

Tourism and Development in Pipa, Brazil

The perceived effects of tourism in Pipa on community development and personal well-being of Pipa residents

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Abstract

Investments are made in tourism assuming that tourism might contribute to development. This thesis gives an overview of the theory about tourism and development and describes the results of a research that is conducted in Pipa, Brazil about how various residents of Pipa perceive the tourism and its effects on their personal well-being and community development of Pipa. Residents of Pipa state that *tranquilidade* is very important for their personal well-being. Even though tourism might decrease *tranquilidade* because of the amount and types of tourists at times, tourism mainly contributes to *tranquilidade* by providing economic stability and creating an environment of sociocultural exchange. The effects of tourism on personal well-being are also analysed using Amartya Sen's (1999) concept of Development as Freedom. People perceive more opportunities and freedom as a result of tourism. So both personal well-being as defined by the residents themselves as well as personal well-being as defined by Sen (1999) are influenced positively. The residents of Pipa stated that the most important aspects for community development are education and health care. Health care is influenced because the varying population size of Pipa, as a result of tourism, makes the budget for health care too small. The health care itself has not changed because of tourism, but through higher income some people are now able to pay for health insurance and get private health care. Education is influenced by tourism because through sociocultural exchange people are more willing to study; there are private schools set up by non-natives, and the government now organizes tourism and language courses. The public education itself is not influenced by tourism. According to some residents, the limited effects have to do with the political situation. The effects on community development are also analysed using the concept of 'social (dis)empowerment' by Scheyvens (1999). Social cohesion, an aspect of social empowerment, is influenced negatively. The perceived effects of tourism also include crime, perceptions of crowding, displacement, prostitution and loss of authenticity, which are five out of six aspects Scheyvens (1999) gives for social disempowerment. So for community development as defined by the residents, tourism only has an indirect influence, while it has a negative influence on social empowerment as defined by Scheyvens (1999).

Key words: Brazil, community development, development as freedom, perceptions, personal well-being, Pipa, social empowerment, tourism

Resumo

Tem investimento no turismo assumindo que turismo possa contribuir para o desenvolvimento. Esta tese apresenta um resumo das teorias sobre turismo e desenvolvimento e descreve os resultados da pesquisa que foi feito em Pipa, Brasil, sobre como vários moradores de Pipa percebem o turismo e as consequências do turismo para o bem-estar pessoal e desenvolvimento da comunidade da Pipa. Moradores de Pipa dizem que tranquilidade é muito importante para o bem-estar pessoal deles. Mesmo que o turismo pode diminuir tranquilidade através da quantidade e tipo das turistas, turismo principalmente contribui para tranquilidade, fornecendo estabilidade econômica e criando um ambiente da troca sociocultural. As consequências do turismo para o bem-estar pessoal também são analisado usando o conceito 'Desenvolvimento como liberdade' do Amartya Sen (1999). A gente percebe mais oportunidades e liberdade por causa do turismo. Assim ambos bem-estar pessoal, como definido pelo moradores, bem como bem-estar pessoal como definido pelo Sen (1999) são influenciado positivamente.

Para o desenvolvimento da comunidade da Pipa a gente acham educação e saúde mais importantes. Saúde é influenciado porque a variação do tamanho da população, uma consequência do turismo, faz o orçamento para saúde pequena demais. O atendimento do saúde não é influenciado pelo turismo, mas algumas pessoas agora têm condições financeiras para pagar um plano de saúde e usar hospitais privados. Educação é influenciada pela turismo porque através da troca sociocultural a gente tem mais interesse para estudar; escolas privadas são formadas pelos non-nativos; e o governo agora organiza cursos do turismo e da língua. As escolas públicas não são influenciadas muito pelo turismo. Segundo aos alguns moradores, as consequências limitadas são uma consequência do governo. As consequências para o desenvolvimento da comunidade também são analisado usando o conceito 'social (disempowerment)' da Scheyvens (1999). Coesão social, que é o aspecto mais importante, é influenciada negativamente. As consequências percebidas também inclui criminalidade, percepção de aglomeração, deslocamento, prostituição e a perda de autenticidade, cinco dos seis aspectos do 'social *disempowerment*' da Scheyvens (1999). Assim, para o desenvolvimento da comunidade como definido pelos moradores, turismo só tem consequências indiretas, mas tem uma influência negativa para o desenvolvimento da comunidade como definido pela Scheyvens (1999).

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1. Introduction

Brazil, being one of the BRIC countries has an upcoming economy. As a result of investments in infrastructure and marketing campaigns encouraging the urban middle class to spend more on tourism within Brazil, a process of rapid development started in the 1970s along the Brazilian coast, mainly in the Northeast (Bartholo et al. 2008:107). Not only international tourism, but also national tourism in Northeast Brazil is increasing because of the growing middle class. This change of tourism in general may have effects on various tourism areas in Northeast Brazil.

Many developing countries that need an economic boost are interested in tourism (Silveira 2005:1-2). Because tourism is a significant or growing economic sector in most countries with high levels of poverty, the potential to deliver more benefits from tourism to the poor seems to be significant. (Scheyvens 2007:231). The potential benefits of tourism are that it can generate foreign exchange earnings, attract international investment and increase tax revenues (Zhao&Ritchie 2007:119). Furthermore, it may generate jobs because tourism has a high need for human capital (Liu&Wall 2006:160 and Silveira 2005:2). This is important because most of the developing countries have high unemployment (Silveira 2005:2). Much policies are based on the assumption that tourism can improve the livelihoods and incomes of the poor (Spenceley&Meyer 2012:297), but research to the actual relationship between tourism and poverty reduction is limited (Zhao&Ritchie 2008:119). Therefore, it is interesting to see whether tourism indeed contributes to the development of local people. And especially whether tourism contributes to development as the people *themselves* would define it, since this will determine the way people think tourism contributes to their development.

This thesis describes a research in Praia de Pipa, a coastal area in Northeast Brazil. The main focus of this research will be the perceptions of people living in Pipa, of the effects of tourism on their development. There are various researches conducted about tourism and its effects on development, but this research focuses specifically on the perceptions of the local people themselves. Not only will the effects of tourism on development be discussed from their point of view, but also the concept 'development' itself will be defined by the residents. This is very important since the way people think tourism influences their development is determined by what they think is important for

development and how they would define it. A predefined concept of development might contain elements that are not important to the residents, so whether or not such a predefined 'development' is reached does not say much about the perceptions of people themselves. Therefore, the residents of Pipa are asked to define the concepts of development themselves. Development is divided in personal well-being and community development to get an understanding of the effects of tourism on development both on community level as well as on personal level. This research will answer the following research question:

“How do various residents of Pipa perceive tourism and its effects on their personal well-being and community development of Pipa?”

Because a lot of factors may influence the perceptions, there is not only a focus on economic effects, but on all the various effects the local people experience. So, all the effects the people mention are included in this research. Because of the high variety in definitions of development, given by residents, predefined concepts of development will also be used to be able to compare various visions. However, the emphasis is on the residents' own perceptions of tourism and their ideas of development.

This research has been qualitative, because the focus is on an in-depth understanding of local people's perceptions of tourism and their ideas of development. This research will be relevant for development because understanding the experienced effects of tourism on development will expand the knowledge of the actual relationship between tourism and development, an assumption which many development policies are based on.

This research will also be academically relevant, because the academic debate, with a focus on the relationship between tourism and poverty reduction, tends to overlook important environmental, social and political issues (Scheyvens 2008:231). Also, most of the research that has been done about the perceptions of local people of the host countries of tourism, have been quantitative. These researches used various standardized measurement scales like the Doxey's irridex and Dogan's framework (Cordero 2008). However, the universal use of these standard scales 'seems to be quite impractical due to the significant inherent variations in host communities and the specific needs of the research in question' (Cordero 2008:43). So because much of the research conducted has been quantitative, based on models that can be criticized, this research will be of academic

relevance since it uses a qualitative approach. Also, by using concepts of development that are defined by the people themselves as well as predefined concepts of development, this research gives an insight in the gap between theoretical concepts of development and what people themselves perceive as important aspects for development.

This thesis starts with the theoretical framework in which various theories about tourism and development are discussed: Modernization, dependency theory, and post-structuralism all have a different approach towards tourism and development. Then various forms and effects of tourism will be discussed to give an idea of all the potential effects of tourism on development. Based on this an overview is given of the favourable conditions for tourism to be beneficial for development. Butler's tourist area cycle of evolution (Butler 1980) will be discussed and the theoretical framework ends with definitions of the concepts personal well-being and community development, based on which the perceptions of the residents of Pipa will be analysed. A conceptual framework is provided to get a visualization of the various theories and concepts used in this thesis. After the theoretical framework the contextual framework discusses Brazilian tourism policies and some background information about Pipa and its tourism. The case will be linked to the theory by discussing Pipa's type of tourism and its place in Butler's tourist area cycle of evolution.

In the methodology the research objectives and questions are described; the research methods are discussed and there is a reflection on limitations. After this part the empirical section starts.

In the first empirical chapter –chapter 5- tourism in Pipa in general is discussed. It starts with a paragraph about who benefit from the tourism sector in Pipa. Then the residents' perceptions of tourism in general and its effects are discussed. The change of tourist public that has taken place in Pipa in the last seven years is discussed because this has had effects for people's perceptions of tourism in Pipa. In this chapter the importance of tourism is also discussed, since the village appears to depend very much on the tourism sector.

In chapter 6 personal well-being is discussed. It starts with an overview of the aspects the residents of Pipa find important for personal well-being followed by the effects of tourism on these aspects. The effects of tourism are also discussed in relation to the predefined concept of personal well-being: 'Development as Freedom' (Sen 1999).

Chapter 7 is about community development. This chapter also starts with a discussion of the aspects residents find important for community development. Because education and health care were most important, the current situation and effects of tourism on these sectors are discussed. This is followed by a paragraph about the limitations of the effects of tourism on community development and the chapter ends with an analysis of the effects of tourism in relation to the predefined concept of community development: Social (dis)empowerment by Scheyvens (1999). This thesis ends with the conclusion and discussion.

2. Theoretical framework

2.1 Tourism and development

Governments, development agencies and NGOs have invested in policies that try to reduce poverty through tourism, based on the assumption that tourism can improve the livelihoods and incomes of the poor (Spenceley&Meyer 2012:297), but Zhao and Ritchie (2007) state that relevant research to the implications of tourism for poverty alleviation is fragmented and limited in scope (Zhao&Ritchie 2007:119). In the late 1990s the Pro-Poor Tourism Partnership in the United Kingdom has been committed to investigate the potential of tourism in poverty alleviation (Zhao&Ritchie 2007:119). Pro-Poor Tourism (PPT), tourism that generates net benefits for the poor, was inspired by the development industry's priority of poverty alleviation in the 1990s, after the focus had shifted from structural adjustment programmes to Poverty Reduction Strategy Papers (Scheyvens 2008:233).

2.1.1 Modernization

Theoretical perspectives on tourism and development have changed over time. In the 1950s and 1960s liberal thinkers, based on modernization theory, saw tourism as 'a catalyst for modernization, economic development and prosperity in emerging nations in the world (Williams 1988:1 in Scheyvens 2007:236-238). An assumed potential benefit that fits within this line of thinking is that tourism can be a motivator for technological updating (Silveira 2005:2). Modern theorists might focus on economic aspects and state that mass tourism development in the Third world improved the local economy by providing job opportunities, improving the quality of life, creating educational opportunities and strengthening the infrastructure (Kahn 1997:988).

2.1.2 Dependency theory

This modernization perspective was criticized in the 1970s and 1980s, because according to Scheyvens (2007) there were no 'trickle down' effects and tourism creates enclave development; leads to dependency on foreign capital and expertise; and the economic benefits of tourism are minimized because foreign companies reappropriate their profits (Scheyvens 2007:237-239). The large amount of capital needed to invest and promote tourism development, as well as the expertise and knowledge required, has to be

imported (Kahn 1997:989). Furthermore, the tourism sector often undermines local cultures, networks and livelihoods (Scheyvens 2007:237-239). So the developing countries can become economically dependent on developed markets. According to Kahn (1997) mass tourism development led to dependence on foreign exports and encourages dominance and control of the First World on the Third World (Kahn 1997:990). Also the high standards of the facilities required for tourism and borrowed capital for the infrastructure needs, tend to generate leakage because the money is spent outside the developing country (Silveira 2005: 2). The local people do not only lack the money required to meet the high standards, but they often also lack the knowledge of tourism and associated skills. This shortage of local labour causes that the high positions in tourism are filled by expatriates and the lower paying positions are left to the locals (Echtner 1995 in Liu&Wall 2006:161-162). Tourism enterprises are often monopolized by outside owners (Cohen 1982 in Scheyvens 2002:157). The limited ownership and involvement of the local people in tourism, together with policies focusing on economic growth with little attention for equity, causes that the local share of economic benefits is often small (Liu&Wall 2006:160-162). According to dependency theorists tourism can be seen as more for the benefit of the capitalist – tourism generating countries instead of self-generating for the host countries since the tourists are often from developed countries, using their own international airlines and much of the required services are imported from developed countries (Kahn 1997:988-989).

2.1.3 Post-structuralism

From the 1990s onwards post-structuralist thinkers were interested in how people and places are socially constructed for tourism (Pritchard&Morgan 2000 in Scheyvens 2007:241). Researchers became interested in studies of systems, processes, places and interactions between people in order to understand how power influences the actions of stakeholders and the link between tourism and poverty (Spenceley&Meyer 2012:301). This approach moved away from a reductionist approach that sees the role of tourism as either good or bad. These researchers perceived tourism as a social force that needs to be better understood in order to connect it more effectively to development agendas that go beyond purely economic considerations (Spenceley&Meyer 2012:301).

Davis (2001) explains how post-structuralism could be useful as an approach in tourism studies. According to post-structuralist thinkers people are not capable of pure objectivity

and are not able to see the world 'as it really is'. Instead, the interpretation of places and spaces is based on subjective observations, which causes that one exact same place could have different meanings to different people. So relating this approach to tourism places, the owners of tourist attractions, the workers and the visitors all apply different meanings to that same place (Davis 2001:130).

A poststructuralist approach can be very useful in tourism studies because:

“Tourism spaces, when considered as spaces of leisure, spaces of cultural contact, gendered spaces, spaces of production and consumption and spaces of economic growth and development, can be analysed better with the knowledge that the meanings of these spaces to the different people in it are varied and also altered by power relations”. - Davis 2001: 130.

This research follows this line of thinking: It will use a post-structuralist approach to look at tourism as a social context and will not only look at economic considerations, but also, and mainly, at social considerations. The various different perceptions of the residents of Pipa will be taken into account when analysing the effects of tourism on personal well-being and community development.

2.2 Potential effects of tourism

2.2.1 Social and environmental effects

The effects of tourism are not purely economic. Tourism could have other effects as well, which could be divided in social and environmental benefits. However, this division is only theoretical, since all effects are related and all contribute to people's perceptions.

Potential social benefits mentioned in the literature are empowerment (Scheyvens 2002) and the 'demonstration effect', where local people copy or model tourist's attitude (Frence 1997 in Silveira 2005:2). Tourism may lead to people having access to other languages and cultures and could enhance empowerment (Scheyvens 2002) and recreate or enhance the local's culture pride (Ruschmann 1997 in Silveira 2005:2). Ros-Tonen and Werneck (2009) give an example of this in their discussion of the Sairé festival in Alter do Chão, Brazil. The true origins of this festival are not clear, but because the festival became more and more massive, and created much-needed economic opportunities, local people tried to 'recall' the local traditions and the growing tourism eventually made local people

prouder of their 'traditions', whether they were real or invented (Ros-Tonen&Werneck 2009:71-74).

However, tourists do not always have a preferable attitude. Cultural insensitivity and inappropriate behaviour are also social effects of tourism (e.g. Scheyvens 2002:147-148 and Clifton&Benson 2006:246). Other potential negative social effects are the appearance or increase in problems like prostitution, crime, gambling, decrease of traditional and religious local costumes, and constraints related to health (Silveira 2005:2-3). A research about the perceived effects of research ecotourism in Indonesia by Clifton and Benson (2006) showed the significance of maintaining cultural values and to maintain 'codes of conduct in order to preserve the sense of community stability' (Clifton&Benson 2006:246). A concern of the local people was the effects of the younger generation witnessing conduct between sexes inappropriate to local norms and the consumption of alcohol, but contact with visitors is not associated with a perceived erosion of traditional norms and values (Clifton&Benson 2006:246). A very good point Clifton and Benson (2006) make regarding this potential effect is that the retention of traditional norms and values may also reflect exposure to media or changes in individual attitudes as a result of travel (Clifton&Benson 2006:246).

Tourism can also have environmental benefits: Tourist demand can create awareness of the importance of specific sites and their flora and fauna which can lead to recovering and protection of these areas (Silveira 2005:2). Bartholo et al. (2008) confirm that it is stressed that "the influx of tourists has in many cases [...] increased environmental protection and conservation" (Hatton (n.d.) in Bartholo et al. 2008:110). But concerning the environment, the growing numbers of tourist may have negative effects as well. Tourism has many undesirable physical effects and in the literature tourism is much linked to the concept of carrying capacity (Silveira 2005:3). In the tourism area cycle of evolution of Butler (1980), which describes the evolution of tourism areas based on time and number of tourists, in the stagnation stage the peak numbers of visitors will have been reached. Capacity levels for many variables are reached or exceeded which causes environmental, social and economic problems (Butler 1980:8).

2.2.2 Various effects and types of tourism

The effects of tourism very much depend on the specific socio-political context (De Kadt

1979:36). The scale of focus also determines the effects that are experienced: On local level there might be more effects than on national or international level. The effects are also influenced by the type of tourism. There are various types of tourism described in the literature. However, in practice the division of types of tourism is not always very clear. Tourism cases may have elements of various types of tourism. Therefore, the division is only theoretical and the effects of different types of tourism may also be present in other tourism cases. The intention of this paragraph is therefore not to give a complete and exclusive overview, but to see what the effects of tourism might be.

Tourism in Pipa nowadays could best be defined as backpacker tourism. However, there are also elements of high-value tourism; and ecotourism. Scheyvens (2002) states that backpacker tourism could be a more beneficial form of tourism than high value tourism. For tourism to be economic, political and social beneficial to a local community, full participation of communities in tourism is needed (Ashley&Roe 1998:25 in Scheyvens 2002:146). This could be by communities supplying the majority of goods and services to tourists; by having considerable input into planning decisions; and collectively manage common resources. These conditions are more likely to be present when communities target the needs of backpacker tourists (Scheyvens 2002:146).

