Life, Loss, and Labour: Narrating Subjectivity in the Chapada Diamantina, Bahia, Brazil.

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Abstract

This thesis critically examines the lived effects of economic restructuring in the city of Lençóis, Bahia, Brazil. Established at height of the region's diamond mining boom in the mid 19th century, the local economy now rests almost exclusively on ecological tourism, with the city of Lençóis serving as the principal gateway to the Chapada Diamantina National Park. Combining ethnographic research methods, archive work and the analysis of governmental programs, I consider the impacts of tourism development strategies and conservation interventions on the lives and subjectivities of local community members. As it gives rise to new projects and new demands, I explore how this shift in political economy has interacted with historical processes of social and economic exclusion, and consider its role in reshaping uses and understandings of the material landscape.

Yet, in foregrounding local responses to state-led projects for development, this thesis is also concerned with possibilities for contestation and critique. In Lençóis, memories of past modes of existence continue to evoke emotional resonance for many local people, and in particular local men. Exploring the stories people told me of their past lives and present-day experiences, I consider the affective dimensions of economic change, reading attachment to loss for its productive and creative potential (Eng and Kazanjian, 2003). These alternative narratives, voiced from the perspective of those most deeply affected by economic transition, reveal critical engagement with dominant cultural and political imperatives, and indicate how, in the midst of uncertainty, local people are responding to and seeking to challenge changes to the material circumstances of their lives.

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Introduction

> É uma coisa intrínseca, não tem jeito ... não da para falar de Lençóis sem falar do garimpo. Porque o turismo e o garimpo estão ali juntos. Não tem como você afastar, esquecer do garimpo e falar somente de turismo [Flavio, 15/08/2012, Lençóis].[1]

1.1 Introductory remarks

The power of political economic projects, like neoliberalism, to reshape lives has been asserted in much recent scholarship. In diverse contexts across the globe, researchers have noted the prevalence of neoliberal principles and have examined their role in reconfiguring social, economic and cultural relationships. Yet, while globalised and seemingly all-embracing, neoliberalism is neither monolithic nor inevitable (England and Ward, 2008; Kingfisher and Maskovsky, 2008; Larner, 2003; Ong, 2007). As Kingfisher and Maskovsky (2008) write, it is at once 'a project with totalizing desires … *and* a project whose totalising desires are rarely fully realised, because it never operates in a vacuum' (118, emphasis in original). In this thesis, I engage with these complexities as I trace the contextually specific effects of economic restructuring. Contributing to burgeoning debates across the social and political sciences, I employ an ethnographic approach to consider the role of neoliberal-led development programming and conservation initiatives in transforming conceptions of life, labour and subjectivity.[1] A key aim in undertaking this research is to expose the 'contradictions, disjunctures and unintended consequences' of neoliberal rule and to identify the manner in which it is transformed and subvert in everyday life (Maskovsky and Kingfisher, 2008: 123).

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[1] Greenhouse (2010) has argued for ethnography's relevance for examining neoliberalism. As she writes, necessarily involving problems of interpretation, 'the true political science for the twenty-first century may well be ethnography' (2). This thesis responds to her call to adopt an 'experience-based approach' to the study of political economy (2).

This thesis is based on a 6-month period of fieldwork, carried out in the city of Lençóis. Located 426 kilometres west of the Bahian state capital of Salvador, Lençóis was first founded in the mid 19th century, following the discovery of abundant diamond reserves. Placing the region at the heart of a prosperous mining economy, these discoveries sparked a period of intense migration that culminated in the city's designation as the "Diamond Capital" of Bahia. For little over half a century, Lençóis enjoyed relative wealth and status, the mining economy intimately shaping the development of local cultural and economic formations. However, passing through successive cycles of boom and bust, the city's dependence on extractive activities made it vulnerable to capital's uneven intensities.

Yet, for the stranger newly arrived on the streets of the city centre, there is little to indicate the importance of this brief but defining chapter of regional history. Since the late 1980s, state-led projects for development have transformed the city into the principal gateway to the Chapada Diamantina National Park, remodelling and repackaging the region as an "ecological paradise". These political interventions have significantly transformed uses and understandings of the material landscape, giving

Figure 1: The City of Lençóis, photograph courtesy of Amy Duke

new meaning to the form and function of this historic mining town. However, should the visitor stop to listen to the informal exchanges that take place between local people, or take an interest in the stories, jokes and complaints routinely recounted on the corners of city's squares, it is clear that the legacy of the region's extractivist past

continues to echo through the lives of local inhabitants. While no longer viable as a mode of economic subsistence, mining continues to hold relevance, marking the rhythms and textures of everyday life. As one local resident informed me, "*garimpo* [mining] is always part of the conversation" [Luciano, 23/10/2012, Lençóis].

It is thus that this research proceeds from an interest in the story of a particular place and a desire to understand the lives and experiences of its inhabitants. Placing local transformations in their broader political economic context, I examine how these processes are lived and interpreted in everyday life. In Lençóis, while tourism development strategies and conservation interventions have undoubtedly held out new hope of growth and inclusion, contradictions remain. In the throes of change and transformation, the city's inhabitants find themselves increasingly marginalised, their views and perspectives disregarded in favour of new political economic imperatives. In the substantive chapters of this thesis, I examine how local men and women position themselves in relation to these changes and explore the strategies they mobilise as they attempt carve a space for themselves within the dominant frame.

In teasing out the subjective experiencing of economic shift, I place the thoughts, feelings and perspectives of local people at the heart of my analysis. In her anthropological account of development practices in Indonesia, Tania Murray Li (2007b) writes of her interest in examining the practice of politics; that is, in identifying 'the moments when the targets of expert schemes reveal, in word or deed, their own critical analysis of the problems that confront them' (11). In this thesis, I follow Li (2007b) in exploring the challenges effected by local men and women in talk and in action, approaching my research participants as subjects who, 'clearly understand the relationship between their current insecurities and the defects of improving programs carried out in their name' (2). In listening to the narrative accounts of my interviewees, I aim to take seriously how they feel about impacts of economic change and to examine the positionings they assume as—in the words of Gershon (2011)—they 'struggle to make neoliberal principles livable given their other understandings of how one is social' (544).

In this thesis, I bring together literature from across the humanities and the social sciences and take an interpretivist approach to data analysis. Responding to Carol Greenhouse's (2010) recent call to more fully integrate political economic and ethnographic approaches to the study of neoliberalism, I draw on variety of theoretical perspectives to create a framework for reading both the structural effects of economic

change and the subjective experiencing of these processes. In doing so, I hope to speak to a cross-disciplinary audience of anthropologists, geographers and political scientists and to contribute to understanding how subjectivities are transformed and remade in the midst of radical change and uncertainty. Focusing in on the affective and traumatic dimensions of labour market change, I seek to capture the consequences of neoliberal reform for subjectivity and to identify emergent signs of contestation and critique.

It is in view of this approach that the theoretical aims of this thesis become clear. Across the body of my analysis, I draw from diverse literature on loss, melancholy, trauma, emotion and belonging as I engage a robust concept of subjectivity, one capable of attending to the complexities of thought, feeling and action I encountered in the field. In doing so, I seek to make clear that while the introduction of new political and economic perspectives has undeniably altered experiences, and understandings of, life and labour in the Chapada Diamantina, these transformations are duly met and resisted by residual cultural formations and forms of subjectivity that remain central to local experiences of place and economy. Exploring how subjects are able to challenge and confront dominant political economic logics, I seek provide a basis to account for the political limits to the implementation of neoliberal conservationist projects, one that has implications far beyond the specific case of the Chapada Diamantina.

1.1.1 Gendered impacts of economic change

In this thesis, I take a particular interest in the experiences and perspectives of local men. Following England and Ward (2008), I emphasise that neoliberalism is not gender neutral but 'a set of discourses and spatialized social practices that differently situate and impact some groups (like women) compared with others (like men)' (256). Indeed, in Lençóis, the transition to tourism has had differing effects on the lives of women and the lives of men. In a recent article exploring the impacts of socio-economic change on marital relationships in the city of Lençóis, Melanie A. Medeiros (2014) suggests that while tourism has brought about an increase in salaried work for women, there are seemingly fewer opportunities for local men. Unable to find stable work and thus fulfil their role as economic provider, she suggests that local men struggle with a sense of loss of masculinity (115).

In this thesis, I echo Medeiros' observations that the transition from extractive industry to service economy has significantly transformed employment opportunities for local men, yet I suggest that their experiences of these transformations are more complex.[2] Crucially, I would emphasise that while local men have undoubtedly struggled as a result of labour market changes, the majority are adapting to new economic realities, often demonstrating creativity in the manner in which they

Figure 2: Men at the railings, photograph courtesy of Amy Duke

improvise livelihoods outside the dominant frame. Similarly, while local women may be experiencing greater economic autonomy, they continue to occupy positions of vulnerability, undertaking poorly paid, precarious forms of labour (see also Medeiros, 2014). In this thesis, I focus on the experiences men as a means of shedding light on the impacts of economic change on a particular subjectivity; one that has suffered significant disparagement in the context of the termination of extractive activities. The privileging of their voices can thus be read as an attempt to counter the erasure, or abjection, of their stories and experiences from the public sphere.

1.1.2 Existing literature

In this thesis, I also draw upon, and seek to make a contribution to, existing scholarship on the Chapada Diamantina region. During my time in the field, I gained

[2] In making this observation, I recognise that the focus of Medeiros' (2014) research was women's experiences of changing gender relations.

access to a number of literary and academic texts, many of which have been instrumental in shaping my understanding of the historical and cultural context (Araújo et al, 2003; Banaggia, 2015; Brito, F.E., 2005; Catharino, 1986; Gonçalves, 1984; Medeiros, 2014). It is beyond the remits of this introduction to review each of these works here,[3] however, it is worth highlighting the work of Francisco Emanuel Matos Brito. His book, entitled *The Contradictory Echoes of Tourism in the Chapada Diamantina* (2005), has been influential in shaping my understanding of local histories of tourism development. Adopting a sociological approach to the study of tourism, he provides a comprehensive overview of the aims and objectives of tourism planning in the region and evaluates their socio-economic impacts on the local community. My research builds on these observations (particularly chapter 4), but takes a more interpretative approach, filling a gap in understanding how people make sense of local transformations of place and economy. Crucially, in this thesis, I look not to elaborate solutions, but to offer a critique; one grounded in the views and perspectives of local actors (see also Li, 2007b). My contribution stems from my theoretical and methodological approach as I attempt to shed light on the ambiguities of local development initiatives and to make strange the logics and perspectives upon which they depend (Li, 2007b; Rose 1999).

1.2 Research questions

The key research questions driving the collection and interpretation of data are a follows:

- What is the impact of economic change on subjectivity?
- How do local people experience and attribute meaning to local processes of economic restructuring? How do they understand its impacts on their lives and livelihoods?
- How are local people responding to and challenging contemporary processes of economic change?

1.3 Overview of thesis structure

In chapter 2, I set out the theoretical framework that informs the critical analytical approach taken in this thesis. Drawing together diverse perspectives, I provide a comprehensive overview of the literature that has framed my interpretations,

[3] These texts will be introduced as I draw on them

commenting on the relevance of particular theories and epistemological perspectives to this research project. My aim in this chapter is to provide an overview of how I will combine political economy and interpretative approaches in order to speak about the particular social and cultural effects of economic change in the city of Lençóis. I also make clear how my understanding of subjectivity both illuminates and addresses the limitations and shortcomings of neoliberal conceptions of the self.

In chapter 3, I outline the methodological approach adopted in this thesis and provide an account of my fieldwork experiences. Building upon discussions initiated in chapter 2, I explore the key categories and concepts that have shaped my approach and detail the methodological techniques employed in the collection and analysis of empirical materials. I also provide a short reflection on my positionality as a researcher, thinking through the impact of my subjectivity on the findings of this research project.

In chapter 4, I provide the historical context of this research, drawing on primary and secondary materials to chart tourism development processes in the Chapada Diamantina. My aim, here, is to provide an account of the manner in which municipal and state agencies have envisioned the economic potential of the region and to give some indication of how this vision has evolved over time. Over the course of the chapter, I link local transformations to the broader political economic context and reflect on the key perspectives that have driven processes of economic change. I also provide an introduction to the political economy of the local tourism industry, exploring its interaction with structural inequalities (see also Brito, F.E., 2005).

Chapter 5 begins the examination of my empirical data. Focusing on dominant narratives of economic transformation, I start by unpacking the common-sense knowledges and principles underpinning interviewees' descriptions of the social and cultural changes brought about by tourism. As it gives rise to new projects and new demands, I reflect on how tourism was said to have to effected changes in the 'hearts and minds' of the local population, significantly transforming the manner in which they govern their lives and their livelihoods.[4] Here my aim is to explore the role of neoliberal perspectives in circumscribing the domain of intelligibility (Butler, 1993); that is, in transforming notions of meaning and value and in establishing boundaries

[4] Here I draw on governmentality literature. See in particular Dean (1999), Rose (1999), and Lemke (2002). See section 2.2 for an overview of this literature.

between the included and the excluded. However, described as forged upon uncertain ground, I also explore how local development was said to be vulnerable to *raizes* (roots) of its extractivist past.

In chapter 6, I explore alternative narratives of economic restructuring. Taking the personal accounts of ex-miners and their family members as a point of departure, I examine the traumatic and affective dimensions of labour market change. Here my interest is in understanding how local men articulate their relationship with past modes of existence and in identifying the pain and suffering caused in the wake of government interventions. For many of the men I spoke to, the *garimpo* (mine) remains an important locus of attachment, their experiences of time spent within this landscape central to self-understandings. Here, I approach memory as an important resource in the creation and transformation of meaning as I explore how local men make sense of, and attribute meaning to, local processes of economic change.[5]

In chapter 7, I build on the ideas developed in chapter 6, moving on to consider interviewees' descriptions of how it feels to live and work under tourism. In this final empirical chapter, I seek to establish a sense of how local people are responding to the demands of the tourism labour market and how they are contesting recent cultural and political interventions. Exploring individualised expressions of worry, discontent and uncertainty, I am interested in how local men and women engage with dominant economic and political imperatives and how they demonstrate agency in the transformation of neoliberal logic.

Chapter 8 concludes this thesis and brings together my main empirical findings. Exploring the relevance of my work for the study of neoliberalism, I provide an account of the principle theoretical, empirical and methodological contributions of this thesis.

1.4 A brief history of the Chapada Diamantina region

Before concluding this introductory chapter, it is necessary to provide a brief overview of the history of the Chapada Diamantina region. In this section, I outline the early development of the city of Lençóis and trace the rise and fall of the local mining industry. While the focus of this thesis is on contemporary economic and cultural transformations, it is important to place my interpretations in their historical

[5] Here I draw particularly on the work of Leyshon and Bull (2010, 2011), Jones and Garde-Hansen (2012) and Booth (2008). See section 2.5.1 for an overview of this literature.

context. As Comaroff and Comaroff (1992) have argued, 'all local worlds have their own intrinsic historicity, an internal dialectic of structure and practice that shapes, reproduces and transforms the character of everyday life within them' (97).

1.4.1 Diamond discoveries in the Lavras Diamantinas

The vast expanse of sparsely populated territory that today makes up the Chapada Diamantina region of the state of Bahia, only gained recognition as an area of significant geographic and economic interest in the early 18th century (Gomes, 1952: Sampaio, 2002). In a study describing early settlement patterns, Josildete Gomes (1952) suggests that, during the early years of colonisation, few attempts were made to penetrate the interior regions of the Bahian state and settlement remained concentrated around coastal sugar plantations (221). With its steep mountains and rugged terrain, the Chapada Diamantina would remain relatively neglected until, as she writes, 'from its soils emerged powerful factors that would justify its penetration and subsequent population' (1225, translation own). The historical and economic formation of the region has, thus, since its emergence been intimately connected to the exploration and extraction of its mineral resources (Brito, F.E., 2005; Gomes, 1952). Moreover, the discovery of potential mineral wealth would not only signal the coming into being of the region in political and economic terms, but would also shape the way in which the landscape and its inhabitants would be understood.

In accounting for the formal establishment of diamond mining activities in the Chapada Diamantina region, the writings of the American geologist, Orville A. Derby, are generally thought to provide the most accurate account (see Catharino, 1986; Gomes, 1952; Gonsalves, 1948). In an article published in the *Instituto Geográfico e Histórico da Bahi*a (the Bahian Geographic and Historical Institute) in 1906, Derby suggest that it was discoveries made between 1841 and 1844 that led to the organisation of a permanent mining industry in the region (143-144). In evidencing this view, Derby references the work an Austrian mining engineer, Virgil Von Helmreichen, who, in 1846, published news of the discovery of diamonds in the *Serra do Assuruá*—a mountain range in the mesoregion of *Central Norte*. On the basis of this account, Derby suggests that intensive diamond exploration was most likely initiated by gold prospectors from Grão Mogol, who led a *marcha de descobrimento* (march of discovery) southwest, reaching the eastern side of the *Serra do Espinhaço*

by 1844 and triggering the formal birth of diamond mining activities in the region (145).

