concept among the municipalities covered.

The states of Paraná and Santa Catarina each had three projects approved, closely followed by Rio Grande do Sul, which had two projects. Porto Alegre was the only capital in the region to be awarded one project, also focused on the development of tourist itineraries in rural properties located on the fringes of the urban center. Although all the projects are currently active, when consulting the Transparency Portal, it was identified that none of them has regular status with the MTur. The accountability process of the majority is rejected or under analysis, and information about the Joinville project, whose proponent is the municipal government, is not available on the Portal.

As in the Southern Region, CBT was already a reality in Northern Brazil before the support of the MTur. Since the 1990s, there have been experiences in several riverside communities that have explored fishing tourism, boat trips along the rivers in the region, and encouraging home stays. This scenario was used by the proposing institutions to request support from the Federal Government in order to disseminate other initiatives and, consequently, involve other traditional communities, which often have few opportunities for work and income besides artisanal fishing.

The Midwest was the region with the lowest number of projects approved, with two projects in the State of Goiás and one project in the State of Mato Grosso. All the supported initiatives aimed to explore the culture and historical heritage existing in the cities contemplated, as in the surroundings of these attractions there is a large concentration of traditional communities that live from agricultural activities, their main source of income. The intention was that CBT could act as a complementary alternative to the primary activities, since tourism in the Region has never been one of the main economic activities. It was also necessary to boost tourism in less popular locations by the traditional tourist circuits and attract more tourists to the municipalities covered. Alongside the Southeast, the Northeast also had sixteen projects approved, making it joint highest. At the same time, some MTur-supported CBT experiments

were less successful. Of the sixteen projects, five are inactive, and most of the experiences that managed to structure themselves away from the coastal strip. Only three projects developed in beach communities were successful; these were located in the states of Ceará, Bahia and Alagoas. The other projects were not able to survive for long, and others were not even implemented, largely due to the instability of the inducing agent or the non-existence of an instance of governance in these communities. This demonstrates how governance is a fundamental aspect in the structuring of CBT projects/initiatives, as it is through this strategy that it is possible to ensure greater mobilization and participation of local actors.

Prainha do canto verde: paths taken

The Prainha do Canto Verde Extractive Reserve or simply Prainha community, as it is popularly known, is located on the east coast of the State of Ceará, specifically in the municipality of Beberibe, 126 km from the capital Fortaleza. The area covers 11.54 ha and has a high economic value, as it is located among some of the main tourist destinations in the region.

Figure 2: Location of Prainha do Canto Verde.



Source: the author (2022).

It is located in a portion of the coast that has a field of dunes, occupying, to a large extent, outcrops of the old cliffs and bordered by lagoons and floodplains. With a population of approximately 1,200 inhabitants, Prainha, which was first settled in the mid-19th century. Its main economic activity is artisanal fishing, and it has a history of defending the right to its land that has lasted more than thirty years (Mendonça, 2009).

Figure 3: Aerial image of Prainha do Canto Verde



Source: Executive Coordination of TUCUM (2020).

Between the end of the 1970s and the beginning of the 1980s, the community started what would become its main banner: the dispute for the right to housing and land tenure. This was the result of the first episodes of land grabbing and increased real estate speculation that took place in this period. The early movements organized by the local population, motivated by the strong process of land speculation, the growing crisis of environmental degradation, the lack of employment opportunities and the poor state of the health and education systems, culminated in the creation of the Prainha Residents Association in the early 1990s (Mendonça, 2009).

Figure 4 - Prainha Residents' Association



Source: the author (2021).

A few years later, on April 4, 1993, a milestone in the history of Prainha takes place, when four fishermen on the community raft called SOS Sobrevivência began a trip to protest against predatory fishing, real estate speculation, wild tourism and the lack of support from

the government of Ceará in relation to these guidelines. On this subject, Scharer (p. 294, 2003) reports that these fishermen, "with the logistical support of two women from the community traveling by car, arrived in Rio de Janeiro on a splendid sunny day, being awaited by Dorival Cayimmi, a crowd of fans and the national and international press".

Figure 5: Fishermen from Prainha who traveled to Rio de Janeiro in protest (from left to right: Michelle Schärer, Edilson Fernandez, Mamede Dantes de Lima, Francisco da Silva, Francisco Abílio and Marlene Fernandes)



Source: Residents' Association of Prainha do Canto Verde (1993).