Third World governments often prefer international, high-value, luxury tourism over backpacker tourism assuming that more money can be earned from tourists who can afford luxury goods and services (Scheyvens 2002:144). However, this form of tourism often leads to a country's dependency on imported products, foreign investment and expatriate skills, because the local people do not have the experience, skills and/or resources to meet the required needs for higher value tourism. Therefore, Scheyvens states, the local population completely misses out on the benefits of tourism (Scheyvens 2002:145-146). Also, most of the managerial level jobs are held by the expatriates and the semi-skilled or unskilled jobs are held by the locals (Samy 1975 in Khan 1997:989). According to Scheyvens (2002) the financial benefits of high value tourism also rarely 'trickle down' to be beneficial for people at the grassroot level (Scheyvens 2002:145). Furthermore, the tourists in higher class resorts often do not spend much money locally, because they have everything available in the resorts or organized tours (Scheyvens 2002:152) and they use the international airlines of their own countries (Kahn 1997:989).

Backpackers on the other hand seem to spend less money because of their budget travels, but taking the length of their stay into account, backpackers often spend more money than any other tourist category (Haigh 1995; Gibbons&Selvarajah 1994 in Scheyvens 2002:151), and their spendings are spread over a wider geographic area, which leads to benefits in remote regions where other tourists rarely come. Backpackers also purchase more locally produced goods than other types of tourists (Baskin 1995; Gibbons&Selvarajah 1994; Loker-Murphy&Pearce 1995; Hampton 1988; Goodwin et al 1998; Wheel 1999; Wilson 1997 in Scheyvens 2002:151-152). Furthermore, as opposed to luxury tourism, local people of developing countries can meet the needs of backpacker tourism, and the use of local resources and skills to provide facilities for tourism can have various multiplier effects (Cater 1996:6 in Scheyvens 2002:153-154): Using locally produced products can be economically viable even with small numbers of tourists because the overhead costs are low and there are minimal leakages (Wall&Long 1996 in Scheyvens 2002:154). And because more community members can participate, the spread of economic benefits within communities may be greater (Scheyvens 2002:154).

Tourism in Pipa also has some elements of ecotourism: The nature of Pipa is an important element for the tourism sector and there is great attention to preserve the environment. There are varying definitions of ecotourism, but the emphasis is often on 'the responsibility to promote and ensure conservation of the natural environment, promote the economic welfare of local communities and minimize adverse socio-cultural impacts arising from contact between visitors and residents (Boo 1990; Fennell 1999; Wearing&Neil 1999 in Clifton&Benson 2006:241). Ecotourism has grown a lot because of cheap air travel, increased income and leisure time in developed countries and the demand to experience natural environments (Clifton&Benson 2006:239). A research by Clifton and Benson (2006) about ecotourism in Indonesia showed that the economic aspects were perceived as limited in extent but provided income-generating opportunities, resulting from direct employment; rental of accommodation or the sale of handicrafts and food (Clifton&Benson 2006:247). However, direct employment required particular skills, so only a limited group could benefit from this. The rental of accommodation was seen as beneficial for a wider section of the community, but this is also restricted to those with land ownership rights. Selling products is open to the highest

variety of people, which gives the opportunity for groups as women, young and older members to participate (Clifton&Benson 2006:247).

Scheyvens (1999) states that ecotourism is often used as a marketing tool, and that when business is the main driving force behind ecotourism, the ventures that emerge may serve to alienate, rather than benefit local communities (Scheyvens 1999:245). Therefore 'there is a need for an approach to ecotourism which starts from the needs, concerns and welfare of local host communities' (Scheyvens 1999:246). Such form of tourism is called community based tourism. Community based tourism is a form of tourism that came up during the 1990s as a form of tourism in which communities can actively participate and be empowered through their experiences (Scheyvens 2007:237). Bartholo et al. (2008) describe two case studies of community-based tourism in Brazil, where the communities opted to invest in tourism as a way to supplement their income. In both cases community based tourism was a response to a shared lack of resources and income, and tourism was seen as an alternative way to generate jobs and incomes. Their research shows that community based tourism can generate income and investments in funds that benefit the rest of the community. But to be successful it is important that there is good self-management: Making room for negotiation and providing leadership capable of mobilizing residents to take part in order to make sure that the decisions made by the tourism committee and the residents' association represent the community's choices. (Bartholo et al. 2008:111-113).

2.3 Butler's Tourist Area Cycle of Evolution

It is important to realise that tourist areas are not static and change over time, so the effects and the perceptions of the local people will also change over time. Tourist areas evolve and change over time, because of 'a variety of factors including changes in the preferences and needs of visitors, the gradual deterioration and possible replacement of physical plant and facilities, and the change (or even disappearance) of the original natural and cultural attractions which were responsible for the initial popularity of the area (Butler 1980:5). Butler (1980) describes a hypothetical cycle of area evolution, that starts from the exploration stage in which the first visitors 'explore' the area; followed by involvement stage, in which local people respond to the growing number of tourists and start providing facilities for visitors. Then the development stage starts in which the area becomes a well-defined tourist market area with a growing number of tourists. Also the

type of tourist will have changed by then, imported labour will be used and auxiliary facilities for the tourist industry appear. The fourth stage is the consolidation stage in which the increase in numbers of visitors will decline. A great part of the area's economy will be dependent on tourism by now. In the stagnation stage the maximum numbers of visitors will have been reached and capacity levels will have been reached. The area is well-known by now, but is no longer attracting new people. After that, the number of tourists can either decline, stay constant or increase again (Butler 1980:5-10).

Considering the perceptions of people, it is very important to realize that the tourism areas are not static. Therefore, there are also interview questions included in this research about the changes in Pipa, since the changes in the area may influence the perceptions of the tourism area at this moment.

2.4 Favourable conditions

Based on the literature discussed before, a pattern becomes visible of the favourable and less favourable conditions for tourism to be beneficial for the local population.

2.4.1 Locals for local development

The most important condition for tourism to be beneficial for the local community seems to be that the local population is involved, and even more preferable, only local people are involved in the tourism sector in their area (e.g. Bartholo et al. 2008; Scheyvens 2002). Also, using local products for tourism is a favourable condition, to keep the overhead costs low and minimize the leakages (Wall&Long 1996 in Scheyvens 2002:154). Being dependent on imported products, foreign investment and expatriate skills causes local people to miss out on the benefits of the tourism sector (Scheyvens 2002:145-146). So when the community is not dependent on foreign exchange, they might benefit from tourism themselves. Zhao and Ritchie (2008) also confirm this:

“The rationale for local participation is straightforward: if the poor, the targeted beneficiary, remain outside of the circle of the tourism economy, tourism means nothing or little to them. Specifically, local participation is believed to be able to create larger and balanced economic opportunities for the local poor, increase local tolerance and positive attitudes to tourism development, and facilitate the implementation of sustainable tourism (Tosun 2005)”

- Zhao and Ritchie 2007:126

2.4.2 Aim low or take time to prepare

Tourism plans generally recommend the development of a quality product which requires high quality services (Liu&Wall 2006:161). Because the local people often lack the required skills, expertise and capital for booming and luxury tourism (Liu&Wall 2006:162; Scheyvens 2002), involvement of local people - the first favourable condition - is often unrealistic. Scheyvens (2002) suggests developing countries to aim at low tourism. Backpacker tourism is more accessible for the poorer local communities; backpackers spend more and what they spend is more distributed over the country than the spending of luxury tourists, which makes 'lower' tourism more beneficial for local communities (Scheyvens 2002). This also became clear in a case study of community based tourism in Prainha do Canto Verde by Bartholo et al. (2008), where the tourism committee did not want the luxury tourism because that would lead to underemployment, reduced physical safety, prostitution and drug trafficking. Instead, they wanted a small-scale self-regulating community (Bartholo et al. 2008). Aiming low also leads to empowerment because it builds upon the skills of the local people, it promotes self-reliance and develops the confidence of community members in dealing with outsiders (Scheyvens 1999 in Scheyvens 2002:158).

So aiming low so that the local community can reach the required needs for the tourism sector and benefit from it is one way. Another way is to prepare for luxury tourism.

De Kadt (1979) states that if social impacts are important, local community interests are probably better promoted by slower development of widely dispersed, small-scale facilities, than by massive integrated and concentrated ones, because in small projects community members can more easily keep up and develop their interests (De Kadt 1979:42). Slower development will also give the community members the time to prepare. The government could organize some form of education or training to teach the local people new skills needed for them to get into a highly competitive labour market (Bartholo et al. 2008:109).

2.5 Personal well-being and community development

This research is about how the people of Pipa perceive the effects of tourism on their development. Within this research 'development' will first be defined by the people themselves: What they think is important for their personal development as well as the community development of Pipa will determine how and to what extent they think

tourism in Pipa contributes to this. So the concept 'development' will be looked at from the people's perspectives. However, to be able to compare the various opinions, ideas and definitions, people's perceptions will also be analysed in relation to predefined concepts of development: The concepts 'personal well-being' and 'community development'.

2.5.1 Personal well-being

There are various ideas of personal well-being and many different aspects people prioritize. To be able to analyse the various perceptions better, the concept of 'Development as Freedom' from Amartya Sen (1999) is also used as a definition for personal well-being. Personal well-being, based on Amartya Sen (1999) involves the processes that allow freedom of actions and decisions, as well as the actual opportunities that people have, given their personal and social circumstances (Sen 1999:17).

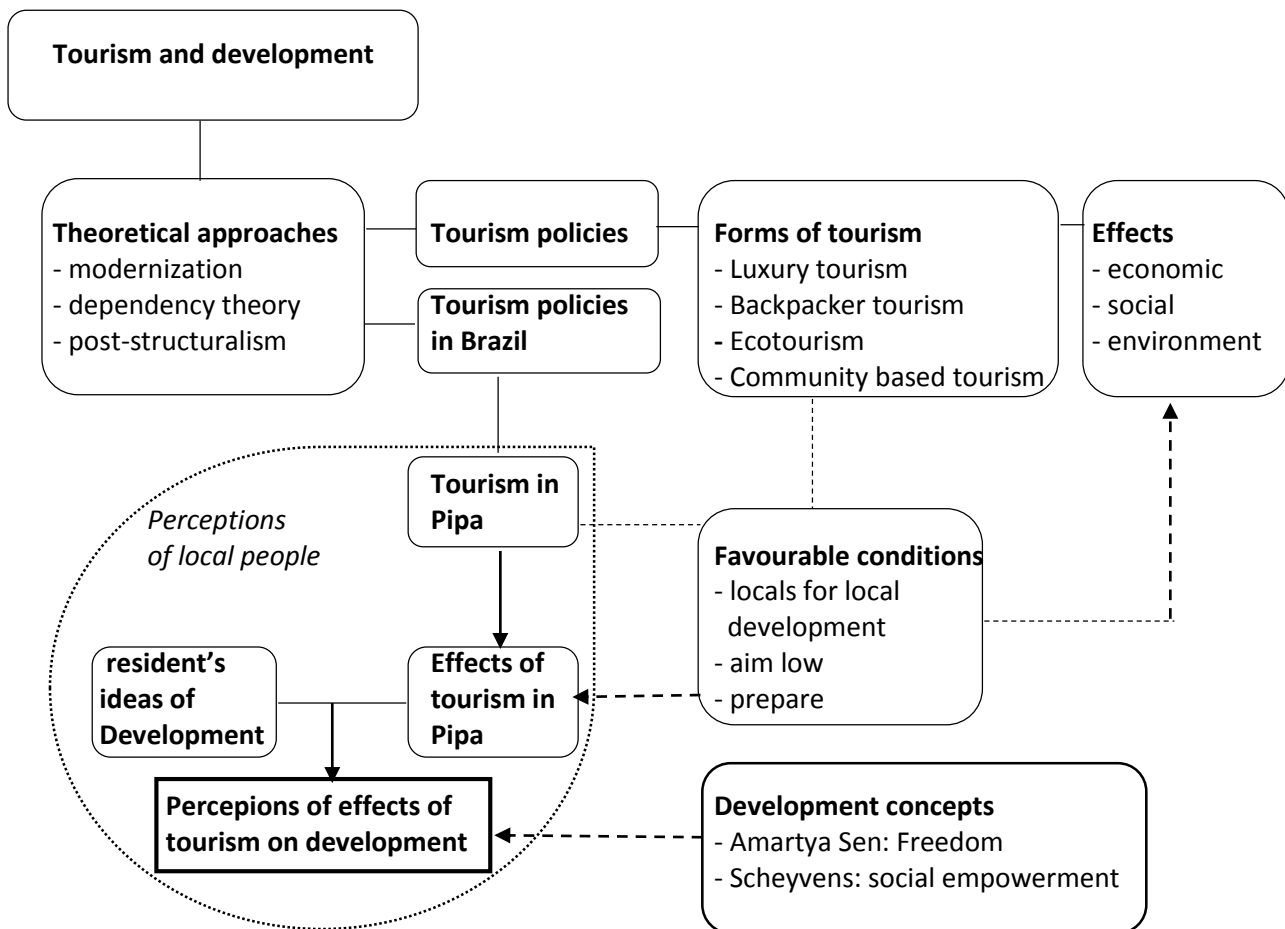
2.5.2 Community development

In this research the 'objective' definition of the concept 'community development' is based on Scheyvens' (1999) concept of social empowerment concerning ecotourism, taken from a broader perspective of tourism in general. Social empowerment is described by Scheyvens as

"A situation in which a community's sense of cohesion and integrity has been confirmed or strengthened by an activity such as ecotourism. Strong community groups, including youth groups, church groups and women's groups may be signs of an empowered community. Social empowerment is perhaps most clearly a result of ecotourism when profits from the tourism activity are used to fund social development projects, such as water supply systems or health clinics in the local area. On the other hand, social disempowerment may occur if tourist activity results in crime, begging, perceptions of crowding, displacement from traditional land, loss of authenticity or prostitution (Mansper 1993)." - Scheyvens 1999: 248.

So people's perceptions of the effects of tourism on their personal well-being and the community development will both be analysed in relation to their own ideas of these concepts as well as in relation to the concepts of personal well-being as freedom and community development as social empowerment.

2.6 Conceptual framework



This model visualizes the various concepts that are the focus of this research. This research can be situated within the tourism and development debate. There are various theoretical approaches to this debate, which have influenced the tourism policies in general, and in Brazil specifically. This created various forms of tourism, with economic, social and environmental effects. Favourable conditions for tourism to contribute to local development are discussed. Whether these favourable conditions are met or not within specific forms of tourism determine the effects. This is indicated by the dotted line that moves from forms of tourism through favourable conditions to effects.

From this theoretical framework we move to the specific case of this research. Tourism policies in Brazil influence tourism in Pipa. Tourism in Pipa may or may not have the favourable conditions that are discussed in the theoretical framework. This may influence the effects of tourism of Pipa on the local population. Therefore this is also indicated by a dotted arrow.

The focus of this research is tourism in Pipa and its effects from the local community's point of view, their ideas and perceptions about it. Therefore, these concepts are grouped together in a visualization of perceptions of local people (indicated by the dotted figure on the left). To analyse how Pipa residents perceive the effects of tourism on their personal well-being and community development of Pipa, their own ideas of these concepts are used. To be able to compare the various perceptions, predefined concepts of development are also used for the analysis. These are visible on the right hand side of the 'perceptions' figure and are connected by a dotted arrow since analysing people's perceptions in relation to these predefined concepts will have an influence on the analysis of the effects of tourism on the personal well-being and community development of Pipa and its residents.

The perceptions of tourism in Pipa and its effects on the one hand, and Pipa residents' ideas of development on the other hand, will lead to the perceptions of local people about the effects of tourism in Pipa on their development as they have defined it, which is the main research question. Also, the perceptions of tourism and its effects on the one hand, and the theoretical concepts of development on the other hand, will provide a more comparable analysis of residents' perceptions of the effects of tourism on personal well-being and community development.

3. Contextual framework

3.1 Tourism policies in Brazil

3.1.1 Former tourism policies in Brazil

As a result of investments in infrastructure and marketing campaigns encouraging the urban middle class to spend more on tourism within Brazil, a process of rapid development started in the 1970s along the Brazilian coast, mainly in the Northeast (Bartholo et al. 2008:107). This process led to investment modelled on the resorts and tourist villages of the major centres abroad (Rodrigues 2001 in Bartholo et al. 2008:107). During the 1980s attention rose for the connection between promoting tourism and protecting the environment, and in 1987 EMBRATUR launched a plan for ecotourism, but because of severe financial crises this did not take off immediately. Tourism was now seen as a promising approach for national development (Bartholo et al. 2008:107).

In 1992 EMBRATUR launched a national tourism plan that 'would promote regional development by developing poles of integrated tourism [...]in an effort to even out the geographic distribution of infrastructure (Bartholo et al. 2008:107-108). The only concrete result of this plan was the Programa de Ação para o Desenvolvimento do Turismo no Nordeste Brasileiro (PRODETUR-NE), with the aim to carry out basic infrastructure projects, but most of it went to areas considered appropriate for tourist development. This modernization of spaces to support tourist activities led to a territorial division between the coastal belt occupied by large enterprises and the areas for the established local communities (Bartholo et al. 2008:108). This project has had problems with financing; paid no attention to the local social disequilibrium; and environmental impacts were also very serious (Bartholo et al. 2008:108). Also, the local labour was not used in the construction of these projects, which worsened the regional imbalance in society even more, and also economically it was really hard for the local people to benefit from these large-scale establishments (Bartholo et al. 2008:109).

In 2005 tourism was seen as an economic sector with a social outcome through economic healing. These social outcomes were the reduction of regional and social inequalities; income generation and distribution; generation of employment and occupation; and level the balance of payments (MTUR 2003 in Silveira 2005:8). Within this policy, however, the attention was focused more on generating taxes than on social welfare (Silveira 20005:8).

It seems that Brazil is focusing on mass tourism, but package tours and charter flights tend to create enclaves instead of spreading development throughout the country, and since most of the charter and tour operators company are foreign multinationals, a great part of the money leaks out and the level of competitiveness of these companies limits the potential growth of local initiatives (Silveira 2005:9). Silveira (2005) also states that:

“A fast growth might mean that the country might need to import workforce or that the level of services might be poor. The concern here is about the need to create a domestic structure that can support the raise of tourism before an explosion of tourist arrival, and that preferably this growth happen smoothly.” - Silveira 2005:9.

3.1.2 Current national tourism policy

The most recent document about tourism policies in Brazil is the ‘plano nacional do turismo 2013-2016’ (Ministerio do Turismo 2013). The main goals for this period are to prepare the Brazilian tourism for the mega-events; increase the generation of foreign exchange and arrival; encourage Brazilians to travel through Brazil; and improve the quality and increase the competitiveness of Brazilian tourism. The actions that are indicated in this plan are getting to know the tourist, market and territory; structure the tourist destinations; improvement of touristic infrastructure; and the improvement of the signalling, accessibility and tourist service centres in cities where the world cup will be held; promote, regulate and qualify touristic services; promote touristic products; stimulate sustainability of the touristic activities; strengthen the decentralized management, partnerships and social participation; and promote the improvement of the legal environment (Ministério do Turismo 2013).