The importance of the year 1844 is also emphasised in the work of local historian Gonçalo de Athayde Pereira (1907; see also Sampaio, 1955). In his

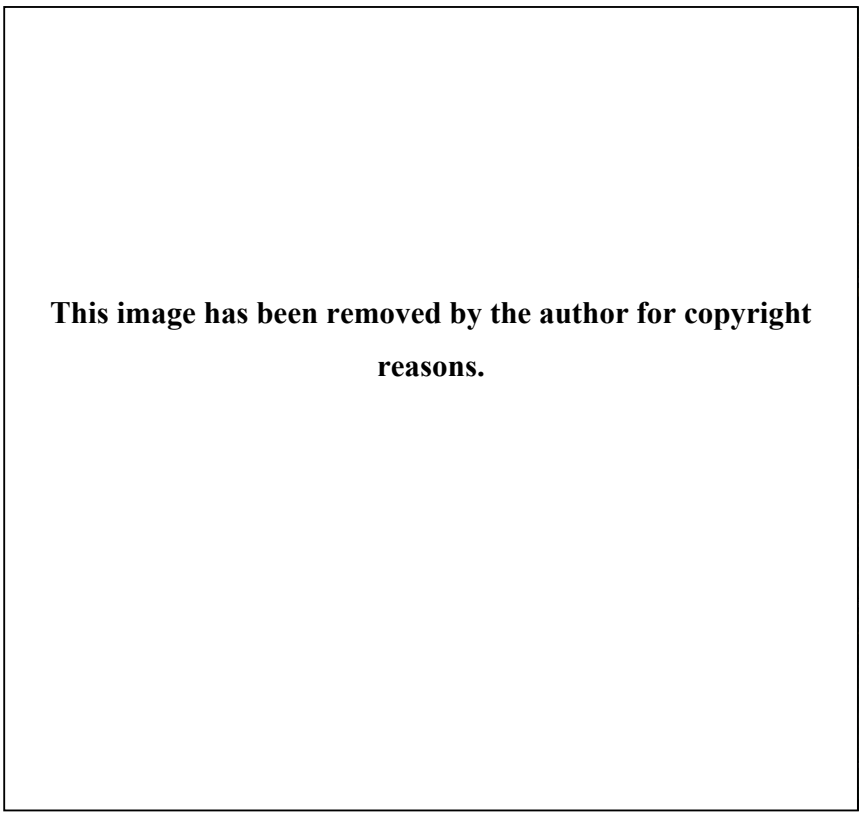

Figure 3: Diamond discoveries

Historical and Descriptive Memoire of the Municipality of S. João do Paraguassú, Pereira (1907) recounts in descriptive terms the story of José Pereira do Prado (31). According to Pereira, when travelling from the mining town of Santa Isabel, Prado came across a small river—later known to be the river Mucugê—in which he observed the presence of *cascalho* (riverbed gravel) similar to that found in other diamond rich regions of the state of Bahia. With some experience of mining techniques, he conducted an initial search of the riverbed, and although, at first, unsuccessful, later attempts revealed a number of diamonds of significant weight and value. Pereira (1907) writes that the news of these diamond discoveries quickly spread and in little time hundreds of miners had flocked to the region (34). More beautiful and more abundant than those previously extracted in other regions, the

diamonds found in the river Mucugê would act as a catalyst for the social and economic development of the region (Pereira, 1907; see also Sampaio, 1955).

1.4.2 The establishment of the city of Lençóis

Emerging as a consequence of this intensive diamond mining exploration, it is widely agreed that the now municipality of Lençóis was born in 1845 of an informal mining settlement. In a subsequent historical record entitled *Historical and Descriptive Memoire of the Muncipality of Lençoes,* Pereira (1910) suggests that while controversy surrounds the exact location upon which the city was founded, it is certain that a particular water pool, named *Poço Rico* (rich well), became the first point of convergence for newly arrived miners and diamond merchants (86).[6] Here, and extending along the banks of the river, *garimpeiros* (miners) set up tents made of *lenções* (sheets), whose appearance gave origin to the city's name, *garimpo dos lencoes* (Pereira, 1910: 83).[7] In just eleven short years, this improvised encampment would come to house a population more that 30 000 souls; a population predominated, Pereira (1910) notes, by deserters and criminals, attracted to the region by the promise of impunity and by the wealth of its soils (87).

Yet, as Lençóis grew in size, so to did it grow as a focus of political and economic interest. As Walfrido Moraes (1997) notes, news of the quality and abundance of its stones soon captured the attention of important mining families from Minas Gerais who began to gravitate to the area, bringing with them 'all their belongings, all their animals, all their slaves' (35). These groups established themselves at the centre of the local mining economy, negotiating and trading directly with merchants from France, England and Germany (Leal, 1978: 122). As Herold and Rimes (2011) explain, stones were not sold in Salvador but purchased directly by agents and representatives of foreign firms in the region (20). The growing economic importance of these activities resulted in the town's elevation to the category of *Comercial Vila dos Lenções* (commercial town) in 1856 and in the relocation of the *Repartição Diamantina* (tax office) of the provincial government from the city of Mucugê to Lençóis in 1857 (Leal, 1978: 122).

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[6] This waterhole contained wealth of such proportions that it was later renamed the Poço das Mortes, given its power to inspire conflict and violence (Pereira, 1910: 86).

[7] There is a second narrative explaining how the city got its name outlined by Pereira (1907). Pereira (1907) writes that in 1945 two ranchers travelling through the region were struck by the white foam that gathered on the surface of the waters of river São José (25). For these men, the foam gave the river the appearance of white sheets stretched over stones.

1.4.3 Life and labour in the "Capital das Lavras"

Walfrido Moraes' *Bandits and Heroes* (1997), first published in 1963, provides crucial insights into the patterning of social and political relations in Lençóis during the late 19th and early 20th century.[8] Combining historical analysis with romanticised literary descriptions, his writings provide a richly textured account of life in the "Capital of the *Lavras Diamantinas*". Crucially, for Moraes (1997), while the city's birth was disorganised, a strict social hierarchy was quickly established—a system in which groups came to organise themselves according to their 'intrinsic categories' (41, translation own).

According to Moraes (1997), the *sociedade lavrista* (mining society) was organised in the form of a pyramid and was composed of three distinct socio-economic groups. The first group—'dominant and sovereign'—consisted of *gente da praça* (41). These were individuals of rank and status in the National Guard, who by birth or by political influence had managed to acquire large expanses of the region's territory, establishing control over the most profitable mining areas and most fertile lands. Occupying positions of significant social, economic and political power, these families exerted considerable influence over the judiciary, politics, and the local trade in diamonds (42). The second group—'anguished and oppressed'—was composed predominantly of *faiscadores* (diamond merchants) and *lapidarios* (jewellers and diamond polishers) who, alongside musicians, artists, state and municipal employees, and other small-time traders made up the city's middle classes (42). Finally, and representing 70% of the population, came the 'immense mass of human workers'; occupying the lowest socio-economic positions, these were individuals that Moraes characterised as marked by their "inherent" improvidence, ambition and adventurous spirit (42).

While framed in essentialising terms, what Moraes' account reveals is the extent to which the distribution of socio-economic and political power was concentrated in the hands of the few. According to notions of heritage and tradition, power was restricted to a small group of traditional families who governed according to their own interests. Crucially, this social order was also supported by mining legislation, which, until 1891, recognised non-renewable subsoil resources to be the

[8] Moraes was born in Lençóis in 1916.

sole property of the Crown/state (Triner, 2011: 20).[9] G*arimpeiros* were required to pay a *quinto* (one fifth) to the imperial government for the concession to mine and were dependent on the local landowner for access to the region's soils. Describing the situation of this working population in the late 19th century, Hartwig (1871) acknowledges that:

> Miners rarely make a fortune, as their expenses are very great; the chief profits of the diamond trade fall to the share of the merchants, who purchase the stones in the mining districts and then sort and export them. The price of diamonds is subject to considerable fluctuations, which, proceeding from the markets of London, Paris, and Amsterdam, are most sensibly felt in the diamond districts, for the great European houses in whose hands the trade of the rough stones is concentrated, and who dispose of considerable capital, are able to wait for better times, while the small Brazilian trader or miner is soon obliged, for want of money, to sell his stones at any price (483).

Life for the diamond miner of the city of Lençóis was undoubtedly marked by considerable hardship and precarity. Wanting of both social and economic status, this working population faced great obstacles in their negotiation of both local and inter-regional relations of power.

This structuring of social relations remained largely unchallenged until the revolution of the 1930s (Catherino, 1986: 50). As Catherino (1986) describes, with the fall of the first republic and the decline of *coronelismo*,[10] the absolute authority of traditional landholding families in the region was increasingly met by *grande capangueiros* (diamond merchants) (50). Often assuming the role of *fornecedor* (supplier of share contracts), the *capangueiro* was able to accumulate great fortune, purchasing land and integrating himself within the administrative and political life of the city (Catherino, 1986: 50). However, this did not represent the fall of the traditional elite. Writing in the 1980s, Gonçalves (1984) points to the enduring presence of a handful of traditional families at the top of the socio-economic hierarchy (28).

Life in the *Capital das Lavras* was also crucially marked by its interactions with the broader political economy. Lençóis has, since its emergence, been a global

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[9] As Triner (2011) explains in his analysis of the role of mining in Brazilian development, there has been remarkable consistency with regards to subsoil rights across political eras (34). Preindustrial practices recognised non-renewable subsoil resources to be the sole property of the Crown/state (20). Individuals were required to pay a *quinto* (one fifth) of mining production. This payment was made through the collection of rents on concessions (20). With the constitution of the first Brazilian republican government in 1891 the principle of state sovereignty was revoked and subsoil rights shifted to the surface owner (23). This remained in force until 1934 when the subsoil became public property.

[10] Term that describes the organisation of social, economic and political power in rural Brazil for much of the 19th and early 20th century. Landholding families exerted considerable authority in these areas.

city (see also Brito, F.E., 2005); not only have its diamonds and industrial carbons been exported throughout Europe and the United States, but the wealth of its mines and the beauty of its natural environment have also long attracted the attention of foreign merchants, geologists, and intellectuals, who have travelled to the region to 'contemplate, and experience up close this phenomenon' (Moraes, 1997: 36, translation own). Yet, there is also a sense that local elites have self-consciously defined themselves in relation to this outside. In the accounts of locally born historians and intellectuals (see, for example, Pereira, 1910; Moraes, 1997; Sales, 1955), significance emphasis is placed on the importance of the city's links to Europe, in characterising local cultural formations.[11] That is to say, there is a sense that it is through the cultivation of a particular relationship with Europe that local elites have sought to naturalise their claims to social and economic superiority (see also Brito, F.E., 2005). This dynamic has not subsided but remains relevant to the present-day. As I will demonstrate in the chapters that follow, it is through positioning themselves in relation to notions progress and development—often described as brought in from the outside—that tourism's social and economic elites are renegotiating their control of local resources.

Finally, crucial insights into the social and economic organisation of the city of Lençóis are also revealed in accounts detailing the labour relations that structured processes of diamond exploration and extraction. In the diamond mines of the Chapada Diamantina, it is possible to identify the existence of two categories of labourer, the *trabalhador cautivo* or *escravo* (slave) and the *trabalhador livre* (free labourer) (Catharino, 1986: chapter 7). Until the abolition of slavery in 1888, both slaves and free labourers worked the region's soils, however, it is suggested that unlike the diamond regions of Minas Gerais, in the Lavras Diamantinas free labour predominated (Catharino, 1986: 221).

In his analysis of life in the diamond mining regions of Bahia, Herberto Sales (1955) provides a detailed description of labour relations in the Chapada Diamantina. According to his account, *garimpeiros livres* worked predominantly in small groups or teams known as *sociedades* (partnerships), formed on the basis of *fornecimento*

[11] F.E Brito (2005) also notes the importance of European culture in the development of the local traditions and customs. He argues that finding themselves in possession of significant economic capital, these groups sought to improve their condition of 'extreme cultural poverty' through the appropriation of the tastes and habits of the European bourgeoisie (87-88). Here I echo Brito analysis but I also extend his observations in pointing to the continuation of this dynamic in the present-day.

(32). *Fornecimento,* he explains, is perhaps best understood as a contract between *socios* (partners), by which a *fornecedor* (supplier of contracts) agreed to provide the *garimpeiro* with a regular supply of food and other basic provisions in exchange for privileges over the purchase of any diamonds found. This partnership could also extend to *diaristas* or *alugados* (day labourers) who were employed to assist the *garimpeiro* in washing the *cascalho*. Reflecting on the situation of the region's miners, Sales (1955) suggest that these were perhaps the least favoured of all rural workers. Considered equal partners, the *fornecedor* had no responsibilities with regards to the welfare of the *garimpeiro*. This state of vulnerability was further increased in situations where the *fornecedor* was also the owner of local stores. *Garimpeiros* were typically provided with credit enabling them to purchase extra food and provisions (32-33).

Aside from his relationship to the *fornecedor*, the *garimpeiro livre* was also indebted to the *dono de serra* (landowner). Between 1891-1934, mining rights shifted from the state to the landowner and, as such, *garimpeiros* working on private land were required to pay a *quinto* (20%) to the *dono de serra*. The preferential rights of the *dono de serra,* combined with those of the *fornecedor,* left the *garimpeiro* with only a minimal stake in diamond production. Moreover, the power and influence of these economic elites enabled the manipulation of commodity chain in their favour. As Catharino (1986) emphasises, as the diamond passed from the hands of the *garimpeiro*, to the diamond cutter and ultimately falling into the possession of the diamond merchants, knowledge of its true value increased in such a way that the miner was always disproportionately compensated for his labour (238). The *garimpeiro* was caught up in a complex and unequal system of labour relations that positioned him time and time again as the least favoured in the exchange of capital and labour (Sales, 1955: 33).

1.4.4 The decline of mining and the search for economic alternatives

The diamond-mining boom in the Chapada Diamantina lasted little more 30 years and by 1871 the region had entered economic decline. Manual techniques proved increasingly unproductive and Bahian diamonds faced strong competition from their South African counterpart (Derby, 1905; see also Leal, 1978; Moraes, 1997). While a new market in *carbonados* or black industrial diamonds offered some respite for local miners, by the beginning of the 20th century, mining production had fallen

substantially. Writing in 1905, Derby suggested that while only a small percentage of the diamonds actually present in the region's soils had been extracted, modern techniques and hydraulic forces were needed to sustain productivity (150).

To fill the gap left in the wake of mining activities, during the early years of the 20th century, local elites began experimenting with agriculture and alternative extractive industries (Araújo et al, 2002; Brito, F.E., 2005; Ferreira, 1957). Describing economic activities during this period, Brito (2005) notes that, between 1920 and 1940, following the construction of a railway, a number of local landowners began trading with representatives of the Bahian wood industry, making lands available for the extraction of timber (Brito, F.E., 2005: 91). However, the labourers employed in this activity were predominantly from other regions; a fact that Brito (2005) attributes to 'the problem of a lack of workers both for agriculture and cattle grazing' (91, translation own).[12] Indeed, by 1950, the population of the municipality of Lençóis had fallen to just 9896, of which only 3007 were resident in the city of Lençóis (Ferreira, 1957: 389). The majority of the local population had moved to industrial centres, leaving behind only those too young or too old to work. Those that remained relied predominantly on remittances from family members, subsistence agriculture, small-scale mining activities.[13] Only with the arrival of the decade of the 1980s, did the region re-emerge as an area of significant economic and political interest (see chapter 4).

1.5 Who was the *garimpeiro*?

Finally, as a means of concluding this introductory chapter, I would like to provide some indication of the set of images and tropes commonly associated with the figure of the *garimpeiro*. With the birth of the diamond mining industry and the establishment of mining communities in the Chapada came the gradual elaboration and articulation of a particular mode of understanding the landscape, peoples and cultures of the *Lavras Diamantinas*. With time, the *garimpeiro* would come to represent much more than a mere socio-economic category but would be transformed

[12] There is a suggestion in F,E. Brito's account of a certain reluctance or resistance on the part of the working population to adapt to economic alternatives (2005: 91). Against this narrative, I would point to the veritable lack of state investment in the development of economic projects.

[13] According to the Encyclopaedia of Brazilian Municipalities (1957), the municipality's principal economic activity in 1950 was agriculture, with 20% of the active population employed in the cultivation of crops such as, sugar cane, rice and coffee. Beyond agriculture, 15% of the population was involved in extractive activities, including both logging and mining.

into a figure synonymous with regional, or "native" character. An understanding of these historical imaginaries will later underpin my exploration of how new economic and cultural formations have intervened in the construction of local subjectivities.

The term *garimpeiro* denotes, in its strictest sense, an explorer of precious metals and stones (Souza, 1939: 193-194; see also Catharino, 1986). However, since the establishment of mining activities in Brazil, cultural understanding of the inherent nature of the *garimpeiro* have been constructed in relation to a particular mode of inhabiting and interacting with the world. In his *Dictionary of the land and peoples of Brazil* (1939), Bernardino José de Souza provides a description of the origin of the term *garimpeiro,* offering crucial insights into how this figure has historically been understood:

> In Minas Gerais, this [*garimpeiro*] was the name given to those who furtively hunted for diamonds in districts where entry was prohibited to those unfamiliar with the legal service of mining … Saint-Hiliaire writes that the name *garimpeiro* is nothing more than a corruption of *grimpeiro*, the name that they give to those outlaws and adventurers, who made the allusion of mining the hills, where they hide. In fact, it was said, first, *grimpeiro*, as can be verified in various passages of *Memórias Históricas e Políticas da Província da Bahia* by Ignácio Accioli, Vol. I, pgs. 273 and the following: "Back then the *sertão* of the river São Francisco was flailed by large numbers of miscreants, who meeting in groups, under the name *garimpeiros*, committed abhorrent atrocities …" (Souza, 1939: 193-194, translation own).

This account suggests that the *garimpeiro* was first conceptualised as a common adventurer, who living on the margins of society traded in contraband in order to sustain his existence. Occuping spaces of illegality and irregularity, *garimpeiros* were miscreants who showed not only disregard for the law but also a proclivity for violence and depravity.

This way of imagining the inherent nature of the *garimpeiro* can be seen to feed into early historical and literary accounts of the cultures and peoples of the *Lavras Diamantinas*. Those that migrated to the region in the mid 19th century were typically characterised as vagrants, criminals and drifters, drawn to the region by the promise of wealth and anonymity (see for example Gomes, 1952; Leal, 1978; Moraes, 1997; Periera, 1907, 1910). This image of the local populace can be found typified in the work of esteemed local author Afranio Peixoto, born in Lençóis in 1876. In his romance novel *Burgrinha* (1972), first published in 1922, Peixoto relays a conversation between two local residents in which they reflect on the insalubrious origins of their fellow compatriots:

> We are not worth this earth ... Who are we? Adventurers, immigrants, called from all over, by the unequalled wealth of these mines. Woe to you Lençóis! Every down-and-out, every beggar, bandit, horse-thief and woman of ill-repute from the hinterlands of Brazil has descended upon you … With slaves, criminals, vagabonds and whores, mixed with the good *sertanejos* of Bahia, and of Minas … No, we are not worth this earth! (45, translation adapted from Silva, 1993).