As occurred on the entire northeastern coast in the 1990s, the coast of Ceará became overvalued due to leisure and tourism driven by federal public policies at the time, especially PRODETUR/NE-NE, making these destinations targets for disputes between investors and traditional communities that tried to resist the pressures of the tourism and real estate markets (Cruz, 2001).

According to the Integrated Development Plan for Sustainable Tourism (PDITS) on the east coast of Ceará (Government of Ceará, 2008), Prainha was directly benefited by PRODETUR/NE-NE with the construction of the CE-040 highway, which boosted tourist traffic through the region. Due to its privileged location, the community still suffers from the pressures and territorial conflicts that arose after years of real estate speculation and the interest of national and international networks of tourist enterprises.

It was in this context that local residents saw that tourism, if promoted responsibly, could cease to be a threat and become an opportunity to draw the attention of the public authorities and disseminate their agendas for the community's social struggles. Hence, in 1997 the Residents' Association created a Tourism Council and proposed the "Socially Responsible Tourist Project of Prainha do Canto Verde", the result of a survey carried out in the community itself, seeking to find out the interest in this activity among the native population. One of the first actions of this initiative was to carry out

technical visits to other coastal destinations in the region, such as Canoa Quebrada, Parajuru and Praia das Fontes, to gather data on the tourist development of those locations (Fabrino, 2013). The Prainha Tourism Project was created with the objective of "developing ecological tourism in a community way to improve the income and well-being of residents; preserving our cultural values and the natural resources of our region" (Scharer, p. 235, 2003).

The landscape formed by the beach, dunes and coconut palms, as well as the traditional activities linked to artisanal fishing and the simple lifestyle of the community, led to Prainha soon gaining national prominence, and it was the subject of several reports that showed the model of tourism that was being implemented there.

Figure 6 – Prainha housing complex with the dune landscape in the background



Source: Executive Coordination of TUCUM (2020).

Even at a time when CBT was still little known in Brazil, the proposal of the Prainha tourism project was aligned with the principles of this modality by encouraging community participation around social guidelines that were relevant to the territory. In addition, it was through tourism that, in 2001, the Residents' Association mobilized several public debates with agents from the Brazilian Institute for the Environment and Renewable Natural Resources (Instituto Brasileiro do Meio Ambiente e dos Recursos Naturais Renováveis - IBAMA) and the Chico Mendes Institute for Biodiversity Conservation (Instituto Chico Mendes de Conservação da Biodiversidade - ICMBio) in order to regulate the Prainha territory as a protected area.

After several negotiations, on June 8, 2009, the Extractive Reserve of Prainha do Canto Verde was created through Federal Decree 0-002/2009³, at a time when CBT was already a reality in that place, attracting the attention of researchers and travelers. According to Article 2 of the Decree, the Resex "aims to protect liveli-

³Available at: http://www.planalto.gov.br/ccivil_03/_ato2007-2010/2009/dnn/dnn12059.htm. Accessed on August 16, 2021.

hoods, culture and ensure the use and conservation of renewable natural resources traditionally used by the extractive population of the community [...]”.

Figure 7: Image of the official plaque alluding to the creation of Resex



Source: the author (2020).

In addition, the creation of the Reserve was the main measure to combat predatory fishing and irregular real estate interventions, prohibiting constructions carried out by people who were not residents of Prainha, while requiring residents to respect federal guidelines when selling or renting their properties. However, what seemed to have been the desire of most residents, and a solution that would protect the locality from real estate speculation and predatory tourism, ended up generating adverse opinions and conflicts that resulted in the creation of an independent association that defends the development of mass tourism and criticizes the creation of the Resex:

Figure 8: Image of a placard installed by the Independent Residents Association of Prainha



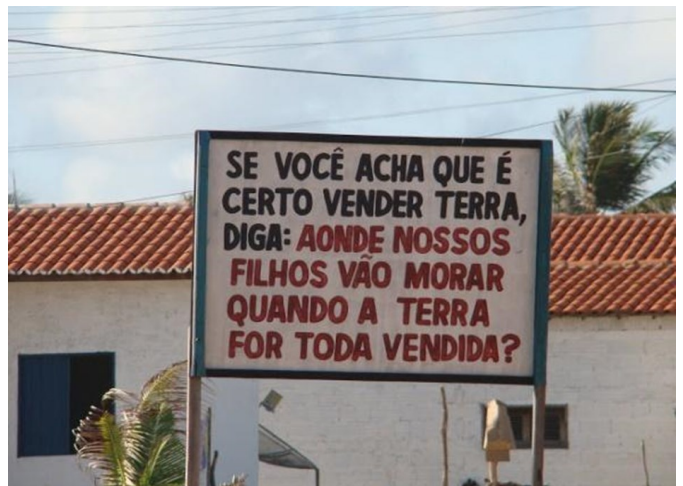
Source: the author (2020).