3.1.3 Brazilian tourism policies and favourable conditions

It is important to take these policies into account, because these policies can have a big impact on the potential effects of tourism for the local population. Based on the favourable conditions described in the theoretical framework, the former policies of Brazil as discussed by Silveira (2005) might have limited the potential possible effects of the local population: The local human resources were not used, and enclaves limit the money flows to specific areas, and limit the generated job opportunities for local people and their involvement in tourism, which is the most important favourable condition for tourism to be beneficial for the local community.

In the current national plan there does not seem to be much attention for the effects of tourism on the population. One potential beneficial action, based on the favourable conditions discussed before, is the strengthening of social participation. If this works out well, this could increase the benefits of tourism for the local community since involvement and participation are favourable conditions.

3.2 Pipa and its tourism sector

3.2.1 General information

Pipa is a district of the municipal Tibau do Sul in the state Rio Grande do Norte (RN), north-eastern Brazil (see appendix 1 for maps). Table 1 and figure 1 provide geographic and demographic data about the municipal Tibau do Sul (IBGE 2003; IBGE 2010; IBGE 2014a; IBGE 2014b).

Estimated population 2014	13.017
Population 2010	11.385
Territorial Area	101,822 km ²
Demographic density	111,81 residents/km ²
Employed (salaried) persons 2013	2.728
Total employed persons 2013	3.475
Average monthly salary 2013	1,6 minimum salaries
Poverty rate 2003	34,28 %
Relative poverty 2003	47,12 %
Gini 2003	0,41

Table 1. Geographic and demographic information Tibau do Sul¹

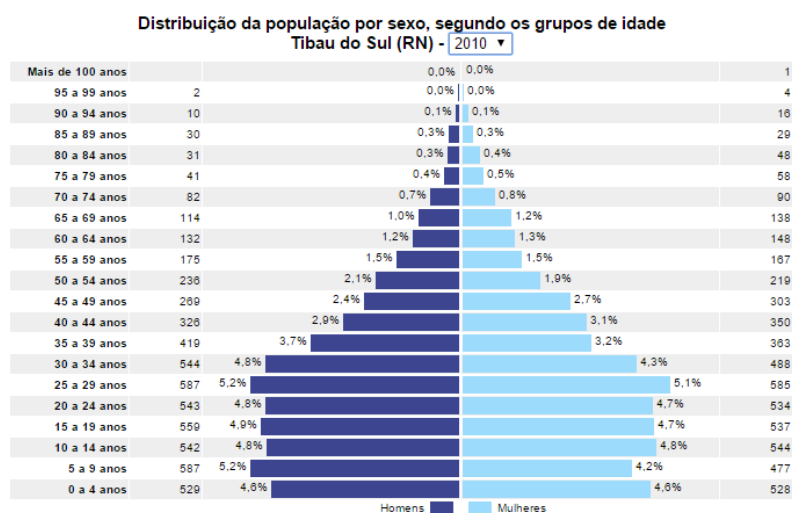


Figure 1. Population pyramid Tibau do Sul 2010

¹ All the data in this table comes from IBGE 2003; IBGE 2014a and IBGE 2014b.

Based on these data it can be stated that there is much unemployment in Tibau do Sul. Furthermore there is a poverty rate of 34,28 % and the Gini of 0,41 indicates some inequality. It is important to realise that these data are about the municipal Tibau do Sul as a whole. The data are expected to be different when only Pipa is taken into account, since residents of Pipa state that Pipa generates the majority of incomes for the municipal Tibau do Sul. Unfortunately there is no data available for Pipa only, since IBGE collects data per municipal.

3.2.2 Tourism in Pipa

Pipa started as a fishermen community, and since the last twenty years it has grown very quickly (dos Santos et al. 2010:2). Before the growth of tourism, people lived mainly from fishing and agriculture. People from ‘outside’, mainly Europeans, started their business in the tourism sector in Pipa and this created employment. So nowadays the majority of residents of Pipa is working in tourism (Native man, interview 20). Various types of tourists visit Pipa. According to the research conducted in Pipa by dos Santos et al. (2010), 48% was mass tourism; 18% business tourism; 18% urban tourism; 9% adventure tourism; 5% tourism for nature; and 2% cultural tourism (dos Santos et al. 2010: 22).

The most current data about the tourism sector in Tibau do Sul as a whole come from ‘Secretaria Municipal do Turismo’ from Tibau do Sul (Secretaria Municipal do Turismo 2015). Since Pipa is only a district of this municipal, the quantities are bigger than the quantities of the services in Pipa only, but this will give an idea of the size of the tourism sector of Tibau do Sul and Pipa.

Facility/service	Amount and details
Hosting modes	113 hosting modes <i>23 hotels, 65 pousadas, 6 condohotels, 10 hostels, 2 resorts, 2 flats, 5 camping parks</i>
Hosting capacity	2.104 apartments 5.920 beds
Food retail	154 establishments <i>restaurants, bars, lunchrooms, ice cream shops and beach restaurants</i>
Transport	74 taxis (32 in Pipa) 32 alternative transport between Pipa and Goianinha 1 Bus between Pipa and Natal 1 Minibus between Pipa and Natal 10 Motor taxis
Shops	116 shops <i>55 handicraft shops, 26 beachwear, 2 jewellery, 8 beauty salons, 8 shoe stores, 20 supermarkets</i>
Excursions	7 boat trips (4 in Pipa) 14 motor boats (6 in Pipa) 62 buggy tours 7 ‘pau de arara’ jeep tours

Employment	(Estimated) total: 2.767 employees <i>Hosting modes: 1.118 permanent employees, 142 temporary employees</i> <i>Food retail: 770 employees (estimated)</i> <i>Transport: 212 employees: taxi 148 and alternative transport 64 (all estimated)</i> <i>Shops: 351 employees (estimated)</i> <i>Excursions:</i> <i>174 employees : boat trips 105 and buggy and jeep tours 69 (all estimated)</i>
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Table 2. Tourism facilities and services in Tibau do Sul²

As is shown in the table, the tourism sector in Tibau do Sul is estimated to provide more than 2.500 jobs, a big part of the 3.475 employed people in Tibau (table 1). It is important to realize that some of these jobs are only temporary, as is specified for hosting employment. This has to do with the different tourism seasons during the year. The type and amount of tourists is not the same through the whole year. Interviewees perceive different periods as high or low season, but even in the 'low season' there are still tourists coming. So there is no moment in the year that there is no tourism. As a Brazilian man describes the seasons:

“From September till February are Holidays of Brazil [...] People from all places of the world, but even more from Brazil, from all places traveling here. January, February, March, April, until April it is Brazilian tourism and Argentinian tourism. May, June is low season, there are few people here. June and July are school holidays in Brazil, so there are many tourists here. Until August, which has a better climate of wind, a nice climate, so sometimes there are [tourists] sometimes there aren't. September is holiday [again]. It's tourism from all over the world and it starts in September. June, July, Holidays, Brazil, youth, families, they all come here. The elite, they come February, March. April and May. The Scandinavian, Swiss, Dutch, Fins, they come in July and August. Portuguese and Italian, they don't come anymore, that's it. Like I said, relative, they come or don't come, depends a lot on the dollar and euro.”

- Brazilian man who lives in Pipa for twelve years, interview 29.

3.2.3 Pipa's type of tourism and its place in Butler's Tourist Area Cycle

In the theoretical framework various forms of tourism and Butler's Tourist Area Cycle of Evolution are discussed. As mentioned in the theoretical framework the division of forms of tourism are only theoretical, and the stages of Butler's Tourist Area Cycle are also not clearly bounded, but to get an understanding of tourism in Pipa, this case will be placed within the forms of tourism and Butler's Tourist Area Cycle.

² All the information in this table –including estimations - is from Secretaria Municipal do Turismo 2015.

Pipa started as a fishermen village where the first tourists arrived twenty years ago. These were mainly surfers and backpackers. The amount of tourism facilities and tourists increased and from the start of this millennium until 2005-2009 the majority of the tourists were European. Nowadays the majority of the tourists are national tourists and tourists from other Latin American countries, and European tourism has decreased a lot, most probably as a result of the European Crisis. Interviews made clear that there is a general perception of the European tourists as respectful, rich, 'money spending' tourists who spend a long period of time in Pipa, and the current national tourists as disrespectful, low-budget tourists, who only spend weekends in Pipa. Because of the low budget element of the current tourists, Pipa's tourism could best be categorized as backpacker tourism. However, an important difference is that the national tourists in Pipa do not stay very long as opposed to backpackers. The European tourists could best be categorized as high value tourism. Even though the amount of European tourists decreased a lot, this form of tourism is still present nowadays. Furthermore, tourism in Pipa also contains elements of ecotourism, since nature is one of the most important elements of Pipa for tourism, and there are various projects to raise awareness about protection of the environment.

Relating the case of Pipa to Butler's (1980) theory, Pipa has passed the exploration stage – when the first surfers discovered Pipa. The involvement stage has passed, followed by the development stage in which the area becomes a well-defined tourist market area with a growing number of tourists. In the development stage the type of tourist will have changed, imported labour will be used and auxiliary facilities for the tourist industry appear (Butler 1980:5-10). The fourth stage – consolidation stage in which the increase in numbers of visitors will decline – may have started. Some people stated that there are not as much tourists as before anymore. However, there is no quantitative data to support this, only the perceptions of people. Also, the most likely reason for the decrease of European tourists is the European crisis, an external factor. So even if the increase in numbers of visitors is declining, this is probably not (only) a result of the tourism development in Pipa. The tourism sector still seems to grow. On the other hand, a great part of Pipa's economy depends on tourism –an aspect of the consolidation stage -. So Pipa seems to be between the development and consolidation stage.

4. Methodology

4.1 Research objectives

The goal of this research is to get an in-depth, qualitative understanding of the perceptions of the residents of Pipa of the effects of tourism on their personal well-being and community development of Pipa. Focusing on in-depth knowledge with a holistic perspective, it is tried to involve as many different 'kinds of Pipa residents' as possible. It is not assumed that this group will be statistically representative for the whole community of Pipa, but by involving as many different people as possible, this research tries to get an understanding of the various perceptions of residents about the effects of tourism on their personal well-being and community development.

4.2 Research questions

To get this understanding, the following research questions are being used:

4.2.1 Main question:

How do various residents of Pipa perceive tourism and its effects on their personal well-being and community development of Pipa?

4.2.2 Subquestions:

1. Who benefit from tourism in Pipa and who do not?

- Who work in the tourism sector of Pipa?
- In what other ways do people benefit financially from tourism?

To understand the perceived effects of tourism on development it is important to know who benefit directly (mainly economically) from tourism. Therefore one subquestion is about the people who work in the tourism sector of Pipa. The second question is about other ways people might benefit economically from tourism in Pipa, since directly working in tourism is not the only way to benefit from it.

2. How do the residents of Pipa experience tourism?

- What is their general perception of tourism?
- What do they think are positive effects of tourism?
- What do they think are negative effects of tourism?

- How have residents' perceptions of tourism changed over the last five years?
- How do residents think tourism will develop in the upcoming five years?
- How do residents hope tourism will develop in the upcoming five years?

This subquestion is important to get an understanding of the residents' general opinion about tourism, without linking it to development yet. The first three questions are about their perceptions of the current situation. During interviews people were also asked about the change in their perceptions in the last five years to get a better understanding of their relative opinion about tourism nowadays. By asking interviewees about their expectations and hopes of the tourism sector in the future, a better understanding is created of their opinions about the current aspects of tourism. When only being asked about the current situation people might be very optimistic about all aspects, whereas they might actually hope that some aspects will change in the upcoming future.

3. What aspects do residents of Pipa consider important for personal well-being?

This question is important to understand how people themselves would define personal well-being. To know how they think tourism has influenced their personal well-being, it is important to know how they define personal well-being. The way they define it determines the way they think tourism in Pipa has influenced it.

4. How do the residents of Pipa experience the effects of tourism on their personal well-being?

- How does tourism influence the aspects they think are important for personal well-being?
- How does tourism influence their freedom and opportunities (Development as freedom, Sen 1999)
- How do the effects of tourism as described by the residents influence 'Development as Freedom'?

To get an understanding of the way people perceive the effects of tourism as contributing to their personal well-being, the residents are asked about the effects of tourism on the aspects they think are important for personal well-being. This is done because this provides insight in the way they think tourism has influenced their personal well-being as they have defined it themselves.

As described in the theoretical framework there is also an 'objective' definition of personal well-being used to compare the various perceptions. Because freedom is an important aspect of this definition (Development as Freedom, Sen 1999) people are explicitly asked about the effects of tourism on their freedom and opportunities. For the third question, answers to earlier questions are also used to get an understanding of the effects of tourism on their freedom. The perceptions of effects of tourism – answers to the second subquestion - are linked to the concept of Development as Freedom to see how tourism in Pipa has influenced the 'Development as Freedom'. For example, when people answer the question about benefits of tourism by stating that economic benefits of tourism give them opportunities to study, they do not directly link tourism to freedom themselves. In the analysis these type of answers are linked to aspects of 'Development as Freedom' to get an understanding of the effects of tourism on the personal well-being of the residents of Pipa as defined by Amartya Sen (1999). So both people's direct answers to the question how tourism has influenced their freedom and opportunities as well as their answers to other questions, linked to freedom through analysis, provide an understanding of the effects of tourism on the 'Development as Freedom' (Sen 1999).

5. What aspects do residents of Pipa consider important for community development?

Just like personal well-being, community development also has to be defined by the residents themselves to understand the way they perceive the effects of tourism on the community development of Pipa. Therefore, people are asked what they think is important for community development.

6. How do the residents of Pipa experience the effects of tourism on community development?

- How does tourism influence the aspects they think are important for community development?
- How does tourism influence social cohesion? (Aspect of the Scheyvens' (1999) concept of 'social empowerment')?
- How do the effects mentioned by the residents influence the various aspects of social empowerment and social disempowerment, as defined by Scheyvens (1999)?

Comparable to the questions about personal well-being, the first question here is how the Pipa residents think tourism has influenced the aspects they think are important for

community development. The answers to this question will give an understanding of how people experience the influence of tourism on community development, as they have defined it themselves.

Because social cohesion is an important aspect of Scheyvens' (1999) concept of 'social empowerment' people are asked explicitly about the social cohesion in Pipa and the effects of tourism on this.

The last question will be answered by analysis. The perceptions of residents about tourism in Pipa and its effects will be analysed with attention for the various aspects of social empowerment and social disempowerment as defined by Scheyvens (1999).

4.3 Research design and methods used

4.3.1 Being there, hanging out and informal conversations

Being there, hanging out and informal conversations were used to get a first understanding of tourism in Pipa, people's opinions about it, and to find out what topics are important to involve in this research that weren't thought of before. These research methods also helped to get in contact with people and to build rapport. Hanging out and being there is done mainly on the main road of Pipa and the beaches - walking through the streets and on beaches, visiting various shops and street or beach vendors to have informal conversations, etc.

4.3.2 Exploratory surveys

During the first two weeks of this research 53 exploratory surveys were conducted (see Appendix 2). On the main street every fourth shop or restaurant was surveyed. If the fourth shop was closed, the fifth was chosen. In most shops there was only one person present. If there were more people, the first person seen in the shop or restaurant was selected. These surveys were mainly to get an idea of the people who are working in tourism and to get a first idea of the various ideas people have about tourism and its effects. These surveys also formed a first contact for potential in-depth interviews later on.

4.3.3 Open and semi-structured interviews

Through the exploratory surveys and snowball-method people were selected for open

and semi-structured interviews. Based on the surveys, informal conversations and interviews, the diversity of different 'types of people' related to tourism in Pipa – surf teachers, fishermen, native people, or Argentinian migrants for example – became clear. In the selection it was tried to get at least one interview with all the different 'types of people'. At the end of interviews the snowball-method was used by asking interviewees whether they knew one of these 'types of persons'. Eventually, a high variety of people is included in the interviews. However, it appeared to be very difficult to find a native person who does not benefit from tourism. According to many people, these people do not exist, since everyone in Pipa benefits from tourism. However, if there are native people who do not benefit from tourism, their perceptions could have been a very valuable contribution. Altogether 38 semi-structured and open interviews were used to get an in-depth understanding of people's perceptions of tourism and its effects on their development (see appendix 3 for the final version of the topic list used and appendix 4 for the overview of interviews). During the interviews people were reminded to the fact that the research is about their perceptions, so that there are no wrong answers, and that their opinion matters. During the first interviews conducted, people were also invited to talk about any topic they think is important. In this way not only the designed research questions were answered, but new ideas or interesting topics that weren't included yet are discussed as well. Every once in a while, after transcribing the interviews and reading them over, the topic list for the semi-structured and open interviews was complemented.

4.4 Analysis

The data gathered through surveys are analysed with SPSS to create frequency tables and diagrams. The transcribed interviews, as well as notes made during this research, are analysed with nVivo. Open coding was done manually, both in Brazil as back in the Netherlands, writing down all the various codes that could be useful. Afterwards, these codes were used to create clearly structured nodes in nVivo and all the interviews and notes were coded again, linking fragments of interviews to these created nodes. This helped to analyse all the data in a structural way.

4.5 Reflection on limitations

Originally it was planned to build rapport with people before conducting interviews to get

better in-depth interviews. However, time limits together with the desire to do interviews with as many different 'types of persons' as possible, made it hard to take the time to build rapport with every single person that would be interviewed. Also, sometimes it appeared very hard to actually conduct interviews with people who had agreed on doing an interview, so whenever I was able to conduct an interview I took the opportunity. As a result, there was no rapport built up beforehand with the majority of the interviewees. This might have had consequences for the answers given during the interview: There is a higher probability of socially desired answers and people might not be willing to give in-depth answers. It seemed that the majority of the people was very willing to talk about Pipa and its tourism, so this did not seem to be a problem. However, it has to be taken into account that some of the answers might have been socially desirable answers. The fact that a European woman comes all the way to Brazil to ask them about tourism might also influence their answers to more positive perceptions. Reflections on socially desirable answers will be discussed in more detail in the discussion.

The answers might also be influenced by the way the questions were asked. I tried to ask the questions as neutral as possible, asking people about what they thought of tourism and only specifically asking about positive or negative sides when they spoke about one type of effects only, for example. However, asking how people think the various aspects they thought are important for development are influenced by tourism, might suggest that it must have been influenced in some way. This might have made people relate various aspects that they actually do not see as related to each other. There were people who stated that aspects like education are not influenced by tourism, but it has to be kept in mind that the questions themselves might have steered people into a certain direction.