The romantic and rhetorical phrasing of this lament captures something of the essence of what was understood to be regional identity. Born of a heterogeneous mix of cultures and races, early inhabitants of the city of Lençóis lacked both heritage and history and thus any claim to moral or social status. Implicit in this extract is also a concern for the future of the region. Presented as unworthy of the land that sustains them, there is a suggestion that the social and economic development of the region is consigned to failure.

Yet, the heterogeneous social and cultural origins of the region's first inhabitants are not the only factor at play here. Amongst early literary and historical texts, there is also a suggestion that the character of this populace was intimately shaped by the demands of their labour (see for example Catharino, 1986; Gonçalves, 1984; Sales, 1955). In his examination of the processes involved in diamond mining, Catharino (1986) notes that there is a particular, even essential, relationship between the *garimpeiro* and his "preferred" mode of existence:

> The work of mining and the natural character of the miner are inseparable. In order to understand one you need to understand the other.
>
> Despite certain peculiarities, determined by the kind of mining activity and by the type of gem sought, it is possible to say that, in Brazil, the miner and mining have characteristics that are exclusive, essential and existential (Catharino, 1986: 141, translation own).

In Catharino's account, the *garimpeiro* emerges as a particular category of labourer, one whose "innate" characteristics are understood to be inseparable from the organisation and practice of mining activity. This perspective is also echoed in the work of Gonçalves (1984), who, in her anthropological study of the city of Lençóis, writes that the *garimpeiro's* "choice" of profession is almost inevitable; sons of a miner have always been miners (217).

Yet, what is it about this form of labour that is said to leave such an impression on the character of the *garimpeiro*? In much of the literature detailing life and labour in the *Capital das Lavras* considerable emphasis is placed on the notion that the work of the miner was in reality little more than *um jogo* (a game) or *um sonho* (dream) (see for example Catharino, 1986; Gonçalves, 1984; Moraes, 1997;

Sales, 1955). Even the most experienced of *garimpeiros* would be unable to predict the moment of their next *bamburrio* (big win), a fact that was considered to underpin the 'psychophysical structure and behaviour of the miner' (Catharino, 1986: 148, translation own). However, as Sales (1955) notes, despite the unpredictability of this mode of existence 'the miner would never swap his condition as autonomous worker for that of the employee, this would be to negate the spirit of adventure that so marks a life of mining, where there is always the possibility that a man, who is poor one day, could be rich the next' (36, translation own).

Product of this fickle and capricious mode of existence, the *garimpeiro* of the *Lavras Diamantinas* was also said to be incorrigibly extravagant. As Sales (1955) notes, by nature *um imprevidente* (improvident), the *garimpeiro* rarely put his money to good use (39):

> His true whim is to spent everything he earns … Stories circulate that can attest to this … like the one of a certain *garimpeiro* who, having spent two years without eating butter, on the day of making money in the *garimpo* went directly to the bakery and, upon purchasing a tub of approximately five kilos, spread butter all over his body, until the tub was empty! (Sales, 1955: 41)

For Sales, the *garimpeiro* was "naturally" inclined to lavish and indulgent behaviour. He goes on to note that the experience of spending such long period *infusado* (unable to find diamonds), instils within him an irrepressible desire to *esbanjar* (waste) everything he earns. This characteristic was thought to explain his failure to progress. As he concludes, while during the height of diamond mining, money 'ran like water', few miners were ever able to escape the conditions of their existence; 'the fingers of one hand, without doubt, enough to count the number of miners who have managed to establish independence' (43, translation own).

The sense of fatalism that structures ways of describing the behaviours and characteristics of the region's *garimpeiros* has interesting implications for my research. As I will explore in the chapters that follow, the notion that the *garimpeiro* was to some extent marked by an inability to progress, continues to shape ways of understanding the common cultural and psychical "failings" of the local working population. This is evident not only in popular discourse but to some extent influences local scholarship (Araújo et al, 2002; Brito, F.E., 2005; Senna, 1996, 2002). Describing the characteristics of the workforce involved in guiding activities, Brito notes that while the majority of these individuals choose to invest their earnings in real estate and in the local economy, some continue to follow the *tradição garimpeira*

(mining traditions), wasting their money on parties (284-285). Implicit here is a moral judgement as to the work ethic of the local population and as to their ability to manage their own lives and livelihoods (see chapter 5 for further discussion).

Yet, while traditionally portrayed as *inculta*, *ignorante e imprevidente* (uncultured, ignorant and improvident) accounts also emerge that speak of the "innate" honesty of the *garimpeiro*. In a newspaper article, published in 1970 in the *Tribuna da Bahia*, we find the following description:

> There is a special language that exists between miners and between miners and their masters. A citizen who doesn't know a *garimpeiro* would find it difficult to understand their conversations. The honesty of the *garimpeiro* is also recognised by everyone and rarely do you here stories of individuals who hid diamonds in their teeth. The *garimpeiro*, in general, has no desire to trick his master. There are neither cases or stories to be told: even the jail in Lençóis has been empty for 6 months (Franco, 1970, translation own).

Here there is the suggestion not only of relatively harmonious relations between the miner and his *patrão* (boss/master), but also of the existence of an attitude of compliance and passivity.[14] Published in the context of the campaign for the city's designation as a site of historical patrimony, I would suggest that this emphasis can also be read as an attempt to folklorise this mode of existence. As I will make clear in chapter four of this thesis, early attempts to establish a tourism industry in the area sought to capitalise on the culture and history of the local city (see also Brito, F.E., 2005).

This short section has provided an overview of some of the images and tropes that structure ways of understanding *garimpeiro* identity. The complexities and ambiguities of these imaginaries will continue to be drawn out as I explore how *garimpeiro* identity has been rearticulated in the context of economic restructuring. With the shift to ecological tourism, mining identities have become increasingly ambivalent and it is in this context that I am interested in exploring how cultural formations, both old and new, play into contemporary experiences of socio-economic exclusion.

[14] This suggestion is also echoed by Sales (1955) who suggests that attempts to trick or deceive diamond merchants were so few because miners themselves regarded this sort of behaviour reproachful, stigmatising anyone who tried it (43).

[i]Its intrinsic, there is no other way … you can't talk about Lençóis without talking about mining. Because tourism and mining are there together. There is no way of getting away from it, of forgetting *garimpo* and speaking only of tourism [Flavio, 15/08/2012, Lençóis].

Chapter 2

Mapping the theoretical debates

In this chapter, I provide an overview of the theoretical perspectives that inform this thesis. Bringing together literature from across a broad range of disciplines—anthropology, geography, political sciences and psychoanalysis—and combining a variety of approaches—post-structuralist, feminist, phenomenological and political economy—my aim is to create a framework capable of attending to the complexities I encountered in the field. In doing so, this chapter will set the direction for the arguments that follow, knitting together approaches that enable me to explore both the structural consequences of local political-economic transformations and the subjective experiencing of these processes.

In this thesis, I seek to make contribution to literature examining the lived effects of neoliberalism. My analysis proceeds from the notion that the rise and spread of neoliberal thinking has had profound consequences for ways of understanding social, economic and cultural relationships (see also Greenhouse, 2010; Kingfisher and Maskovsky, 2008; Ong, 2007). However, in adopting this perspective, I also recognise that there are 'processes and relations that cannot be reconfigured according to plan' (Li, 2007: 17). In building my argument, I am interested in examining how residual social and cultural formations, experiences of place, and forms of subjectivity constitute limits to neoliberalism. It is thus that, in this chapter, I bring together diverse literature on neoliberalism, ecotourism, place and subjectivity in order to develop a framework for engaging with my empirical data. Crucially, it is through my synthetic use of this material that I seek to illuminate the failures and contradictions of neoliberal-led development planning and to identify possibilities for contestation and critique.

This chapter is divided into four sections. I begin, in the first two sections, by outlining my understanding of neoliberalism and ecotourism. As I have already indicated, these are the forces that are driving local social and economic transformations. I will identify the theoretical origins of these political economic projects and explore recent ethnographic work on their social, cultural and economic impacts. In the second two sections, I move on to develop a reading of the concepts of place and subjectivity. These will be the key analytical categories through which I will develop the theoretical and empirical contributions of this thesis. My aim in these sections is to develop an understanding of place and of the subject that enables me to attend to the role of emotion, memory, and perception in the constitution of lived meaning. In particular, I seek to engage a robust conception of subjectivity, one that will be further developed in the substantive chapters of this thesis.

Finally, it is important to note that the purpose of this chapter is to map the key debates and theoretical discussions upon which the analysis of my research data depends. Over the course of my discussions, I trace the development of my understandings of certain terms and perspectives, setting out both the insights they provide and their limitations. However, in each of these cases I attempt no thorough review, but aim to provide an indication of the notions and approaches that have structured my own interpretations.

2.1 Neoliberalism

This thesis contends that one of the central forces driving local processes of place transformation is neoliberalisation. Since the early 1990s, successive Brazilian governments have implemented a neoliberal economic agenda, moulding this political economic project to the national context (see section 4.3.1). In this section, I set out my understanding of the key perspectives and principles that underpin neoliberal theory and explore some of the ways it has been adopted and critiqued by scholars working in and across the social sciences. My aim is to convey the complexity of this body of work, while also recognising its limitations.

2.1.1 Defining neoliberalism

The lack of precision that surrounds scholarly use of the term neoliberalism has been frequently noted. Described by Neil Brenner, Jamie Peck and Nik Theodore (2010) as something of a 'rascal concept'—'promiscuously pervasive, yet inconsistently defined, empirically imprecise and frequently contested' (184)—the term is mobilised

in numerous and often contradictory ways. In this short section, I provide an introduction to the historical development of neoliberal ideas and examine their relationship to classical liberal tenets. My central concern is to acknowledge the complexity of this body of work and to identify the key perspectives upon which neoliberal theory depends.

It is, so far, uncontroversial to note that neoliberal ideas first gained prominence in the late 1970s. Until this time, social democratic trends and pro-collectivist liberalism had dominated the politics of much of Western Europe; however, in the context of deepening political and economic crisis, politicians on both the right and the left began implementing a new policy agenda, one based in macroeconomic management theories such as monetarism, deregulation, and market reform (Jones, 2012: 1-2; see also Mirowski and Plehwe, 2009). This shift in approach has been characterised by Brenner and Theodore (2002) as 'a strategic political response', triggered by the crisis of Keynesian welfare policies and global economic recession (350).

Yet, while slow to influence policy-making, neoliberal ideas have deep intellectual roots. Developing as a tendency within liberalism, the meaning and contemporary relevance of classical liberal values such as individualism, economic freedom and limited government had been the subject of lively discussion since the early 1920s (see Jones, 2012; Mirowski and Plehwe, 2009). In the context of the great depression and in response to the rising threat of Nazi fascism, liberals began debating the proper functions of the state and the value of a market-based society (Jones, 2012; Mirowski and Plehwe, 2009). Key protagonists in these discussions were German Ordoliberals and Austrian Economists. These two schools of thought, while distinct in many important respects,[1] contributed significantly to defining neoliberal perspectives on the social character of economic relations and the rationalistic basis of human action (see Barry, 1986). It is thus, as Plehwe (2009) argues, neoliberalism must be considered a transdisciplinary, transnational political philosophy, its development viewed as gradual and as taking place across a broad network of people and places.

However, it was not until the post-war years that neoliberal thought became significantly organised. Much of this intellectual work took place at the Mont Pelerin

[1] See Barry (1986), particularly chapters 3 and 4, for a discussion of these two schools of economic liberalism.

Society (MPS). Founded in 1947, the development of this scholarly network is the subject of detailed examination in Philip Mirowski and Dieter Plehwe's edited volume *The Road from Mont Pelerin* (2009). For these authors, the MPS gave birth to 'an incipient neoliberal thought collective that led to the creation of a *comprehensive* transnational discourse community' (5). Encompassing diverse schools of political, social and economic thought, Mont Pelerin created a space in which 'like-minded' individuals came together to share expertise and debate effective opposition to what was then perceived as the imminent dangers of collectivism and socialism (6; see also Jones, 2012). As these authors write, it was here that neoliberalism emerged as a 'pluralist organism striving to distinguish itself from its three primary foes: laissez-faire classical liberalism, social welfare liberalism, and socialism' (Mirowski and Plehwe, 2009: 431).

At the forefront of neo-liberal theorising at Mont Pelerin stood Friedrich A. Hayek. Responsible, as John Gray (1995) writes, for the revisioning of classical liberalism in the postwar period, his ideas contributed to the strengthening of the neo-liberal movement (38). Guided by the teachings of leading Austrian Economist von Mises, Hayek developed a case for the moral superiority of the market and set out its role in co-ordinating the social order (Crowley, 1987). For Hayek, it was the spontaneous order of the market that could best secure economic efficiency, justice and the freedom of all men. As Brian Lee Crowley (1987) summarises, Hayek believed that by ensuring that all of a society's dispersed knowledge is taken into account, the market 'leaves men free to choose their own aims while simultaneously encouraging them to offer to all men the greatest possible opportunity to gratify their desires' (49).

This vision of the market feeds into Hayek's critique of social democratic traditions and, more specifically, distributive justice. As Crowley (1987) explains, for Hayek, any attempt at planning is based on a 'spurious and untenable pretence of knowledge' and is doomed to failure (47). According to Hayekian thought, government activity should be limited to the reinforcement of market spontaneity; that is, to its co-ordination through the rule of law (Turner, 2008). This way of envisioning the relationship between the state and the market remains at the heart of much neoliberal thinking.

By the 1970s, Hayek's writings had achieved significant notoriety. Alongside the theories of Milton Freidman, his ideas came to fuel the work of economists based

in the Chicago School. Developing, in this context, as a form of neo-classical marcoeconomics, neoliberal ideas began to gain traction in public debates, sparking the interest of policy makers in both the U.S. and Europe (Jones, 2012). Over the coming decades, neoliberal arguments would claim an increasingly prominent place at global level; the political projects of Thatcher and Regan, IMF structural adjustment programs and Pinochet's military regime in Chile can all be understood as symptomatic of the spread and rise of neoliberal thinking.

In summary, this brief overview of the history of neoliberal thought indicates that, far from being a clearly defined political philosophy, neoliberalism is a mobile and changing ideology (Jones, 2012; Mirowski and Plehwe, 2009). Emerging as a historical response to the failures of 20th century capitalism, the neoliberal movement took shape in a transatlantic context and encompassed discussions across and within diverse institutions (Jones, 2012; Mirowski and Plehwe, 2009). However, while varied and complex in origin, neoliberal ideas can be understood to crystallise around a core preoccupation; that is, for the primary role of the market in securing progress, justice and individual liberty.

2.1.1.1 The Neoliberal Self

Before moving on to a discussion of common critiques of neoliberal claims, it is worth examining the vision of the subject that underpins neoliberal reasoning. Given my interest in the impact of neoliberal-led development planning on local subjectivities, it is important to establish the particular view of the self that implicitly informs neoliberal arguments. Over the course of my discussion, it will become clear that I view the neoliberal model of the self as limited by its reliance on a relatively narrow conception of the self (see also Crowley, 1987), one that provides no basis for attending to the role of emotion, memory and perception in shaping lived meaning.[2]

At the heart of neoliberal thought lies a particular vision of the subject, an a priori concept based in theories of rational action. As Crowley (1987) explains, in Hayekian thought, man emerges as wholly self-motivating and self-determining, a subject whose capacity to choose and act morally is directly related to his ability to abstract himself from the empirical world—from the world of experience and attachments—and to exercise pure practical reason (Crowley, 199). For Hayek, 'what makes us truly human is only the higher reasoning self, the unencumbered, radically

[2] In section 2.4, I look to alternative theories to develop a more nuanced account of the human actor.

individuated subject of choice' (Crowley, 1987: 198). It is in this context that the impersonal and spontaneous order of market emerges as the superior mechanism for directing human action. The market plays an epistemological role, providing individuals with the information they need to make appropriate decisions (Kely, 1994; see also Crowley, 1987).

It is important to note that Hayek's vision of the human actor has strong Kantian foundations and is, in part, inspired by classical liberal thought (Crowley, 1987). As Michael Sandel (1984) describes in his oft-cited essay *The Procedural Republic and the Unemcumbered Self*, the liberal ethic both presupposes and requires a subject prior to and independent of experience. Freedom comes from the subordination of experience in favour of practical reason; as Sandel writes, 'only if my identity is never tied to the aims and interests I may have at any moment can I think of myself as a free and independent agent, capable of choice' (86).

This way of envisioning the subject has important implications for my argument. As many critics of liberal theory have pointed out, in presupposing detachment from experience, liberalism engages a 'thin' notion of the self, one that that fulfils normative rather than descriptive ends (see Crowley, 1987). It is thus that while recognising the sophistication of this body of work, I look beyond the neoliberal model of the self to develop a vision of the subject capable of attending to the complexities of subjectivity I encountered in the field (see section 2.4).

2.1.2 Critiquing neoliberalism

As neoliberalism has risen in prominence so to has it been the subject of increasing critique. Articulated from diverse epistemological, ontological and methodological perspectives, these critiques have examined how neoliberal ideas have come to permeate political thinking, often mobilised to serve dominant powers. In this section, I provide an overview of the contributions made by Marxist and Foucauldian understandings of neoliberalism. While some have suggested that these approaches are irreconcilable, I follow scholars such as, Wendy Larner (2003), Matt Sparke (2006b) and England and Ward (2008) in advocating for the analytical value of bringing together the insights provided by these perspectives. As argued by England and Ward (2008), while there is much that distinguishes these perspectives—including 'their intellectual referents, ontological categories, and epistemological

assumptions'—there are points of connection that mean the two can be held in 'productive tension' (259).