[Wording on the placard: “PLACARD OF TRUTH: No. of Days of the Reserve: 3644 / No. of Benefits after the

reserve: 0 / WHO IS TO BLAME?]

Conflicts are also seen in relation regarding the community organization around tourism, an aspect that has always been highlighted in the community, noting that not all local entrepreneurs who work in the activity defend or practice the principles of CBT. There are those who prefer to act in a more individualized way, and support the arrival of entrepreneurs from outside the community; agents who intend to invest in tourist businesses that have a more hegemonic profile. This phenomenon jeopardizes the traditional way of life of the community and the right of this population to remain on the land - the main reason for the historical struggles waged by the natives since the occupation of the territory.

Figure 9 – Image of a placard installed by the Prainha Residents Association repudiating the stance of those who defend the end of the Resex



Source: the author (2020).

[Wording on the placard: “If you think it’s right to sell land, ask yourself: where are our children going to live when all the land is sold?”]

Despite this scenario, Prainha still remains one of the main references in CBT in Brazil, as the achievements related to this activity were a result of a joint effort among most of the residents, together with the support of universities and third sector institutions. The government, in turn, has done very little for the tourism development of the community, unlike what is observed in other traditional destinations in the region, where public policies are more present and, consequently, the interference of the market is stronger.

The community organization of Prainha still manages to resist the bureaucratic pressures on the territory, and has persuaded some of the residents to renounce the achievements brought with the creation of the Resex and win the right to negotiate land ownership with entrepreneurs in the real estate and tourism sectors.

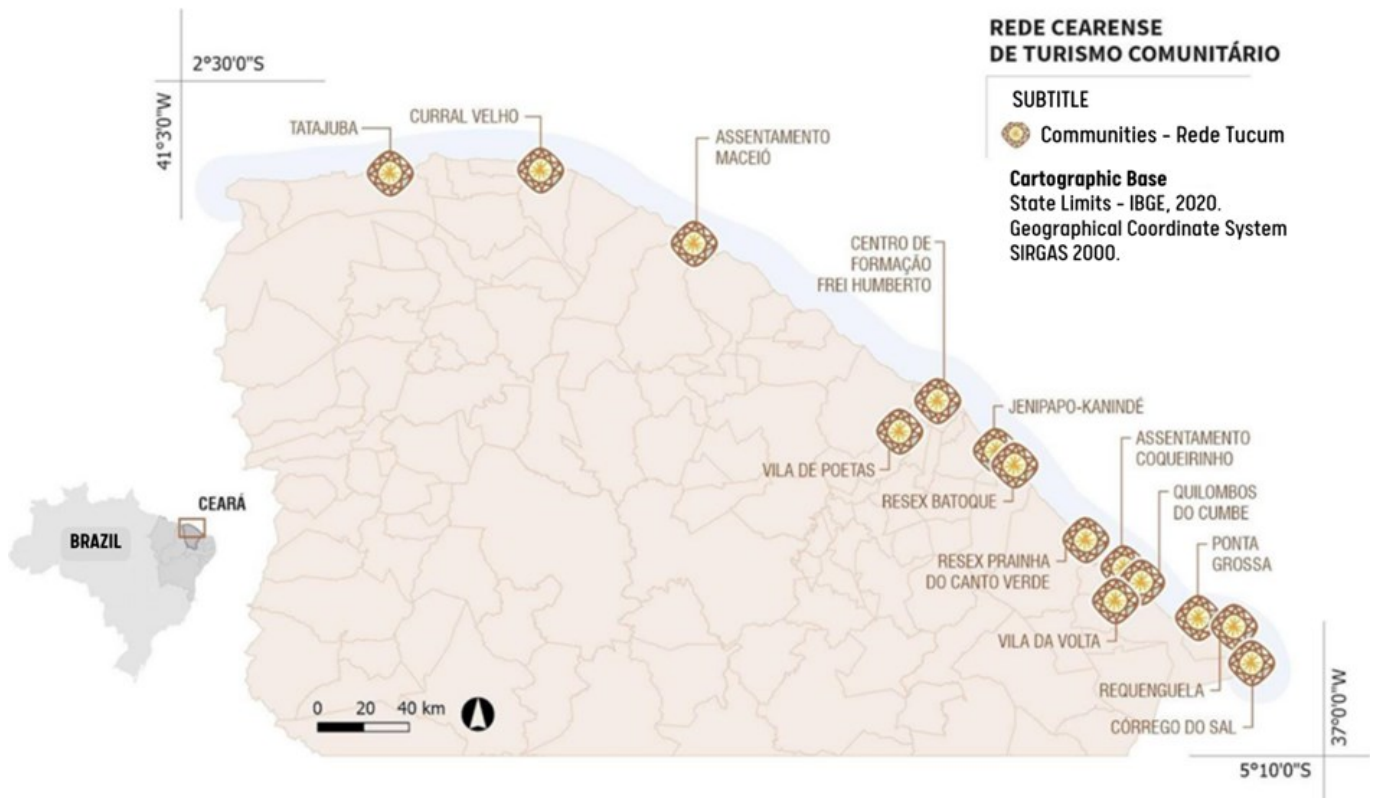
Another important contribution that further strengthened the community's resistance actions and especially,

