CONFLICTS AMONG SECOND HOMES, PROTECTED AREAS AND TRADITIONAL COMMUNITIES IN SOUTHEASTERN COAST OF BRAZIL

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Introduction

The study of second homes throughout the world generated substantial interest in the 1990s (HALL & MULLER, 2004; MULLER, KEEN & HALL, 2004; MULLER, 2013; ROCA, Z. 2013). Hall and Muller (2004) report that this interest is attributable to factors such as a) the growth of inter-regional and international migration because of retirement; b) increased recognition by the public sector of the implications of economic, environmental and social tourism; and c) the deliberate use of second homes as a tool for economic growth.

In Europe during the 1990s, at the beginning of the 21st century and even in the post-2008 crisis, the fluctuation in market prices also contributed to the spatial diffusion of second homes (PARIS, 2013; MAZÓN, LAGUNA & HURTADO, 2013). In addition, the restructuring of rural economies and declines in rural populations have increased the number of second-home owners, while new opportunities for consumption have transformed rural areas into arenas of recreation, leisure and tourism. This phenomenon can be understood as the creation of a consumption landscape in a post-industrial society (MULLER, KEEN & HALL, 2004; MULLER, 2013).

In this context, there is a need for studies examining the reemergence of conflicts between second homes and local populations and the impacts of second homes on environmental issues (ROCA, M. 2013). These conflicts have escalated because of the increased acquisition of second homes, which have become a status symbol in the contemporary world.

New values and beliefs regarding rural landscapes encourage the acquisition of a second residence (ROCA, Z., 2013). In this context, tradition plays a strong role, with memories of childhood in times past in family on second homes motivating people to purchase property. Thus, at the individual level, second homes may be considered symbols of identity and place, represented by the connection of the family and children with places (HALL & MULLER, 2004). This aspect becomes more complex, as noted by Kaltherborn (1998), who indicated that second homes are rarely sold but, rather, passed

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through the generations from father to son, generating "hidden reasons" for people to acquire a second home.

Second homes can also be understood as an escape from stressful daily life and a return to nature (WILLIAMS & KALTENBORN, 1999; Nefedona & Pallot, 2013), leading the owners to modify their properties to incorporate characteristics of nature, or at least the vision they have of nature. Other second-home owners seek a lifestyle idealized as simple and rustic, in which the idea of rurality becomes extremely important (HALL & PAGE, 2002).

Buying a second home can be seen as a status symbol. Halseth (2004) indicates that in Canada, second homes are increasingly becoming the playground of the elite. In some places, a second home can be perceived as conferring status to its owner (MULLER, 2004). There is a growing perception of second homes as the domain of the rich, especially in UK, and even in Russia, but also in others country, like New Zealand (PARIS, 2013; NEFEDONA & PALLOT, 2013). In some cases, life in the countryside is not associated with agricultural production or forestry but, rather, the consumption of amenities, environmental actions and an imagined rural lifestyle (MULLER, HALL & KEEN, 2004).

Hall and Muller (2004) note that since the beginning of the 20th century, second homes have been built to access nature and the wild, and in North America, second homes were (and are) often built in wilderness areas. In New Zealand and Australia, the first second homes on the coast were fishing huts on public land (SELWOODS & TONTS, 2004; KEEN & HALL, 2004). In France, demand for second homes has been present since the 1960s in mountain areas and on the coast, which has resulted in regional economic disparities in France, representing an example of the economic specialization resulting from tourism (ZANIMETTI, 2013).

Ease of movement is always seen as an important factor in the penetration and occupation of new areas for second homes. The installation of second homes along axes of movement and penetration, such as the canals of Stockholm or the fjords of Norway, has provided cheap holidays to family on the beaches (HALL & MULLER, 2004). Hal and Muller indicate that the sharp increase in second-home owners since 1960 occurred because of the increased personal mobility provided by cars and the increased ease of access. Indeed, a similar phenomenon occurred in Brazil, as discussed by Tulik (2001).

Real estate provides an additional factor, with agents playing an important role, at least in terms of second homes aimed at international buyers (HALL & MULLER, 2004; MAZÓN, LAGUNA & HURTADO, 2013). In some places, the owners of second homes are directed to specific sites for real estate agents' promotional activities.

The availability of land is also an important factor in the selection of sites for second homes, but land use restrictions may limit the minimum sizes of lots and generate a shortage of land and, consequently, a decrease in the amount of land available for the construction of second homes (KEEN & HALL, 2004; PARIS, 2013). Each government controls the interest rates and taxes, and depending on the location, these are frequently manipulated to maximize the rates of return to speculators (HALL & MULLER, 2004). Each regulatory framework is often justified by local governments as a basis for environ-

mental protection or for keeping the landscape (KEEN & HALL, 2004), which has a strong impact on the assessment of land for second homes.