2.1.2.1 The Marxist critique

David Harvey's work, and in particular his *Brief History of Neoliberalism*, represents perhaps the most significant Neo-Marxist critique of neoliberal political ideology. Concerned for how neoliberalism has interacted with global capitalism, he traces the origins, rise and spread of this economic doctrine and explores the implications of its status a hegemonic mode of discourse, 'incorporated into the common-sense way many of us interpret, live in, and understand the world' (3). Crucially, for Harvey (2005), while appealing to the values of individual freedom and human dignity, neoliberalism is, in practice, dominated by attempts 'to re-establish the conditions for capital accumulation and to restore the power of economic elites' (19). Focusing on the class politics implicit within neoliberal rule, he provides a description of the mechanisms through which neoliberalism seeks to redistribute rather than generate wealth and income, a process he terms 'accumulation by dispossession' (159).

This is a perspective that is also strongly advanced by Alfredo Saad-Filho and Deborah Johnston (2005). Arguing that neoliberalism constitutes a 'hegemonic system of enhanced exploitation of the majority' (5), they write:

> Under the ideological veil of non-intervention, neoliberalism involves extensive and invasive interventions in every area of social life. It imposes a specific form of social and economic regulation based on the prominence of finance, international elite integration, subordination of the poor in every country and universal compliance with US interests. Finally, neoliberalism does not foster rapid accumulation. Although it enhances the power and the living standards of the global elite and its appendages, it is destructive for the vast majority. Domestically, the expansion of 'market relations' tramples upon rights of access to food, water, education, work, land, housing, medical care, transportation and public amenities as well as on gender relations (4).

Here Saad-Filho and Johnston's analysis echoes that of Harvey (2005). In both these accounts we have the depiction of neoliberalism as a powerful ideology, one involved in obscuring the workings of power. As Harvey (2005) emphasises, there is a 'burgeoning disparity' between neoliberalism's declared public aims—the well-being of all—and its actual consequences—the restoration of class power (79). Entailing much 'creative destruction', he credits neoliberalism with transforming not only social relations and welfare provisions but also 'ways of life and thought' and 'attachments to the land and habits of the heart' (Harvey, 2005: 3).

What the accounts provided by Harvey (2005) and Saad-Filho and Johnston (2005) make clear is that neoliberalism constitutes an economic and political ideology that serves to legitimise the perpetuation of unequal power relations. This notion challenges neoliberal claims to justice and freedom in ways that have important implications for my analysis. Despite promises of social and economic transformation, the shift to tourism can be understood as a process through which local elites have simply renegotiated their claim on local resources and political power (see chapter 4). However, questions remain; what is the impact of neoliberalism on local subjectivities? How has it transformed the lived experiences of daily life? To understand these lived processes, I look to literature exploring neoliberalism as a mode of governmentality.

2.1.2.2 The Foucauldian critique

While some have argued that Foucault's 1978 and 1979 lectures at the *Collège de France* represented an apology of neoliberalism,[3] in this thesis, I follow Newheiser (2016) in viewing these lectures as offering a powerful critique of neoliberal claims.[4] Key to understanding this critique is the concept of governmentality, through which it is possible to identify the distinctly biopolitical nature of neoliberal rule (Newheiser, 2016).[5]

Foucault's writings on the concept of governmentality problematise, as Paul Rainbow and Nicholas Rose (2003) write, 'endeavors by authorities to conduct the conduct of their human charges towards certain ends' (x). Tracing the development of a number of writings on the "art of government" since the late 16th century, Foucault argues that, by the end of the 18th century, government had come to be primarily concerned with achieving the "right disposition of things"; that is to say, with arranging and disposing 'men in their relations, their links, their imbrication with things' (Foucault, 2003: 235). This marked a departure in ways of envisioning the finality of rule, displacing a concern for the preservation of sovereignty and control of the territory, for a concern for the management of populations.[6] As he writes:

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[3] See in particular (Becker, Ewald and Harcourt, 2012). Ewald, editor of these lectures, argues that Foucault defends neoliberalism.
[4] See also Lemke (2001, 2002).
[5] Lemke (2001, 2002) also points to the value of governmentality for critiquing neoliberalism.
[6] Legg (2005) provides a useful review of Foucault's writings on biopolitics (see also Lazarrato, 2006; Rutherford, 2007)

> In contrast to sovereignty, government has as its purpose not the act of government itself, but the welfare of the population, the improvement of its condition, the increase of its wealth, longevity, health, and so on and the means the government uses to attain these ends are themselves all, in some sense, immanent to the population; it is the population itself on which government will act either directly, through large-scale campaigns, or indirectly, through techniques that will make possible, without the full awareness of the people, the stimulation of birth rates, the directing of the flow of population into certain regions or activities, and so on (Foucault, 2003: 241).

For Foucault, while the emergence of this "art of government" did not signify the end of neither sovereign nor disciplinary forms of government, it did represent a movement in political thought; a movement that, from the 18th century onwards, would inform the development of new modalities and new techniques of governmental rule (Foucault, 2003: 242-243).

The application of the concept of governmentality to the study of the neoliberal state was advanced by Foucault himself, however, amongst proponents of this approach, the work of Thomas Lemke, renowned sociologist and social theorist, provides a convincing argument as to the relevance of Foucault's writings for elaborating a critique of neoliberalism (see Lemke, 2001, 2002). In his article *Foucault, Governmentality, and Critique* (2002), Lemke divides these contributions into three lines of analysis.

For Lemke (2002), the first contribution offered by the concept of governmentality is rooted in its emphasis on understanding the rationale through which the exercise of power is justified (54-55). As he writes, 'the concept of governmentality suggests that it is important to see not only whether neoliberal rationality is an adequate representation of society but also how it functions as a "politics of truth," producing new forms of knowledge, inventing different notions and concepts that contribute to the "government" of new domains of regulation and intervention' (55). This position is also adopted by Nikolas Rose (1999) who suggests that studies of governmentality can be understood as studies of a particular 'stratum' of knowing and acting. They are concerned with investigating the 'conditions of possibility and intelligibility for certain ways of seeking to act upon the conduct of others, or oneself, to achieve certain ends' (19).

Second, Lemke argues that the concept of governmentality corrects traditional analyses of the relationship between the economy and politics under neoliberalism (57). As he writes, Foucault's analysis demonstrates that 'the so-called retreat of the state is in fact a prolongation of government: neoliberalism is not the end but a transformation of politics that restructures the power relations in society' (Lemke,

2002: 58). Here Lemke presents the Foucauldian analytic as extending the Marxist presumption that there is no market independent from the state. Indeed, as Adams (2007) identifies, under neoliberalism 'regulatory discourses … have radiated outward towards an increasing number of social institutions' (80).[7]

Finally, Lemke also highlights how the concept of governmentality foregrounds the role of indirect techniques of government in leading and controlling individual action (59). As he explains, 'from the perspective of governmentality the polarity of subjectivity and power ceases to be plausible: government refers to a continuum, which extends from political government right through to forms of self-regulation—namely, "technologies of the self"' (59). Crucially, as he emphasises, this suggests that it is important to take into account that while neoliberalism may destroy forms of identity, it also produces new forms of subjectivity (59).

What emerges clearly in Lemke's analysis is the suggestion that the value of the concept of governmentality for the study of neoliberalism rests on its emphasis on problematising the truth-effects of particular governmental regimes and in recognising their imbrication in social mechanisms of exploitation and domination (Lemke, 2002: 60). As Read (2009) summarises, neoliberalism constitutes not only 'an ideology that can be refused and debunked' but is also 'an intimate part of how our lives and subjectivities are structured' (Read, 2009: 35). This notion has particular relevance for my study as I explore how neoliberal transformations are experienced by local men and women and examine their relationship to the organisation of social and economic relations. In chapter 5, I am interested in identifying how neoliberal principles have intervened in defining ideas about what constitutes productive life, labour and subjectivity.

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[7] This point is particularly relevant. A number of studies have identified the multiplicity of state and non-state agencies involved in contemporary forms of government. In an article entitled *The Uses of Neoliberalism* (2009), James Ferguson notes that the last couple of decades have seen 'an explosion in de facto government carried out by an extraordinary swarm of NGOs, voluntary organizations, and private foundations' (168). He suggests that this is linked to the decoupling of social policy from the nation state and to the emergence of new configurations of governmental power. That is to say, this erosion of direct state action should not be interpreted as a 'retreat of politics' (Lemke, 2002: 57). As Jeff Garmany (2009) points out in his examination of the politics of social control in Brazilian *favelas*, in fact, the 'state can be very 'present' even in spaces that appear to bear little material evidence of it' (725). For Garmany, a Foucauldian perspective provides a useful lens for examining how 'state manifest in everyday life, producing order and self-disciplining bodies' (735). In Lençóis, recent years have seen a proliferation of NGO activities. These agencies, alongside schools, training centres, local businesses, environmental groups and health centres, play an important role in governing conduct, as do daily social interactions.

Linked to the suggestion that neoliberalism plays a key role in producing certain truth and subjectivities, the Foucauldian analytic also reveals the powerfully normalising effects of neoliberal rule.[8] As Newheiser (2016) argues, Foucault's writings challenge neoliberal claims to preserve individual freedom and choice and reveal the 'paradigmatically biopolitical' nature of this political project (9). Further insight into how neoliberalism enables 'the extension of power in the name of liberty' can be drawn from work exploring Foucault's conceptualisation of the figure of *homo oeconomicus.*[9]

Much of the governmentality literature places emphasis on how the figure of *homo economicus* provides a framework for understanding the ways in which neoliberalism reconfigures the relationship between the state and the individual (Brown, 2003; Lazzarato, 2009; Lemke, 2001, 2002; McNay, 2009; Read, 2009; Rose, 1999). For Foucault, the advent of neoliberalism brought about a shift in understandings of the economic subject, a shift 'from an anthropology of exchange to one of competition (Read, 2009: 28). As Lazzarato (2009) explains:

> Neoliberal government intervenes in the domain of the social by converting the latter into a function of the enterprise. It intervenes to promote multiplicity, differentiation and competition of enterprises and to incite and constrain each individual to become an entrepreneur of him/herself to become 'human capital' (120).

Remodelled according to the logic of competition, the model neoliberal citizen is, as Wendy Brown (2003) writes, a rational, calculating creature, 'whose moral autonomy is measured by their capacity for "self-care" – the ability to provide for their own needs and service their own ambitions'.

However, of particular relevance here is the emphasis on active self-regulation. As Nikolas Rose (1999) explains, under what he terms "advanced liberalism", the ideal of the social state gives way to that of the enabling state and the individual is made partially responsible for their own well-being (142):

> The human beings who were to be governed – men and women, rich and poor – were now conceived as individuals who were active in making choices in order to further their own interests and those of their family: they were thus potentially active in their own government. The powers of the state thus had to be directed to empowering the entrepreneurial subjects of choice in their quest for self-realisation (141-142).

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[8] Here I draw on David Newheiser's recent article. Newheiser argues that Foucault's lectures develop a penetrating critique of the neoliberal claim to preserve individual liberty and demonstrates how the economic approach, developed by theorists like Becker, enables behaviour to be governed indirectly.
[9] The phrase 'the extension of power in the name of liberty' is Newheiser's (2016).

While basing his observations predominantly on an analysis of politics in Britain and the United States, what I draw from Rose's (1999) formulations is the suggestion that neoliberal arts of rule are based in a distinct conceptualisation of the human actor (see also Read, 2009); what he terms a new ethics of the subject (166). The ideal neoliberal subject is autonomous, responsible and self-motivated, an entrepreneur of the self ruled through freedom[10] (see also Brown, 2003; Dean, 1999; Lazzarato , 2009; McNay, 2009; Read, 2009). Crucially, this way of conceptualising the subject restructures ways of understandings the functions of the state and contributes to the redefinition of the threshold for social inclusion (Rose, 1999; chapter 4). Moreover, operating through the choices, desires, aspirations, needs and wants of individuals, we see what Read (2009) has described as the fundamental paradox of neoliberal governmentality: 'as power becomes less restrictive, less corporeal, it also becomes more intense, saturating the field of actions, and possible actions' (Read, 2009: 29).

This suggestion has important implications for how we conceptualise dynamics of social control under neoliberalism and, with it, possibilities for resistance. Here, articles by Lois McNay (2009) and Maurizio Lazzarato (2009) are particularly enlightening. Exploring how neoliberalism works in practice, Lazzarato seeks to identify the implications of neoliberalism's reformulation of subjectivity in supporting 'a specific, capitalist, distribution of power and wealth' (110). For Lazzarato, the mechanisms and principles that work to promote individualisation and to transform the worker into "human capital" fulfil of a double process of subjection and exploitation. Following Deleuze and Guattari, he argues:

> On the one hand, 'human capital' takes individualization to its highest degree, since the subject implicates in all its activities 'immaterial resources' of the 'self' that are affective and cognitive. On the other hand, the techniques of 'human capital' lead to the identification of individualisation with exploitation, since the 'entrepreneur of oneself' is both manager and slave of him/herself, capitalist and proletarian (126).

This notion that, in making the worker responsible for their own well-being, neoliberalism further contributes to processes of precarisation and exploitation is particularly compelling. In the substantive chapters of this thesis, I explore the damage inflicted on subjectivity by neoliberal demands and examine how discourses

[10] Freedom, in Rose's (1999) calculation is redefined. As he writes, 'no longer freedom from want, which might be provided by a cosseted life on benefits: it is the capacity of self-realization which can be obtained only through individual activity' (145). Freedom not simply as an abstract ideal but as material, technical, practical and governmental (63). It is here that Dean (1999) also points to the ambivalent position of freedom in advanced liberal regimes: 'it can act as a principle of philosophical critique while at the same time be an artefact of multiple practices of government' (165).

of self-reliance and responsibility serve to legitimise processes of abandonment and exclusion.

Similarly concerned with the how power functions within the neoliberal state, Lois McNay (2009) raises questions as to the consequences of the reconfiguration of the self as enterprise for thinking about freedom, resistance and political opposition. For McNay, the idea of responsible self-management not only weakens the state's obligations to its citizens but also 'profoundly depoliticizes social and political relations by fragmenting collective values of care, duty and obligation, and displacing then back on to the managed autonomy of the individual' (65). In this context, she asks 'if, under neoliberalism, individual autonomy is not a limit to social control but one of its central supports, what form can effective political opposition take?' (65). These questions, while not the explicit focus of this thesis, have influenced the manner in which I approach and interpret emergent signs of contestation and critique in my empirical data.

In summary, Foucault's writings, and the analysis he has inspired, provide a lens for understanding how neoliberal arts of rule are involved in the management of human conduct. They call into question the claim to preserve individual freedom, dignity and choice, gesturing towards the distinctly biopolitical nature of neoliberal rule (Newheiser, 2016). In this thesis, I draw on this analytic as I investigate how neoliberal perspectives and principles have come to structure the manner in which local men and women experience and understand their place in the new economy. Taken together with Marxist critiques, these readings provide a framework for reading the lived effects of recent political and cultural interventions and for identifying the role of neoliberal arguments in reinforcing historic social and economic inequalities.

2.1.3 Recognising neoliberalism's limits

However, while offering important insights into how power works under neoliberalism, both Marxist and Foucauldian accounts can be criticised for their tendency to portray the effects of this ideological or governmental project as to some extent all-encompassing.[11] In this thesis, I am concerned for the role played by

[11] This is particularly true of the Marxist account, which has been criticised for its tendency to portray neoliberalism as an 'economic tsumani … gathering force across the globe' (Ong, 2007: 4). But similarly, Foucauldian accounts have also received criticism for what has been described by Barnett (2005) as their against 'an overly statist rendition of governmentality'. Barnett challenges its tendency

neoliberal-led governmental projects in shaping individual hopes, aspirations and desires, but I also interested in how these projects are received and resisted by local people and in how they interact with existing socio-economic and political formations. It is thus that, in order to more fully capture these complexities, I supplement the theoretical arguments outlined so far with insights proffered by scholars working in and across the fields of geography and anthropology. In doing so, I follow Carol Greenhouse (2010) in highlighting the value of an ethnographic perspective to understanding the opportunities and challenges presented by neoliberal reform (2).[12]

Human geographer and sociologist Wendy Larner (2003) writes of the importance of considering the 'messy actualities' of particular neoliberal projects. In her discussion of the "New Zealand experiment", she emphasises the importance of making visible 'the contradictions, complexities and inconsistencies that inevitably characterize neoliberal political projects' (16). Neoliberalism, as she stresses, emerges in the context of struggle and competition and can produce 'unintended outcomes and unexpected alignments' (16). Crucially then, for Larner, it is important to recognise that 'the emergence of new political projects is never a complete rupture with what has gone before, but rather is part of an ongoing process involving the recomposition of political rationalities, programmes and identities' (16).

Similarly, anthropologists Catherine Kingfisher and Jeff Maskovsky (2008) emphasise that neoliberalism is an unstable and incomplete process, 'fraught with contradiction and partiality and subject to limitation' (115; see also Ong, 2007). Drawing on both Marxist and post-structuralist frameworks, they clarify that their intention is 'to interrogate, situate and problematize (rather than overstate) neoliberalism's power to reshape the world' (119). For these authors, there is something of value in mapping its 'articulations and intersections with other political-cultural formations and governing projects'; some of which, as they emphasise, 'are

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to neglect the role of socio-cultural processes in provoking changes in modes of governance (7-8; see also England and Ward, 2008; Legg, 2005; Sparke, 2006b).

[12] Carol Greenhouse's recent book *Ethnographies of Neoliberalism* (2010) has been particularly useful in situating the methodological and empirical contributions of this thesis. Greenhouse argues convincingly for the need to approach neoliberalism as experience and thus as necessarily involving problems of interpretation (2). Crucially, she argues that ethnography offers the methodological tools for demonstrating how 'the social effects of neoliberalism are potentially its limiting conditions' (4). This thesis seeks to contribute to filling this gap in studies of neoliberalism.

as likely to appropriate neoliberalism for their own purposes as the other way around' (115).