Another aspect that was expected to be a limitation was the Portuguese language. However, the language turned out not to be as limiting as expected. In fact, the fact that I - a Dutch woman who has only spent three months in Brazil - spoke Portuguese, seemed to be of positive influence. Even though my Portuguese was not perfect, people were very enthusiastic about the fact that it was my first time in Brazil and that I spoke Portuguese 'very well'. This might have made them more willing to do an interview since they noticed that I have invested in their language.

5. Tourism in Pipa

5.1 Who do benefit from tourism?

5.1.1 People involved in the tourism sector of Pipa

As described in the contextual framework Pipa is a district of the municipal Tibau do Sul. The tourism sector in Tibau do Sul is estimated to provide more than 2.500 jobs (table 2). As described in the theoretical framework, a favourable condition for tourism to contribute to development is the involvement of local people in the tourism sector. Therefore it is important to know who actually benefit from these employment opportunities. A survey is conducted at the main road - the touristic centre - of Pipa to see who are working in the tourism sector (see Appendix 5 for more detailed SPSS output).

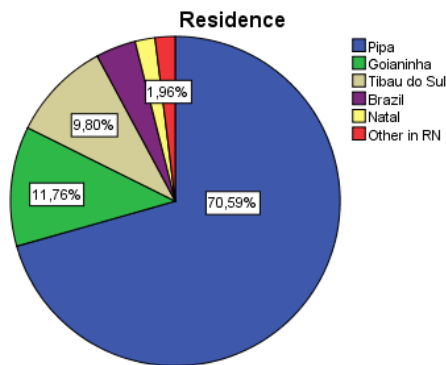


Figure 2. Residence of respondents

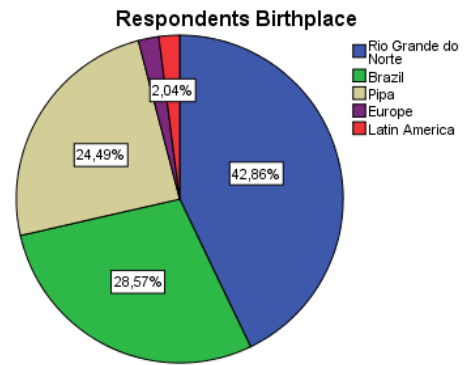


Figure 3. Birthplace of respondents

The survey made clear that the majority of the respondents lives in Pipa, followed by residents of Goianinha – a neighbouring village - and other areas in Tibau do Sul (figure 2). So not only residents of Pipa benefit from the employment created by the tourism sector. From the birthplaces of the respondents (figure 3) it can be concluded that 24,5% of the respondents is native, born in Pipa. The majority of the respondents is born in Rio Grande do Norte³ – 24,5% in Pipa and 42,9% in other places in RN -, followed by people born in other states of Brazil. Only 4% of the respondents is not born in Brazil, which is different from the idea of imported labour discussed in the literature.

³ A more detailed figure about the birthplace of respondents can be found in appendix 5.1.2a. In this figure the various villages of Rio Grande do Norte are taken together.

In the survey respondents were also asked to provide basic information about their colleagues to get a broader understanding of the people working in tourism⁴. Information about the 140 people that are used in the analysis - both respondents and their colleagues - provide an idea of the characteristics of people working in tourism.

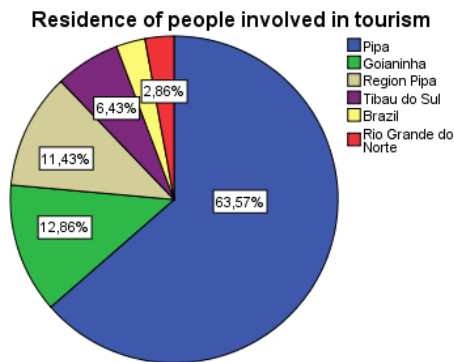


Figure 4. Residence of people involved in tourism

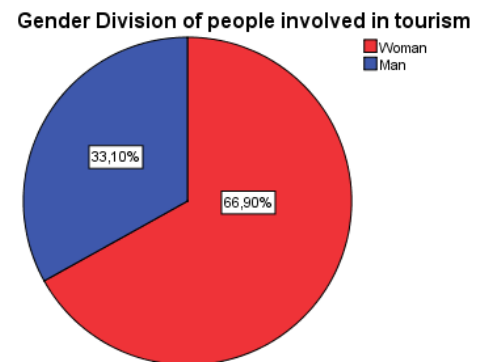


Figure 5. Gender division of people involved in tourism

Like the respondents, the majority of all people involved in tourism lives in Pipa (64,6%, figure 4). This percentage is a bit lower than the respondents living in Pipa (70,6%, figure 2), but in this figure there is an extra category 'Region Pipa', since some respondents knew their colleagues lived in the neighbourhood, but they did not know where exactly. So in total 75% lives in Pipa or region Pipa, 12,9% in Goianinha, and 6,4% in Tibau do Sul. So almost all people working in the tourism sector in Pipa live in Pipa and neighbouring villages. Concerning the gender division (figure 5) there is a clear majority of women working in the tourism sector. As is shown in the contextual framework (figure 1), the gender division in Tibau do Sul is quite equal, so this is a surprising outcome. It might be that there are more women working in shops – where most of the surveys were conducted – whereas there are more men working as surf teachers, tour guides or taxi drivers. Two tour operators are included in the survey, but these included only the people working in that 'shop', leaving out the people actually guiding the trips. Street and beach vendors are also not included in this survey, so this might also have biased the outcome towards a majority of women.

Echtner (1995) states that shortage of local labour causes that the high positions in tourism are filled by expatriates and the lower paying positions are left to the locals (Echtner 1995 in Liu&Wall 2006:161-162). However, contrary to this literature the

⁴ Limits of this survey question and how these limits are dealt with are discussed more in detail in appendix 5.2.

owners of shops and restaurants are both expatriates as well as natives from Pipa. In fact, only 10% of the owners is born outside Brazil and 42,5% is born in Rio Grande do Norte – 22,5% in Pipa and 20% in other places of RN (figure 7). So there are far less expatriates taking high positions in Pipa than is expected by the literature.

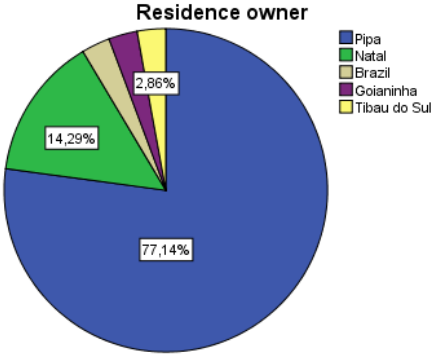


Figure 6. Residence of the owners

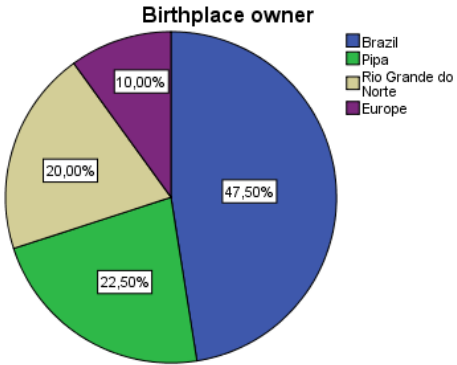


Figure 7. Birthplace of the owners

Also, contrary to what is described in the literature, the ‘foreigners’ who are working in the tourism sector do not cause leakage of the incomes since almost all of them have permanently migrated to Pipa and spend their money within Brazil.

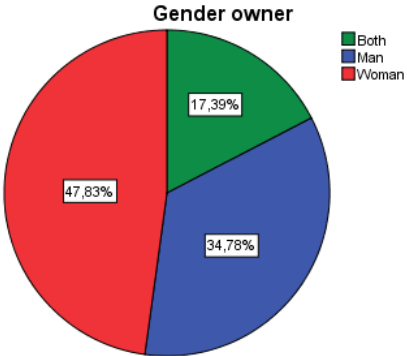


Figure 8. Gender division of owners

The gender division of the owners is slightly more equal than the gender division of all people involved in tourism. In this gender division the category ‘both’ is added because in some surveys the respondents specifically mentioned that the company where they worked was owned by a man and a woman together. So whereas in the tourism sector in general there is a majority -66,9%- of women, concerning owners 47,8% is female. This is still more than the male owners – 34,8%. So it can be concluded that also in the higher positions there is a majority of women.

5.1.2 Other ways to benefit from tourism

Except for directly working in tourism people also economically benefit by renting their houses and/or shops:

“We live from renting. There are various houses for rent, and many shops from my brothers are rented, besides the fishing, because my father fishes, so [we’re] still living from fishing. But fishing is secondary, it’s no longer the main income, more from my brother. [...] He has a more *tranquilo* day to day life now. This structure gives more stability by staying calmer, it’s not necessary to sell fish to pay the bills.” - Native fisherman, interview 28.

Furthermore, it’s not only the people who directly work in tourism or rent their houses who benefit economically from tourism. The families of these people also indirectly benefit from tourism:

“Tourism nowadays sustains 5000-6000 families here in Pipa. Not only in Pipa but in the city of Tibau do Sul, the whole region. It brought much employment, the people have conditions for a better life for their family, through tourism which created various posts of employment.”

- Native man from Pipa, interview 18.

This information is based on perceptions of Pipa residents only, on interviews in which the majority of the people stated that everybody in Pipa benefits in a way from tourism. So as is stated by many residents of Pipa, it seems to be the case that everyone in Pipa benefits from tourism, may it be directly or indirectly.

5.2 Perceptions about Pipa and its tourism

Everybody in Pipa seems to benefit directly or indirectly from tourism. But since this research is about people’s own perceptions about tourism and its effects on their development, it is also important to understand how they think about Pipa and its tourism in general. In general, life in Pipa is very calm and everybody seems to love the place:

“We enjoy the beach a lot. The beach has an opportunity to watch dolphins, close to you, we have the opportunity to see sea turtles, that’s a privilege right, very close. We have dunes, sunset, we have the area of tableland, the moon and the sun, very close everything, it’s very beautiful.”

- Native man of Pipa, interview 20.

“Here the quality of life.... We don’t have traffic jams, excess of cars and traffic, and there are no wanderers, there are no beggars, you don’t see that here, so this is quality of life. Maybe because this is a touristic city, and they want even the small jobs, so it brings employment to the poor people as well. It’s not necessary to stay on the street and ask for money.”

- Brazilian woman who lives in Pipa for three years, interview 4.

“I’ve never had the idea to leave Pipa [...] because this place is very much like a paradise, it’s a very beautiful place, not only for the beaches, the people are also very nice, attentive, and the violence here is not comparable to big cities like Natal, Recife, here it’s very *tranquilo*, there is no direct robbery or attacks. It’s a *tranquilo* place to live. It’s small but I grew up here and I don’t want to leave.” - Native man of Pipa, interview 18.

The place itself is perceived as beautiful and *tranquilo*, but tourism takes some of this *tranquilidade* away. As a European man states:

“We try to enjoy the good life, but with Semana Santa when there are so many people, I don’t go to the beach. I’m at home then, I rather go to the beach when there is nobody anymore, that’s the good side of Pipa.” - European man who lives in Pipa for fifteen years, interview 10.

5.2.1 Positive effects

When asked about tourism of Pipa people often started by indicating the positive side of tourism, employment and income being the most mentioned positive effect. Because of tourism there are more pousadas, restaurants etc. which creates employment.

Other benefits mentioned by more than ten interviewees is the exchange of cultures and knowledge, including language:

“[T]here are also cultural benefits, because people are living together with people from other states, countries, so everyone who comes here brings a bit, so this brings knowledge to the people from every place, every person, about the culture there, so in general this is very good, this exchange of ideas, experiences, and also in form of growth, of evolution, being in contact with people and conditions of being able to observe, that brings ideas. Here in our business, we get many ideas from our customers, so these are very big benefits. It’s not only economic, but also experience of exchange of ideas.” - Native woman, interview 20.

A concrete example of this exchange of knowledge was given by a saleswoman. She and her aunt learnt photography techniques from a tourist and now they are also using this for their job (Interview 7). A European woman explicitly stated that it's not only natives learning from foreigners and tourists, but also the other way around:

"I think it's a big exchange, not a learning, but an exchange. Exchange of culture is always good for both sides. When you go to another country you learn things, it's a big cultural exchange. I think for the *nativos* it's good to have access to people from over the world, it is good for both sides I think." - European woman, interview 21.

Because of tourism people come into contact with different languages and some people state that it's even necessary to learn these languages to offer a good tourist service. This benefit of tourism is explicitly mentioned by seven people. When other people were asked about it they stated that people of Pipa are indeed more in contact with different languages and that there are opportunities to learn it. These perceptions of exchange are in line with what Scheyvens (2002) states: Tourism may lead to people having access to other languages and cultures and could enhance empowerment (Scheyvens 2002). To what extent people have actually learnt these languages will be discussed in chapter 7.

5.2.2 Negative effects

The big influx of tourists also brings negative effects to Pipa, like robberies, sex tourism, drugs and alcohol. Especially drugs are mentioned a lot, including comments about children trafficking drugs.

"Life in Pipa is very complicated, because tourism also has a dark side, many tourists practice sex tourism, drugs, that's very bad for the place, so people try to stay away from that. But we know all people because it's small, but these bad people are more [around] at night"
- European woman, interview 11.

Almost everyone thinks the robberies are happening more because there are more people with money in the area. The perceptions of the cause of the other problems is varied. Some state that the tourists have brought the drugs, others state that there were already drugs and it's increased by the higher demand of the tourists and by locals offering the drugs.

A Brazilian man stated that it is happening because it is the easiest way to money. About sex tourism he said:

“In Pipa yes, for sure, in whole Rio Grande do Norte, in whole Brazil. European people look a lot for that in Brazil, here in Pipa it’s not any different. It’s not very good, they look for quick money, don’t study, they look for money for drugs, don’t study, they go for easy money.

The government doesn’t do anything, the *prefeitura* does provide an environment for this, for example the square of Pipa, there are only people drinking, there lacks infrastructure to get the children of the street during the night.” - Brazilian man, interview 11.

The majority of the people finalized by stating that the problems around drugs actually aren’t that big, especially not in comparison with other Brazilian cities. However, in 18 out of 38 interviews people started about it, so whether or not it is a big problem compared to other cities in Brazil, it is very present in people’s perceptions about tourism in Pipa. During the three months of this research it only happened once that someone offered me drugs. But some people explained that it is not visible for people who don’t look for it, but if you would look for it, you would definitely find it.

Another negative effect, mentioned in 12 interviews, is the fact that everything in Pipa has become more expensive. Because of tourism there are ‘tourist prices’ now, so everything is more expensive for the residents as well. Many residents go to neighbouring villages to do their groceries because that’s cheaper than in Pipa.

Some shops have ‘*nativo* prices’ or ‘local prices’ for people who live in Pipa. My neighbour –who lives in Pipa- ordered an ice lolly of seven real. She gave seven real to the saleswoman and that woman returned one real to her. My neighbour looked confused and the saleswoman explained ‘you live here, right? Then it’s only six real’. Also in another ice cream shop I ordered ice cream which was indicated for eleven real on the pricelist, and I only had to pay six real. They did not ask whether I was local or not, they probably assumed it because I have been there more often to do a survey and interview.

When residents were asked about ‘*nativo* prices’ some people stated that this didn’t exist. Maybe people get a discount when they know the owner, but double prices don’t exist according to them. But a native man explained that there are indeed ‘tourist prices’ and ‘*nativo* prices’. He thinks that the prices should be equal because now the tourists are being exploited and they won’t come to Pipa anymore (Interview 18).

The reasons given for different prices vary. According to the same native man the tourists are exploited simply because they have the money to pay these high prices whereas natives can't pay it. According to a surf teacher it's not only a matter of being local, but also a form of reciprocity:

"Many times people who are considered locals or people who work here pay much cheaper, yes, they have discount, people who don't spend what the tourists spend. These are people who know tourists and bring tourists to this place, so for them it's not only a form of living here and paying less, it's a form of work and gain money from the tourists, but also because you will give information to people where you can go [buy], so not only because they live here or work here, but because they bring people to their business" - Brazilian man, interview 34.

There are both positive and negative effects of tourism in Pipa, but in general people are positive about it.

5.3 The change of tourist public in Pipa

While discussing various effects of tourism and changes in perceptions over time it soon became clear that there has been a general change of public in Pipa with various consequences.

The types of tourists vary every year and during the year, as a consequence of various factors like external and internal economies, travel agencies that start or stop organizing trips to Pipa etc. However, these are just small variations compared to the general change of public that 27 interviewees described. From the beginning of tourism around the start of this millennium until 2005-2009 the majority of the public was European. The percentages given by interviewees vary from 60% to 90% of the public being European tourists and the rest being national tourists. Nowadays it's practically the other way around, there are much less European tourists and much more national and Latin American tourists.

The main reason given for this by the interviewees is the European crisis, leading to a decrease of European tourists coming to Pipa. They also stated that the growing middle class of Brazil together with a higher variety of touristic facilities in Pipa leads to an increase of national tourists.

“I think that the tourists that came before maybe respected more, valued more the beaches, the nature. I think, I don’t know for sure, but maybe it was a better tourist, more money, they spent more. But also nowadays there are more options every day here for hosting, restaurants, so earlier all the people that came had more money, but now the tourists have more options, more competition, it’s more divided.” – Argentinian woman, interview 12.

Except for the country of residence this change of public is also a change of types of tourists. In general the Europeans are perceived as tourists who mainly travel with families, spend and invest money, are respectful and interested in the nature and culture of the place. Europeans often spent more time in Pipa and enjoyed the day life, including the nature, the beaches, having dinner in restaurants etc. Furthermore, the Europeans were also the ‘tourists’ who came to start a business in Pipa and in that way invested in the place as well. The current tourists on the other hand are described as the Brazilian or Latin American youth who come to Pipa for a short period of time, don’t have respect for the place, only come for the nightlife of Pipa, often bring their own food and drinks and thus don’t make use of the ‘daytime tourist facilities’ such as restaurants. The consequences of this change is both economic and social. In economic terms the European tourism was much more beneficial according to most interviewees since they spent more money and stayed longer. On social level the current type of tourism has more negative consequences. There is annoyance by the residents because of the nuisance and lack of respect for the place. The current tourists pollute more, have loud music, are more involved in the night life with drugs and alcohol. This change of types of tourists has various consequences:

“The biggest consequence there is in relation to money, investment, there was a tourism with high potential for investments in food and drinks. People really come to stay in the place, enjoy, walk, explore the place. And nowadays there is another tourism that only comes to enjoy, to drink, and normally the people that come, already bring their drinks, so the people don’t have the money that there used to be before. So international tourists really came to explore Pipa, to get to know, to walk, to surf, etcetera and do activities here in Pipa. The local tourism now, that only comes to enjoy the weekend, at most they spend money in bars, a bit in restaurants, but it’s not a potential like there was before with the international tourism that really came with disposal of money to invest in the place.” - Man from the Pipa region, interview 26.