In today's world, the consumer landscape consists of tourists and second-home owners with a lifestyle of high mobility, all characterized by the ideal imagined about the countryside and nature. This situation often creates conflict within rural environments between traditional populations and newcomers with respect to the use of natural resources (MULLER, HALL & KEEN, 2004). In some circumstances, the owners of second homes can be seen as invaders by traditional local residents, which, over time can generate resentment (HALL & MULLER, 2004). This perception can lead to the destruction of the relationships between the two groups, generating environmental changes and changes in the cultural milieu.

In response to this phenomenon, environmentalists and representatives of academia have worked with local leaders to exert strong downward pressure on second homes, with the goal of seeking to maintain minimally natural environments and local cultures (LUND-DURLACHER, HERGESELL & MENTHYL, 2013; MANWA, 2013).

All of these facts highlight the need for planning and for second homes to be governed by policy instruments. However, technical planning does not always consider all of the interests involved but, rather, often only focuses on the wealthier classes, leading to gentrification (PARIS, 2013). Muller, Hall and Keen (2004) show that second homes are also perceived as rural gentrification, which implies a shock to the style of traditional rural life with urban images (lifestyles) in the countryside.

Clearly, the theme of second homes is complex and allows for multiple interpretations and research possibilities. Much has been written about the understanding of second homes as a postmodern tourism phenomenon linked to ease of movement, the role of real estate, the increase in income generated for local governments and the actions of planning and public policy, among other topics. However, gaps remain with regard to issues of cultural and environmental conflict. These gaps do not pertain to the perspectives of rural dwellers with regard to second homes - which have been well portrayed in the literature - but mainly in the wants, needs and aspirations of local communities in relation to the owners of second homes. In the same vein, there are gaps in studies on the limits of natural environments regarding the installation of second homes.

This paper seeks to help fill these gaps by focusing primarily on issues of environmental and cultural impacts from the perspectives of local residents, and also in analyses about improving mobility, it are facilitative to increase of second homes. Additionally, by looking at situations encountered on the coast of São Paulo, on the southeastern coast of Brazil (Figure 1), the study relates this area to the experiences in other parts of the world, highlighting their similarities but also their peculiarities. The study area inserts in a region with many environmental problems caused by real estate pressures from tourism and second homes. This occupation has generated problems like water pollution, deforestation, occupation without regard to carrying capacity, among others. It is hoped that describing the actions that have been successful in this part of Brazil can aid in this process elsewhere.
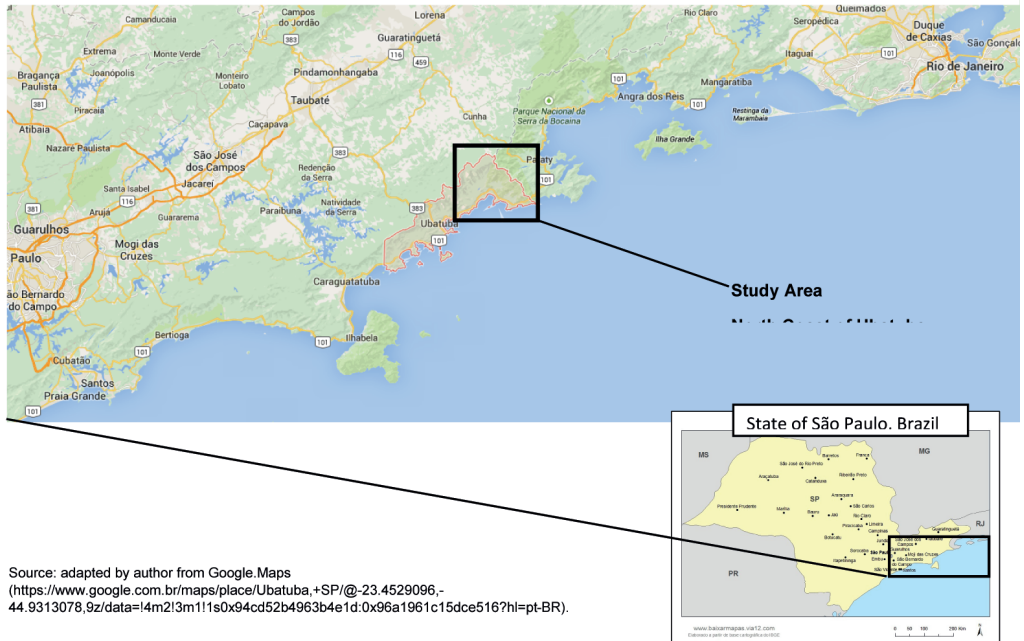
Thus, the main **objective** of this paper was to analyze the diffusion processes of second homes on the far northern coast of São Paulo, highlighting the conflicts and inte-

rests involved in this process, especially regarding the environmental shock to a protected area (Serra do Mar State Park) and the culture of a traditional community - the Caiçara. Caiçara is the name of the traditional inhabitants of the coast of southeastern Brazil, consisting of artisanal fishermen and farmers. Their origin is the result of the mixing of white Europeans with indigenous peoples, with little black presence; however, the Caiçara can be defined not by their ethnic traits but also by their characteristics connected with the way of life of a human group that has adapted to the natural conditions of the North Coast. For more on the Caiçara way of life, see the work of Adams (2000) and Diegues (1983).