Finally, Kim England and Kevin Ward (2008) also emphasise the analytical and theoretical value of exploring how neoliberalisation plays out differently in different places (251). For these authors, it is important to recognise that 'neoliberalism is made by actually existing people in actually existing spaces and involves material inequalities' (England and Ward, 2008: 261). They therefore suggest that it is theoretically informed empirical work that is best equipped to gauge possibilities for transformation (see also Greenhouse, 2010):

> A geographical imagination that engages with the material and with the lives of people "on the ground" can uncover the contradictions, continuities, and nuances in neoliberalism that might otherwise be seen as monolithic and inevitable. This in turn offers potential avenues for all sorts of empirical, theoretical, and political possibilities, the progressive use of research, and hopefully even strategies for social and political change (England and Ward, 2008: 262).

Following these authors, in this thesis I hope to capture 'the power of neoliberalism without re-inscribing "it" as a unitary hegemonic project' (251). It is through attention to the storied accounts and lived experiences of local people that I hope to make a contribution to understanding how neoliberal projects are made concrete and meaningful in everyday life and how, ultimately, they may be made subject to contestation and critique (England and Ward, 2008: 262).

To sum up, what this empirical and ethnographically grounded work demonstrates is the value of engaging with the specific context of political-economic change. Neoliberalism does indeed play an important role in producing places, knowledges and subjectivities, but it also enters into complex relationships with already existing political-economic, geographic and cultural formations (Kingfisher and Maskovsky, 2008; see also England and Ward, 2008; Kingfisher, 2008; Larner, 2003). In this thesis, I bring together understandings provided by this empirically informed material with Foucauldian and Marxist inspired critiques in order to shed light on the local specificities of neoliberal restructuring. My contribution lies in my attempt to knit together this wide spectrum of approaches and in my use of this material to shed light on complex empirical realities. Following Greenhouse (2012), I argue that it is through engaging with social realms 'reanimated, recovered or brought into being' by neoliberal reform that we may come to understand the limits of this political project (8).

2.2 Eco-tourism

Understood as a particular modality developing within neoliberalism, this thesis focuses on the particular role played by ecotourism discourses and practices in reshaping local lives and subjectivities. In this section, I explore key theoretical approaches to the analysis of ecotourism development projects and provide an overview of existing empirical research in this area. This context is then used as a basis for identifying my contribution to this literature.

2.2.1 Eco-tourism and debates on the neoliberalisation of nature

For Mowforth and Munt (1998), the emergence of ecotourism is linked to the rise of an array of new forms of tourism that, in seeking to distinguish themselves from conventional mass tourism, claim to be in some way alternative, different or sustainable (5). Ecotourism, thus, generally signals a concern for the environment and an interest in the social and economic well-being of local people (Mowforth and Munt, 1998; Stronza, 2007; West and Carrier, 2004). As West and Carrier (2004) write, ecotourists can be loosely defined as 'people who travel to enjoy features of the environment among attractive exotic people in ways that are responsible environmentally and beneficial socioculturally' (483). However, the notion that ecotourism constitutes a necessarily more benign or benevolent form of tourism has not gone uncontested (see Mowforth and Munt, 1998). As Mowforth and Munt's (1998) emphasise, the principal of sustainability that underpins many new forms of tourism is open to manipulation (52). For these authors, crucial questions remain: how do 'socio-cultural, economic and political processes operate *on* and *through* tourism'? (2, emphasis in original), 'what is sustainable tourism seeking to sustain and for whom?' (64).

In recent years, much of the literature seeking to answer this critique has linked an examination of ecotourism development to work on the "neoliberalisation of nature" (Bakker, 2010; Castree, 2008; McCarthy and Prudham, 2004). This perspective, as summarised by Noel Castree (2008), contends that neoliberalism has profound implications for access to and use of the natural world and seeks to examine the effects and consequences of nature's subsumption to market rationality. These insights have, in turn, fed into debates concerning 'current alliances' between capitalist and conservationist agendas (Brockington and Duffy, 2010; Brockington et

al, 2008; Igoe and Brockington, 2007; Igoe et al, 2010).[13] As Brockington and Duffy (2010) point out, while capitalism has long been an ally of conservationism,[14] neoliberalism significantly alters ways of conceptualising this relationship. Crucially, neoliberal logics dictate that capitalism's environmental contradiction can best be overcome not by 'ring-fencing the non-human world (e.g. through state protection) but by bringing it more fully within the universe of capital accumulation' (Castree, 2008; 146-147).

Informed by these perspectives, research on ecotourism has examined the extent to which discourses and practices of tourism development and biodiversity conservation are underpinned by neoliberal logic (Duffy, 2008; Igoe and Brockington, 2007; Neves, 2010). Rosaleen Duffy (2008) notes that ecotourism has become a kind of 'magic bullet' for sustainable development in the South. Noting its capacity to mobilise powerful networks of support—state actors, local communities, global NGOS, donors and IFIs—she locates its appeal in the claim to 'simultaneously satisfy and speak to numerous agendas: capitalist development, community development, poverty alleviation, wildlife conservation and environmental protection' (341). For Duffy (2008), critical analysis of ecotourism development must look beyond these assumptions and examine, as she writes, 'the complexity of power relations produced by a commitment to ecotourism' (328). In this thesis, I take a critical stance to the analysis of local processes of ecotourism development, examining how what is often presented as an 'essentially benign' relationship between economic development and conservation, reflects and interacts with broader inequalities (Duffy, 2008; Neves, 2010).[15]

Developing in close relationship to this work, studies also point to the manner in which ecotourism functions as a mode of governance (Fletcher, 2009, 2010; West and Carrier, 2004). This perspective can be seen as forming part of a broader body of work examining environmental conservation practices through the lens of the concept of governmentality (Agrawal, 2005; Luke, 1995, 1999; Rutherford, 2007). In his essay *Environmentality as Green Governmentality* (1999), Luke examines discourses on the environment in the United States, tracing, as he writes, recent 'green twists in

[13] The expression 'current alliances' is Brockington and Duffy's (2010: 470).
[14] Escobar's (1995) work has been particularly influential in deconstructing the capitalist agenda underpinning the sustainable development discourse.
[15] The phrase 'essentially benign relationship' is Neves' (2010: 722)

the logic of governmentality' (122). Luke (1999) argues that governmental projects, like that of sustainable development, rest on and are legitimised via the production of eco-knowledges. These eco-knowledges 'classify, organise and legitimate larger understandings of ecological reality' (134) and can ultimately serve as a means of justifying the application of practices of 'enviro-discipline'; that is, disciplinary techniques for normalising human conduct and managing environmental spaces. Thus, he writes that 'the environment, particularly the goals of its protection in terms of 'safety' or 'security', has become a key theme of many political operations, economic interventions and ideological campaigns to raise public standards of collective morality, personal responsibility and collective vigour' (122).

Similarly, Agrawal (2005) is concerned with the management of environmental conduct and asks 'when and for what reason do socially situated actors come to care about, act in relation to, and think about their actions in terms of something they identify as "the environment"?' (162). Drawing on fieldwork experiences in Kumaon, India, he traces the relationship between environmental regulation and the formation of environmental subjectivities. For Agrawal (2005), shifts in environmental governance can be directly related to changes in the attitudes and behaviours of local people. While this approach has been criticized for overstating the power of regulatory regimes to shape local subjectivities and for underestimating, as Cepek writes (2011), 'the degree to which people are capable of forging a critical, self-aware and culturally framed perspective' (501), it remains useful for envisioning how the logics and practices of neoliberal conservation may contribute to the production of new "eco" subjectivities (see also Goldman, 2001).

Some of the implications of this kind of approach for the study of ecotourism have been recently elaborated by Robert Fletcher (2009). In an article examining the development of an ecotourism project in southern Chile, Fletcher (2009) explores how tourism interventions led by North American NGOs and commercial enterprises have been involved in propagating certain visions of the environment in their interactions with local communities. Fletcher (2009) notes that while tourism planners and providers tend to view their interventions as offering straightforward economic opportunities, their actions can also be read as concerted attempts to influence locals' self-perceptions and relationships with surrounding landscapes (279). Extending the theoretical basis of his argument in a later article, Fletcher (2010) suggests that 'the use of tourism as a conservation tool may combine disciplinary and neoliberal

environmentalities, involving not only the promotion of economic incentives but also the use of various disciplinary techniques intended to condition local participants to an 'ecotourism' discourse' (Fletcher, 2010: 177). Here Fletcher's (2009, 2010) work is useful for examining how ecotourism may interact with processes of cultural change. Moreover, while his empirical insights are restricted by his sole focus on the actions and perspectives of ecotourism providers, his argument invites further consideration of locals' responses to and engagements with this discourse (Fletcher, 2009). This thesis fills this gap in Fletcher's analysis, examining how local people engage with, negotiate and may even subvert eco-knowledges and subject positionings.

2.2.2 Ethnographic insights

Yet, beyond the theoretical consideration outlined above, what are the impacts of neoliberal conservation on local communities? What does recent research tell us about the effects of ecotourism development on local lives and livelihoods? This research is concerned with how local people respond to conservation interventions, and how they understand it impact on their lives. Here Igoe and Brockington's (2007) special issue on neoliberal conservation is of particular note. Explicitly addressing the question of what happens to local people, they provide an enlightening introduction to some of the key observations emerging from recent empirical research. Central to their critique is the notion that neoliberal conservation interventions entail new types of territorialisation, that in partitioning resources and landscapes, often exclude local people (432). For these authors, what is strikingly apparent is that the 'rosy scenarios' and 'appealing promises' at the heart of neoliberal conservation rhetoric hold little semblance to the messy realities revealed by empirical research (434-435).

This is an observation that is reflected in Igoe and Croucher's (2007) contribution to this special issue. Exploring the experiences of two communities living in "community-based" wildlife management areas in Tanzania's tourism circuits, they note that while these projects are often framed the language of community empowerment and participation, local people often regarded conservation interventions as exacerbating their poverty, alienating them from natural resources (537). Similar dynamics are also identified by Fortwangler's (2007). Reflecting on the extent to which conservation interventions disenfranchise and marginalise local populations in St Johns, she notes that local people were often wary of the

involvement of private enterprises and NGOs (521-522). 'They are tired,' Fortwangler writes, of the hypocrisy 'of "preserving paradise" while accepting money from those directly or indirectly connected with the industries, namely real estate and tourism, which they see as most responsible for damaging the so-called paradise and the environment' (512).

What these studies demonstrate is that despite promises of inclusion and participation, not only do neoliberal conservation interventions have detrimental impacts on the lives and livelihoods of local populations but that they also often result in the obfuscation of local interests. As Igoe and Brockington (2007) argue, they create situations in which local people increasingly find that 'the deck is heavily stacked against them' (446). As these authors explain:

> As a result of the lack of real opportunities offered by neoliberalization conservation often only a select few local people can aspire to and success at becoming eco-rational subjects. The rest experience what Giroux (2006) calls 'the politics of disposability'. With no place for them in the emerging free market economy, they simply become disposable. They are shunted here and there, as they seek a viable place to live and viable economic opportunities. Increasingly, they find their lives criminalised. They can no longer fish, hunt or farm to make a living. They have sold their land, or granted easements to it, or it has been simply taken away (Igoe and Brockington, 2007: 444-445).

Given that this story remains largely unacknowledged by the proponents of neoliberal conservation, these authors call for more grounded empirical studies and for greater engagement with the ambivalences of neoliberal conservation. This thesis is in many respects a response to this call. Foregrounding the views and perspectives of local inhabitants, I explore how local men and women understand and experience the gap between what is promised and what is delivered in the context of neoliberal-led conservation interventions.

Finally, important insights can also be drawn from a number of empirical studies examining ecotourism development and environmental protection in Brazil. As the economic importance of this industry has grown so to has there been an intensification of interest in the impacts of this phenomenon on local ways of life, on practices of subsistence and on traditions (see for example Albakerli, 2001; Diegues, 1997; Ferreira e Carneiro, 2005; Prado, 2003). Much of this critical analysis draws on work of Antonio Carlos Diegues and in particular his book *The Modern Myth of Untouched Nature* (2001). In this text, Diegues (2001) traces the influence of the U.S. wilderness paradigm on conservation policy in Brazil and raises concern over the political and economic interests that often lie behind protected area designation. For

Diegues (2001), national parks created for the benefit of the "nation" privilege the perspectives and interests of Brazil's urban and industrialised elite (65). This is a situation that he considers particularly grave when under the pretext of "ecological" tourism, lands designated "protected" and "untouched" are targeted by tourism development programs (Diegues, 2001: 65).

Concern for the ethics and power relations that underpin protected area designation in Brazil is also at the forefront of Albakerli's (2001) case study analysis of the Lençóis Maranhenses National Park. For Albakerli, historically, access to and management of Brazilian national resources has been based on governmental priorities, often promoting unequal wealth distribution and excluding many populations from sustainable control over their own environment (556). This pattern, as her study attests, has not changed in recent decades. For Albakerli (2001), the creation of the Lençóis Maranhenses National Park has reinforced existing inequalities. Perceived as obstacles to government development and conservation strategies, resident peoples and their livelihood practices are either disregarded or targeted by punitive and disciplinary mechanisms (see also Calvente, 1997). As one informant told her "rather than act regarding the Park and punish the most powerful, IBAMA is always restricting our activities". She therefore concludes that local conservation policies have promoted 'the continuity of a process of social exclusion and environmental disruption under the rhetoric of protected area designation as a strategy for nature conservation and tourism economic development for improvement of resident peoples livelihoods' (563). These findings have particular relevance for my work. In chapter 7, I explore how the local effects of conservation initiatives, examining how local community members relate to the ever-increasing regulation of their lives and livelihoods.

Anthropologist Rosane Manhães Prado (2003) also makes an important contribution to understanding how ecotourism interacts with processes of exclusion. Prado (2003) examines ecotourism development on Llha Grande, focusing particular on the increasingly polarised relations between local populations and migrants; that is, between *nativos* (natives) and *não nativos* (non-natives). This is a classification that, as she explains, while present in earlier periods of Llha Grandes's history has acquired particular weight and meaning in the context of tourism development. She notes that the claim *Ser da Ilha* (to come from the Island) can be used both as form of legitimisation and as a form of denigration. It reflects an identity positioning often

self-assumed, but it also relates to questions of class—native is equivalent to poor, employee and local tradition, non-native suggests rich, bosses and environmentalists (217). It is here that Prado emphasises that behind the polarity between natives and non-natives is a clash between different value systems and a dispute as to why and for whom the Island's natural resources should be saved (218). While environmentalists look to civilise the natives, to remedy their apparent "lack" of interest in preservation, for local population environmentalist norms are understood as something brought in from outside that disrupts their ability to sustain their own lives (220). These are themes that are very much apparent in my own research and I build on these observations to examine the manner in which local narratives of tourism development reveal tensions between local groups.

This third section of my theoretical chapter has set out my approach to ecotourism and has reviewed a number of empirical texts that have particular relevance for my work. As I hope my discussions have made clear, I approach ecotourism as a particular modality operating within neoliberalism and as interacting with existing power relations. Research has indicated that while promising to deliver both economic growth and conservation, ecotourism discourses and development practices are marked by contradiction, injustices and exclusions. My thesis seeks to make a contribution to this literature by shedding further light on the consequences of these transformations for existing experiences of place and forms of subjectivity.

2.3 Place

As I suggested in my introductory chapter, this thesis is driven by an interest in the story of a particular place and a concern for lives and experiences of its inhabitants. In the preceding sections of this chapter, I have developed an account of neoliberalism and ecotourism and have provided some indication of how I view the local effects of these projects. However, further work is required to develop an understanding of place and subjectivity as analytical categories. One of the key contributions of this thesis lies in its attempt to read the complexities, contradictions and limitations of neoliberal-led development planning through its impacts on place and subjectivity. I am committed to placing the experiences of acting, feeling, situated subjects at the centre of my critique.

In this section, I trace the development of my thinking on the concept of place, providing an account of how I have come to understand the role of state and

capital in processes of place-making. Crucially, I follow Escobar (2001) in arguing for the value of bringing together social constructivist accounts with phenomenological writings in accounting for the lived experience of place transformation.

2.3.1 Place as a social construction

Primarily, my analysis is based on the notion that places are socially constructed, that they are the product of social and political processes. This is a notion that, first elaborated in the work of Henri Lefebvre (1991), has been much advanced by David Harvey (1989, 1996). Harvey's geographical project has been described by Zieleniec (2007) as an attempt 'to establish a "historico-geographical materialism" in which he sought to develop Marx's paradigm of capitalist accumulation to include the production of space in the production and reproduction of social life' (98). In Harvey's (1996) account, while space emerges as a dynamic and fluid product of capital, place exists in tension with this mobility, representing a location or entity of relative fixity, a "permanence" established within the flux and flow of capital circulation (295). In this sense, he writes, 'what goes on in a place cannot be understood outside of the space relations which support that place any more than the space relations can be understood independently of what goes on in particular places' (316). Here, what I take from Harvey's formulations is the suggestion that the logic of localised place construction must be read as a response to broader political-economic processes. In this thesis, I draw on these insights in examining how local transformations of place are shaped by their interaction with the wider political economy.

However, there are a number of limitations to Harvey's characterisation of place.[16] For geographer Doreen Massey (1994), there is a romanticism that underpins the depiction of place as fixed, authentic, singular and bounded (5).[17] In her view, places are better understood as a particular articulation of social and political relations; that is, as formed through their links and interconnections to the other places and spaces (Massey, 1994: 120). Similarly, anthropologists Akhil Gupta and James Ferguson (1997) have highlighted the need to develop theoretical and empirical

[16] These limitations that have been the subject of significant debate in recent decades (see for example Massey, 1994; Dirlik, 2001)

[17] Doreen Massey's critique of David Harvey's writings on place is well recognised (see for example Cresswell, 2004; Dirlik, 2001).

approaches that move beyond 'spatially territorialised notions of culture' (6).[18] For these authors, there is something deeply problematic about reading place as given; that is, as the locus of "naturalised identities" and "autonomous cultures" (6). Instead, as they write, the identity of a place must be viewed as emerging at the 'intersection of its specific involvement in a system of hierarchically organized spaces with its cultural construction as a community or locality' (36).