the structuring of a CBT proposal, was the creation of the Ceará Community Tourism Network (Rede Cearense de Turismo Comunitário - TUCUM). Officially launched in 2008 during the II International Seminar on Sustainable Tourism held in Fortaleza, at the initiative of the Prainha Residents Association in partnership with the Terramar Institute, the TUCUM articulated the organization of other Ceará communities that were emerging for tourism, as had occurred with Prainha. The work developed by TUCUM understands CBT as “an opportunity for traditional populations to have effective control over the transformations in their territory, being directly responsible for planning and managing the activities, structures and proposed tourist services” (Martins, p. 07, 2013). This perspective dialogues with the concept proposed by Silva, Ramiro and Teixeira (2008), who state that this type of tourism should stimulate self-management, associativism/cooperativism, the appreciation of local culture and, in particular, the protagonism of local communities. The TUCUM Network is made up of representatives of indigenous populations, fishermen and farmers who offer tourist services of accommodation, food, ecological trails and coastal walks. Currently, fourteen communities are part of TUCUM, as shown in Figure 10:

As for the objectives of the TUCUM, its booklet of good practices presents the following: i) To promote forms of local tourist offer to guarantee traditional populations the permanence in their territory and enable the continuity of traditional economic activities (in particular fishing and agriculture), giving visibility to social struggles for recognition of participating communities; ii) To offer an opportunity, for responsible travelers from all over the world, to get to know and experience Community Tourism among traditional populations (Martins, p. 08, 2013).

The TUCUM and Instituto Terramar, together, were proponents of one of the fifty projects supported by the MTur in 2008 and analyzed in this research. Its title is Community Tourism: Affirming Identities and Building Sustainability (Turismo Comunitário: Afirmando Identidades e Construindo Sustentabilidade). The contract with the Mtur contributed R\$124,836.00 (one hundred and twenty-four thousand, eight hundred and thirty-six reais) to the project and was signed on December 4, 2008, with an execution time of two years. Figure 11 below shows the indication of the main facilities of the community that are currently part of the CBT production chain:

Figure 10: Communities that make up the TUCUM



Source: the author (2021).

Figure 11: Facilities that are part of the CBT production chain in Prainha



Source: the author (2020).

According to Roberto Goes, a resident of Prainha and one of the founders of TUCUM, the funds raised from the federal government in 2008 were “extremely important to consolidate the Network as one of the main articulators of community tourism in Brazil, in addition to enabling investments in professional qualification of the communities that were part of TUCUM at that time”.

Figure 12 – TUCUM publicity board in Prainha



Source: the author (2020).