The **methodology** of the study consisted of the following steps:

- The traffic routes for second homes and tourist facilities in the years 1966, 1973, 1997 and 2001 were mapped an analyzed to demonstrate the increased accessibility of the area in manner similar to that developed by Pearce (2003) in other parts of the world such as the Caribbean and Oceania. An analysis of the connections was established through an index of nodality (intersections of roads) that allowed us to assess the intensity of the flows and their advancement in the areas that favored the installation of second homes. The mapping result is shown in Figure 2. The absence of more recent aerial photographs did not allow for mapping in the years after these dates, but an effective analysis could be completed and is discussed in the results of this paper. This mapping allowed for the visualization of the locations of highest intensity that could lead to conflict.
- The conflicts among actors linked to the process of the occupation and use of second homes were analyzed. This was carried out through semi-structured interviews of key actors who are still present in the region (Caiçara elders and community leaders, officials linked to the opening of the road, technical environmental agencies and real estate agents). The interviews with these key stakeholders aimed at highlighting the process of use and occupation of the region, and their information was analyzed to understand the causes of conflict and its development. The interviews covered the claims and positioning of key players on the access and use of natural resources and the restrictions caused by implementing protected areas and by real estate pressure (second homes) in the area.
- Finally, we performed a systematic data analysis and provide proposals for reducing conflicts among second-home owners, the state park and the Caiçara community.

Figure 1: Map of the São Paulo coast zone, with an emphasis on the study area on the northern coast.

Study Area

State of São Paulo. Brazil

Source: adapted by author from Google.Maps
(https://www.google.com.br/maps/place/Ubatuba,+SP/@-23.4529096,-44.9313078,9z/data=!4m2!3m1!1s0x94cd52b4963b4e1d:0x96a1961c15dce516?hl=pt-BR).

Conflicts on the northern coast of SãoPaulo

Second homes on the northern coast of São Paulo have their origins in the improved traffic flow and search for new areas resulting from the saturation of destinations geared toward mass tourism, especially in the central coastal region, which borders the study region.

The opening of the BR-101 highway, which connects the city of Rio de Janeiro to Santos, in São Paulo State, was completed in 1973 and streamlined access to the northern coast of São Paulo State. With the improved flow provided by the road, there was an increase in second homes along the shore. With the opening of the BR-101 in 1973, the northern coast of São Paulo began the process of "touristification", which established the supply of housing areas and pressure, resulting in the installation of second homes.
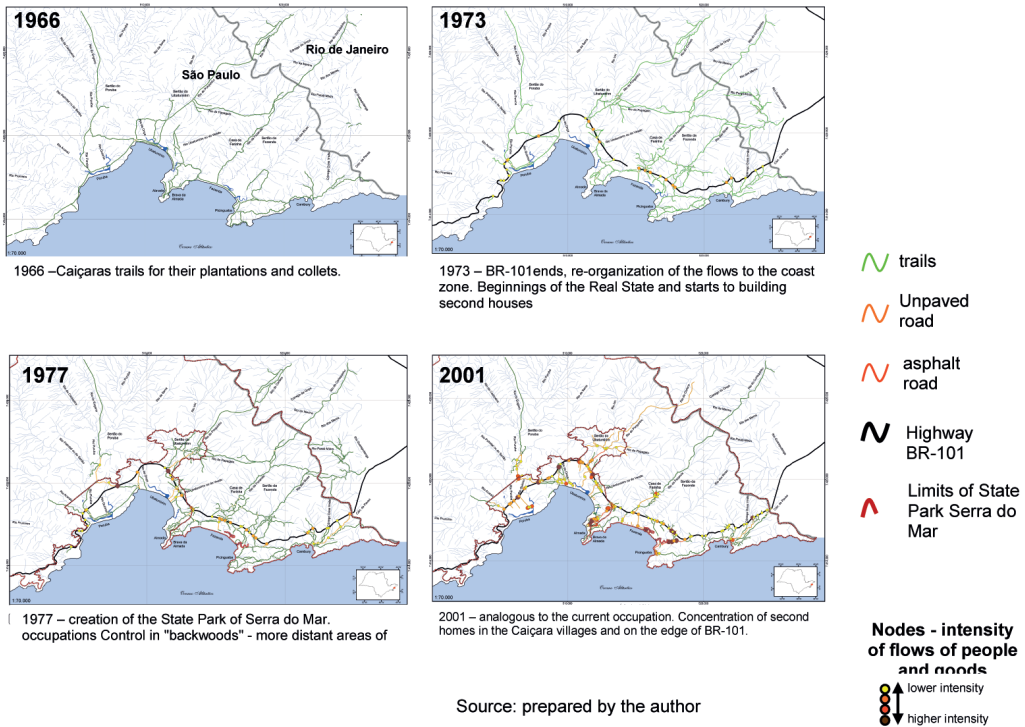
The travel motivations of tourists since the late 1980s contributed to this increase. Some sectors of the northern coast were unoccupied and became sought after by those who wanted to engage in less mass tourism and increase their touch with a place where nature was prominent in the landscape.