In this thesis, while I draw on Harvey's work in exploring transformations of place as intimately linked to the interests of politics and capital, I move towards an understanding of these processes as relational and as necessarily contested (see Gupta and Ferguson, 1997; Massey, 1994; Raffles, 1999). Furthermore, I follow Gupta and Ferguson (1997) in placing emphasis on how understandings of locality are both formed and *lived* in the midst of these relations. For these authors, the key questions in politicising an analysis of place-making practices are; 'how are spatial meanings established? Who has the power to make places of spaces? Who contests this? What is at stake?' (40). The identities of particular places are indeed determined by relations of power, but they are also enacted through, and in dialogue with 'the practices of variously positioned people and political economies' (Raffles, 1999: 324).[19] In adopting this approach, I attempt to replicate what Lisa Rofel's has termed a "dual analytic focus"; one that seeks to understand both how spatial imaginaries are shaped by dominant imperatives and the ways that ordinary people embrace, appropriate and sometimes transform these imaginaries (174).[20]

2.3.2 Senses of place

However, while undoubtedly shifting and mobile, my concern for the experiential aspects of place also demands a consideration of how places take on lived meaning (Dirlik, 2001; Escobar, 2001). The social constructivist accounts outlined above are

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[18] See also Appadurai (1988) and Raffles (1999).

[19] Here I am influenced by Raffles' (1999) exploration of the production of a particular Amazonian place. Distancing his analysis from any naturalised associations of peoples and places, he seeks to elaborate, what he terms, a 'methodology of locality,' an approach focused on uncovering how particular places come into being. This article offers a number of insights as to the necessarily mobile and contested nature of place-making.

[20] In her contribution to Gupta and Ferguson's edited volume, Rofel (1997) examines the spatial disciplining enacted in silk factories in post-Mao China and explores how certain workers questioned and contested demands for "efficiency" and "productivity" with memories of previous spatial relations (166). For Rofel (1997), the challenge facing anthropology is to attend to the power of dominant cultural narratives, such as that of modernity, 'while paying close attention to the resistances as well as reaffirmations by subjects positioned in particular relations of inequality' (174).

limited by their tendency to slight the lived materiality of place and its relationship to ideas about self and belonging. As Escobar (2001) points out, 'places continue to be important in the lives of many people'; the experience of a particular location typically marked by 'some measure of groundedness (however, unstable), sense of boundaries (however, permeable), and connection to everyday life, even if its identity is constructed, traversed by power, and never fixed' (140). In this piece of research, I am interested in exploring how local people relate and attribute meaning to processes of place transformation, and how, in the context of change and incertitude, certain experiences or senses of place persist and endure. To capture this subjective quality of place and its role in the constitution of lived understandings, I turn to recent anthropological work inspired by phenomenological perspectives.

The work of Edward Casey has been particularly influential amongst scholars seeking to capture the inherently 'place-oriented,' 'place-saturated' nature of our daily lives (Casey, 1993: ix). Drawing on phenomenological perspectives, and in particular the work of Heidegger and Merleau-Ponty, Casey's philosophical project foregrounds the role of experience and perception in constituting 'what being-in-place means' and explores the tightly interwoven and coconstitutive relationships between places and selves (see 1996: see also, 1993, 2001). For Casey (1996), 'we are always already in place' and he assigns the living-moving body particular importance in sustaining and vivifying locally meaningful senses of place (17). As he writes, '*lived bodies belong to places* and help constitute them' but 'by the same token … *places belong to lived bodies* and depend on them' (18, emphasis in original). Here, Casey's constant reference to the corporeal provides a means of approaching the primacy of sensations and impressions in the constitution of meaning, and while his account never precludes the role of historical and social processes, there is a privileging of subjective knowledge that has particular relevance for my work. As he argues 'place is not one kind of thing: it can be psychical as well as physical, and doubtless also cultural and historical and social. But as a coherent region … it holds these kinds—and much else besides' (31).

Casey's philosophical account also provides a framework for Steve Feld and Keith Basso's (1996) edited volume *Senses of Place*. Set against what these authors identify as a trend in recent anthropological literature to emphasise themes of contestation, displacement, mobility and movement, their book seeks to capture 'why places, however vague, are lived out in deeply meaningful ways' (Feld and Basso,

1996: 11). Drawing on insights from diverse geographical and cultural contexts, each of this volume's contributors provides empirically-informed reflections on how landscapes are lived, perceived and invested with meaning. As Feld and Basso (1996) emphasise, this volume foregrounds an ethnographic perspective and in doing so seeks to 'move beyond facile generalizations about places being culturally constructed' and to take seriously 'the challenge to ground these ethnographies closely in the dialogues with local voices that animated them in the first place' (8).

Yet, beyond a framework for attending to the immediacy of emplaced experience, these essays also explore how senses of place develop in relation to personal and collective biographies; that is, how they function as a 'mooring for memory' (see in particular Basso, 1996; Stewart, 1996a; Kahn, 1996). Exploring Western Apache senses of place, Basso (1996) adopts Heidegger's concept of dwelling to account for the "lived relationships" people maintain with places. For Basso (1996), in 'sensing places, men and women become sharply aware of the complex attachments that link them to features of the physical world' (54-55). As he goes on:

> The self-conscious experience of place is inevitably a product and expression of the self whose experience it is, and therefore unavoidably, the nature of that experience (its intentional thrust, its substantive content, its affective tones and colorings) is shaped at every turn by the personal and social biographies of the one who sustains it (55).

In Basso's account, places emerge as inherently particular and as powerfully animated by thoughts and feelings of their inhabitants. He writes, places 'possess a marked capacity for triggering acts of self-reflection, inspiring thoughts about who one presently is, or memories of who one used to be, or musings on who one might become' (55).[21] In this thesis, I draw on these observations as I reflect on the manner in which local men (and women) describe their identities as intimately shaped by their experiences in and of particular landscapes. I am particularly influenced by the notion that places have both an affective and temporal quality; 'places gather', as Casey (1996) writes, they hold time and history yet, far from being static and inert, they are dynamic, deeply qualitative and continually changing (24). As I attend to the narrative accounts of my interviewees, I foreground these subjective, affective and spectral

[21] This temporal quality of place is also sensitively evoked in Kathleen Stewart's (1996a) ethnographic exploration of life in the West Virginia coalfields. Describing this landscape as 'piled high with the detritus of history', as 'reeling in the wake of every move and maneuver,' she considers how local sense of place grow and gather force in relation to 'things remembered and retold' (137; see also 1996b).

dimensions of place and explore how they interact with notions of self and belonging (see in particular chapter 6).

Finally, a concern for the relationship between place and memory is also present in recent work pertaining to the spectral turn in human geography. Haunting has become 'a compelling metaphor', as Cameron (2008) writes, providing a language for registering the losses sustained by social violence (Gordon, 2008), for capturing the neglected voices of colonial and post-colonial subjects (Cameron, 2008; Vickers, 2010), and for evoking modes of experiencing the absence-presences of the material landscape (Hill, 2013; Wylie, 2010). Reflecting on this interest, Lisa Hill (2013) writes:

> The concept of the spectral has value because it suggests that our experiences of the world is haunted by a space-time in which past and present co-exist, and interact, in uncertain and unpredictable ways. Understood in these terms, the spectral is not a ghostly spirit hovering over a concrete world of real objects and living bodies, but is integral to our experience of the world, as the enduring and unsettling capacity of a place to haunt (381).

The call to examine how present-day experiences of place are interrupted by the ghostly important implications for my research. As Hill (2013) argues, it is important to expand our accounts of landscapes 'to look beyond the presence of objects and materials, places and people – to focus upon absence, loss and haunting' (381).

Another key notion that I take from this literature is the suggestion that the ghostly can unsettle dominant representations of place. In his investigation of the 'disordered spaces of industrial ruins', Tim Edensor (2005) writes of the disruptive potential of ghosts and examines their role in interrogating and contesting normative politics of remembering:

> Dominant strategies of remembering tend to exorcise haunted places, for ghosts are fluid, evanescent entities and they disturb reifications through which performances, narratives and experiences of memory become fixed in space. Yet the selective organisation of the memorable stands against the workings of memory, which is characterised by discontinuities and irruptions that cannot be fixed or conveniently erased. And, because of imperatives to bury the past too swiftly in search of the new, modernity is haunted in a particularly urgent fashion by that which has been consigned to irrelevance but which demands recognition of its historical impact (829).

While this thesis does not consider experiences of, or encounters with, material ruins, what I take from Edensor's theorising is the notion that the spectral embodies a certain excess of meaning. In the substantive chapters of this thesis, I use this material to inform my interpretation of the contemporary significance of local men's attachment to past landscapes and past selves. In particular, I am interested in how

traces of the past work to challenge and unsettle the supposed teleology of economic renewal. As Gaston Gordillo (2014) has argued, 'the mandate to forget exists because of the existence of affects and memories that escape it and because the traces of violence and destruction are just too widespread' (208).

2.4 Subjectivity

A key aim of this thesis is to examine the impacts of economic change on subjectivity. In section 2.1.1.1 of this chapter, I indicated dissatisfaction with the vision of the subject advanced by neoliberal theory. The individual divorced of wants, needs and desires holds no resemblance to the complexities of subjectivity I encountered in the field. As such, in this section, I aim to develop a more robust account of the subject.[22] While proceeding first and foremost from the notion that subjectivity constitutes an effect of disciplinary and regulatory power, I look to a selection of writings informed by psychoanalytical, feminist, anthropological and geographical approaches. In doing so, I explore the subject as a key site for creativity and agency and, at least, in part, constituted by its attachments, affections, commitments and ties.[23]

2.4.1 Abjection

In extending my understanding of the effect of social and political interventions on the formation of the subject, I have found theories of abjection particularly useful. Critiquing Foucault's account of subjection, Judith Butler (1996) points the importance of recognising how regulation and control work not only to circumscribe the domain of intelligibility, but also to mark certain exclusions and erasures (68).[24] In this thesis, I draw on the notion of abjection—read through the psychoanalytical work of Julia Kristeva and the feminist writings of Judith Butler—to shed light on the role

[22] Carol Greenhouse (2012) recently suggested that a major challenge for ethnographers is 'to theorize subjectivity and agency in ways that do not simply replicate the discursive templates of neoliberalism's discursive charter' (7). This thesis is, in part, a response to this challenge.

[23] This critique of neoliberal visions of the subject is one well advanced by communitarians (see Crowley, 1987).

[24] This criticism of Foucault's work is explored by Stephanie Rutherford (2007). In her review article on governmentality literature, she points out that one of the central drawbacks of Foucault's work is its inattention to difference and exclusionary processes; that is, to 'the erasures and foreclosures in the way people can conceive of themselves' (300). Drawing on the work of Judith Butler, Rutherford highlights that just as particular governmental regimes normalize and make natural certain subjects/citizens/agents, so to do they render other subjects 'unnatural, abnormal, and occlude them from view' (302). In this thesis, I follow Rutherford (2007) in looking to the work of Judith Butler, and it particular her writing on the abject, to understand how governmental discourses have worked to organise the domain of intelligible life.

of political processes in producing subjectivity and in establishing boundaries between the included and the excluded.

The concept of the abject first emerges in the work of Julia Kristeva (1982). Rooted in her understanding of the pre-oedipal or pre-symbolic formation of the subject, the abject is, for Kristeva (1982), a jettisoned object, which through its exclusion creates the borders between the "I" and the "other". As Sara Beardsworth (2004) explains, central to Kristeva's account of the primary struggle through which the subject is born, abjection can be understood as a 'fragile defence against nondifferentiation … the first, and most unstable, attempt to establish an inside/outside boundary' (83). However, while expelled, the abject is never fully excluded:

> The abject is what one spits out, rejects, almost violently excludes from oneself: sour milk, excrement, even a mother's engulfing embrace. What is abjected is radically excluded but never banished altogether. It hovers at the periphery of one's existence, constantly challenging one's own tenuous borders of selfhood. What makes something abject and not simply repressed is that it does not entirely disappear from consciousness. It remains as both an unconscious and a conscious threat to one's own clean and proper self. The abject is what does not respect boundaries. It beseeches and pulverizes the subject (McAfee, 2004: 46).

It is this suggestion as to the inherent instability of processes of differentiation that I have found particularly useful in writing this thesis. In chapter 5, I draw on Kristeva's writings to explore attempts to establish boundaries and to deal with ambivalence.[25] However, in adopting these formulations, I also recognise that Kristeva's writings are not without critique. In particular, her use of psychoanalytical theory and her conception of the psychic pose a number of challenges to the application of her thought to an analysis of social, political and ethical relations (see Beardsworth, 2004).

In approaching the more distinctly socio-political dimensions of abjection, the work of Judith Butler makes an important contribution. Taking a more social viewpoint, Butler's writings on abjection are useful, as Beardsworth (2004) argues, in 'articulating what *structures* society and social being' (234). In her influential book, *Bodies that Matter* (1993), Butler explores the social construction of gender; and in particular, the discursive means by which certain sexed identifications are enabled and others foreclosed. For Butler, the formation of the subject takes place through a

[25] Sara Beardsworth's (2004) introduction to Kristeva's writings on abjection has been particularly useful in articulating the manner in which I apply this concept to my work (79-84).

process of repudiation, which creates both 'the valence of "abjection" and its status for the subject as a threatening spectre' (3). As she writes:

> This exclusionary matrix by which subjects are formed thus requires the simultaneous production of a domain of abject beings, those who are not yet "subjects," but who form the constitutive outside to the domain of the subject. The abject designates here precisely those "unlivable" and "uninhabitable" zones of social life which are nevertheless densely populated by those who do not enjoy the status of the subject, but whose living under the sign of the "unlivable" is required to circumscribe the domain of the subject (Butler, 1993: 3).

For Butler, the abject serves as a limit of intelligibility and is constituted by a set of foreclosures and erasures that are 'refused the possibility of cultural articulation' (8). Here, while mirroring Kristeva's formulations, what Butler's account brings to the notion of abjection is a sense of how it interacts with discursive processes and with the organisation of social and political life (see Beardsworth, 2004). In this thesis, I draw on Butler's writings in examining how dominant norms and political imperatives work to establish a frame for the apprehension of intelligible subjects and intelligible action, and how that which remains outside this frame may continue to haunt its boundaries as 'the persistent possibility of their disruption and rearticulation' (8).

While there are, unarguably, great disparities and divergences between the perspectives adopted by Julia Kristeva and Judith Butler, in this thesis, I draw on both these accounts in interpreting the role of political and economic processes in transforming, regulating and reconstituting local subjectivities. Together, their writings provide a language and a framework for exploring the exclusions, foreclosures and erasures produced in the context of economic restructuring. Crucially, both Butler (1993) and Kristeva (1982) accounts demonstrate the instability of these processes and indicate possibilities for their potential subversion.

2.4.2 Agency

The suggestion that there lies within abjection a potentially disruptive force, leads me to a discussion of the manner in which I approach and understand possibilities for resistance and agency. Presenting the abject as 'a critical resource' in the struggle for intelligibility, Butler's account leaves room for exploring how the subject is able to respond to the imposition of regulatory norms (Butler, 1993: 3). In this section, I provide an overview of Butler's work on agency, supplementing her account with the

work of other critical theorists and anthropologists. In doing so, I seek to respond to the question of how to recognise agency in neoliberal times.

Butler's work on subjection and agency has had significant influence on scholars wishing to move beyond what has been perceived as Foucault's overly one-sided account of subject formation (McNay, 2000: 33). In her book, *The Psychic Life of Power* (1997), Butler brings together Foucauldian and psychoanalytic perspectives to provide an account of the psychic operation of regulatory norms. That is, while writing against the liberal-humanist view of the subject, she looks to extend Foucualt's theory of subject formation to account more fully for processes of incorporation and internalisation. For Butler, 'a power *exerted on* a subject, subjection is nevertheless a power *assumed by* the subject, an assumption that constitutes the instrument of that subject's becoming' (11, emphasis in original). In Butler's account, subjection exploits our desire for social existence and thus takes on a distinctly psychic topography (18-21).

It is here that we begin to gain some insight into Butler's conception of agency. In Butler's theorising, for particular regimes of power to persist, social norms and regulatory principles must be assumed and reiterated by the subject; a process that she suggests is never merely mechanical and can produce new and unexpected effects (16; see also Butler, 2004):

> Assuming power is not a straightforward task of taking power from one place, transforming it intact, and then and there making it one's own; the act of appropriation may involve an alteration of power such that the power assumed or appropriated works against the power that made that assumption possible (13).

For Butler then, it is in reiteration or re-enactment that power reveals itself to be vulnerable to transformation (Mills, 2000: 270; see also McNay 1999; Salins, 2004). Agency, in this context, can be thought of as 'the assumption of a purpose unintended by power' (Butler, 1997: 15, emphasis in original). Yet, as Butler (in Salins 2004) emphasises, what is achieved here is not "liberation" but a "critical subversion" or "radical resignification"; the subject engaged in reiteration 'does not engage the fantasy of transcending power altogether, although it does work within the hope and the practice of replaying power, of restaging it again and again in new and productive ways' (335).

In Butler's account, it is as a result of the ambivalence by which the subject is formed that possibilities for agency emerge. As she writes, 'the subject might yet be

though of deriving its agency from precisely the power it opposes' (17). This enables a consideration of resistance in terms of the dislocation or rearticulation of regulatory norms (McNay, 1999, 2000). In this thesis, I draw on Butler's account of the subject in examining how local actors engage with neoliberal perspectives and reasoning, and in exploring how, in narrating their experiences, they are involved in restaging these political principles in 'new and productive ways' (2004: 334).

