Fishing Livelihoods, Seashore Tourism, and Industrial Development in Coastal Rio de Janeiro: Conflict, Multi-Functionality, and Juxtaposition

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Abstract
Critical global political ecology and critical cultural political economy approaches are used in a study involving decades of research to evaluate the changing relationship between fisher livelihoods, seashore tourism, and urban industrial development in an economically dynamic region of coastal Brazil. As the metropolitan area of Rio de Janeiro expanded and encompassed fishing communities, socio-environmental transformations created threats to fisher ways of life, opened new multi-functional opportunities, and also introduced unrelated juxtaposed activities. As stocks fell due to overfishing and urban industrial pollution over the last two decades, small-scale inshore fishing declined in the bay–lagoon systems located to the east and south-west of Rio de Janeiro. Tourism increased but proved to be a poor substitute for declining fishing activities because it and other new multi-functional activities rarely aggregated significant value to local livelihoods. Consequently, only a small minority of fishers benefited and remained on the islands and sand spits, while the great majority left for the mainland. New cultural and environmental functions were also absent, so that of the types of multi-functionality identified by Wilson and Holmes, those present in the study area are weak and basically serve outside urban production and consumption interests.

KEY WORDS fishing; tourism; multi-functionality; environmental degradation; Brazil

Critical approaches to rural multi-functionality in the city’s countryside of Rio de Janeiro
Fishing is not a common topic for geographers and when treated in the discipline, the subject is usually related to environmental and geopolitical issues on a global scale (e.g. Mansfield, 2011; Nyman, 2013). However, rural–urban multi-functional relationships in the city’s countryside have long been important for geographical research (Bryant et al., 1982; Lawrence, 1988; Robinson, 1990; Bryant and Johnston, 1992; Woods, 2005; Wilson, 2010). Critical global political ecology and critical cultural political economy are used to evaluate conflict, multi-functionality, and juxtaposition between fisher livelihoods, seashore tourism, and urban industrial development over time along the coast of Rio de Janeiro state.

The original research undertaken in the 1980s used what became known as political ecology: a fusion of political economy (a.k.a. Neo-Marxism) and radical ecology. The work of the sociologist Michael Redclift was especially
influential as he shifted from Marxist peasant studies to critical environmentalism (Goodman and Redclift, 1981; Redclift, 1984; 1987). Following this line of political ecology, the research undertaken at that time avoided the criticism made of early anthropological and geographical political ecology: that it was apolitical, used steady-state equilibrium ecological modelling, was excessively focused on local husbandry undertaken by men, and involved ‘hairy-chested fieldwork’ in remote places (Cosgrove, 1993; Peet and Watts, 1996; Paulson et al., 2003). While fishing is notoriously a masculine activity, the role of women and children who worked in tourism as part of what today would be called multi-functional livelihoods was investigated, social movements resisting the effects of urban industrial pollution were treated, and the regional context of the expanding metropolitan area of Rio de Janeiro constituted an integral part of the study.

Over time, these issues also took on a global dimension as the study area was encompassed by the booming Rio de Janeiro–São Paulo industrial axis, the core region which transformed Brazil into one of the largest world economies. In this region, Brazilian and transnational corporations set up petrochemical industries, steel plants, and iron ore export facilities so that the research became multi-scalar reflecting a similar change in contemporary political ecology (cf., Peet et al., 2011).

Recent research undertaken in 2011 and 2012 allies the original theoretical perspective with what Andrew Sayer (2001) has called critical cultural political economy: a fusion of political economy with cultural theory (a.k.a. post-structuralism and postmodernism). Particularly heeded in the present study is Sayer’s complaint that cultural theory in reaction to prior Marxist perspectives ended up ignoring the economic dimensions of life. To correct this, multi-functional issues concerning fisher employment and comparative income vis-à-vis tourism are given a predominant place. The restudy undertaken in 2011 and 2012 used an ethnographic life history approach (cf., Marcus, 1995) to follow the fisher families of the previous research in their reaction to the process of metropolitan encompassment. The spectacularly beautiful Ilha Grande and Sepetiba Bay Area is situated between 70 to 220 km from the centre of Rio de Janeiro, and the aim was to evaluate the changing local livelihoods of fishers and their children \( n = 98 \) as the eastern part was transformed from a rural zone into an outer metropolitan area (Figure 1). The changing relationship between fishing and tourism over time uses V. Smith’s categorisation of tourist types and corresponding amenity expectations to model shifting multi-functionality in the study area (Table 1).