Real estate interests in the region, resulted in a large population increase in the coastal cities of São Paulo, including Ubatuba. The annual SEADE geometric population growth rates for 2013 (in % pa) indicate that the metropolitan region of São Paulo grew

by 0.77, the metropolitan area of Santos by 1.02 and the Metropolitan Valley Littoral Norte and Paraíba (where Ubatuba is located) by 1.05[i]. As a result, the Caiçara were influenced by the urbanization of second homes in coastal areas.

Figure 2, which shows the sequence of maps from 1966 to 2001, shows the major increase in communication networks, particularly the density of roads. On the coast, the increased trails and dirt roads are directly associated with the opening of the BR-101, which affected and redirected some of the preexisting Caiçara trails.

Figure 2 – process of occupation in São Paulo's north coast zone, indicated by roads and tracks – the goods and people circulation.

1966 –Caiçaras trails for their plantations and collets.

1973 – BR-101ends, re-organization of the flows to the coast zone. Beginnings of the Real State and starts to building second houses

1977 – creation of the State Park of Serra do Mar. occupations Control in "backwoods" - more distant areas of

2001 – analogous to the current occupation. Concentration of second homes in the Caiçara villages and on the edge of BR-101.

trails

Unpaved road

asphalt road

Highway BR-101

Limits of State Park Serra do Mar

Nodes - intensity of flows of people and goods
lower intensity

higher intensity

Source: prepared by the author

With the completion of highway BR-101, the relative isolation of the Caiçara's northern coast of Ubatuba was changed. From then, the landscape began to be marked by the construction of second homes that occupied nearly all of the beaches, sometimes forming condominiums of second homes and weekend villas. The new areas occupied by gated communities settled outside the realm of state parks and generated rural gentrification, as described by Muller, Hall and Keen (2004) and by Paris (2013).

Inside the Serra do Mar State Park, the spatial and social segregation was more tenuous because there was new construction, but the purchase Caiçara´s houses along the shore. In social spaces such as parks and beaches, contact between groups occurs; homogenizing forms of territory by one group have not occurred, nor have physical boun-

daries or imagined definitions of otherness. This social situation appears to be unique, as it has not been described in other studies. M. Roca (2013), for example, studying the *topophilia* communities in the western region of Portugal, found problems of segregation between groups of residents and second-home owners. Similarly, M. Roca found that 87% of second-home owners had never associated with local institutions of social support, 84% had never joined any civic associations or clubs and 77% had never been involved with local activities or artisans, showing a very deep split between local residents and second-home owners that did not occur among the Caiçara located within the state park of Serra do Mar

Since 1973, the Caiçara have no longer been the exclusive social actor in the region. Reports from elder locals highlight that after the completion of the highway, strangers began to appear and ask for food and hosting.

The BR-101 is now mainly used by tourists in their own vehicles in a situation similar to that found in the studies by Hall and Muller (2004), i.e., cars and easy access have changed the nature of the region north of São Paulo. With the interests of tourists directed toward the coastal strip, the flow is from the axis of the BR-101 to the shore along roads that run from this highway to the shore (Figure 2). New features necessitated by second homes cost the Caiçara their needs and interests in agriculture, and their ancient trails were passed over to more closely follow the axis of the BR-101, causing them to turn to practices to support tourism.

In the beginning of the 1990s, the agricultural activities were supplanted by the functions of the tourist resort, which prevail to the present day. This fact can be explained by the increase in areas with property tax payments (urban real estate tax) and the reduction of areas with ITR (rural land tax); see figure 3. Tristão (2008) notes that property taxes are the main source of revenue in municipalities located in the tourist areas of southern and southeastern Brazil, such as the cities of Bertioga and Ubatuba the state of São Paulo.

These changes, which began in Ubatuba in the late 1970s, make clear the city's interest, pressed by the real estate sector, in transforming rural areas where the Caiçara practiced traditional agriculture into local urban expansion (second homes), thereby allowing for a considerable increase in tax revenue derived from second homes. Accordingly, the city of Ubatuba presents conditions similar to those observed by Muller, Hall and Keen (2004), who indicate that local governments are interested in second homes because of increased taxes and increased spending at local businesses.

According to Mansano (2004), the opening of the BR-101 facilitated land speculation. Although Cambury residents (the native population of the villages in the study area) had declared possession of their land, they had not yet fully incorporated the meaning of land as a commodity when land speculators arrived. Because the native population did not know the real value of the land, they were fooled with low payments. Furthermore, the opening of the BR-101 reconfigured the Caiçara territory because the road cut into not only the physical spaces of the Caiçaras' plantations but also the cultural, social and economic development of the inhabitants (MANSANO, 2004).