“They [the Europeans] accustom more to the city, bring better things to the city, bring another, better public, the others come here for two days, leave their trash, almost don’t consume anything, so that doesn’t bring much economy. It’s more predatory, they don’t have much feeling with the place. People who stay longer like to get to know the place, they come back, they spend fifteen days here and make friends, [the others] come here two days and leave again, leaving trash on the beach, they bring their own food, they don’t create development, this quantity doesn’t create development. If you now talk with everyone, everyone will complain. Before it didn’t use to be like that. Before everything was better, a lot has changed.”

- Brazilian man who lives in Pipa for 17 years, interview 33.

When being asked about the future some people even stated they hoped that the European tourist would return since that was a ‘better tourists’. Of course this is a general division with exceptions as well. As explained by a Brazilian woman:

“It’s not all of them, just a part, that sometimes misses education. There are great tourists that became our friends. I still have a lot of friends in Holland as well with whom I have contact through Facebook. Wonderful. And people from all over the world and Brazil. [But] unfortunately some don’t have respect for any place, so this is sad.” - Brazilian woman, interview 4.

So there has been a big change in the last few years from European tourists to Latin American tourists. The focus of the tourist sector has shifted from international tourism to national tourism to make as much profit as possible from the tourists that come. However, in general the European tourists were perceived as ‘better tourists’ and the current tourism is perceived as more negative.

5.4 The importance of tourism

Even though tourism now is perceived as more negative than before and tourism in general might have negative consequences, the people in Pipa seem to depend on tourism so much that they accept these negative things. There are residents who deliberately conceal the negative events. A European woman told about an occurrence in a restaurant. She was having dinner when her friend told her about a robbery earlier. The owner of that restaurant immediately told her friend to stop talking about it because costumers might hear it. According to the woman he did this because it would be bad for tourism in Pipa if tourists come to know about the problems. This indicates the importance of tourism for

Pipa residents: Even though tourism has negative consequences the owner still wants to maintain it. The dependency on tourism also becomes clear from the first thing quite some residents indicate as a disadvantage of tourism: “The low season, because then there are only a few tourists”.

“We all benefit from it because it’s the main part of our economy, we live from tourism” is a frequent given answer to the question about benefits of tourism. As shown in the contextual framework, the tourism sector is estimated to provide more than 2.500 jobs and there are 3.475 people employed. So concerning jobs, residents of Tibau do Sul depend a lot on the tourism sector to get a job. A native waiter of a restaurant who spoke about his plans to do a study for tourism seemed willing to do a study because he loves working in tourism so much. Later on in the interview it became clear that it is more a matter of possibilities than of preference:

“You said you liked working in tourism, why do you like it?”

“Actually, really, people here don’t have many options, people live from tourism. For example there are no fabrics or big companies or that people could work in car fabrics, cloths fabrics, that doesn’t exist here. Only tourism. If there were other options logically one could choose something else but there are no other options. “

“So it’s not what you really like but it’s the only option?”

“The only option, indeed.”

- Native man, interview 18.

The importance of tourism also becomes clear when people are asked about needed improvements for Pipa. They often indicate ways in which Pipa should improve *for the tourists*. When asked further about it they often said that it’s indeed also important for the residents, but the general idea is that improvements should be made for the tourists so that more tourists will come, because the more tourists the more development or improvement for the residents of Pipa.

“More structure, when Pipa started [...], there was no structure for so many people, not so many pousadas etcetera”

“Does this have to change for tourism or for Pipa?”

“For tourism and for Pipa, but we live from tourism here, so it’s also for Pipa.”

- European woman, interview 21.

“I think education and hygiene of the place. Not throwing waste on the beaches, on the streets. And treat the tourists that come here with as much education as possible. Because it only develops when they come, if they wouldn’t come, there is no development. It used to be a fishermen village, you know.” -Brazilian man, interview 14.

“[Preservation of the nature is important] for the community development, because the more it stays intact, the more people will come and bring resources, which will bring more financial *tranquilidade* for the people.”- Native fisherman, interview 28.

So facilities like education and infrastructure should improve, and nature must be preserved for the tourists. A Brazilian man also saw knowledge as beneficial because of its contribution to the tourism sector more than because of its intrinsic value:

“Because if you have less knowledge, less tourists will come. The more knowledge you have, the more tourists will come.”

“So to have more knowledge is to receive more tourists?”

“Yes.”

“But not for the development of Pipa in itself?”

“No, one depends on the other. To develop you need tourism, because tourism brings economy, here they live from tourism.”

- Brazilian man, interview 14.

So even though tourism in Pipa might have some negative sides the overall perceptions are positive. This might mean that people actually perceive tourism as positive, but it could also mean that they’re so dependent of the tourism sector that they conceal the negative sides more. However, even if the last situation is the case, tourism seems to bring so much benefits that they are willing to conceal or accept the negative sides as well. So tourism in Pipa is perceived as positive and important for Pipa. Even though the majority prefers the European tourism, the domestic tourism still seems to bring more advantages than disadvantages.

6. Personal well-being

6.1 Personal well-being defined by residents

To understand how the residents of Pipa perceive the effects of tourism on their personal well-being it is important to know what they, themselves, think is important for personal well-being. There are variations in the answers given but the majority - twenty interviewees - described personal well-being as *tranquilidade*, or an aspect of *tranquilidade*.

Tranquilidade is tranquility in the broadest meaning. It includes calmness meaning not being crowded; it includes tranquility as an approach to life, not rushing, no stress; it includes stability since this reduces stress; and it includes living in a good environment, both physical as well as social. This concept is so broadly used, so to keep the original meaning of the concept, it will not be translated in English. It is difficult to understand the complete concept of *tranquilidade*, but the following quotes will illustrate it more:

“A simple life, good quality of life. Rhythm, a *tranquilo*, simple life, I cannot live in a big city anymore, Pipa is small, I like it, I don't have pleasure anymore in a big city, it doesn't attract me anymore.” - Brazilian man, interview 33.

“I think that's quality of life, health, that's part of quality of life, and *tranquilidade*, that you can live in peace, that you can live really quietly, that's very important for my personal development. Health, *tranquilidade*, do what makes you happy, being in a clean environment, a pleasant environment.” - Brazilian woman, interview 4.

The emphasis on *tranquilidade* in this research is probably a result of the fact that many people specifically moved to Pipa for this *tranquilidade*.

“[B]eing happy, have more leisure time actually, it sounds strange, but we actually specifically came here to have a more relaxed life. So my personal life has become more important than my career. It used to be about my career, but now we try [...] to live towards more leisure time and being relaxed, not being in the rush of [Europe].”- European woman, interview 14.

Even though the majority of the native population also values *tranquilidade*, the current population of Pipa is also partly a 'selection' of people who prefer *tranquilidade*, since it is

a reason to move to Pipa. This might explain the strong emphasis on *tranquilidade* in the results of this research. However, the focus of this research is the perceptions of the current residents of Pipa, so even though it might be a result of 'selection', in the current perceptions, *tranquilidade* is one of the most important aspects of personal well-being.

Other important aspects mentioned are health - including both health care as well as a healthy diet and lifestyle - and safety. Furthermore income is also important for personal well-being. All these aspects could also be seen as elements of *tranquilidade*. Therefore the various ideas of personal well-being will be summarized within this one concept as the definition Pipa residents would give for personal well-being: *Tranquilidade*.

6.2 Effects on personal well-being

The two aspects of personal well-being that are most effected by tourism are income and *tranquilidade*. As described in the previous chapter income is positively influenced because tourism has brought more employment and income through rent. And employment and income in its turn increase *tranquilidade*.

6.2.1 Employment

"I think well-being is feeling well, so the way tourism contributes is by stability, you know that there will be a flux of people that will help in some way to maintain your work. So from day to day you work, and you live from that and they will contribute to that. So this influences a fixed [certainty], knowing that you will always have water [...] that gives comfort. Because if it wouldn't be, it would be quite complicated, fishing and looking for work in neighbouring cities, so tourism in a way brings *tranquilidade* that at a certain point you will have a sufficient flux to be able to survive without necessarily leaving." - Native fisherman, interview 28.

As explained in the contextual framework employment might be temporary because of the seasonal character of tourism. However, even in low season there are still tourists. And as illustrated by this quote, there is a form of certainty that there will be enough tourists again at a certain point. So even though there are different seasons, tourism in general provides stability and is therefore beneficial for *tranquilidade*.

Except for income, the jobs themselves also influence people's personal well-being positively because it keeps them busy, and some people specifically find personal well-being through the job they have:

“Exactly the moment that I can [work], my mind active and my body painting, producing. I’m always busy, right, this is a contribution to health. If you stand still without working, without thinking, sadness and illness come very fast [...]” - Brazilian female artist, interview 4.

6.2.2 Tranquilidade

The influence of tourism on *tranquilidade* is more diverse. On the one hand tourism increases *tranquilidade* through financial stability, but on the other hand there is less *tranquilidade* because people have to work more and the place gets crowded.

Sometimes *tranquilidade* is also influenced negatively by the behaviour of tourists. Especially the change of public as described before has effects on the influence of tourism on personal well-being. Some people state that the ‘good’ tourists do not have much influence on their personal well-being, but the tourists who don’t have respect for the place make them restless which is bad for their personal well-being.

“There are two sides. The European tourism doesn’t influence [my well-being negatively] because they are more respectful. And they love the nature, they come here, already knowing the objective of tourism, they come here because they want to see dolphins and because they love the beach. The tourism more local, of the region, they don’t come for this, they come to [...] make noise, these things [...] The regional tourism is bad for my well-being, the European tourism isn’t.”

- Native man, interview 13.

So tourism seems to have a negative influence on the *tranquilidade* in the sense of calmness, not being crowded. However, people still go to Pipa for *tranquilidade*. By elaborating more on *tranquilidade* in Pipa in various interviews it became clear that it’s often the place itself that is good for peoples *tranquilidade*, and tourism is mainly positive for personal well-being through economic benefits.

6.2.3 Consumption

Another way tourism influences people’s well-being positively is through the increase in products available. Together with the higher income and the increasing supply, because of influences of the whole world, people are able to consume more varied and try out products from different countries.

“I benefit from the improvements of tourism. We have more opportunities to get to know different cuisines, because there are various restaurants. Having dinner there, not always, but people now have the opportunity and also an income that is a bit better, so people could enjoy these things [...] People also benefit from shows that we didn’t have, but because of the coming of tourists they now organize shows.”- Native woman, interview 2.

So in general the benefits for personal well-being are mainly financial benefits and the cultural exchange as described in the previous chapter. For the *tranquilidade* in the sense of not being crowded tourism can be seen as challenging, but because of the financial benefits tourism in general is seen as beneficial for *tranquilidade*. Furthermore there is more choice in consumption. People also state that learning things from tourism benefits their well-being. Because education in general is mentioned more as important aspect of community development, this will be discussed in more detail in chapter 7.

6.3 *Tranquilidade* and Freedom

As explained in the theoretical framework the effects of tourism on personal well-being are also analysed using the concept of ‘Development as Freedom’ by Amartya Sen (1999). This involves the processes that allow freedom of actions and decisions, as well as the actual opportunities that people have, given their personal and social circumstances (Sen 1999:17). It becomes clear that most residents of Pipa have more freedom as a result of tourism. Through tourism, by the contact with people from other countries, the attitudes towards education are changed making people more willing to study. Education in its turn can improve the freedom. As is explained by a local fisherman “[People who have studied] have more independence, more freedom, they are able to choose better, they have knowledge to choose better, to decide better” (Interview 28). Besides education the employment opportunities also seem to increase as a result of tourism:

“Through tourism people have opportunity to study, try to do faculty, it’s a difficult combination work and study, not everyone succeeds in this, but if you dedicate a bit. [Through tourism I have] various options [...] work, study, for example, through tourism, I think one day I will be able to have an own business for myself, because I have a bit experience, so I can try to have my own thing. I could be an employer, tourism brought the opportunity for this a bit.

- Native man, interview 18.

People also have more opportunities to try new things, like the different shows and restaurants as described before. The increased consumption choices also provide more freedom. Where people's diet used to depend on fishing and agriculture, they now have a broader choice of products. There are still fishermen, so fish is still available. Agriculture, however, has decreased a lot. But many people who used to work in agriculture are now working in tourism (Interview 28). So overall the freedom in consumption seems to be improved.

Residents of Pipa also have the opportunity to travel now. According to a European woman "[tourism] changed the quality of life in economic sense, people have more money and are able to do other things, travel etcetera" (Interview 21) . There are some people who have travelled as a result of tourism but this seems to be the minority.

"No, no, I don't travel. I rarely travel. I make short trips, to Natal, but I travelled, I lived in Rio de Janeiro for five years, I travelled to Fortaleza, Recife and Salvador, like I told to other countries. But in Brazil people don't have much costume to travel, not all have the habit to travel, rarely a Brazilian travels, it's not a habit. [...] The people themselves that live here don't have the economic conditions to go to Europe or other countries." – Native man, interview 18.

From the seven people who have discussed traveling, there are some people who do travel, even various times a year, but these are mainly non-natives. The natives in general only travel along the coast. It is hard to base a conclusion on these seven people, but since the main focus of this thesis is the perceptions of people, the fact that people have the idea that they have more possibilities to travel is already interesting.

The small amount of natives traveling might also be explained by a point of view a native fisherman explained. He did not like to travel because he would only miss Pipa. Also, when a native student was asked about the possibilities to travel to Natal, his first response was "Why would you go to Natal? People from Natal come to Pipa for a holiday". So it could be that they indeed have more opportunities and more freedom to travel, but they simply prefer to stay in Pipa. If that is the case, their freedom concerning traveling has increased.

Focusing on the perceived increased opportunities in relation to studies, employment, business opportunities, consumption and travelling, it can be concluded that tourism in Pipa is beneficial for the personal well-being of the residents as defined by Sen (1999).

7. Community development

7.1 Community development defined by residents

Just like personal well-being, to know how people perceive the effects of tourism on their community development it is important to know what aspects people think are important for community development. The answers to this question were more varied than for personal well-being,

The aspects that were mentioned by far the most were health care (16 interviewees) and education (by 19 interviewees). Education is meant in the broad sense of the word including public schools but also the preparation for tourism and education about ecology and waste management.

“I think for Pipa to evolve more, grow more, the people who live here should be prepared like... Learn to communicate, there are visitors of the whole world and here, there is a communication where the people that live here don't have any preparation to receive these people. So I think there should be information for tourism that is coming, that want to get to know the place.”

- Man from region Pipa, interview 26.

Education is seen as the basis of everything, all the necessary improvements start with education:

“I think, like many other cities here in Brazil, more education is needed. Basic education, but also education about the environment, about traffic, sound volume, all education. Because the volume of sounds, I sometimes can hear it all the way in my house, and a lot of people are complaining about that. So I think to develop any city, any community, I think education is the basics. To form a basis about the right way to behave.” - Brazilian woman, interview 4.

Furthermore infrastructure was mentioned a lot. An important aspect is the cleaning of the city and placing more trash cans so people will not throw the waste on the ground anymore. Also important are public services and “banks, there are only three banks here, there is missing a lot, transport. Public transport, it's still a bit [weak]” (Brazilian man, interview 1). The roads also have to be improved according to many residents because the streets are very narrow and the quality of the main road is weak. “The bricks are

placed so far apart, it only takes one rain shower before it will fall apart, and it's not even two years old, this main road" (European woman, interview 19).

Other important aspects for community development are safety, preservation of nature and more activities for children. And last, there were also four people who defined improvement in the politics as the first important step in community development. As a European man who lives in Pipa for eight years stated "[What is important for community development] is a big question, I think that it is questioning the complete political system of Brazil" (European man, interview 30). Also, a Brazilian surf teacher who lives in Pipa for thirteen years states that the government should be "[...]more present in the projects for the city. Really everybody pays taxes here, nobody knows where the money goes" (Brazilian man, interview 34). The following quote also illustrates the importance people give to improvement of the political situation.

"Here in Brazil, for the community development is to change the government, political. Because the community wants development, but the government here is corrupt as well and block development." - Native man, interview 13.

When elaborating on the other aspects mentioned by people even more people stated that improvements of these aspects depend on the government. This will be discussed more in the paragraph 7.3.

7.2 The current situation and effects on community development

Because education and health care were by far perceived as the two most important aspects of community development by the residents of Pipa, this paragraph will be about the effects of tourism on these two aspects. For the other aspects that were mentioned as important for community development - including infrastructure, and preservation of nature - as well as for education and health care, the general vision by residents is that tourism can improve these aspects through more income and taxes if the government is willing to invest in these sectors. The two most important aspects, education and health care, are also influenced in other ways by tourism.

7.2.1 Education

Education is seen as a very important aspect of community development.

In Pipa there are only primary schools. For the 'second degree' they have to go to Tibau do Sul and for the university they have to go all the way to Natal, which is around 100 kilometer from Pipa and very expensive. On the primary public schools in Pipa children only go to school for four or five hours a day, of which some hours fall or are filled with activities like music or sports. And also during the year they do not have much classes because schools don't function during the many holidays in Brazil (Native man, interview 13).

Besides the low quantity of the public education in Pipa the quality is also perceived very low. A European man told about the time he had been giving his son's class mates English classes, and when they were reading the English texts out loud they were halting a lot. He made them read Portuguese texts and they had the same difficulty. This man stated "They don't learn anything here, they hardly learn how to read and write [...] These boys just cannot read, he is twelve years old and he passed for school every time" (European man, interview 30).

7.2.1a Private Schools

An alternative for public schools are private schools where the level of education is higher.

"[Public schools are] five hours at most. And on public schools you must be lucky, you should have five hours a day, but sometimes the teachers do not show up, so sometimes they only have class one or two hour a day, and what kind of class, that level is horrible. If you want a decent level you have to send them to a private school." - European man, interview 30.

These private schools are seen as an improvement of education as a result of tourism. Because of tourism many migrants came to Pipa and since they wanted to have the best education for their children they started private schools. "[A]s people from outside came, the things started to improve. For example the first private college was created by two foreigners and a Brazilian" (Brazilian man, interview 34). There is a big difference between the level of public schools and private schools, but private schools are much more expensive:

“The children of the private schools are not equal to the public school[...] Public schools have many times that there are no classes, private schools continue, and when public schools continue [...], there are holidays without replacement of the classes [...] So everybody tries to put their children in private schools to study better without stopping [...] It’s much more expensive but it’s worth it [but] not everyone can afford it.” - Brazilian man, interview 34.

The fact that not everyone can afford it is very important. This might cause more inequality since only the ‘richer’ children can go to private schools, whereas the other children go to lower-level public schools. Since education is seen as the basis, this might increase inequality. So this effect of tourism is only beneficial for a part of the population.