Critical cultural political economy dovetails neatly with radical political ecology, and both approaches are employed to question the notion
that the study area ever was a cultural or natural paradise. For this, the concept of ‘green washing’ activities of dubious socio-environmental sustainability is particularly useful to provide a more critical evaluation of exactly who benefits from new primary, industrial, commercial, logistical, residential, recreational, and environmental functions in the city’s countryside. Fielding’s (1990) now classic critique of counter-urbanisation comes to mind: are the new functions a blessing or a curse for local people?

Multi-functional fisher-farmers and explorer tourists in paradise?
Craft fishing and seashore tourism in Brazil usually evoke images of unspoiled tropical paradises, which development and mass tourism violate and corrupt. One well-known study along these lines, aptly entitled Assault on Paradise, showed how fishing communities were transformed by real estate speculation near the Salvador metropolitan area of Northeast Brazil (Kottak, 1983; 2009). It must be made clear from the outset that it has been a long time since the Ilha Grande and Sepetiba Bay Area has been any sort of paradise. In the 19th century, the slopes of the islands were deforested to plant coffee, and slaves are cited as inherited property in wills from the period. At the same time, the area became an important entrepôt for smuggling slaves past the British blockade. Families were separated traumatically for sale on Estopa Beach on Jaguanum Island before being taken to the slave market of Rio de Janeiro. For the old island folk, the beach is cursed and the sound of rattling chains and crying children can be heard on stormy nights when violent south westerlies blow in.

After a period of abandonment, permitting some recovery of soils degraded by coffee cropping, banana farming was taken up in the early 20th century and some scattered fields remain until today. Then in the 1960s, a Danish expatiate with plantation experience in Indonesia arrived and laid the slopes bare again in order to produce charcoal. A few years later, the same man bought a third of one of the larger islands and then tried to violently expel fishers who had been living there for generations as well as a handful of outsiders who had weekend houses on the island. Instead of being the paradise advertised by tour companies, perhaps tropical hell might better describe the past of the study area.

These developments notwithstanding and despite the relatively close proximity to the city of Rio de Janeiro, overland access to the mountainous south-west coast of the state was relatively difficult until 1970. As a result, seashore tourism first developed on sand spits and lagoons of the coastal plains to the east of the metropolitan area in the Cabo Frio area, where weekend tourists replaced fishers and sea salt extractors, who had been present for generations (Figure 2). As would happen later to the south-west of Rio, mangrove removal and urban sanitary pollution in the lagoons of the east coast progressively eliminated bay fishing so that only ocean fishing remained, an activity in which it is difficult to become an independent fisher (Pereira, 1956; Guimarães, 1987; Lima, 1993; Biasotto, 1995).

To the south-west of Rio, the Serra do Mar mountain range comes right down to the sea so that most of the Ilha Grande and Sepetiba Bay Area is surrounded by steep slopes with altitudes reaching over 1000 m. The mountains and rainy climate made road construction and maintenance a difficult and costly undertaking. A rail service was available to Itacuruçá and Mangaratiba after 1914, but most unpaved roads to these places and other localities within the Bay Area passed through the mountains and were poorly maintained. This reinforced the remoteness of the area which, after the brief period of coffee cultivation, had no other important economic activity that

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tourist Type</th>
<th>Volume of Tourists</th>
<th>Adaptation to Local Norms</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Explorer</td>
<td>Very limited</td>
<td>Accepts fully</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Off-beat</td>
<td>Uncommon but seen</td>
<td>Adapts well</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Elite</td>
<td>Rarely seen</td>
<td>Creates enclave of Western amenities</td>
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<tr>
<td>Incipient mass</td>
<td>Steady flow</td>
<td>Seeks Western amenities</td>
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<tr>
<td>Mass</td>
<td>Continuous flow</td>
<td>Expects Western amenities</td>
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<tr>
<td>Charter</td>
<td>Massive arrivals</td>
<td>Demands Western amenities</td>
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Adapted from: V. Smith (1977, 12).
could justify improving the roads. The area remained lightly populated and located to the south of the major economic axis along the industrialised Paraíba valley, linking Rio de Janeiro and São Paulo. Consequently, local fishers were less articulated to the market, and an artisan economy existed until quite recently. Fishing methods were labour intensive, and most instruments of production and consumer goods were obtained through self-provisioning or from local crafters.