Figure 3: Amounts received from property tax (tax on urban properties) levied on second homes in Ubatuba. Source: SEADE - State System of Data Analysis (http://www.seade.gov.br), accessed on 10/20/2014
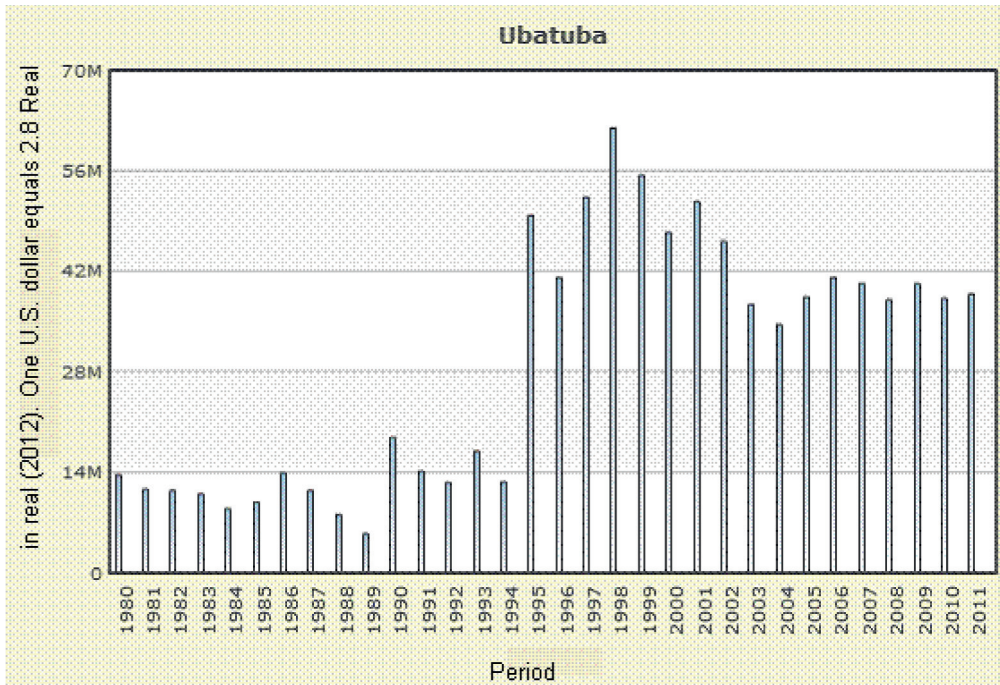
In 1977, the pace of change in the landscape was already so severe that it took the government of the state of São Paulo to decree the creation of the Serra do Mar State Park. Because the park was created in an office, there was no fieldwork to determine the limits (RAIMUNDO, 2008) of this protected area, and the boundaries were set only by using maps. As a result, some Caiçara villages were incorporated within the park. This fact intensified conflict in the region because Brazilian environmental legislation prohibits the presence of residents within parks. The Caiçaras who lost their territories to second homes in gated communities outside of the park now suffered pressure from the Brazilian environmental legislation because their villages were built on the outskirts of the Serra do Mar State Park.

Conversely, the creation of this park helped to contain the spread of second homes in forested areas. The solution found by the real estate industry was to negotiate the sale of second homes in the Caiçara villages located within the park. Importantly, according to Hall and Muller (2004), the construction of second homes implies a temporary increase in population and increased economic flows within the area, which may have an impact on wildlife, clearings in the vegetation and garbage disposal, in addition to the impacts caused by the construction equipment (MULLER & HALL, 2004).

However, these problems have not occurred in the Caiçara villages located within the park. In these places, there wasn't new construction but the Caiçara houses were maintained; these homes appealed to the new owners, the outsiders who thought the rustic buildings would be idyllic for those seeking an idealized simple lifestyle in which the idea of rurality is highly valued (HALL & PAGE, 2002).

This process led to the gradual replacement of the original owners without major interventions. According to Vianna & Brito (1992), half of the Caiçara homes were sold to vacationers in the first 12 years of the Serra do Mar State Park between the years 1981 and 1992.

The village of Picinguaba (in the study area, it is the most populous Caiçara village inside the park) has changed its function from peasant households that practice Caiçara cultural activities linked to fishing and traditional agriculture to assume an urban function with second homes and other tourist establishments such as hotels and restaurants. Photo 1 represent this transformation process.

However, it is important to note that the farming and fishing functions of the Caiçaras were not eliminated from the landscape. These activities are ongoing in the region, subject to the tourist activities. Cultural activities are promoted to tourists, such as handicrafts, typical Caiçaras meals and the experience of fishing in canoes accompanying the native fishermen.

Thus, the Caiçaras did not totally abandon their farming and fishing; these activities became a commodity to be sold to the owners of second homes. Additionally, in some places, these activities intensified, as in the villages of Cambury and Picinguaba; therefore, the road improved communication, and the increased flow of tourists in the region allowed the trade in these activities to be part of the village itself by being marketed directly to tourists. The Caiçaras also became laborers linked to these second homes, including carpenters, plumbers, masons and painters, among the other maintenance activities of the households.