7.2.1b Attitude

Another influence of tourism on education is people’s attitude towards it. Some people state that the older native population of Pipa has a low education level and are not very open to exchange of knowledge. They did not have a very wide worldview, they only seemed to know Pipa and the neighboring villages. This lack of knowledge has big consequences. An example is given by a quote of Brazilian woman about locals who have sold their houses to have a short-term gain:

“I think, in my opinion, some natives, and I don’t want to say all, but some natives, they have for example commercial points where they undo...how am I going to say this.. their attitudes, they sold everything to the people from outside, and afterwards they don’t have a good stability to ... Like this, they sell everything, they want to live, they want the money, then they stop, and then all together don’t have a vision to improve the future, and afterwards they work for other persons, earning quite little, let’s say, this is my point of view, they have attitudes here that, I think should be more secure, invest, and do business to grow.” – Brazilian woman, interview 8.

A possible reason for the closed attitude of natives is given by a European woman who lives in Pipa for 10 years. “Incomprehension, it’s incomprehension [...] Maybe they want to, but they just can’t. I think it’s comprehension” (European woman, interview 19). However, through tourism and the media the youth has a better understanding of the wider world. This led to a change in attitude of the local people:

“Mainly the young people, right, they are easier in accepting things, the youth lives already in a more open world, they have more freedom of observations. Freedom and time right, because

before their fathers were busy 24 hours a day, 7 days a week to sustain their family. People of my age already had more possibilities, but before not.” - 37 years old native fisherman, interview 28.

So in general the youth has a more open attitude because of the tourists and migrants. This current, international or touristic environment leads to a different attitude towards studying:

“I think because of tourism, people have a need to speak English, so this development and contact with other cultures, they get more interested in studying, studying tourism, learn other languages, so in a certain way it did influence education, yes.” - Brazilian woman, interview 8.

7.2.1c Language and tourism related courses

The willingness to study is often seen as a result of the willingness to attend the tourists better. So there especially seems to be an interest for learning languages and specific tourism skills. The government organizes various free courses for tourism skills and English courses (Interview 25).

“The moment that people started to receive tourists, the education entered for people to receive them well, made courses, trainings of waiter, receptionist, this is a benefit that people brought this initiative to give a good service. Like languages, like everything.” - Native man, interview 20.

The native man who explained this has done various courses and now owns his own restaurant. This form of education is a response to the growth of the tourism sector. Also, preparing the community to attend tourists is one of the favourable conditions described in the theoretical framework. So this might increase the positive effects of tourism on the development of the local population.

As discussed in the chapter about tourism in general, the learning of languages is seen as a benefit of tourism. Also when discussing education in Pipa and the influences of tourism on education language is an often-returning topic. The majority of the people (26) mentions the learning of languages very quickly. Both because they have the opportunity now but also because they ‘have to’ because of tourism. However, only very few of these people actually speak other languages than Portuguese. A Brazilian man told about an English course that he wanted to organize: “In my restaurant, [I] organized an English

course for my employees, but out of 8 only two wanted it. They also don't have interest, there's a lack of interest." (Brazilian man, interview 11). So even though it's mentioned a lot it seems that many people actually do not speak other languages. However, according to a European woman, this might also be because they are insecure about their languages:

"The problem is the fear, that they maybe do not really dare. There are quite some Brazilians that understand it, but you have no idea that they understand you because they don't say anything back, because of the fear since they are only raised with Portuguese, also on television [...] Now they hear all those other languages of course, so maybe they will conquer that fear".

- European woman, interview 6.

7.2.1d Public schools

The educational 'environment' is influenced a lot by tourism: There are private schools, people are more willing to study, and the government has organized various language- and tourism specific courses. But the public schools themselves do not seem to be influenced at all. It is mainly the environment that has changed, including teachers having a broader world vision now and improved school transport. But the level of education in public schools itself has not improved by tourism:

"No, because the only thing that tourism influenced is that there are many foreign children as well, they go to school and they bring new things, but these aren't tourists anymore, these are residents. So tourism, to me it's not good or bad for education, the only thing maybe is that the children from here start to have other options, other countries, other places to visit. But it didn't do much."- European woman, interview 21.

So in general it can be concluded that tourism has influenced the education of Pipa in a broad way by increasing the willingness to study; by increasing a need for specific courses which are now organized by the government; and by tourists or migrants who have opened up private schools. So some people are able to find other ways to better education, but the public schools themselves do not seem to be influenced by tourism.

7.2.2 Health care

The current situation of the health care is perceived as not good enough. The health care in Brazil is free for everyone, people only have to pay for private hospitals. In Pipa there

is only a health center for the small problems, and it is only opened from Monday till Friday from 7am till 3pm, so there is no 24 hours health attendance in Pipa. In Tibau do Sul, 8 kilometers from Pipa, is a small hospital. However, for more complex situations, including X-rays, people have to drive 100 kilometers to the hospital in Natal. The general opinion is that the quality has improved compared to how it used to be, but it is still very weak. As a Brazilian man who lives in Pipa for more than ten years described:

“[There’s] only a health post, it used to be very bad, a doctor who is not a doctor, it’s a student of the school of medicines, that helps people as a doctor.”

“Do you go to the health post?”

“If I have a small problem I go there, but if I have something seriously I go to a private hospital in Natal, not a public one, because I don’t want to die.”

- Brazilian man, interview 11.

A European woman also stated that the quality is not very good. Health care is free, but because of circumstances people still run high risks in public health care:

“In principle health care is free in this country, but it’s just really bad. Everybody here makes the joke that if you go to the free hospital, you will not come out alive. And it’s just, people are decaying in the hallway, I heard that story a year ago, you don’t get food or drinks, your family has to take care of that. You don’t even get a biscuit, so if you lie there and you get the medical treatment for free, and this really can be something like a liver transplantation, but the hygiene is very bad and if you don’t have money or family, you will die anyway, because you also have to eat and drink.”

- European woman, interview 6.

Health care is seen as very important for the community, but with the arrival of tourism, the importance of health care only increased:

“I think that health is a point that people need the most. For a touristic place that has many life risks, because it has many practice of extreme sports, it has a sea, it has boat trips of motorboats. So in general, not only this, but the health of the people that live here, the locals and natives, they don’t have a secure point of emergencies [...] [S]o I think growth in all points of health is needed.”

- Man from region Pipa, interview 26.

7.2.2a Too many people, or too low budget.

Tourism also influences health care, especially because of the increase of people staying or living in Pipa. As a woman who works at the *prefeitura* (town hall), explained: There is a certain budget for health care for every municipal, based on the registered inhabitants of that municipal. But in Pipa, it's not very clear how many people actually live there, since there are also a lot of people who only stay a few months per year. So the amount of people registered is not the same as the amount of people in Pipa who may need health care, which leads to a lower budget for health care than is necessary (Interview 36). But a benefit of tourism on the other hand is that there are more taxes coming in of which more or less 25% is invested in health care (Woman working at the *prefeitura*, Interview 36). However, as she explained, the investments are based on the amount of registered people. So because of tourism the population of Pipa varies a lot which makes the budget for health care too low for the actual amount of people.

7.2.2b No changes in the attendance

When a nurse of the health centre in Pipa was asked about the health care in Pipa she was quite optimistic about the health care. According to her it could always improve but it is already good now. An effect of tourism is that more people come for (free) treatment, but when asked about the effects of tourism on the health care itself she stated that her attendance is not affected by tourism because 'the amount of tourists won't change the way I help them' (Nurse of the Pipa health centre, interview 23).

7.2.2c Improvements of choices in health care

Positive effects of tourism mentioned are that through higher income, some people now have the financial conditions to pay for health insurance. That gives them the opportunity to go to private hospitals. Even though this is often still too expensive for people, the potential improvement of tourism for health care is - comparable to education - not within the health care itself, but in the options some people have to choose for better health care. Furthermore it is important to keep in mind that only people who can afford it benefit from the opportunity to choose for better -private- health care.

The improved financial conditions also give people more opportunities to live a healthier life, they have the opportunities to choose healthy food. These benefits, however, are only

mentioned by few people, and often more linked to their personal well-being than to their health. The general opinion is that the effects of tourism on health care are limited because health care is a complex area and because it depends on the way the incomes of tourism are used to invest in the health care.

7.3 Limitations of effects

About the effects of tourism on personal well-being, people are quite optimistic. However, about the effects of tourism on community development as the people themselves have defined it – with education and health care as most important aspects – they are more sceptical. Some state that the benefits of tourism are only economic, so that education and health care won't be influenced. Also, the problems of health care and education are nationwide and thus bigger than Pipa. Therefore, tourism of Pipa is not seen as a way to improve this. The influences of tourism on these sectors are indirectly and have more to do with the environment and attitudes of people towards it. Furthermore, improvements of quality have more to do with the freedom of people to choose better health care and better education than improvements in the public health care and education itself.

“[I]t's a governmental problem, not of the place, so it's easier if the foreigners create private schools, private schools that only some can afford, than to straighten the education of the government. My son studied two years, but only private education, here in Pipa and then in Goianinha [...] But this was only possible because foreigners were here to maintain [...] a private school in Pipa.” -Brazilian man, interview 34.

7.3.1 Taxes and politics

As stated in the beginning of this paragraph, four people directly stated that community development starts with improvement of the politics. Fifteen people stated that tourism could have brought more benefits than it does now, and at least eight people state that the limited effects have to do with the government. As stated before, people are sceptical about the investments they make in Pipa. This remark is especially made because tourism of Pipa brings in so much incomes, and thus so high taxes, that they should see something coming back as well. As a native man explained, referring to infrastructure, but applicable to other sectors as well:

“When the economic value improves, the economy of the city increases, it has improve, it’s only that the politicians are corrupt and don’t invest in infrastructure [...] Because the more tourists, the more commerce, the more commerce the more taxes the government charges. These taxes are to come back to the population, but it doesn’t come back.”- Native man, interview 13.

When asked about the effects of tourism on education and health care and elaborating on the reason why it did not have many effects, more people started discussing the role of the politics.

“It depends on what the state invests, it’s a very little change [...] that’s very difficult because they only think about taking money for themselves, so they don’t think much about the management of the education of the children.” - Brazilian woman, interview 8.

Some people however state that the government does invest in certain activities, shows, or education. An example are the free courses for tourism, organized by the government. So the government does invest, but in general when asked about potential improvements or ways in which tourism could influence community development, residents often mention the political situation as a limiting factor.

Another aspect concerning taxes and investments, mentioned by native fisherman, is that street vendors for example do not pay taxes and in that way do not contribute to community development (Native man, interview 28). So being able to sell coconuts for example and make money with it is a positive effect on personal well-being. However, for community development this does not add very much.

So through higher incomes and taxes various aspects of community development might be influenced by tourism through investments, but these effects are limited.

7.3.2 Culture and temporality

Other factors that are said to limit the effects of tourism on community development are culture and temporality. When discussing the effects of tourism on education, a Brazilian man stated:

“No, it’s a cultural thing. It doesn’t matter if the place is touristic or not, in Brazil we have this problem. Wherever you go, you have ten people, three of them have education and the rest of them doesn’t have opportunities or they don’t care so much. It’s a cultural thing, that’s come from a long time. So if it’s touristic or not, you’re always going to meet people like this, so it’s not influencing in anything.” - Brazilian man, interview 1.

Other parts of culture mentioned as ‘limitations’ are the low education level of the natives and their closed attitude and short-term vision, as discussed before.

The temporary stays of many people also limit the effects. A European woman explained that there are various projects set up, but when that does not work, people stop, or even if it works there comes a time that people have to get back to their country (Interview 19). Therefore, the projects, together with the potential effects, are only temporary. According to her, the government is also limited by temporality because the mayor only stays for four years, and tries to improve things but it is hard to succeed in such a short time (Interview 19).

Concluding it can be stated that tourism in Pipa does not influence the community development, as defined by the residents themselves, very much. The ways education and health care are improved for some people – only the people who can afford it - is mainly because of the increase in opportunities and freedom to choose for private schools and private hospitals. This could be seen as an effect on the personal well-being as defined by Sen’s (1999) ‘Development as Freedom’. But the education and health care of Pipa themselves -important aspects of community development according to many residents– are not influenced by tourism.

7.4 The effects of tourism on social (dis)empowerment

“Every time when I came back from Belgium fifteen years ago, and I drove in a taxi in the street, let’s say I knew 90% of the people who lived here. Maybe not personally but I knew ‘that’s the father of that one, that’s the uncle of that one’, and it was saying good morning to everybody. Now when I come back from the airport and I know maybe one or two persons. So it’s so many people that you don’t know who is who anymore, and everybody becomes more unsocial, instead of how it used to be, in the beginning we were all sitting on the streets at night, playing cards and laughing and everything. That’s over, all the houses are gone, they all turned into shops, the authenticity is gone right. So the more tourism there is, the more money there is, people want to make money

instead of keeping their house on the street, they rather rent it out, so that becomes a shop. They are going to live [somewhere else] and everybody alienates from each other.”

- European man who lives in Pipa for 15 years, interview 10.

As described in the theoretical framework the effects of tourism would also be analysed in relation to the concept of social (dis)empowerment as defined by Scheyvens:

“A situation in which a community’s sense of cohesion and integrity has been confirmed or strengthened by an activity such as ecotourism [...] On the other hand, social disempowerment may occur if tourist activity results in crime, begging, perceptions of crowding, displacement from traditional land, loss of authenticity or prostitution (Mansper 1993).” - Scheyvens 1999: 248.

7.4.1 Social cohesion

Social cohesion is a central part of Scheyvens’ (1999) definition of social empowerment. About social cohesion the opinions vary. Many people state that Pipa is so small that you know almost everybody, but it is also stated that people do not know who is tourist and who is a resident anymore. As the quote at the beginning of this paragraph shows, the social cohesion is not how it used to be anymore. Also the negative effects of tourism, such as crime and drugs, are a reason to stick to a small amount of close friends instead of being open to everyone of the community:

“Not relating each other with too many people, not live during the night, we try to have a daytime life, train, surf, fish, swim, try to get more sinner in sport, have a healthy living, more than partying and following that type of life. I think it’s good to not relate too much with the outside, you have your friends, your social nets, but you don’t get too much into it, you hang out in house, but not to the club.” - European woman, interview 11.

7.4.2 Social disempowerment

As the quote in the beginning of this paragraph also illustrates, many people have sold or rent out their house at the main road and move. A native man, who still lives at the main road, explains these people’s motives: “The reasons, firstly, were financial, and secondly it was noise. Because today there are already bars in the centre of Pipa that have every night live music, loud music, noise. And the residents, the majority are elderly people, sick, and they ended up at a distance more to the back” (Native man, interview 20).

This leads to an aspect of Scheyvens' (1999) social disempowerment: Displacement. As we have seen in the chapter about personal well-being, renting your house can be a way to have economic *tranquilidade*. But for community development, as defined by Scheyvens (1999), people moving away from the centre can be seen as an aspect of social disempowerment.

Other aspects of social disempowerment are crime, prostitution, begging, perceptions of crowding, and loss of authenticity (Scheyvens 1999:248). As discussed in the chapter about tourism in general, crime and prostitution are mentioned as negative effects of tourism. Even though people made it sound like it is actually not that bad, they do perceive it as a negative consequence of tourism. Also, perceptions of crowding were mentioned, especially in relation to people's *tranquilidade*. So these aspects of social disempowerment are very present in people's perceptions about tourism in Pipa.

Begging, another aspect of social disempowerment, does not seem to happen that often. As the quote of a Brazilian woman also made clear, tourism made it possible for everyone to work, so begging is not necessary (See chapter 5, page 33, interview 4) On the other hand, according to a European woman, there are sometimes people coming from neighbouring villages to beg in Pipa because they know people in Pipa have money (Interview 6). However, she was the only one who mentioned this, so in general begging is not perceived as a problem in Pipa.

7.4.3 Loss of authenticity

Looking at the loss of authenticity Pipa seems to be on the edge. Not many people have brought up this topic, but the ones who did have a varied vision. According to a European man, who lives in Pipa for 15 years, Pipa should not grow too much anymore because then it will lose its authenticity, and there are some aspects that have made Pipa already lose a bit of its authenticity, for example the bricked main road instead of the dirt track that it used to be. However, according to him, Pipa has not lost its authenticity yet, this will only happen when tourism will turn into mass tourism, but he does not expect this to happen in the nearby future (European man, interview 10). When looking at the future, there are more people who want a bit more growth on the one hand, but also don't want to lose the simplicity of Pipa. So it seems that Pipa is on the edge of losing its authenticity as it is perceived by the residents.

A native fisherman however, states that the authenticity is already lost:

“It also decharacterizes the city, right, you have a culture, a tradition, and these cultures and traditions were lost. It already almost doesn’t exist. Agriculture, for example already disappeared, we don’t have it anymore, almost, very few, [...] [T]he majority doesn’t do it anymore, so they work in *pousadas*, or work in restaurants or have houses to rent or have shops, but they don’t live from agriculture anymore. And fishing ten till fifteen years from now, it will stop, because there are no fishermen. The son of a fisherman never fishes anymore, and also a fisherman himself doesn’t want to fish, he rather stays on the street or does any type of [selling].

[...]

[Y]ou get to know various different cultures, there are various types of persons, it’s very often [...] a foreign culture, so the local culture is disappearing, there don’t exist anymore things that are from our own culture [...] There is a bigger diversity of cultures, but these cultures aren’t ours, they were incremented to the society by people who arrive here to work, and they say it’s the local culture, but it isn’t. These cultures are theirs.”

“Are there still aspects of the culture of Pipa here?”

“Very few, very rare, almost nothing. Very difficult, we’re now in a time, the older people who had the knowledge already died, and the few we still have [...], the youth doesn’t want to know. [And that is] very bad. Without culture, there’s no identity, without identity it’s not good.”

- Native fisherman, interview 28.

Authenticity did not come up very often in interviews, but when it came up people were either afraid that Pipa might lose its authenticity if it keeps growing this quick, or they stated that the authenticity is already lost. So Pipa seems to be on the edge of losing its authenticity if tourism will keep expanding uncontrolled.

The perceptions of the residents of Pipa about the effects of tourism on their community development are analysed in relation to Scheyvens’ (1999) concept of social empowerment. When looking at the social empowerment, which mainly consists of social cohesion, tourism seems to have a negative effect on social empowerment. Looking at the other side of social empowerment, social *disempowerment*, it becomes clear that almost all aspects are present in people’s perceptions about tourism in Pipa.

So using the definition of Scheyvens (1999) for community development, tourism in Pipa has a negative influence on the community development of Pipa.