Before 1960, multi-functional fishing and farming were practised, whereby fishing had a semi-subsistence focus, generating some income for basic necessities, and farming was purely for subsistence. Canoes were powered by sail and oar so that fishers only went to port occasionally. Surface nets with a 30 to 50 mm minimum mesh size were used, which allow small fish and shrimp to escape and as such, craft fishing was a sustainable activity. Two men would fish together and a four-part division of the catch was made, one part for the canoe owner, another for the net owner, and the other two parts for each of the two fishers. Family labour was used, basically an older man fishing with his son or son-in-law or two brothers fishing together. Cotton and sisal nets were made locally by the users as were canoes and homes so that all had ready access to the instruments of productions and to housing. In the domestic division of labour, women did not fish but could help mending nets onshore (more about this below).

A 1938 Brazilian Navy map shows only 15 fisher houses present on the outer island of Jaguanum, mostly situated in front of the prime fishing ground of Marambaia Cove (Figure 3). Given the difficult access, tourism was almost non-existent. In the 1940s, a German had a weekend house on Estopa beach and in the 1950s, the English manager of a ranch owned by a British meat packing firm located on the mainland built a rustic house on the same beach. This man reached the island in the canoe of a fisher. Also in the 1950s, some visiting members of the British Royal Family spent a few days at his house, sleeping in hammocks on the veranda in what is now considered adventure tourism. In the 1960s, two other English nationals working in Brazil, one for the same packing firm, and the Danish expatriate mentioned above, set up rustic houses on the same beach. The weekend tourists tried to linguistically appropriate the beach by renaming it English Beach but the locals refused to go along.

Then, to the distaste of the foreigners, a Brazilian acquired a simple house on the beach in 1969. However, the Brazilian was a capable lawyer and he legally defended the fishers and weekend tourists from the Danish usurper. The lawyer was so infuriated by the blatant behaviour of the Dane, who resorted to violence to take away land from locals and weekend tourists and bribed municipal officials to accept land transactions of dubious legality, that he researched inheritance documents dating back to the Portuguese colonisation of Brazil and eventually proved that the deeds presented by the Dane were fraudulent. Some years later when the man died, in respect, the fishers solemnly carried his coffin down to the beach for transport to Rio de Janeiro for burial.

These tourists obviously were not typical day trippers on an excursion and using V. Smith’s topology of types of tourists (1977), these outsiders can be characterised as explorer tourists. This kind of tourist comes for the simple life and does not provoke great changes in local
livelihoods or create much new opportunity. In the case studied, this consisted of paying a low salary to a fisher-caretaker to keep an eye on the weekend house and paying a few days of work for domestic services from a wife of a fisher when the owner was present.

**Commercial specialty fishers and elite tourists**

With the construction of the paved Rio-Santos highway in the 1970s, the south-western coast was opened to agents of urban industrial capital from both metro Rio and São Paulo. The eastern coast of Rio de Janeiro state increasingly became urbanised and the south-western coast became a rural hinterland with weekend recreation activities (Figure 4). As usually occurs in metropolitan settings, if on one hand small-scale producers are threatened by urban encroachment, on the other they can benefit from greater access to large urban markets. Selling more produce at higher prices permitted the financing of a process of capitalisation so that considerable technical intensification occurred during the heyday of small-scale fishing from 1960 to 1990. Local fishers started using synthetic fibre nets, which are more resistant and require less repair work. They substituted sail and oar power with diesel motors and some substituted canoes with small fishing boats (Figure 5).