The traditional Caiçara plantations, which had had scattered and discontinuous forms across the landscape, were gradually replaced by a more concentrated pattern of occupation in the villages, meeting the demands of the second-home owners. In other words, the Caiçara did not need to continue encroaching into the forest or establishing areas for agriculture. With their livelihood now related to second homes, they could live in these concentrated settlements.

This process did not occur in a harmonic way but, rather, in a manner full of tension. The main conflict in the gaze of the native population, in relation to the second-home owners, was the loss of their ancestral territory. The areas of peasant production related to agriculture and fishing succumbed to the interests of real estate speculation, which spurred the construction of second homes, and the Caiçara were spatially displaced to neighboring areas, occupying the outermost parts of the waterfront within the villages but retaining their fishing ranches along the strip of sand at the edge (photo 1).

Photo 1: Village of Picinguaba. With the density of houses on the waterfront, Caiçara fishing ranches invade the beach areas and compete with tourist boats and other recreational equipment.

Reports from the elders of these villages are marked by emotion, with memories of the period during which outsiders were not present in the region, including memories of festivities such as dances and weddings and of canoes being launched to fish at night, among other memories. Currently, these activities still occur in the region, but they take second place now to other tourism-related activities. Other traditional activities have also lost their cultural sense, including the collective parties in the villages following the harvest, such as the *fandango*, a celebration with dance and music Caiçara.

In the process of change, the younger generations do not have the same sense of identity that the older people have, at least with regard to the traditional agriculture and fishing activities. It is common for young people to devote themselves to work in the urban center of Ubatuba, where employment opportunities have increased after the construction of the highway. City buses take approximately 1 hour from the Caiçara villages north of Ubatuba to the city center. Reports indicate that before the opening of the road, the elders spent roughly 4 hours in canoes or 10 hours walking the trails to travel the same distance. Most young people work and study in Ubatuba center, with activities related to

the urban world, a consequence of the restricted time and space available. Although the young Caiçaras live in rural villages, their interests are focused on the urban world, the center of Ubatuba. However, they also complement their work with activities to support the maintenance of second homes in the Caiçara villages.

Thus, in the late 1990s and through the century XXI, the conflict intensified. From the perspective of the native population, their way of life was restricted by the second homes and the loss of their territories, leading them to occupy spaces that were more internalized within the towns and to leave the waterfront, the real estate most valued by second-home owners. The native residents were also restricted by the park agents, with increased fines and warnings about harvesting and agriculture related to the traditional Caiçara way of life. There are also conflicts among the park agents and the property sector with the repressed expansion of second homes in areas within or adjacent to the park.

Thus, the socioeconomic relationship between the Caiçaras and the owners of second homes led to a spatial concentration of homes along the waterfront and at the axis of the BR-101 and to treating the areas that were not yet intensely busy as backwoods (occupations farther from the shoreline in the valleys of the Serra do Mar). For the second-home owners, this relationship has ensured the realization of their interests in acquiring property. While the Caiçara seek to remain the traditional uses, and at same time constantly seeking to adapt to the demands of the second homes owners and re--creating strategies that ensure their survival in their new places.

This socio-spatial conflict increased among those involved in the late 1990s, and measures to try to reduce them began to be tested.

Proposals for combing second homes, the caiçaras' traditional activities and the conservation of nature

Real estate development continues to be seen as a negative transformation of the landscape by environmentalists, but also by certain tourism segments like eco-tourism and by those who seek experiences with nature. This changing in the type of tourism has been modifying since 1990's in Brazil. Lund-Durlacher, Hersegel and Menthyl (2013) note that environmentally sensitive marketing reduces the impacts of tourism, and Baumgartner (2013) indicates that changes have occurred in planning more sensitive traditional holiday packages that are based on environmental experiences or contact with traditional cultures. Under this new approach, the real estate industry is attempting to incorporate green-marketing actions because the installation of second homes continues in the region, a situation analogous to that found by Cabrerizo, Módenes and Robertson (2007) in localities in southern Spain.

In this sense, with the influence of environmental agents and the media, milder forms of occupation in the region have begun to appear. The new owners of second homes at the turn of the 21st century are more amenable to the environmental cause, or at least claim to be. The goal now is to strengthen the interests in rural or idyllic nature (HALL & MULLER, 2004) in Ubatuba, and thus goal has received an unusual ally: the real estate industry.

The northern coast of São Paulo has characteristics that support alternative tourism practices that consider natural boundaries, keeping equipment and infrastructure within limits of carrying capacity and respect the wishes and aspirations of local communities, as it shall explain below in meetings of the management council of the state park.

In the face of the rapid changes promoted by second homes in the region, which at first followed a similar model to that experienced along the entire Brazilian coast and elsewhere in the world, like in the Spanish coast (CABRERIZO, MÓDENES AND GLEN, 2007), Mexico (SALINAS, 2009) and Cuba (BURGUI, 2013), the traditional landscape of the region is under threat of being completely wiped out. However, this form of development has been reduced by the actions of groups interested in environmental conservation, including government agencies and nongovernmental organizations. These groups began to interact more closely with communities and owners of second homes in the region in an effort to train leaders to be partners in the decision-making processes.