8. Conclusion and discussion

8.1 Conclusion

In the previous chapters the perceptions of the residents of Pipa were discussed. It started with the perceptions of tourism in Pipa in general and the perceived positive and negative sides of tourism and who benefit from tourism. Then the concept 'personal well-being' was discussed: First the various ways the different interviewees would define the concept were taken together to see what people themselves think is important for personal well-being. The effects of tourism on these ideas of personal well-being were discussed. To have one clear definition to analyse the various perceptions, Amartya Sen's (1999) 'Development as Freedom' was used to see how tourism has influenced people's personal well-being in relation to a predefined, 'objective', concept. Next the concept 'community development' was discussed, also by first looking at what people themselves think are important aspects of community development, then the effects of tourism on these aspects. For community development the concept 'social (dis)empowerment' of Scheyvens (1999) was used as the 'objective' concept and people's perceptions were analysed in relation to this concept.

The survey results showed that 75% of the people involved in tourism lives in Pipa, or the region of Pipa, with a clear majority of women involved. This might be explained by the type of companies that were involved in the survey. The survey was mainly conducted in shops, leaving out street and beach vendors, taxi drivers, tour guides, surf teachers etc. This might have biased the results towards a majority of women.

From the respondents only 4% was not born in Brazil, which is different from the idea of imported labour discussed in the literature. Also, the high position jobs are not filled by expatriates as is expected by Echtner (1995 in Liu&Wall 2006:161-162). In fact, the majority (42,5%) of the owners is born in Rio Grande do Norte. This might be because there is no shortage of labour, on which Echtner's (1995) expectation is based. As is shown in the contextual framework, Tibau do Sul has an estimated population of 13.017 people and only 3.475 people are employed. The tourism sector is estimated to create 2.767 jobs, so even though this is a big part of the total employment in Tibau do Sul, this is far less than the people living in Tibau do Sul. So there does not seem to be a shortage

of labour, so that might explain why there are not as much expatriates involved in tourism as the literature suggests.

Looking at the perceptions, it became clear that tourism in general was perceived as positive. There were some negative sides, including crime, drugs and sex tourism; the (de)construction of the place and the fact that it has become more expensive. But the positive sides, especially income and exchange, seemed to be more important to people. The change of public from respectful, richer Europeans to national tourists who do not have much money to spend and do not have respect for the place has made the perceptions more negative, but in general tourism is still perceived as positive.

These overall positive perceptions are very striking. This might be explained by various factors: The tourism sector in Pipa has not clearly reached the consolidation stage of Butler's Tourist Area Cycle yet, and is still developing. The negative side effects are tried to be controlled, for example by restrictions for constructions to preserve nature. Furthermore, a great part of the economy is dependent on tourism, an aspect of the consolidation stage (Butler 1980). But it is only in the stagnation stage (the stage after the consolidation stage) in which the maximum numbers of visitors and capacity levels will have been reached (Butler 1980). So tourism in Pipa seems to be still developing, not having reached its limits yet. The economic dependency on tourism and the (still) limited negative effects might explain these overall positive perceptions.

This dependency was also shown in chapter five. Everyone in Pipa lives from tourism, may it be directly or indirectly, and when asked about necessary improvements, quite some people came up with improvements necessary for the tourists. Also, negative sides of tourism seem to be concealed which means that people do know about the negative sides, but they still want to keep the tourism. This is probably because in the end there are more benefits and they are dependent of the tourism in Pipa.

The aspects that people brought up when asked about personal well-being can all be summarized to one concept: *Tranquilidade*. Calmness, stability, and rest, also including a stable income, health and safety. The effects of tourism on *tranquilidade* were mixed: Tourism has brought employment and income which led to financial stability, but on the other hand the place got more crowded, decreasing the physical tranquility. The tourism in Pipa also influenced people's freedom, since tourism has brought more income and knowledge which created more opportunities for people. These opportunities mainly

include education, traveling and business opportunities. Even though there were few concrete examples given, the majority of the residents of Pipa has the perception of an increased freedom as a result of tourism.

For community development the residents of Pipa mostly prioritized education and health care. Both are perceived as weak at the moment. Education is indirectly influenced by tourism because local people are more willing to study; various language and tourism courses are organized by the government –a favourable condition as discussed in the theoretical framework- ; and private schools are set up, where more people are able to go now because of the higher income. An important note here is that the private schools, which are more expensive, might increase inequality. The education itself however, has not been influenced by the tourism, because the education problem is bigger than Pipa. The same goes for health care: Some people now have the financial conditions to get health insurance and go to a private hospital, but the public health care has not changed. The nurse of the health centre in Pipa stated that their attendance will not be changed by the amount of tourists. However, because of the varying population size, Pipa might get a budget for health care that is too low to take care of everyone in Pipa. For the community development as defined by residents, the effects of tourism are limited, because the problems are bigger than Pipa and depend on decisions of the government. When analysing the perceptions in relation to Scheyvens' (1999) social (dis)empowerment, it became clear that the tourism has decreased the social cohesion, and thus decreased the social empowerment. The perceived effects of tourism also include crime, perceptions of crowding, displacement, prostitution and loss of authenticity. These are five out of six aspects Scheyvens gives for social disempowerment. Therefore, defining community development as social empowerment, the community development of Pipa is negatively influenced by tourism.

So the research question 'How do various residents of Pipa perceive tourism and its effects on their personal well-being and community development?' is answered as follows: In general the perceptions about tourism in Pipa are quite good. The effects on personal well-being seem to be mainly positive, and the positive effects on community development as they have defined it – education and health care – are limited, but negative effects are not mentioned. Defining personal well-being as 'Development as

Freedom' (Sen 1999), the effects are also positive. Mainly through higher income and exchange of knowledge people perceive more freedom and opportunities. When using the definition of Scheyvens (1999) to analyse the effects on community development, however, the effects are mainly negative. The tourism in Pipa has effects that are aspects of social *disempowerment* (Scheyvens 1999).

However, the main focus of this thesis is the perceptions of the residents of Pipa, which leads to the conclusion that even though there are some negative sides, people perceive more benefits than disadvantages of tourism, so tourism in Pipa, Brazil, is perceived as positive for both personal well-being as well as community development.

8.2 Discussion

The first possible point of critics, or at least doubt, follows directly after this positive conclusion. Being very critical myself, it seems very hard to believe that it is all that positive. Of course, many negative things are mentioned as well, and after spending three months in Pipa it became more and more convincing that people indeed experience it all as very positive. However, three months is very short to get a full understanding of the situation. Also, doing 38 interviews in this short period of time is doable, but it is not possible to build *rapport* with all the interviewees. Therefore, even though open and semi-structured interviews are used, with many follow-up questions to get an understanding of what people really think, it is still doubtful whether people have told everything they think about tourism. A big part of the optimism might be explained by socially desirable answers. There were only a few really critical interviewees, and even some of them made remarks that it is actually not that bad. Some people were quite negative about the tourists (mainly the national tourists) in informal conversations, but a few days later they were disappointed that not many tourists have bought something in their shop, for example. So even though they are critical in informal conversations, they also seem to need tourism. So maybe the interviews themselves also made people, who were or might have been sceptical in informal conversations, realize more positive sides of tourism as well. So it is difficult to say whether it were socially desirable answers or sincere answers given after having thought about tourism in another way.

But even if it were socially desirable answers, emphasizing the good sides and concealing the bad sides might also be a way to keep the image of Pipa good, and make more tourists come. This indicates a huge dependency on tourism. And that indirectly means that people

truly believe that having tourism, with or without negative sides, is better than not having tourism at all. So the positive conclusion might need to be read with a little scepticism, but it cannot be denied that the residents truly believe that tourism has more benefits than disadvantages.

Another thing to keep in mind is that many people who live in Pipa now actually moved to Pipa because of tourism and because they loved the place. Therefore, there is already some sort of 'selection' of people, making the general perceptions more positive. It might also be the case that people who have lived in Pipa some years ago have moved out because they did not like it there. All these aspects are of influence on the current population, since an influx of people who like the place and an outflow of people who were more negative, make the current population in general more positive. There were various interviews conducted with natives, trying to find a critical native who does not have any benefits of tourism as well, but also the natives in general were quite positive. And about the negative things one native also stated that there is no use in leaving Pipa since the negative things in Pipa are national problems (Native man, interview 13). So not having done an interview with a native who does not benefit from tourism might mean a failure of finding one, but it might also mean that indeed, like almost everyone states, everyone benefits from tourism.

Whether natives actually benefit as much as they could is another question. In the literature it is often stated that natives get much less out of tourism than they could, but in this research about the perceptions of residents this might be less of a concern. Some non-natives stated that natives could have benefited more, but the natives themselves all seemed to be very happy with the benefits they already have now. They did not seem to want or need more. So even if they could have had more benefits than they have now, in their perceptions they already have a lot benefits. This might be explained by the local attitude as discussed in chapter 7: When people do not have much villages to compare with Pipa, they might not know whether they could benefit more or not, whereas the non-natives have lived somewhere else and are able to compare the situation of Pipa with other places. Important, however, is that this lack of knowledge of other places is part of the reference some natives have. Therefore it is important to realise that, even though they might benefit more, in their *own* perceptions, they benefit as much as possible.

The last thing that has to be kept in mind is that contexts are complex and that it is actually hardly possible to attribute certain developments to one aspect such as tourism.

People might have evaluated the differences between fifteen till twenty years ago and now in general, and attribute all those changes to tourism. To make the links with tourism clearer, people were asked specifically how tourism has caused that change. However, all changes in Pipa in the last twenty years probably have many different reasons, of which tourism certainly is one, but not everything. With the improved communication and internet there are various ways people get more information and new ideas than they used to have, for example. And some effects might also have come by just an increase of the population, not necessarily because of tourism. Since Pipa is a small village that mainly lives from tourism, tourism definitely has much to do with most changes in the village. However, the broader context and developments should not be forgotten.

8.3 Tourism and development

The tourism sector of Pipa seems to be quite different from most cases described in the literature, specifically since the amount of locals working in tourism and in high positions is much higher than the literature suggests. In the literature it is often stated that locals often don't have the skills and capital to reach the requirements for tourism, which results in expatriates taking the high position jobs. This difference might be explained by the preparation the residents of Pipa have through the tourism courses organised by the government, one of the favourable conditions discussed in the theoretical framework. Because of the increase of low-budget, Latin-American tourists the focus of Pipa's tourist sector has switched to this type of tourism. Therefore, the other favourable condition described in the theoretical framework –aim low- is also fulfilled.

There is no information in this research about the involvement of locals in the planning of tourism – the third favourable condition-, since the focus was on individuals' perceptions of tourism, but the other two favourable conditions are fulfilled. Therefore, the lessons that can be learnt from earlier cases of tourism, seem to be applied –may it be consciously or not - in Pipa's tourism sector, and the perceived effects of tourism on development are positive. So for the relationship between tourism and development it can be confirmed that when the tourism sector focuses on 'low' tourism, and the local population is well prepared to attend tourists, tourism has positive effects for the development of the local population.

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Appendix 1: Maps

1.1 Brasil, Rio Grande do Norte: Natal, Tibau do Sul, Pipa



Source: Brasil Beach houses 2007. Electronic document, <http://www.brasilbeachhouses.com/location/>, last visited 13-07-2015. Figure indicating Pipa added by R.Hulsthoﬀ.

1.2 Map of Pipa

This map is created by Pipa tour to indicate the boat trip route. In this map the forest and various beaches of Pipa are visible. In the centre of the map lies the ecological sanctuary and on the right hand side is Tibau do Sul. Between the forest and the beaches is the main road/centre of Pipa.



Source: Pipa Tour 2015. Electronic document, [http://www.pipatour.com/en/images/galeria/mapas/mapa-galego\(1\).jpg](http://www.pipatour.com/en/images/galeria/mapas/mapa-galego(1).jpg), last visited 13-07-2015.

Appendix 2: Exploratory Survey

Bom dia,

eu sou Roxanna Hulsthoff, sou uma estudante da Universidade de Utreque na Holanda. Eu estudo desenvolvimento internacional, e estou fazendo uma pesquisa sobre as consequências do turismo em Pipa para o desenvolvimento de Pipa e seus habitantes.

Posso fazer algumas perguntas para você? Só vai demorar 5 minutos e eu vou usar a informação que você me der só para minha pesquisa, e eu garanto seu anonimato.

Faz quanto tempo que você mora em Pipa? ⁵	anos
Por que você se mudou para/trabalha em Pipa?	
O turismo trouxe benefícios para você? Quais?	
O turismo também tem consequências negativas?	

Você poderia me dar informações sobre você e sobre seus colegas?

	Sexo	Idade	Procedência	Cidade de residência	Função de trabalho ⁶
1					
2					
3					
4					
5					
6					
7					
8					

Muito obrigada pelo seu tempo. Eu poderia escrever suas informações de contato para lhe contatar em uma outra oportunidade para uma entrevista para minha pesquisa?

Telefone:

E-mail:

Endereço:

Nome da empresa/trabalho:

⁵ Sometimes people were not from Pipa, so the actual question became: Where do you live and how long have you been living there?

⁶ I also asked specifically who the owners were to get an understanding of the division of functions and residence.

Appendix 3: Topic list for interviews

Introdução

Bom dia,

Eu agradeço muito por você ter aceitado o fazer esta pesquisa. Ela é muito importante para minha pesquisa.

Eu sou Roxanna Hulsthoff. Sou estudante da Universidade de Utrecht, na Holanda. Estudo 'desenvolvimento internacional', e estou fazendo uma pesquisa para escrever minha tese de mestrado para terminar a programa de mestrado.

Esta entrevista é sobre suas percepções e ideias acerca do turismo em Pipa. Estou interessada em suas percepções e ideias, então não há respostas erradas. É só me falar sobre suas ideias e opiniões sobre as coisas que eu vou perguntar. Se você quiser falar sobre outras coisas que você acha importante, você poderá falar também.

Todas as informações que você me der durante esta entrevista, só serão usadas para minha pesquisa. Todas as informações serão tratadas anonimamente, e você pode terminar esta entrevista em qualquer momento.

Eu poderia gravar esta entrevista? Será para eu lembrar o que você disse e para que depois eu possa transcrever esta entrevista. A gravação também só será utilizada para a minha pesquisa.

1. Desenvolvimento/bem-estar pessoal

Quais aspectos você acha importantes para o desenvolvimento/ bem-estar pessoal?

O que você faz para alcançar este bem-estar?

2. Desenvolvimento da comunidade de Pipa

Quais aspectos você acha importantes para o desenvolvimento da comunidade de Pipa?

Por que você acha estes aspectos importantes?

O que você faz para alcançar este desenvolvimento da comunidade da Pipa?

3. Turismo em Pipa

O que você acha sobre o turismo em Pipa?

Quais são as vantagens do turismo e quais são desvantagens?

Você desfruta a natureza e as atividades turísticas da Pipa?

O que você pensa sobre o turismo hoje é a mesma coisa que você pensava há 5 anos atrás?

O público do turismo mudou?

- procedências
- comportamento
- atitude
- costumes

4. Benefícios do turismo

Você se beneficia do turismo em Pipa?

Como você está sendo beneficiado pelo turismo em Pipa?

- Está trabalhando no turismo/arrendar a casa/...?

Qual são os benefícios do turismo?

- benefícios Sociais
- benefícios econômicos
- benefícios ...

Quais línguas você fala?

Você pensa que todo mundo aproveita do turismo?

5. Envolvimento no setor do turismo

Você está envolvido no setor do turismo?

Você trabalha no setor do turismo?

Qual é sua profissão no setor do turismo?

Por que você trabalha lá? / Você gosta de trabalhar lá? / Tem outras opções?

De onde são seus colegas?

- De Pipa? Do Brasil? Outros países?

De onde é seu chefe?

Quanto tempo por semana você trabalha?

Donos:

Como você seleciona funcionários?

O que são os requisitos e necessidades? Línguas, procedência, nativo/estrangeiro?

6. As consequências do turismo para o bem-estar/desenvolvimento pessoal

Como você acha que turismo de Pipa influencia seu bem-estar/desenvolvimento pessoal?

- econômico

- social

- qualidade da vida

Você sentiu falta do bem-estar antes o turismo chegou?

As pessoas eram pobres?

As pessoas precisavam mais dinheiro para sobreviver ou podiam sobreviver como agora?

7. As consequências do turismo para o desenvolvimento da comunidade de Pipa

Como você acha que o turismo de Pipa influencia o desenvolvimento da comunidade de Pipa?

- educação

- infraestrutura

- segurança

- o ambiente/ecologia

- qualidade da vida

Você pensa que o turismo pudesse trazer mais benefícios? Como? Qual aspectos precisam que mudar para alcançar mais benefícios?

As pessoas estão abertas para mudanças/desenvolvimento? As pessoas aceitam ajuda dos estrangeiros?

Você sentiu falta do desenvolvimento da comunidade de Pipa antes o turismo chegou?

8. O futuro do turismo de Pipa

Como você imagina o turismo de Pipa daqui a dez anos?

- vantagens?

- desvantagens?

O que você espera do turismo de Pipa seria daqui a dez anos?

- vantagens?

- desvantagens?

- benefícios?

9. Informações básicas

De onde você é?

Faz quanto tempo que você mora em Pipa?

Por que você se mudou para Pipa?

Qual é a sua idade?

Sexo?

Uma última pergunta

Você conhece alguém que eu posso entrevistar?

Ainda preciso alguém que:

- seja de Pipa, ainda more na Pipa, mas não trabalha no turismo
- more na Pipa e aproveita do turismo de qualquer maneira
- more na Pipa e trabalha no turismo:
 - numa pousada
 - numa loja
 - num empresa que organiza excursões
 - vende coisas na praia/rua
 - taxista
 - ...
- more na Pipa e é proprietário duma pousada; restaurante; clube; loja ou empresa.
- seja pescador
- seja nativo mas não aproveita do turismo

Muito obrigada pelo seu tempo. Todas as informações que você me deu durante esta entrevista, só serão usadas por minha pesquisa. Todas as informações serão tratadas anonimamente.

Eu vou usar esta informação apenas para a minha pesquisa e para escrever minha tese de mestrado na Universidade de Utrecht na Holanda.

Se você quiser receber um resumo da minha tese, pode escrever seu endereço de e-mail neste papel, e eu vou lhe enviar o resumo em Julho.