All the aspects presented here accredited the experience of Resex Prainha do Canto Verde to welcome the evaluation process of its CBT project, which resulted in several virtual meetings with the executive coordination of the project throughout 2020 and 2021, in order to validate the researcher's impressions and discuss aspects that could not be captured during the face-to-face visit carried out in the first months of 2020, before the outbreak of the Covid-19 pandemic. The result of this evaluation will be presented in the next section. [Wording on the board:]Prainha do Canto Verde Extractive Reserve / Find out about our proposal for Community tourism / [Tucum logo] / Tucum network – live this experience! / www.tucum.org”]

Determining aspects of community-based tourism in prainha do canto verde

The inducing agent responsible for the creation of TUCUM, and for the candidacy of the CBT project in Prainha to Public Notice No. 001/2008 of the MTur, was the Terramar Institute. Founded in 1993, it is a non-governmental, non-profit organization, and therefore belongs to the third sector, whose objective is to develop socio-environmental actions in the coastal zone of Ceará (Terramar, 2021). It gained notoriety for its role in “guaranteeing collective and individual rights of traditional coastal communities in Ceará, in particular the rights to the environment, territory, cultural diversity, work and political exercise” (Terramar, p. 01, 2021).

Although its headquarters are in the city of Fortaleza, the capital of Ceará, the Instituto Terramar has shown direct action in territories where there are marked socio-environmental conflicts, such as Prainha. As Beatriz Goes reports:

Instituto Terramar doesn't only work in Prainha. It also supports other communities in the TUCUM Network. It supports us when we need mediation from a tourism assembly or when we intend to carry out a project for local tourism or an event in which we need advice. So, they give this kind of support and we really plan together with them beforehand, within the annual planning, we have already defined when we will need their support.

As other communities in the region also require the support of this inducing agent in relation to their projects, its contribution to the development of CBT in Prainha occurs as it is activated by a local government body.

Figure 13: General Assembly held by Instituto Terramar and TUCUM in the municipality of Itapipoca-CE, with the participation of representatives of Prainha



Source: Executive Coordination of TUCUM (2014).

Through the creation of a Tourism Council, which brings together the local actors that are most related to tourism, the Prainha Residents Association has acted directly in the management of CBT in the community and in the dialogue with the Terramar Institute. This Council is formed by tourism entrepreneurs, traders, environmentalists and other community leaders who act as mobilizers in the territory.

According to Beatriz Goes and José Roberto, the Association is up to date with its regulatory obligations. It has an internal regulation that is constantly revised and works effectively in the community, as it welcomes and discusses agendas that go beyond tourism. Even after the creation of the Independent Association of Residents of Prainha, in 2009, which has a liberal agenda in relation to the right to land and criticizes the regulation of Resex, it does not seem to have shaken the representativeness of the oldest entity.

In an informal conversation with several residents during the field research, it was noticed that the concern with real estate speculation and the degradation of local natural resources, historical struggles of the community and that led to its organization around the first Association, is still a very present feeling in the territory, despite external pressures and the seduction of some residents by the attractive discourse of the real estate market. This issue can be identified in the words of José Roberto:

The biggest challenge we have to face today is the question of speculation. I think it's the biggest challenge we face today because every community has it and ours too, as it's a reserve, it's no different. It is one of the biggest challenges in addition to raising awareness of those who are already so attached to us, that they also have difficulties and our other partners in the community as well. This is the biggest challenge we face today.

Participation in networks such as TUCUM and TURISOL

further strengthens the instance of local governance, as it enables connections with other Brazilian realities, generates investment opportunities and the exchange of experience with territories that have faced similar conflicts. Therefore, despite the problems that currently exist in the community, the local government has shown organization and broad action in the territory in terms of defending the rights of residents and managing CBT, in order to encourage this activity to continue to giving greater repercussion than more traditional guidelines.

While the relationship between the initiative/project and the inducing agent, represented here by Instituto Terramar, has occurred in a harmonious and important way for the development of CBT in Prainha, the same cannot be said of the relationship with the public authorities, especially at the municipal level. According to Beatriz Goes, all the administrations that have taken over the City of Beberibe since the creation of the Prainha tourism project have made promises of support to the community, but all have ended up favoring only the traditional tourist destinations in the region:

Every management that changes here at the city hall comes to Prainha de Canto Verde, promises a thousand things about community tourism, but then when we go to see them on social media they advertise a package just to see the cliffs of Morro Branco or Praia das Fontes, which are places known worldwide, but do not include anything from Prainha or the other neighboring communities. It's always that way.

She also confesses that the community has always expected more support from the municipal administration, as the Prainha experience is nationally recognized not only for the development of CBT, but also for its history of struggles for the right to land that inspired so many other communities in the country. She also denounces the fact that the municipal management already received, a few years ago, financial resources from the federal government to make investments in the Resex, but the community is still waiting for these benefits, as the interviewee lamented:

The city hall here in Beberibe has already received funds, we know that it has already received funds for having an extractive reserve in the municipality and never recognized this. We didn't even know. We learned later that they received these funds. And what they did, nobody knows. But it was a lot of money to be able to help Prainha, but they never gave any share, so it's complicated.