The milestones of this moment were the preparation of the first draft of the Serra do Mar State Park management plan, in 1997, and the review of this plan in 2006. This was the first experience of participatory planning in the region (MARETTI *ET AL.*, 1997). Briggs et al. (2013) emphasize the importance of management plans, recognizing in their studies that the Great Barrier Reef in Australia is now better managed after tools were established for controlling and managing sustainable tourism in the area. In the same vein, Manwa (2013) notes that integrated management plans are important for ensuring the sustainability of resources.

The planning meetings to prepare the master plan exposed the conflicts highlighted in this paper: the Caiçara versus the state park, the Caiçara versus second homes and the state park versus real estate. Solutions that were developed jointly by the local Caiçara community and vacationers were sought to address these conflicts. The process also included the participation of experts on the region who were linked to universities and research institutes.

From this experience of participatory planning, management councils were created to monitor the implementation of actions. According to Simões (2012), these councils formulated territorial pacts and agreements for the use of natural resources. The Caiçaras' demands were related to access to citizenship (the right infrastructure and public services, housing, food and work), land ownership and greater management autonomy in the territory, although because they were still in public spaces (parks and beaches), problems arose. The claims that have surfaced in the park planning meetings seem to indicate some resentment, with residents aspiring to services that the Caiçaras did not have but that the second-home owners want.

To expand on the conflict, the position of the state park's managing agency was to demolish all existing second homes within the park. According to FITESP (2008), there were 498 homes inside the park in 2008. Of these, 188 were second homes. However, in the localities of the study area (the village of Picinguaba), Simões (2012) notes that the interest of the residents was to ensure the permanence of all homes through a system that afforded equal rights to the Caiçaras and the second-home owners to enjoy the territory,

based on the principle that there is a close, established relationship of interdependence between the two groups.

The argument was of an economic nature rather than anthropological, as with the installation of second homes, and over the years (there was a second and third generations of Caiçaras following the creation of the park), the Caiçaras altered their ways of life and are now economically dependent on the maintenance activities necessary for second homes. Evans (2007) indicates that among the positive changes perceived by the Caiçaras' entering the park, the main one is associated with obtaining or increasing income or increasing employment through the provision of services and products related to second homes. Evans indicated that 84% of respondents mentioned positive changes with the arrival of tourism and second homes. Therefore, it is not possible to make any changes, attempt to remove any second homes or relocate the native population outside of the park boundaries without causing harm because the traditional activities aimed at Caiçaras and at second homes are now interrelated.

Brazilian environmental legislation forbids the presence of homes within parks. The deadlock still persists, with current occupation of the homes occurring irregularly. The solution found by the park's management board was to change the management category from "park" to another protected area that permits such uses, such as "sustainable development reserve" or "environmental protection area[ii]." This proposal is under study at the present time.

In another location, in the village of Cambury, the agreement involves Caiçara community empowerment and encouraging community-based tourism activities. The activity-zoning agreement was established among the park managers, researchers and community leaders, with the designation of fragile areas (from an environmental standpoint) such as the beach. Thus, according to Simões (2012), sharing the land consisted of relocating bars and houses, among them second homes, from the strip of sand beach, which was reserved for the purpose of supporting fisheries and recreation. A "Statement of Commitment" was made with the occupants after three years of negotiation. Under these terms, the bars and restaurants will be demolished along the stretch of beach, and new infrastructure will be built for the community in locations away from this fragile area.

Procedures were also established for renovating and constructing new buildings and for crafts and utensils that require extraction from the forest. In line with the village of Picinguaba, these actions are not permitted under the park designation; thus, negotiations are ongoing to redesignate the area as a "sustainable development reserve".

Considering this information, the occupation pattern of second homes in the region is as some points in a forest matrix, restricting itself to the interior Caiçara villages and not occurring new construction away from the access road.

As long as the area managers hold to this scheme, which was established in a timely manner, and the spatially discontinuous and contiguously preserved landscape environments are not all changed at the same time, both leisure and the occupation of second homes can be accommodated.

Conclusions

The pacts signed by the stakeholders in the region created a temporary solution to the conflicts of the time - once the minimal objectives of a consensus were reached, new needs triggered new rounds of negotiations to reach the next level of involvement and participation. Currently, the conflicts highlighted here involving the owners of second homes, the Caiçaras and the park's environmental agents have not found a definitive solution. Instead, the discussion regarding solutions to the conflict have resulted in ongoing negotiations, and the advances in the negotiations depend directly on the governance capacity of the locality.

However, the successful experiences on the northern coast of São Paulo regarding the relationships among second homes, the state park and the Caiçaras deserve to be highlighted. These successes are associated with the following:

1) On the edges of the park boundaries, summer tourism (second homes) is restricted to ancient Caiçara villages and does not span many natural environments, as is found in other sectors along the coast of São Paulo. This situation ensures the social and economic use of the area that at the same time does not interfere in ecosystems of the vicinity.