An account of the subject's capacity for agency is also presented in the work of Lois McNay (1999). For McNay (1999), Butler's thought remains a primarily negative understanding of subject formation (see also McNay, 2000). For McNay (2000), against determinist models of subject formation, it is necessary to elaborate a more *generative* account of subjectification; one attentive to the creative and imaginative aspects to agency and receptive to renewed understandings of ideas of autonomy and reflexivity (5-6). This approach, she suggests, is critical in explaining how, 'when faced with complexity and difference, individuals may respond in unanticipated and innovative ways which may hinder, reinforce or catalyse social change' (5).

Here, while circumspect in my adoption of McNay's criticisms of Butler's work, what I do find suggestive is this addition of the notion of creativity and the suggestion of its relevance for understanding possibilities for transformation. For McNay (1999), there is value in attending to 'the ways in which the symbolic realm is composed of conflicting values and resources which may be actively, and sometimes creatively, appropriated by actors to institute new value systems and new forms of collective identity' (187). Drawing on the work of theorists such as Ricoeur, Castoriadis, de Certeau and Touraine, she emphasises the importance of engaging with processes of active appropriation; that is, with 'the question of how creative or innovative action detaches itself from its original conditions of enactment and may give rise to a set of new values which become resources for further action' (189). In McNay's account, while the social order retains at determining role, the subject is conceived as active in the appropriation and transformation of its meanings and values.

Closely linked to these insights, in anthropology, Sherry Ortner's account of subjectivity makes a number of important contributions. In an article entitled *Subjectivity and Cultural Critique* (2005), Ortner traces the development of the debate over the subject through structuralism, post-structuralism and practice theory, seeking

to restore the notion of subjectivity for critical anthropology. In her view, amongst this literature there remains an 'area of thinness'; 'a tendency to slight the question of subjectivity, that is, the view of the subject as existentially complex, a being who feels and things and reflects, who makes and seeks meaning' (33). Crucially, for Ortner, it is necessary to attend to these dimension of human existence for, as she writes, 'I see subjectivity as the 'basis of 'agency', a necessary part of understanding how people (try) to act on the world even as they are acted upon' (34).

It is thus that Ortner explores the implications of thinking of subjectivity in terms of complexities of consciousness.[26] In using this term, she draws on the work of Anthony Giddens to stress that, while subjects are formed within relations of power, they have some reflexivity about themselves, their desires and their circumstances: 'I take people to be 'conscious' in the sense of being at least partially 'knowing subjects', self aware and reflexive' (45). Crucially, it is this suggestion of the subject's capacity for a kind of critical consciousness or subjective awareness that I have found productive in my analysis. My data demonstrates that local people are active in the negotiation and transformation of meaning. Following Ortner, this piece of research attempts to shed some light on 'how the condition of subjection is subjectively constructed and experienced, as well as the creative ways in which it is – if only episodically overcome' (34).

Finally, this emphasis on the thinking, feeling and reflecting subject is also developed by João Biehl, Byron Good and Arthur Kleinman in the introduction to their edited volume *Subjectivity Ethnographic Investigations* (2007). For these authors, 'theories of subjectivity are too often overstated, obscure and even dehumanising', the subjects of ethnographic study 'rarely offered the depth of personhood as vulnerable, failing, and aspiring human beings' (13-14). In overcoming these limitations, they call for more ethnographically grounded accounts of the subject and for theories capable of examining how 'individual singularity is retained and remade in local interactions' (14). In their view:

> The subject is at once a product and agent of history; the site of experience, memory, storytelling and aesthetic judgement; an agent of knowing as much as of action; and the conflicted site for moral acts and gestures amid impossibly immoral societies and institutions. Modes of subjectivation are indeed determined by the vagaries of the state, family and community hierarchies, memories of colonial interventions and unresolved

[26] Ortner (2005) explains that in using the word consciousness she means a specifically cultural and historically consciousness (34).

> traumas, and medicoscientific experiments and markets. Yet subjectivity is not just the outcome of social control or the unconscious; it also provides the ground for subjects to think through their circumstances and to feel through their contradictions, and in doing so, to inwardly endure circumstances that would otherwise be outwardly unbearable (14).

Here, what emerges clearly is a view of subjectivity that while mediated and structured by power relations, also provides the basis for reflexivity. Bringing in questions of affect, emotion, memory and trauma, there is a suggestion that it is through engagement with the inner lives of subjects that we can gain insight into lived experiences of economic and political processes. As Biehl at al write, 'by attending to subjectivity in ethnographic terms and in comparative social analysis, we encounter the concrete constellations in which people forge and foreclose their lives around what is most at stake' (5).

In sum, in this thesis, while recognising that subjectivity is necessarily conditioned by disciplinary and regulatory mechanism, I draw on this synthesis of psychoanalytical, feminist and anthropological theory in an attempt to rescue possibilities for agency and creativity. In interpreting the effects of economic change on subjectivity, I want to leave room for exploring how local people are able to respond, act on and transform the conditions of subjection.

2.4.3 Memory

So far, I have developed an account of subjectivity that views the subject as a potential locus of agency, reflexivity and creativity. However, I am also interested in capturing a vision of the subject as constituted by attachments, commitments and feelings. In exploring this aspect of subjectivity, I have been particularly inspired by recent work pertaining to what has been termed Non-Representational Theory. Emerging from a sense of dissatisfaction with Cartesian dualism, the call to step beyond the representational has inspired a rich variety of work that seeks, as Lorimer (2005) writes, 'to better cope with our self-evidently more-than-human, more-than-textual, multisensual worlds' (83). In this third section, I explore recent work on memory, outlining its relevance to the development of my understanding of subjectivity.

Writing on memory has a long history, one that has frequently crossed disciplinary boundaries. In the social sciences, much of this literature has explored representations of history, and examined how memory is determined by the social

structure.[27] As Hoelscher and Alderman (2004) write, 'social memory is inherently instrumental: individual and groups recall the past not for its own sake, but as a tool to bolster different aims and agendas' (349). However, in recent years, there has been growing interest in the creative potential of personal memory (Booth, 2008; Jones, 2003; Jones, 2012; Jones and Garde-Hansen, 2012; Leyshon and Bull, 2011). This thesis examines how dominant narratives of economic restructuring have sought to limit possibilities for remembering, but it also seeks to identify the ways that personal memories exceed these limits. That is, as Booth (2008) writes, I am interested in how top-down impositions of memory are often 'foiled by other more nebulous forces that can play a decisive puck-like role' (301). It is the suggestion that there lies within memory a creative potential that drives my interest in exploring its relationship to subjectivity.

In the introduction to their edited volume, *Geography and Memory: Explorations in Identity, Place and Becoming*, Owain Jones and Joanne Garde-Hansen (2012) call for greater geographical engagement with the role of memory in the affective and performative practices of everyday life. Situating their work in relation to the non-representational turn in human geography, they write against the tendency for these approaches to 'stray towards a kind of presentism'; that is, a view of the present moment as pure event (7).[28] For these authors, memories are central to how we live in time and space and play an instrumental role in individual becoming. As they write:

> Memory makes us what we are, and along with emotion/affect it forms the interrelating foundational processes of our ongoing lives (Damasio, 1999). We are conglomerations of past everyday experiences, including their spatial textures and affective registers. Memory should not be seen (simply) as a burden of the past, rather it is fundamental to 'becoming' and a key wellspring of agency, practice/habit, creativity and imagination (8).

Here, crucially, memory emerges not as static or settled, but as constantly in process, continually and necessarily 'refreshed and rescripted in relation to the present' (13). Central to how these authors understand the formation of lived subjectivities, there is recognition of a creative and subversive potential that has been particularly useful in shaping my approach. This thesis examines memory as an important resource both in

[27] For example see articles in the special issue of Social & Cultural Geography (Hoelscher and Alderman, 2004).

[28] Emerging from a sense of dissatisfaction with Cartesian dualism, the call to step beyond the representational has inspired a rich variety of work that seeks, as Lorimer (2005) writes, 'to better cope with our self-evidently more-than-human, more-than-textual, multisensual worlds' (83).

the constitution of notions of the self and in the negotiation of lived realities. It is in this sense that I follow Jones (2003) in noting that 'memory is not just a retrieval of the past from the past, it is always a fresh, new creation' (27).

Similarly attentive to the relationship between agency and memory, a recent article by geographers Michael Leyshon and Jacob Bull (2011) sheds light on the politics of how individuals' mobilise memories in defining senses of self, place and belonging (Leyshon and Bull, 2011; see also Bull and Leyshon, 2010). Engaging with young people through photography and one-to-one interviews, they examine how 'rural youth produce their identities through a narrative process of story-telling founded on fleeting, as well as deeper attachments to, and memories of, (rural) places' (160-161). For these authors, memory is not apolitical but works actively to 'bring meaning to periods of radical transformation, and allow for an individual to interpret her or his life through a range of multifarious discourses of place' (163).

What I find instructive in this account is the suggestion that memory acts on and informs present-day experiences of inclusion and exclusion (Leyshon and Bull, 2011). As I approach the remembered accounts of my interviewees, I look to the manner in which ways of talking about experiences of the past provide a means of critiquing and negotiating the present. Like Leyshon and Bull (2011) I am interested in how the men and women I interviewed understand and attribute meaning to processes of change and transformation and how this informs self-understandings. It is here that I hope to locate the critical potential of these narratives.

2.4.4 Emotion

Alongside memory, this thesis also highlights the role played by emotion and affect in defining ideas about the self. While writing on the affective has long been plagued by debates surrounding "the problem of representation", this thesis contends that much can be learnt from expressions of emotion and feeling.[29] In the final section of this chapter, I provide an introduction to work on affect and emotion, situating my understanding of subjectivity in relation to debates pertaining to the affective turn in critical theory.

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[29] Recently Steve Pile (2010) has argued that 'representations of affect can only ever fail to represent affect itself – that is, it is necessary to be suspicious of, and if possible to avoid, representations of emotions' (8; see also Thrift, 2004). In this thesis, while recognising my access to feeling is necessarily mediated by representation, I argue the value of attending to the emotional (Bondi, 2005; Bondi and Davidson, 2011; Bondi et al, 2012)

In much of the recent work on affect and emotion, there has been significant debate with regards to the relationship between feeling and knowing (see Bondi et al, 2012; Lipman, 2006; Pedwell and Whitehead, 2012). In a recent article exploring the contributions made by feminist theory, Carolyn Pedwell and Anne Whitehead (2012) note the importance of feminist writings in challenging the gendered nature of the reason/emotion binary and in highlighting the significance of affect in knowledge production. However, they also highlight the risks of these perspectives. As they note, in suggesting that attention to affect may give access to "felt truths", there is a danger that these forms of representation are located outside histories and structures of power (120). Echoing these concerns, Liz Bondi (2005) also questions appeals to the authority of personal experience in the study of emotional geographies and asks how might it be possible to 'connect and engage with everyday emotional life without equating emotion with individualized subjective experience?' (438).

In their edited volume *Emotional Geographies*, Liz Bondi, Joyce Davidson and Mick Smith (2012) go someway to answering this critique. Arguing for a non-objectifying view of emotions as flows, fluxes or currents, they highlight the spatial and temporal quality of emotions and suggest that it may be better to think of emotional experiences as intrinsically relational. For these authors, emotions exceed psycho-social boundaries, they 'coalesce around and within certain places' and they can intensify experiences of exclusion and inequality. It is thus that they advocate for an approach that 'attempts to understand emotion – experientially and conceptually – in terms of its socio-spatial mediation and articulation rather than as entirely interiorised subjective mental states' (3).

In addition to this geographic approach, I have also found Sara Ahmed's (2004) model of emotion particularly useful.[30] Critiquing the notion that emotions are located solely within the individual, her formulations provide a means of understanding how emotions are involved in the constitution of both psychic and social domains:

> In my model of sociality of emotions, I suggest that emotions create the very effect of the surfaces and boundaries that allow us to distinguish an inside and an outside in the first place. So emotions are not simply something 'I' or 'we' have. Rather, it is through emotions, or how we respond to objects and others, that surfaces or boundaries are made: the 'I' and the 'we' are shaped by, and even take the shape of, contact with others (10).

[30] See Caron Lipman's (2006) review of work on emotion for a thorough examination of the connections the work of geographers Liz Bondi, Joyce Davidson and Mick Smith (2012) with the work of cultural theorist Sara Ahmed (2004).

Here, Ahmed shifts focus away from what she terms the "inside out" model of emotions, towards an appreciation of the way in which emotions shape subjectivities and how they are involved in the constitution of our lived relationships with the social world (see also Watkins, 2010). For Ahmed (2014), 'emotions are a matter of how we come into contact with objects and others' (208). As they circulate through objects, they engender attachments and they connect us to this or that; as she writes, 'what moves us what makes us feel, is also that which holds us in place, or gives us a dwelling place' (Ahmed, 2004: 11). This way of envisioning the work that emotions do has been fundamental in structuring my interpretation of interviewee descriptions of their emotional experiences. In interpreting their expressed accounts, I seek to identify what feelings tell us about how individuals relate to and experience their social world.

Yet, while recognising that emotions do not belong solely to the individual, I do not go far as to suggest that they are impersonal (Bondi, 2005; see also Lipman, 2006). As Caron Lipman (2006) has argued 'people continue to have and to be shaped by, private experiences, or by events or affects to which they ascribe personal meaning … the emotional self may be socially responsive, even socially created, but remnants of individuality remain' (622). In this thesis, I am interested in what personal expressions of emotion can tell us about the relational dynamics of social life. It is thus that, I follow Ahmed, in recognising that 'the personal is complicated and mediated by the relations that make any person embody more than the personal, and the personal embody more than the person' (Ahmed cited in Lipman, 2006: 620).

Finally, I am also interested in the politics of emotion and affect. Work in this area has traditionally explored the extent to which affect can be manipulated for political ends (Pile, 2010; Thrift, 2004) and it's potential for mobilising oppositional action (Cvetkovich, 2007). One of the main aims of this thesis is to understand how local people respond to and may be motivated to challenge local processes of economic restructuring. In a recent editorial on this subject, Ann Pellegrini and Jasbir Puar (2009) note that 'much productive critical work has been invested in how concepts like affect, emotion, and feelings aid in comprehending subject-formation and political oppositionality for an age when neoliberal capital has reduced possibilities for collective political praxis' (37). These ideas have undoubtedly influenced my thinking yet, it is at the level of the individual that I investigate how emotions may provide a resource for contestation and critique.

In a recent article entitled *Common-sense neoliberalism* (2013), Stuart Hall and Alan O'Shea suggest that alongside an exploration of the structural consequences of neoliberalism, there is also a need to acknowledge the affective dimensions that are at play. For these authors, signs of resistance can be found not only in traditional forms of political protest but also in more individualised expressions of disaffection:

> To fall ill with anxiety is itself a symptom that some people are finding it difficult to live with neoliberal culture. Another is marked retreat, in popular culture, to an isolated self-sufficiency. There is also unfocused anger, a grudging grumbling resentment at one's lot, and a lot of troubled uncertainty about what to do next. There is a sense of being abandoned by the political class and widespread cynicism, disaffiliation and de-politicisation.

The suggestion that modes of critique and forms of resistance can be located in affective dimensions of lived experience has particular relevance for my research. In Lençóis, large-scale community mobilisation has been largely absent yet a sense of discontent is palpable. This thesis attends to the emotional aspects of social life and seeks to identify their productive and critical potential. Here, I follow Pedwell (2012) in her assertion that emotions are conceptualised most productively 'not as affective lenses on "truth" or "reality", but rather as one important (embodied) circuit through which power is felt, imagined, mediated, negotiated and/or contested' (Pedwell cited in Whitehead and Pedwell, 120).

In sum, what I draw from this literature on affect and emotion is the call to take seriously the emotional tenor of my empirical data and to engage with the feelings, attachments, desires and sensations engendered through the narration of experience. Following Liz Bondi (2005), I suggest it is through expression 'that people come to make "sense" of themselves and their relationships, and that this "sense" is best understood as 'simultaneously felt and thought, embodied and abstract, affective and emotional, performative and representational, personally experienced and relational' (444). While I acknowledge the difficulties posed by attending to that which exceeds representation, I stress that, in looking to the affective and the emotional, my intension is to shed greater light on how individuals respond to and are able to come to terms with social and economic transformations.[31]

[31] In a recent review of non-representational approaches David Harvey (2015) writes against taking 'an extreme non-representation stance' and warns that 'in seeking to write critical accounts, we must write knowing accounts—accounts that are temporally embedded and contextualised within the political milieu and power geometries of society' (2).

Finally, by way of concluding this discussion of subjectivity, I would like to provide one final note. As I suggested in my introduction to this section, the vision of subjectivity employed in this thesis is distinct in many important respects to that advanced by neoliberal theory. My aim in bringing together writing on abjection, agency, memory and emotion is to develop a picture of the subject that more fully captures the complexities of subjectivity I encountered in the field. It is in relation to this concept of subjectivity that I will argue that there is a need for policy that is based on a deeper understanding of the self than the neoliberal ethic will allow.

2.5 Concluding remarks

In this chapter, I have provided an overview of the key theoretical perspectives that underpin this research project. I have indicated how particular writings and bodies of knowledge shape the manner in which I approach the interpretation of my empirical data and have traced the development of my understanding of key concepts and theories. Crucially, this thesis brings together diverse theoretical perspectives in order to tell the story of a particular place and to reflect on the lives and experiences of its inhabitants. The manner in which I have combined these perspectives was driven my research data and thus does not fit neatly within disciplinary boundaries.

A key aim of this chapter was to provide the direction for my theoretical and empirical contributions. Over the preceding discussions, I have developed an understanding of place and subjectivity that begins to illuminate the limits to neoliberal claims. In the substantive chapters that follow, I will demonstrate how the transformations brought about by the introduction of neoliberal perspectives and principles are met and confronted by residual experiences of place and forms of subjectivity. However, before delving into my empirical data, further work is required to defend and describe my methodological approach.