The relationship with the State Government is a little better, according to Beatriz. There was a period when the current governor of the State of Ceará, Camilo Santana, was executive coordinator of the TUCUM and supported the construction of a Bill to strengthen CBT in the region, which according to the interviewee, is still under analysis in the State Legislative Assembly. She

adds:

Governor Camilo Santana is very open, he knows the reality of Prainha, some deputies too. We even had a conversation with some deputies recently and they are always open. Many deputies have visited Prainha personally, some of them have come for community tourism.

José Roberto, one of the founders of the Associação de Moradores da Prainha, also makes a point of praising the governor's view, but believes there is still a need for a more effective dialogue between TUCUM and the State administration in order to attract actions to strengthen communities in Ceará:

The governor knows a lot about the coast, so that makes it easier. But it is still a dispute, and I don't think we're using our full potential in this dispute. We were supposed to have sat down with the governor and agreed on a package with him exclusively to strengthen the communities in the Network, but that hasn't happened yet.

As for the federal government, there is no evidence of its actions in the development of CBT in Prainha since the contribution given by the MTur, even during the administration of President Lula, who was also responsible for regulating the Resex. On the other hand, the administration of President Jair Bolsonaro, elected in 2018, contrary to what the protected areas in Brazil are calling for, has shown various signs of decline in Brazilian environmental policy, encouraging and favoring the access of the real estate market to these areas, as has been happening in Prainha in recent years.

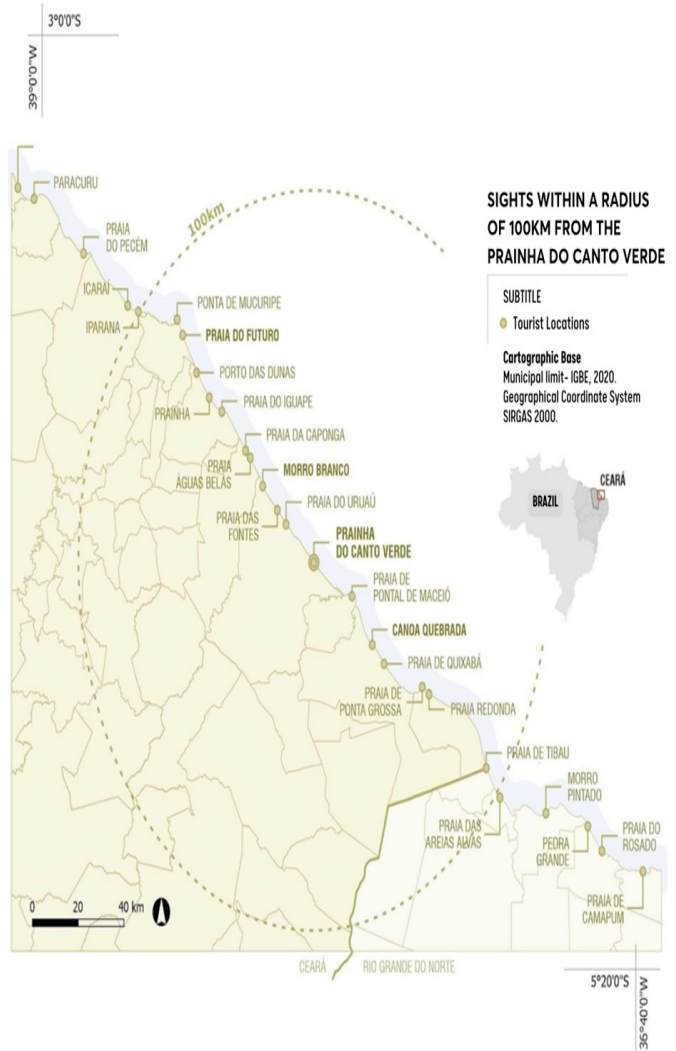
As regards the level of community participation, it was identified that although there is a representative governance model, and social guidelines that mobilize the community, engagement in CBT is currently based on the direct interest of local actors in relation to the economic activities that constitute this community productive chain. According to Beatriz, many natives still have little interest in the issue of tourism, even though it has been an important activity for the community for several years:

There are people in the community, unfortunately, who do not have this vision, who do not participate in community movements. So they are unaware or vaguely aware of community tourism. They've never been interested in delving into the subject, getting to know it better and getting to know the benefits it has brought and still brings to the community today.