At the same time, local craft activities were taken over by specialists on the mainland and by

![Image](https://example.com/image.png)
Figure 4  Metro Rio de Janeiro and hinterland in 1990

Figure 5  Canoes and small boats of local fishers
factories located outside the Bay Area. In addition, farming activities for self-provisioning were discontinued. With motorised canoes and greater emphasis on commercial fishing, they could go to town once a week and buy food. With these changes, a greater need arose for earning money because fishers now purchased nearly all their instruments of production and basic consumer goods. Elimination of part-time craft work and increasingly disadvantageous competition with trawler firms caused small-scale fishers to concentrate almost exclusively on shrimp. No doubt they were earning much more than in the past, but their greater dependence on the market and greater specialisation increased immediate production risk and threatened their livelihood in the long run as shrimp stocks fell over time.

Small-scale fishers took advantage of the market opportunity for shrimp and at the same time tried to protect themselves from income fluctuation by adopting lower cost and lower risk production strategies that permitted them to progressively capitalise their methods. They did this by adopting innovations in a step-by-step fashion and by using non-salaried work relations. Family labour relations were adapted to capitalisation by adding a fifth share of the catch for the owner of the motor, who was usually the owner of the canoe. First, a young fisher was given a net by his father or bought one with savings from his share of the catch on a relative’s canoe. Then, he would buy or inherit a canoe (about 6 m length, equipped with a 9 hp diesel motor, costing about US$2500 in 1985). Later, he would buy another canoe or, together with his brothers, pool the proceeds from selling their canoes to buy a small shrimp boat of 7–8 m length, with a 22 hp motor, which cost about US$10 000 at that time. The average yearly income of crew members in 1985 was US$1824 while that of canoe owners was US$5629 and boat owners US$10 470. For crew members, buying a canoe represented 1.4 years of income and a boat 5.5 years, which was a feasible proposition when done in a step-by-step fashion, i.e. through a process of flexible capitalisation.

With the tourist boom of the 1980s, tourism predominated and craft fishers were supplanted in places of easy access for urban investors. On Itacuruçá Island, located near the mainland, only 50 houses in a total of 238 were found to belong to fishers in 1987. The other houses and buildings, 79% of the total, served as weekend houses, caretaker quarters, hotels, and restaurants. The remaining few concentrations of fishers were located in mangrove areas, which city investors did not find attractive for tourist purposes.

In more distant locations, like Jaguanum Island, local fishers were able to prosper alongside the tourists. The latter only had access to these islands by owning their own pleasure craft or by taking package day trip tours. This was expensive at the time and so limited the number of weekend houses, hotels, and restaurants. Consequently, with the exception of one beach owned by a failed hotel, there were fishers living on all of the beaches and a few beaches did not have any weekend houses. Weekend houses, restaurants, and the closed hotel only made up 43% of the buildings on the island (Figure 6).

Tourism-related employment opportunities benefited mainly local women and male adolescents, and these families had various sources of income, which was important during the off-season for fishing. Family members could do part-time work as maids and as caretakers in weekend houses or seasonally as maids and waiters in restaurants and bars. The principal problem with this work was the low salary, the minimum wage, which was about US$720 a year in 1985. There was also the problem of the nature of the work. Gardening and other household tasks were generally not viewed as being masculine activities, and this attitude only changed in the 1990s when fishing entered into decline.

During the heyday of day trips involving international tourists in the 1980s, there were over 50 schooners based in Itacuruçá. Typical flyers of the period framed the gaze of tourists with glossy photographs of the usual tropical delights featuring parrots, rum-spiced fruit drinks, and scantily-clothed natives in a schooner trip to pristine virgin islands, and the author once saw such an advertisement in a tourist office in London (Figure 7). The outing involved being ferried from and back to Rio in an air-conditioned coach for a day spent cruising the islands to the sound of flowery-shirted samba players. However, the tourist cocoon was imperfect. Schooners were overcrowded, lily-white Europeans suffered serious cases of sunburn, and there was only one filthy toilet on board for all to use.

Despite the questionable taste of the day trips, jobs were created and being a crew member of a schooner was deemed to be suitable work for men but only paid the minimum wage. Consequently, capitalised small-scale fishing still represented the best line of work for inhabitants of the distant islands, and 93% of the adult children of fishers interviewed at that time on Jaguanum
Island continued to live there and work in fishing.