Appendix 4: Overview of interviews

#	Week	Date	Basic information	Place
1	12	17-03-15	Brazilian man, 35 years old Manager of pousada, temporarily lives in Pipa for nine years	His pousada
2	13	23-03-15	Native woman, 37 years old Works in souvenir shop	'Her' shop
3		23-03-15	Argentinian man, 30 years old Works in computer store, lives in Pipa for four months	His house
4		24-03-15	Brazilian woman, 56 years old Sells art, lives in Pipa for 3 years	Her shop/ House
5		26-03-15	Brazilian man from Rio Grande do Norte, 24 years old Sells drinks at the beach, lives in Pipa for 4,5 years	Pousada
6	14	30-03-15	European woman, 38 years old Owner of pousada, lives in Pipa for 7 years	Pousada
7		31-03-15	Brazilian woman from Rio Grande do Norte, 16 years old Sells souvenirs in a shop near the beach, lives in Pipa 4 years	At her stand
8		31-03-15	Brazilian woman from Rio Grande do Norte, 39 years old Owner of souvenir shop, lives in Pipa for 8 years	At her shop
9	15	06-04-15	Woman of Rio Grande do Norte, 33 years old, lives in Pipa for 10 years. Sells heads and t-shirts on the beach.	At her stand
10		06-04-15	European man, 42 years old, works as sports instructor, lives in Pipa for 15 years,	At his wife's shop
11		06-04-15	Brazilian man, 34 years old, Owner of restaurant, lives in Pipa for more than 10 years & European woman, 25 years old, lives in Pipa for 4 months.	At their house
12		07-04-15	Argentinian woman, 31 years old, Owner of Pet shop, lives in Pipa for 5 years	At the shop
13		07-04-15	Native man, 31 years, owner of Pet shop.	At the shop
14		07-04-15	Brazilian man, 33 years old, sells and distributes food, lives in Pipa for 4 years	At his shop
15		08-04-15	European woman, 60 years old, has owned restaurants and pousadas, lives in Pipa for 13 years	At a lunch room
16		09-04-15	Argentinian woman, 33 years old, Receptionist at a pousada, lives in Pipa for 6 months	At the pousada
17		10-04-15	Brazilian woman from Rio Grande do Norte, 25 years old, Works at a restaurant, lives in Pipa for 5 years	Restaurant
18		10-04-15	Native man, 26 years old, works in a restaurant.	Restaurant
19		10-04-15	European woman, 44 years old, Owner of handicraft shop, lives in Pipa for 10 years	At her shop
20		10-04-15	Native man (and his wife), 38 years old, Owner of a restaurant	At his restaurant
21		11-04-15	European woman, 44 years old, Owner of library, lives in Pipa for 16 years	At the library
22	16	14-04-15	Brazilian man, 37 years old, Owner of real estate company, lives in Pipa for 16 years	At his 'shop'

23		14-04-15	Brazilian woman from Rio Grande do Norte, 25 years old, Nurse, does not live in Pipa	At the health post
24		14-04-15	Brazilian man, 37 years old, Owner of a pousada, lives in Pipa for one year	At his pousada
25		14-04-15	Argentinian woman, 46 years old, Owner of a cafe, lives in Pipa for 3 months	At their café
26		17-04-15	Brazilian man from region Pipa, lives in Pipa now, surfteacher, works in a bar.	Pool café
27	17	20-4-15	Native man, 22 years old, studies in Natal.	Pipa Square
28		21-04-15	Native man, 37 years old, Fisherman	At his house
29		22-04-15	Brazilian man, 32 years old, Artist, lives in Pipa for 13 years	At his atelier
30		22-04-15	European Man, 50 years old, Owner of a restaurant, lives in Pipa for 8 years	At his house
31		22-04-15	Brazilian man, 31 years, Olinda, lives in Pipa for 1.5month, artist.	At his house
32		23-04-15	Argentinian woman, 30 years old, works for a real estate rental company, lives in Pipa for 4 months	At her house
33		23-04-15	Brazilian man, 56 years old, Graphic designer, lives in Pipa for 17 years	At his house
34		26-04-15	Brazilian man, 41 years old, surf teacher, lives in Pipa for 13 years	At the beach
35		26-04-15	Brazilian man, 37 years old, Owner of a surfschool, lives in Pipa for 18 years	At the beach
36	18	29-04-15	Brazilian woman from Rio Grande do Norte, 'Owner' of Projeto Afeto and works at prefeitura, does not live in Pipa	At Projeto Afeto
37	19	06-05-15	Brazilian man, 39 years old, Employee at Santuário Ecológico Pipa, does not live in Pipa	At SEP
38	21	18-05-15	European woman, 43 years old, Lives in Pipa for 9 years	Via e-mail

Appendix 5: Output SPSS Data Analysis

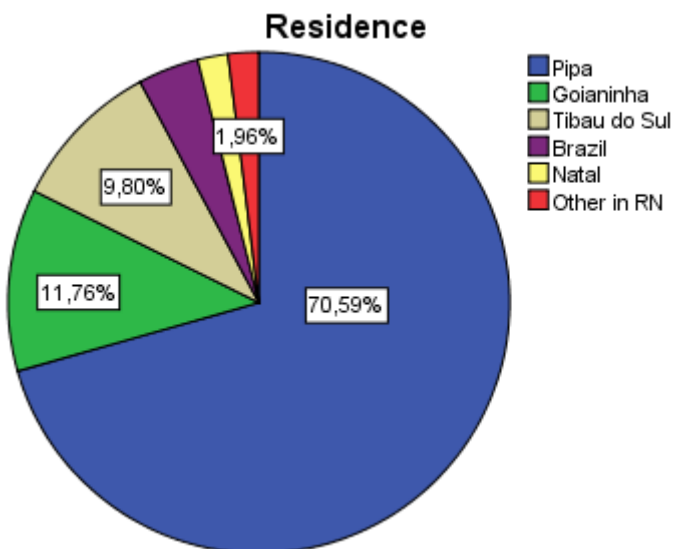
5.1 Respondents

5.1.1 Residence of respondents

Statistics

Residence		
N	Valid	51
	Missing	5

Residence					
	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent	
	Pipa	36	64,3	70,6	70,6
	Goianinha	6	10,7	11,8	82,4
	Tibau do Sul	5	8,9	9,8	92,2
Valid	Brazil	2	3,6	3,9	96,1
	Natal	1	1,8	2,0	98,0
	Other in RN	1	1,8	2,0	100,0
	Total	51	91,1	100,0	
Missing	Missing	5	8,9		
Total		56	100,0		



5.1.2 Birthplace of respondents

5.1.2a Detailed overview of the various birthplaces of respondents

Statistics

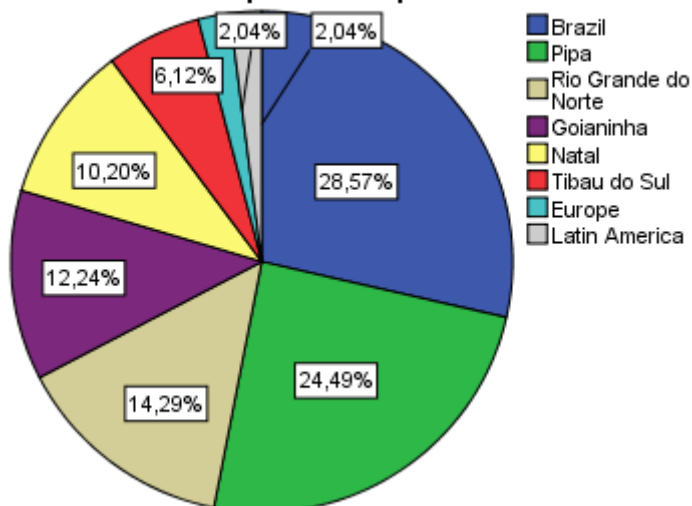
Birthplace Respondent

N	Valid	49
	Missing	7

Birthplace Respondent

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Brazil	14	25,0	28,6	28,6
	Pipa	12	21,4	24,5	53,1
	Rio Grande do Norte	7	12,5	14,3	67,3
	Goianinha	6	10,7	12,2	79,6
	Natal	5	8,9	10,2	89,8
	Tibau do Sul	3	5,4	6,1	95,9
	Europe	1	1,8	2,0	98,0
	Latin America	1	1,8	2,0	100,0
	Total	49	87,5	100,0	
Missing	9	7	12,5		
Total		56	100,0		

Birthplace Respondent



5.1.2b Summarized birthplaces of respondents.

In this output the various cities of Rio Grande do Norte are taken together as 'Rio Grande do Norte' to get a clearer overview of the birthplaces of the respondents.

Statistics

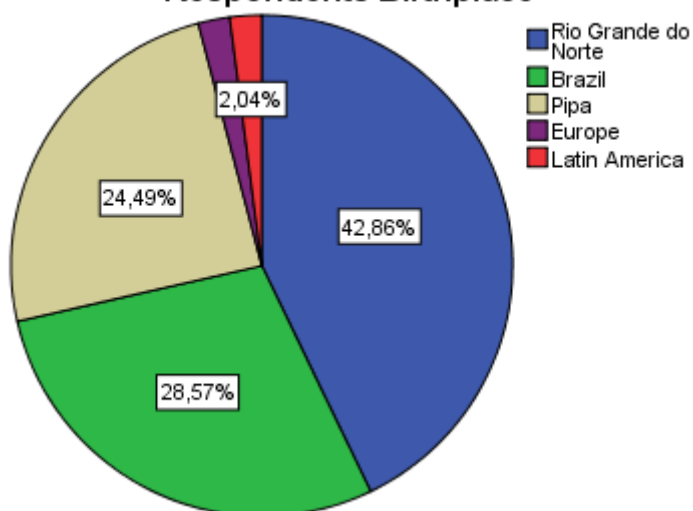
Respondents Birthplace

N	Valid	49
	Missing	7

Respondents Birthplace

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Rio Grande do Norte	21	37,5	42,9	42,9
	Brazil	14	25,0	28,6	71,4
	Pipa	12	21,4	24,5	95,9
	Europe	1	1,8	2,0	98,0
	Latin America	1	1,8	2,0	100,0
	Total	49	87,5	100,0	
Missing	9	7	12,5		
Total		56	100,0		

Respondents Birthplace



5.1.3 Gender of respondents

Statistics

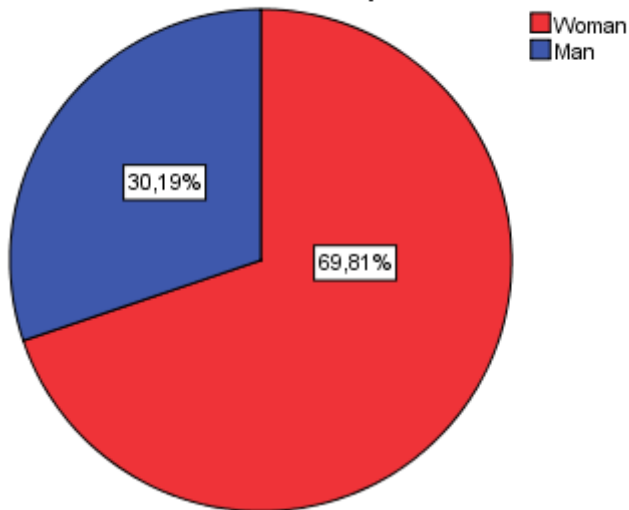
Gender respondent

N	Valid	53
	Missing	3

Gender respondent

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Woman	37	66,1	69,8	69,8
	Man	16	28,6	30,2	100,0
	Total	53	94,6	100,0	
Missing	0	3	5,4		
Total		56	100,0		

Gender respondent



5.2 Respondents and their colleagues.

During the survey, respondents were asked about their colleagues in the shop or restaurant where the survey was conducted. In the survey there was space for information about seven colleagues. Therefore, if people had more colleagues, these were left out in the survey. In an attempt to compensate this, the variety of all colleagues – especially in relation to gender and residence – was included by filling in the information of six colleagues who were ‘representative’ for the variety of all colleagues. This, however, only happened in three out of 56 surveys.

Because respondents did not always know the residence of their colleagues, incomplete information – missing either gender or residence - about colleagues is left out in this analysis. It also has to be taken into account that respondents may be wrong in indicating the residence of their colleagues because they simply do not know where they live. So the information about these various people involved in tourism are based on what the respondents could tell about them. However, it gives a good overview of the people working in the tourism sector of Pipa.

5.2.1 Residence of the respondents and their colleagues

Statistics

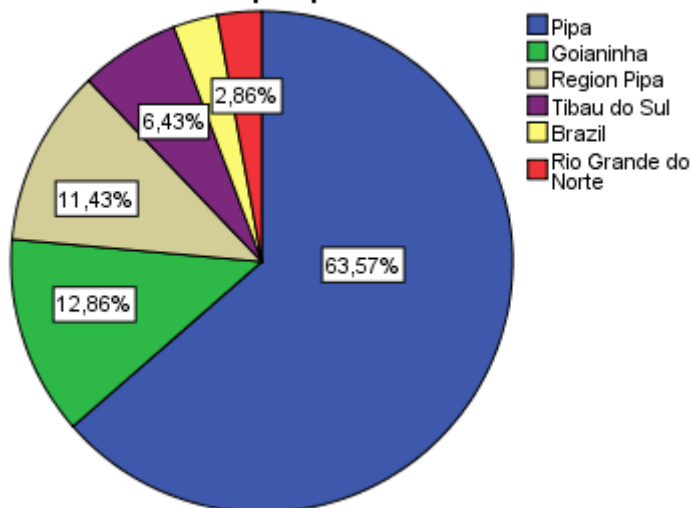
Residence of people involved in tourism

N	Valid	140
	Missing	3

Residence of people involved in tourism

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Pipa	89	62,2	63,6	63,6
Goianinha	18	12,6	12,9	76,4
Region Pipa	16	11,2	11,4	87,9
Valid Tibau do Sul	9	6,3	6,4	94,3
Brazil	4	2,8	2,9	97,1
Rio Grande do Norte	4	2,8	2,9	100,0
Total	140	97,9	100,0	
Missing 0	3	2,1		
Total	143	100,0		

Residence of people involved in tourism



5.2.2 Gender of the respondents and their colleagues

Statistics

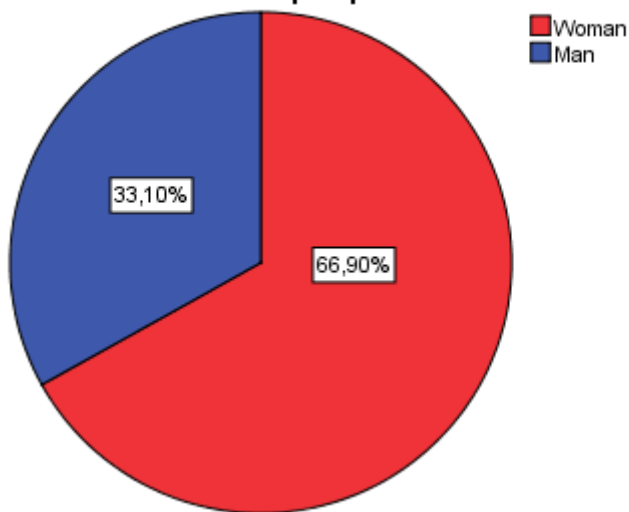
Gender Division of people
involved in tourism

N	Valid	142
	Missing	1

Gender Division of people involved in tourism

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Woman	95	66,4	66,9	66,9
	Man	47	32,9	33,1	100,0
Total		142	99,3	100,0	
Missing	0	1	,7		
Total		143	100,0		

Gender Division of people involved in tourism



5.3 Owners

5.3.1 Residence of owners

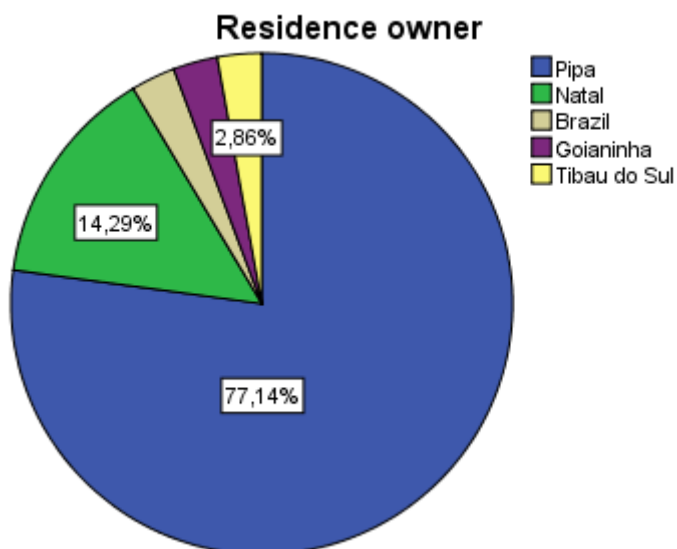
Statistics

Residence owner

N	Valid	35
	Missing	21

Residence owner

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Pipa	27	48,2	77,1	77,1
	Natal	5	8,9	14,3	91,4
	Brazil	1	1,8	2,9	94,3
	Goianinha	1	1,8	2,9	97,1
	Tibau do Sul	1	1,8	2,9	100,0
	Total	35	62,5	100,0	
Missing	0	21	37,5		
Total		56	100,0		



5.3.2 Birthplace of owners

Statistics

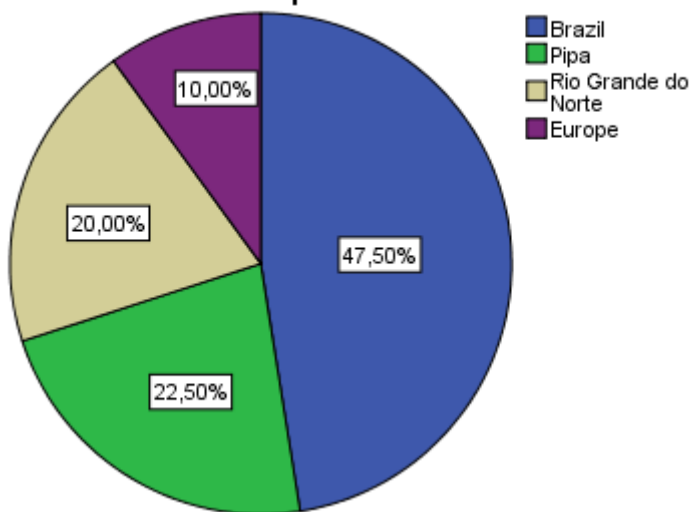
Birthplace owner

N	Valid	40
	Missing	16

Birthplace owner

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Brazil	19	33,9	47,5	47,5
	Pipa	9	16,1	22,5	70,0
	Rio Grande do Norte	8	14,3	20,0	90,0
	Europe	4	7,1	10,0	100,0
	Total	40	71,4	100,0	
Missing	0	16	28,6		
Total		56	100,0		

Birthplace owner



5.3.3 Gender of owners

In some surveys the owners were specifically indicated as a man and woman together. Therefore, in this division of gender, there is also a category 'both'.

Statistics

Gender owner

N	Valid	46
	Missing	10

Gender owner

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Both	8	14,3	17,4	17,4
	Man	16	28,6	34,8	52,2
	Woman	22	39,3	47,8	100,0
	Total	46	82,1	100,0	
Missing	0	10	17,9		
Total		56	100,0		