2) On the waterfront, through negotiations with the park board, the aim is to end the cycle of Caiçara territory loss, preventing their socioeconomic incorporation as mere servants. This movement is still incipient, but the participatory planning advisors at the park have worked to avoid these problems. Furthermore, the leaders of the traditional Caiçara communities, in their relationship with local authorities, seem to have been able to present their needs, aspirations and representations to their enforcement.

3) On the edge of the northern coast, outside of the park boundaries, the new subdivisions have considered the characteristics of the natural environment, avoiding the increased fragmentation of ecosystems along the coastal plain. In the village of Almada, actions appear similar to those proposed for the village of Picinguaba, where a council of traditional inhabitants was assembled to discuss their relationship with the owners of second homes and tourists.

4) Although it is still under discussion, there is an important proposed change to the park category to include other classes that allow various forms of occupation. With this change, it would be necessary to create a mosaic of uses for second homes and for nature conservation while at the same time protecting the natural features of the region as well as helping to minimize socio-cultural damage (to Caiçara), thus ensuring the various uses, including second homes.

All of these actions, some already implemented and others still under discussion, appear to be important efforts to stakeholders and show that the region's leaders have articulated and ensured the variety of end uses, adapting them to new demands and interests. The example of second homes is important because they help to increase the income of the native population and create minimal disturbance to the landscape by focusing

on preexisting Caiçara villages. Thus, the function of preserving the park is guaranteed because other ecosystems within the park are subjected to only temporary uses, such as trails for visitors and researchers, not allowing any form of amenities, whether Caiçara or second-home.

Notes

i   Source: http://www.seade.gov.br/produtos/imp/index.php?page=tabela, accessed 05/07/2013.
ii   "Parks" in Brazil are similar to class II of the International Union for Conservation of Nature, IUCN (Dudley, 2008). The categories "environmental protection area" (EPA) and "sustainable development reserve" are equivalent to categories V and VI, respectively, of the IUCN.

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CONFLICTS AMONG SECOND HOMES, PROTECTED AREAS AND TRADITIONAL COMMUNITIES IN SOUTHEASTERN COAST OF BRAZIL

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Abstract: Studies on second homes gained momentum in the 1990s with the increase in property acquisitions outside of cities. This work contributes to the study of the relationships among second homes, locals and a state park in southeastern Brazil. Objectives were to describe the second homes on the northern coast of São Paulo associated with improved access and to highlight conflicts and proposed solutions. The method was based on mapping the roads to assess the second homes, interviews with stakeholders about their conflicts and demands. The arena of discussion was monitored for conflict resolution. The results suggest the need of tools to aid in the dialogue among the owners of second homes, the leaders of local communities and environmental agents. Such tools would support progress in conflict resolution and improved management in the area with the zoning, regulations directed at second homes, social spaces for communities and the conservation of ecosystems.

Keywords: second homes, coastal management, impacts, northern coast of São Paulo, Brazil.

Resumo: Estudos sobre segundas residências ganharam força na década de 1990 com o aumento da aquisição de imóveis fora das cidades. Este trabalho contribui no estudo das relações entre segundas residências, moradores e um parque estadual no sudeste do Brasil. Os objetivos foram descrever as segundas residências no litoral norte de São Paulo associado à melhoria do acesso, destacar conflitos e propor soluções. O método baseou-se no mapeamento das estradas para avaliar as segundas residências, entrevistas com atores-chave sobre seus conflitos e demandas. A arena de discussão foi monitorada para a resolução de conflitos. Os resultados sugerem a necessidade de ferramentas para ajudar no diálogo entre os proprietários de segundas residências, os líderes das comunidades locais e os agentes ambientais. Tais ferramentas podem apoiar a resolução de conflitos e melhoria da gestão na área com zoneamento, normas dirigidas a segundas residências, espaços sociais para as comunidades e a conservação dos ecossistemas.

Palavras-chave: segundas residências, gestão costeira, impactos, litoral norte de São Paulo, Brasil.

Resumen: Los estudios sobre las segundas residencias lograran impulso en la década de 1990. Este trabajo contribuye este estudio ubicado en el sureste de Brasil. Los objetivos fueron describir las segundas residencias en la costa norte de São Paulo asociado con un mejor acceso, resaltar conflictos y proponer soluciones. El método se basa en la cartografía de las rutas para evaluar las segundas residencias, entrevistas con actores clave acerca de sus luchas y demandas. La arena de discusión ha sido analizada para la resolución de conflictos. Los resultados sugieren la necesidad de herramientas para ayudar en el diálogo entre los propietarios de segundas residencias, los líderes de las comunidades locales y los agentes medioambientales. Estas herramientas pueden apoyar la resolución de conflictos y la mejora de la gestión con las normas de zonificación destinadas a segundas residencias, espacios sociales para las comunidades y la conservación de los ecosistemas.

Palabras clave: segundas residências, gestión costera, impactos, costa norte de São Paulo, Brasil.