During this period, weekend tourism expanded significantly on the mainland and nearby islands and involved middle-class individuals from the central and western metropolitan area. Weekend tourists on distant islands were members of the upper and upper-middle classes who lived in wealthy neighbourhoods of Rio de Janeiro and São Paulo. These were what V. Smith called elite tourists, who were more demanding in how they wanted to spend their stay in the countryside and sparked a chain reaction of house improvements. The long-established explorer tourists had simpler tastes but felt compelled to renovate their houses along the lines of their more urbane neighbours. On Jaguanum Island, small rustic brick houses with simple cement floors were substituted by large houses with decorative ceramic and stone floors, more sophisticated sanitary installations, generator lighting, etc. Elite tourists put in seawalls, fenced land along the beach in front of their houses, and placed multilingual keep-out signs to discourage schooner tourists from entering. The landscape was domesticated. Manicured lawns were planted, underbrush was cut in nearby wooded areas (which provoked soil erosion), and the trunks of coconut palms were whitewashed.

Relations between tourists and fishers became cooler and even if there was less direct contact between them, the lifestyle of the fishers was...
influenced by the presence of the tourists. More money was available from commercial fishing and fishers substituted their small, straw-roofed, wattle-and-daub huts with larger brick houses with tile roofing. Some dug wells in order to have running water. They purchased more domestic appliances such as battery-run televisions and radio recorders. The young imitated the latest fashions in clothing and music, all of which caused generational conflict concerning taste and modesty. The researcher once sighted a fisher boy wake surfing behind a canoe. In other words, the young ceased being rural and became more like the youth of the poor outer suburbs of Rio.

Specialty fishing and weekend tourism did give rise to an unintended environmental consequence, namely the regeneration of forests which had been cut a number of times in the past. As fishers stopping farming on the slopes and tourists rarely situated weekend house off the beach, forests regenerated (Figure 8). One foreign weekend tourist even reforested his slopes in order to increase the amount of water available. Otherwise, water-use conflicts between fishers and tourists became more frequent over time as the number of weekend houses and hotels increased. Tourists wanted running water and showers so their domestic consumption was higher than that of fishers, and this created tensions during the dry season when water was scarce. The practice of watering lawns at such times was particularly irritating for fishers who had to fetch water in jugs at springs from which the tourists took their water first.

Environmental degradation, the decline of fishing, and the shift to mass tourism after 1990

As small-scale fishing prospered during the 1980s, dark clouds were forming on the horizon. Commercial trawlers using drag nets and sonar equipment started to deplete fish stocks. Between 1980 and 2010, the population of Greater Rio de Janeiro grew by 35% to 11,838,752 inhabitants (Instituto Brasileiro de Geografia e Estatística, 2010), and the metro area expanded further west to embrace the eastern half of Sepetiba Bay (Figure 9). On the mainland, farm land was converted to housing developments, mangrove areas filled, and more raw sewages flowed into the bay. As part of the process of deepening industrialisation in Brazil, logistical infrastructure expanded in the Bay Area with the installation of deepwater ports to handle exports from the Paraíba Valley and from Minas Gerais state.

New ports were built in Sepetiba Bay to load iron and steel exports, which expanded exponentially in response to global demand, particularly from the Chinese market. The most environmentally problematic ports were located at the far eastern end of the bay in a mangrove area, which is a major nursery area for the bay’s fish and shrimp. The port was situated near an industrial park set up in the 1980s, and large-scale dredging was needed to open channels in this shallow part of the bay. Over the years, the port quadrupled its ore export capacity and became the principal import–export container port for metro Rio. Local industries also expanded culminating in the new Thyssen-Krupp CSA steel mill, which was projected to meet 30% of the pre-2008 global demand for specialty sheet steel. This project alone removed 16 km of mangrove along the bay front.

Fishing stocks fell drastically in the eastern half of the bay, particularly after two toxic effluent disasters in 1996 and 2002 when the stored...
Figure 8  Forest regeneration on the slopes of islands
(Source: Instituto Brasileiro de Geografia e Estatística, 2010).