Therefore, in the planning and community management of CBT, entrepreneurs, traders and leaders who have a closer relationship with the activity usually participate. Although it is considered an important dimension of ICBT, community participation needs to be constantly stimulated and encouraged by the local government bodies, otherwise there may be a natural cooling off on the subject among local residents. We believe that the emergence of an independent association,

even without the broad legitimacy of the territory, may have contributed to dispersing the population of Prainha when it comes to the actions developed within the scope of TUCUM. Even so, local government still manages to encourage the regular participation of the main actors in the tourism production chain in forums for discussion, planning and management of the activity. We can say that the good level of community participation of the entrepreneurs of CBT da Prainha is also a result of the market access that was achieved. Several aspects favor it, particularly its privileged geographical location, with other important tourist sights on the east coast of Ceará located within a 50 km radius.

Figure 14: Tourist destinations located within 100 km of Prainha



Source: the author (2022).

Therefore, the origin of tourists and visitors who seek Prainha ends up being predominantly regional, the main sending centers being those shown in Figure 13. This aspect, together with the number of technical and higher education institutions that organize field trips to the community throughout the year, establishes a

weekly regularity of its tourist flow, particularly on weekends, when tourists arrive in higher numbers. Another important aspect is the partnership established between some CBT entrepreneurs -- especially owners of accommodation establishment -- and agencies and traditional tour operators. Although TUCUM and researchers are concerned to maintain the principles of community-based tourism, which seeks to avoid the conventional practices of mass tourism, it is important to recognize that these partnerships are positive strategies for penetration in a market that is still little explored in the world national scene. It is, therefore, a way of reducing the seasonality of the tourist flow in the community and allowing tourists with other profiles to experience quality products and services within a traditional community.

However, Beatriz states that these partnerships are not organized by TUCUM, but at the initiative of individual entrepreneurs. Therefore, to ensure that the community-based activity does not lose its inherent characteristics, as some authors fear may happen, the Network must monitor these partnerships and guide local entrepreneurs, to ensure that the principles CBT continue to be promoted regardless of the marketing channel used.

Traditionally, Prainha's CBT services have been marketed and sold through the digital platforms of TUCUM, mainly through the institutional website or its Instagram profile. Through website, those interested can find out more about initiative/project and the history of the participating communities, access literature, and personalize their itineraries:

Figure 15: Image of the home page of the TUCUM website



Source: TUCUM (nd)⁴.

Instagram, a tool used since 2016 by the initiative/project, shows photographs of the communities that are part of TUCUM and news about events they are involved in. This channel is also used for contacts with the executive coordination of the Network and for

scheduling tours, a procedure used by the researcher when booking his stay, in February 2020, to carry out the field research. With the Covid-19 pandemic, it was noted that social networks began to be used more regularly by various CBT initiatives, especially the one that is evaluated in this section, which, in turn, registers more than 50% of its publications made since the start of the worldwide Covid-19 pandemic:

Figure 16: TUCUM publicity board in Prainha



Source: redetucum⁵.

Despite initially appearing as a defense and protection mechanism for the territory against external agents and real estate speculation, CBT in Prainha was also promoted as an alternative means of providing work and income, with special attention to the most vulnerable populations, such as women and Black people. Regarding the people employed in the activity, Beatriz states that around five hundred residents of Prainha are

⁴TUCUM, Rede. Quem somos. Available at: <http://www.redetucum.org.br/redetucum/>. Accessed on August 2, 2021.

⁵The page can be found at: <http://www.instagram.com/redetucum>.



directly or indirectly involved with CBT, representing forty percent of the local population. The interviewee points out that residents who are not yet involved in the activity often seek to express their interest in being part of this production chain with the executive coordination of TUCUM:

They seek out the coordinators and ask how it works, being involved in tourism, how to have a guesthouse, a chalet, become a guide for the community. We offer support and guidance, and talk about the principles of the project.