Figure 9  Metro Rio de Janeiro and hinterland in 2010
pollutants of a derelict chrome factory burst the dikes during rain storms and drained into the bay. The collapse of fishing in those years together with declining yields after 1990 caused a surge of outmigration. Of the previously interviewed fishers and their families, 75.5% of the individuals left, almost all of them going to live in the slums of the Bay Area cities. The work options in town for an ex-fisher with low levels of formal education were as a crew hand on a tour boat, a restaurant waiter, and a mason’s helper in construction. Schooner crew members earn the minimum wage, US$4450 annually in 2011, but international and elite tourism shifted further west to Angra dos Reis and Parati so that today there are fewer than ten schooners still operating out of Itacuruçá. Consequently, this kind of tourist work collapsed locally. Work as a waiter or cook pays the minimum wage, but this kind of job also declined with diminished tourism. A bit more income can be earned in construction, about US$6000 a year as a mason’s helper or US$9000 as a mason. Half of the women became maids earning the minimum wage and the other half are housewives. Most of the adolescents are students who do not work. On the positive side, it should be mentioned that seeking higher levels of education as well as better health services available in town were pull factors, which also motivated people to leave the islands.

Back on the islands, mass tourists replaced the elite tourists of the previous period. As Brazil boomed, middle and even upper-middle classes emerged in the western suburbs of metro Rio. Richer individuals like doctors and merchants can buy expensive pleasure craft, which can cost over US$100,000, and on weekends pass the day on the beaches of the outer islands. Less prosperous day trippers come in small taxi boats operated by fishers trying to supplement their meagre income. While the schooner tourists of the past only spent a half hour on the beach before moving on, day trippers today stay the whole day and engage in heavy drinking, barbequing steak, and playing loud funk music. With these changes, many of the older weekend tourists sold out or simply died out. On Jaguanum Island, the number of weekend houses increased threefold, from 39 in 1988 to 124 in 2011 (Figure 10). Mass tourists usually buy a house from a fisher who left for the mainland so that outmigration is not caused directly by fishers selling out to tourists but rather the latter taking advantage of the depressed state of fishing. Some improvement is made on the house bought from the fisher, but it rarely has the manicured lawn and other amenities of the elite tourist houses of the past. Little upkeep is necessary so that full-time, legally documented workers are not needed.

The number of houses of full-time fishers on Jaguanum Island fell from 103 in 1987 to 67 in 2011. These fishers still manage to make catches in the less polluted western outer part of the bay. However, the income of full-time fishers is inferior to that of the heyday of capitalised fishing, today ranging from US$2970 to US$9001 annually, the equivalent of 0.7 to 2 minimum wages, far below fishing incomes of 1985, which were the equivalent of 2.5 to 14.5 minimum wages of the time. Many prosperous fishers of the past have de-capitalised and shifted from boats back to canoes and some poorer fishers back to using oars.

One interesting cultural change was related to women engaged in fishing. In the past, custom dictated that women did not fish and their presence on board was thought to jinx the catch. Before 1990, only one woman was observed fishing with her husband during a period before their children were old enough to help their father. The woman was originally from a farmer family on the mainland and accustomed to working in the fields before marrying. Following her example, a number of girls started to fish with their fathers but only before marrying. After marrying, they would stay in port and as fishing declined, this trend ended all together.

The number of fishers with multiple sources of income increased from 7 in 1988 to 21 in 2011. They combine fishing with caretaking, with operating a bar, and with working in maintenance for the county government, earning US$13,831, US$13,400, and US$10,738 in 2010, respectively. This new rural multi-functionality generates more income than can be made by most ex-fishers living in town, but the number of jobs available on the islands is limited. The nature of mass tourism restricts work because this kind of tourist occupies a simple house and at most may hire a day labourer when they go to their weekend house. Food and drinks are brought from the mainland and nothing is purchased locally, which means that mass tourism aggregates little value for the islanders, all of this vindicating many of the arguments made by de Kadts (1979) long ago against strategies basing development on mass tourism.