However, the interest of new entrepreneurs is also discussed within the Prainha Tourism Board, which analyzes the proposals and validates the entry, or not, these interested parties. This procedure, according to José Roberto, is done to ensure that tourism provides collective benefits and not just individual benefits, as he reports:

People who want to work with community tourism need to understand that it is not the same as tourism that is practiced by large companies, which does not value traditional peoples. On the contrary, that is a predatory tourism that helps to 'sell off' our land, and our housing. People who want to invest in community tourism need to understand that the logic is different, everyone needs to win.

Another aspect that is discussed with people wanting to get involved in CBT is the expectation concerning the level of income generated by the activity. Many end up looking for this alternative as a way to replace productive activities that are traditional to the territory, such as artisanal fishing, believing that tourism can generate more significant income with less effort. Beatriz emphasizes that, "if we are talking about community tourism, it is for this activity to provide additional income, and not as a main activity", a reality that she guarantees is carefully monitored in Prainha.

However, to validate this information, it was necessary to know the reality of some local CBT entrepreneurs. During the researcher's stay in the community, informal conversations were held with owners of inns, chalets, restaurants, commercial establishments and tour guides in the region. In all, twelve natives who are directly or indirectly involved in tourism were interviewed. All confirmed that CBT has provided them with a significant income, but complementary to the activity they already carried out in the community, in most cases, artisanal fishing.

Therefore, it can be said that the initiative/project has generated significant income for those involved in CBT activities, acting as a source of income that complements traditional local activities, which are still preserved despite the constant threats against the social protections guaranteed by the decree that regulated the Resex.

It is suggested that this analysis be carried out systematically, because over time, new conflicts may emerge

in the territory, or changes in the initiative/project management model, the emergence of public policies, or the expansion or reduction of the local production chain that may alter the level of structuring and development of CBT in the community.

FINAL CONSIDERATIONS

The object of this research was the development of Community-Based Tourism (CBT), a tourism modality that has been disseminated nationally since the middle of 2008, when the Ministry of Tourism (MTur) launched a public tender to financially support Brazilian initiatives, which was our instrument of dialogue with the national reality. In all, fifty CBT initiatives/projects, spread across all regions of Brazil, were supported, and more than R\$5,500,000.00 (five million, five hundred thousand reais) were allocated to the development of the approved proposals.

During this period, the hope of stimulating the economic development of traditional communities rested with CBT, generating social inclusion and helping to reduce the levels of inequality that has historically oppressed these territories. It was necessary to know how far this expectation had been met and whether, in fact, CBT has contributed to improving the living conditions of the communities that benefited from the projects supported with resources from the federal government. In the literature on the subject, especially works produced in the last twelve years, it is noticed that although the benefits that CBT can generate have always been evidenced by the authors, there is a lack of investigation into the spatial consequences that CBT produces, or the conflicts related to the management of these territories in relation to tourist activity.

The field research carried out in Prainha do Canto Verde helped to understand that CBT is a means and not an end. It is a way of ensuring community participation in the process of construction, operation, management and monitoring of tourist activity in territories that present social and economic vulnerabilities, normally characterized as traditional communities. Transferring control of the activity to the community does not, however, mean isolating oneself from other possibilities that can be articulated with the State and the market.

When participation occurs in a solid way in the territory, whether spontaneously or stimulated by an inducing agent (third sector organizations, academia or private companies, for example), the community manages to guide the relationship established with the State and the market, characterizing a horizontality. Otherwise, this relationship ends up becoming hierarchical or top-down, further fragmenting the territory and increase its vulnerability to the interventions and interests of the global market.

It is important to emphasize that the research developed here can be replicated in other communities with CBT initiatives, in order to assess their level of maturity and discover the main conflicts that are produced in the territory and their relationship with the tourist activity they seek to promote.

In view of this, some recommendations were made for future studies on CBT in Brazil to discuss aspects that are outside the scope of this research:

- i. Conduct field studies on other CBT initiatives/projects supported by the MTur Notice in 2008 in order to incorporate the vision of other local actors involved in the activity;
- ii. Examine, in more depth, CBT initiatives/projects that have not been successful, uncovering and discussing the aspects that led to their failure;
- iii. Compare the initiatives/projects supported by the MTur in 2008 with recent CBT experiences, in terms of the activity implementation processes, management models, socio-spatial conflicts, market access strategies and the purposes that justified their emergence;
- iv. Address the relevance of the environmental dimension in the development of CBT in order to build new indicators that address this issue;
- v. Systematically evaluate ICBT to ensure its effectiveness and, if necessary, review or add indicators and analysis variables that can be constantly adjusted to the reality of Brazilian communities.

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