As mentioned above, forest regeneration on the slopes of the islands was a new environmental phenomenon that appeared over time.
However, on the mainland, urban industrial water and air pollution increased as manufacturing and port facilities expanded and unplanned urban growth took place without due regard for basic sanitation infrastructure. In reaction to this trend, a non-governmental organisation called SOS Sepetiba was set up in the early 1990s and tried to build a political alliance between affected fishers and weekend tourists located along the coast. The fishers proved to be difficult to organise, and the tourists who remained after the upper-class tourists moved further down the coast were of middle-class origin and wielded little influence. The luxurious lifestyle of the wealthy with houses in the Angra dos Reis and Parati area is constantly in the social columns of newspapers and glossy magazines, while only an occasional story is published every few years in the press denouncing the ecological problems of what is now unfashionable Sepetiba Bay.

When SOS Sepetiba was set up in the early 1990s, it tried to repeat the experience of the SOS Atlantic Forest movement, which had achieved considerable success promoting environmental conservation in the coastal mountains (Bicalho and Hoefle, 2002). There are two kinds of weekend tourism in Southeast Brazil: on the seashore and in the mountains. Over time, the latter has involved some of the most powerful social groups in the country, starting with the emperor in his summer residence in Petrópolis in the 19th century. The marginality of the mountains for
Brazilian agribusiness, which is producing for global commodity markets, also made the task of SOS Atlantic Forest much easier than that of SOS Sepetiba, which in the Bay Area had to contend with powerful Brazilian and global industrial conglomerates.

Ethnic politics and identity functions intertwined with preservation functions as Holmes (2010) describes for northern Australia are also nearly non-existent in the weak multi-functionality of the study area. An Afro-Brazilian community exists in the military area of the pristine outer island of Marambaia, but the Navy is trying to remove it and the area is off limits for tourism. Similarly, descendants of Tupy Amerindians were able to claim a reservation in an isolated area of the coastal mountains but again they do not interact with the Bay Area. As in Holmes’ case, a better place to look for these functions would be in the remote Amazon region of northern Brazil.

**Which attack on paradise?**

It can be concluded that little direct conflict exists today between tourism and small-scale fishing in the Bay Area. Multi-functionality in the form of combined sources of income is important for the minority of local residents who stayed on the islands, but their overall income is a shadow of that of the past. Mass tourism also does not create new employment so that the best overall characterisation of the relationship between the sectors is juxtaposition (coexistence). Trawlers and urban industrial development in Sepetiba Bay to the contrary enter into direct conflict with small-scale fishers because overfishing, mangrove removal, and water pollution have drastically reduced stocks. Consequently, the issue of conflict is not between fishing and tourism per se but rather between both of these sectors and urban industrial development. Local people who have adapted to reduced fishing by ferrying mass tourists out to the islands are well aware of the fact that they may still lose this option if more ports are built in the western part of Sepetiba Bay.

Other dimensions of multi-functionality are also weak. The area is not an ecological paradise notwithstanding the regenerated forests on the slopes of the islands, and tour advertisements promising visits to pristine virgin islands look suspiciously like so much green washing to fool gullible day trippers. In cultural terms, the samba beat of music on the tour boats has given way to funk, which reflects the general shift from catering to foreign tourists who want to hear ‘authentic’ Brazilian music to lower middle-class suburbanites on a day out of town. However, as Kahn (1989) once argued, this kind of tourist culture is just as ‘authentic’ as anything an anthropologist (or geographer) constructs as local culture and in contemporary Brazil reflects the modest income redistribution that has occurred over the last ten years of progressive (but corrupt) government.

**NOTES**

1. The relationship between the impact of dwindling fishing resources, labour, and gender relations and local communities in different parts of the world is more often the subject of Applied Anthropology, and over the years, numerous articles have appeared in Human Organization as well as in review essays, monographs, and edited books (Anderson and Wadel, 1972; M.E. Smith, 1977; Spoehr, 1980; Anderson, 1981; Zulaika, 1981; McGoodwin, 1990; Cole, 1991; Greenlaw, 1999; Ingles, 2007; McCay, 2012).

2. Brazil went from being the 14th largest global economy in 1970 to 10th in 1990 and to the 6th or 7th largest economy in recent years, positioned just ahead or behind the United Kingdom, depending on fluctuation in currency rate and annual growth. For details on Brazilian industrialisation and insertion in the global economy, see Becker and Egler (1992) and Cohn (2012).

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