Chapter 3

Methodology

Building on discussions of my critical-analytical approach, in this chapter, I provide an account of the methodological perspectives that underpin this research project. I begin, in the first section, by exploring my motivation to pursue this piece of research. In the second section, I move on to explore the methodological framework that has driven both the collection and interpretation of data. In the third section, I detail my experiences in the field, providing an account of challenges faced and discoveries made when collecting data. In the fourth and final section, I describe processes of data analysis. Here I reflect on the manner in which I approached sorting, synthesising and conceptualising material collected in the field.

3.1 Research motivations

This piece of research was motivated by both intellectual curiosity and deep emotional engagement with my research topic and my field site. I first travelled to Lençóis in June 2009 to work as a volunteer in the *Casa Grande* project. I had begun learning Portuguese in the first year of my undergraduate degree and had always intended to travel to Brazil during my year abroad. It was suggested to me by my now supervisor, Dr. Patricia Oliart that I contact Olivia Taylor, an English women living in Lençóis who offered volunteering opportunities to language students at her children's project. This experience was not only deeply rewarding on a personal level but also ignited an interest in cultural analysis. The three months I spent in Lençóis in 2009 marked the beginning of a relationship with a particular place that has shaped the last six years of my academic career.

I returned to the UK in September 2009 to begin the final year of my undergraduate degree. With the support and encouragement of Dr Nick Morgan, I decided to conduct a small case study exploring the relationship between the cultural

practice *capoeira* and racial identity. I went back to Lençóis in December that year to carry out interviews. I found this introduction to qualitative research challenging but also intellectually stimulating and personally fulfilling. I also discovered that I had some aptitude for interviewing, and the richness of the data collected prompted me to revisit and extend this project during my master's degree, refocusing my analysis on questions of gendered identity.

The proposal for doctorial research committed me to returning to Lençóis once again. This time I wanted to explore in greater depth the lives and experiences of those who had lived through the city's transition from mining to tourism. Focusing again on questions of personal identity, I was keen to understand how local people understood and made sense of recent changes to their lives and livelihoods. The diamond mining history of the region was something that had captured my imagination during my first visit to Lençóis in 2009, however, my research interests rested in understanding the connections local people made between the past and the present.

3.2 Methodological framework

The methodological approach taken in this thesis was guided by the principles of grounded theory. Grounded theory provides 'systematic, yet flexible guidelines for collecting and analyzing qualitative data to construct theories 'grounded' in the data themselves' (Charmaz, 2006: 2). Researchers do not enter the field with a predefined set of theories or concepts, but allow participants' responses and interpretations to guide their analysis (Corbin and Holt, 2005; Strauss and Corbin, 1998). This approach seemed appropriate for this research project as I wanted to explore the understandings and insights generated by lived experience. Upon arriving in the field my research questions were purposefully open and broad; I did not set out to test a particular hypothesis but to let the perspectives of research participants drive my enquiry. Grounded theory methods also advocate active and continuous involvement with research data. The empirical and theoretical accounts generated over the course of the research project are therefore treated as constructions; as Charmaz (2006) writes, they offer 'an *interpretative* portrayal of the studied world, not an exact picture of it' (10, emphasis in original).

3.2.1 Analytical categories

While guided primarily by the thoughts and perspectives of my research participants, this research has also been inspired by literature on the anthropology of experience (Turner and Brunner, 1986). In his co-edited volume with Victor Turner, Edward Bruner (1986) elaborates on the concepts of experience and expression, foregrounding their value and relevance for the study of culture. For Bruner, lived experience can provide key insights into the structure and meaning of social life. That is to say, while recognising that we can never completely know another's experiences, this approach takes seriously how people actively interpret their lived realities (10). As Geertz emphasises in his afterword to this book:

> We cannot live other people's lives, and it is a piece of bad faith to try. We can but listen to what, in words, in images, in actions they say about their lives … Whatever sense we have of how things stand with someone else's inner life, we gain it through their expressions, not through some magical intrusion into their consciousness. It's all a matter of scratching surfaces (Geetz, 1986: 373).

Throughout the process of research, I have engaged in this task of listening to and taking seriously what it is that people say about their lives. I do not seek to homogenise or generalise the findings of this research project, but instead to convey something of the texture of the lives and experiences of those I spoke to.

The expressive form with which this thesis is concerned is narrative. My approach to data collection and data analysis is framed by the notion that narrative is a primary means through which human experience is made meaningful (Polkinghorne, 1988). While this is an approach that has attracted criticism for treating as unproblematic the relationship between narrative and the "real" world (see Carr, 2001), I follow Lawler (2002) in stressing that narratives are social products, that 'they are related to the experience that people have of their lives, but they are not transparent carriers of that experience' (242).

The work of social theorists Margaret Somers and Gloria Gibson (1994) is useful here. In their contribution to the edited volume *Social Theory and the Politics of Identity*, Somers and Gibson argue for greater scholarly engagement with ontological dimensions of narrativity yet also foreground the role of social forces in sustaining and transforming narrative over time (61-62). For these authors, while narrative is central both to sense making and social action, it is necessarily embedded in the 'temporal and spatial configurations of relationships and cultural practices' (69). As they write:

> Although we argue that social action is intelligible only through the construction, enactment, and appropriation of narratives, this does not mean that actors are free to fabricate narratives at will; rather, they must "choose" from a repertoire of available representations and stories. Which kinds of narratives will socially predominate is contested politically and will depend in large part on the distribution of power. This is why the kind of narratives people use to make sense of their situation will always be an empirical rather than a presuppositional question (73).

For Somers and Gibson, the challenge of social analysis is to 'explicate, rather than assume or take for granted the narratives of groups or persons' (73). As reflected in this statement, they view the construction of narrative identities as mediated by relations of time, space and power; that is, as taking place within and not outside the social context. As they write 'all of us come to be who we are (however ephemeral, multiple, and changing) by locating ourselves (usually unconsciously) in social narratives *rarely of our own making'* (59).

Close parallels can be drawn between the approach to narrative detailed by Somers and Gibson (1994) and that of Lois McNay (2000). Writing on gender and agency, McNay explores narrative as a privileged medium through which identity is constituted, placing emphasis on its role in accounting for the relative coherence of the self through time. Drawing on the work of Paul Ricoeur, and in particular his notion of the narrative structure of the self, McNay argues that there is a gap in constructivist accounts of subjectification; a failure to recognise the durability of certain forms of identity (79). In McNay's account, narratives do not solely determine but also generate self-identity and coherence is approached not in terms of 'an unchanging core within the self', but rather as what emerges 'from the attempt, on the part individuals and societies, to make sense of the temporality of existence' (116).

What the accounts of Somers and Gibson (1994) and McNay (2000) provide is way of conceptualising narrative as a means through which individuals negotiate and position their relationship to the social world. In this thesis, I am interested in how through the telling of narratives, local people are actively involved in interpreting their experiences of economic change. As I approached the narrative accounts of my interviewees, I was interested in identifying how individuals constructed a sense of coherence and to understand how they wove consistency through the complexities of everyday life (Leyshon and Bull, 2011; see also McNay, 2000). As McNay (2002) has argued, 'the self has unity but it is the dynamic unity of narrative which attempts to integrate permanence in time with its contrary, namely diversity, variability, discontinuity and instability' (89).

Finally, I also take inspiration from Kathleen Stewart's ethnographic account of life in the Appalachian coal-mining region of West-Virginia. Evoking the stories, conversations and reminiscences told and retold by the inhabitants of what she terms this "Other America", she explores the creative dimensions of storytelling, emphasising the manner in which local narratives function 'as a kind of back talk to "America's" mythic claims to realism, progress, and order' (3). As she writes, narratives 'fashion a gap in the order of things – a gap in which there is "room for maneuver" ' (3). Here what I find particularly productive in Stewart's account is her emphasis on the performative quality of storytelling; that is to say, her interest in what is effected in the moment of narration. Elaborating on this aspect of her work in an interview with Anthony Molino, she makes the following statement:

> Fashioning implies a kind of active and political, rhetorical, performative dimension to what people are doing. I think that they are aware of the many categories they have of ways of talking in particular situations and particular performative or political or rhetorical styles. It's actively fashioning something but out of given materials – the categories, the aesthetics and poetics if how things go together and form temporary unities (Stewart in Molino, 2004: 146).

This description resonates with my own experience of fieldwork. In this thesis, I am interested in exploring how, in the telling of life experiences, individuals engage with culturally dominant narratives and imperatives, both assuming and transforming their apparent logic.

3.2.2 Methodological Techniques

Given my interest in understanding lived experiences of economic restructuring, in this thesis, I have relied upon a combination of ethnographic research techniques such as participation observation, informal conservations, field notes, interviewing and archive work. Hammersely and Atkinson (2007) have argued that ethnography is distinguished by its open-ended approach to research design and by its exploratory character. The ethnographer's task they suggest is often 'to investigate some aspect of the lives of the people who are being studied, and this includes finding out how these people view the situations they face, how they regard one another, and also how they see themselves' (3). This orientation demands flexibility on the part of the researcher, and may require that they adopt a variety of strategies and roles in the field (Hammersely and Atkinson, 2007).

A key research technique in this thesis was interviewing. When conducting interviews I used predominantly semi-structured or 'reflexive' interviewing

techniques (Hammersley and Atkinson, 2007: 117). I approached each of my interviews with a set of themes and topics I wanted to explore but I was also keen to let the conversation develop naturally and to allow interviewees to expand on issues and experiences they considered of particular relevance. In the early stages of my research I also carried out a number of survey interviews at local tourism agencies. I adopted this technique as a means of establishing contact with owners of local tourism businesses. It also enabled me to develop a broad picture of the organisation of the local tourism industry.

With interviewees with whom I developed greater rapport and who appeared more inclined to elaborate on their experiences, I supplemented reflexive interviewing techniques with more broadly life history and narrative approaches. The distinctions between genres of life history interviewing and narrative interviewing have been the subject of significant debate over recent decades (Hatch and Wisniewski, 1995; Shacklock and Thorp, 2005). In this thesis, I follow Bill Ayers in arguing that the boundaries between these genres are better understood as blurred:

> Each relies on story, on subjective accounts, on meaning as it is constructed by people in situations. Each focuses on life as it is lived—an experience not easily fitted into disciplines, categories or compartments. Each assumes a dynamic, living past, a past open to interpretation and reinterpretation, to meaning-making in and for the present (Ayers in Hatch and Wisniewski, 1995: 114).

My motivations in adopting this approach rested in my interest in exploring how individuals made sense of and experienced processes of economic change. During these interviews, I focused on understanding the details of individual lives and asked questions based on the responses and interests of each interviewee. As Shacklock and Thorp (2005) emphasise, 'the life history inquiry is a dialogic event where participants act together in an ongoing, non-linear process that leads towards the construction of an account' (157). The co-constructed quality of the narrative interview is key here. I recognise that the accounts collected through interviewing provide not unmediated access to 'life as lived', but constitute a re-interpretation or a re-fashioning of experience (Bruner, 1986).

The insights developed through interviewing were also supplemented with data collected through participant observation. During the early stages of fieldwork, I was cautious not to let my experiences as a tourist/volunteer influence the manner in which I set about collecting data. I invested time in observing how people went about their daily lives and in recording my impressions of what was taking place (Jones and

Somekh, 2005). I engaged in many informal conversations about my research. I hoped to gauge interest in my project, to get a feel for the issues affecting local people and also to identify the key social actors involved in the tourism industry. These observations ultimately informed many of the conversations developed during interviewing. As my research progressed, I also conducted participant observation at a number of community organisations and attended public meetings.

Throughout my time in the field, I also recorded field notes. These field notes contain thoughts, feelings and reflections alongside more conventional research observations. I wrote down snippets of informal conversations, descriptions of local happenings and details of local reactions to my research project. These field notes were written in descriptive terms and they reflect the development of my understanding of the key topics and themes of my research. Yet, as Hammersely and Atkinson (2007) argue field notes are always selective and can never provide a comprehensive account of the research process; 'the ethnographer acquires a great deal more tacit knowledge than is ever contained in the written record' (147).

Finally, during my time in the field I also conducted archive work, visiting both regional and state archives and gaining access to the personal collections of two local community members. I considered archive work important as, following Comaroff and Comaroff (1992), 'no social world may be properly understood without reference to both its internal historicity and to its unfolding relationship with its wider context' (96). For these authors, it is important that anthropologist engage not only in the translation of lived experiences, but give accounts of how such experiences are socially, culturally and historically grounded (9). The documents and historical accounts collected through archive work have been crucially important in interpreting the narrative accounts of my interviewees and in developing the historical context of my research. Yet, in collecting this data I also recognise that archives are themselves cultural products, they reflect the interests of the archivists and can only offer a partial picture of historical events and experiences (Murchinson, 2009: 161).

3.2.3 Positionality

There has, since the mid-1980s, been a move to rethink ethnographic and qualitative texts in relation to questions of authorship, authenticity and voice (Coffey, 2002: 317). Closely related to poststructuralist crises of representation, this turn in critical thinking has prompted calls to situate the production of research knowledges (Rose,

1997) and to write the ethnographer into the ethnographic text (Coffey, 2002; McDowell, 1992). In this section I critically reflect on the impact of my subjectivity on the research process. In doing so I recognise, following Rose (1997), that while we cannot fully know neither self nor context, there is a need to 'inscribe into our research practices some absences and fallibilities' (319).

In terms of my race, class, background and nationality, I differ significantly from many of my research participants. These distinctions in social identity undoubtedly influenced not only the relationships I developed in the field but also the process of collecting and interpreting data. I entered the field with a degree of self-awareness with regards to how these factors might impact the outcomes of my research. I hoped that my prior knowledge of the field would aid me in negotiating and minimising these power differentials. However, during my time in the field, situations arose that caused me to reconsider my positionality. In particular, I became more aware of how my research participants might be positioning me.

The implications of my gender identity became more salient during fieldwork. When first meeting local people and talking to them about my research, particular interest was often shown in my age and marital status. Frequently, I was asked; "Was I married? Did I have any children? Did I have a boyfriend in Lençóis? Was I involved with anyone back home?". Similarly, there were occasions when I realised that I had become the subject of gossip. "Romantic" relationships between *gringas* and young native men are increasingly frequent and these relationships can be the source of social conflict. In seeking out interviews with local men, I became conscious of a tension between my identity as a young (foreign) woman and as a researcher, and there were instances when I was made aware that I was occupying an 'uneasy social position' (Gill and Mclean, 2002).

My gender identity also came into play when conducting interviews. Feminist research methodologies have long placed emphasis on the importance of reciprocity and equality in interview encounters. In this context, it has often been suggested that women researchers possess significant advantages when researching women (McDowell, 1992). As McDowell (1992) summarises, there has been an assumption that women are able to draw on their '(purported) abilities to listen, to empathize and to validate personal experiences as part of the research process' (402). However, there has been less debate about the implications of conducting empirical research with men (Pini and Pease, 2013).

As I have already indicated, the majority of the interviews that form the core of this thesis were conducted with local men. My experience of interviewing was varied, however, I would suggest that my gender identity did not necessarily act as a barrier to developing rapport nor did it prevent me from empathising with research participants. In many cases, I felt that my gender and status help to create trust, giving the impression that our conversations were nonthreatening (see also Horn, 1997). I was rarely perceived as an expert and could assume the position of the 'acceptable incompetent' with relative ease (Hannersley and Atkinson, 2007). This enabled me to ask naïve questions and to probe taken for granted truths.

Aside from my gender identity, my nationality and outsider status also impacted the research process. As my research progressed, I became increasingly aware of significant tensions between insider and outsider groups. While I considered my presence generally accepted within the community, I began to suspect that these tensions may have be having more impact than I had anticipated. This uneasiness was reinforced following a conversation with one research participant. In explaining my research interests, confusion arose when I can to realise that, in exchange for his participation in my research project, this individual hoped that I might assist him in his desire to write a "true" and official history of the region. Not wanting to misled or offer too much (Hammersley and Atkinson, 2007), I explained that my intension was not to write an historical account but an ethnographic one, one in which the views and perspectives of local people took the fore. My answer, however, seemed to cause some resentment and I was warned that local people had a tendency to lie to anthropologist; few readily welcoming the intrusion of "outsiders" into their lives.

While not wanting to overstate the impact of my outsider status nor to read too much into reactions of one individual, there were occasions in the field when I sensed a barrier in my interactions with local people. The interviews that provided the most in-depth and helpful accounts were most often conducted with individuals with whom I had an established relationship. Moreover, I noticed that when introduced to potential research participants it was often emphasised that I was *gente boa*; that is, a good and decent person. During my time in the field, I made efforts to build trust with research participants and to find neutral ground upon which to establish "normal" sociality (Hammersely and Atkinson, 2007), however, it may be impossible to ever truly "know" the extent to which these dynamics impacted this piece of research (Rose, 1997).

3.3 Fieldwork experience

I left the UK in June 2012 with the intension of undertaking a six-month period of fieldwork. As set out in my original proposal, my plan was to explore the cultural transformations generated in the context of changing resource relations and to investigate the impact of economic change on processes of place-making and identity construction. One of my main research objectives, at this early stage, was to collect, record and observe the performance of stories and place-based narratives as they emerged in context. I was under the impression that the telling of historical narratives was central to the tourism experience on offer in the region.[1] In my proposal, I framed narratives as a strategy through which local actors individual and collectively re-articulate their "place" in the new economy.

However, once I arrived in the field I quickly became aware that there was little formal structuring of the "tourism experience" and that, in fact, the value of the past was in significant dispute. Tourists visiting the region are generally seeking intimate contact with the natural world and, thus, cultural or historical tourism plays a relatively minor role. Running alongside these issues also seemed to be a conflict over who had the authority to tell stories about the past and what constituted a "true" and "accurate" version of local historical events. As a result of these discoveries, my focus shifted from recording narratives performed and recounted during the tourism encounter to looking more closely at how local people narrativised their own personal experiences of economic change. As I had always intended to carry out interviews, this shift in focus did not have a dramatic impact on my research design. In many respects, it provided me with a clearer set of questions and problems with which to begin the process of research.

For the majority of my time in the field, I lived in *Alto da Estrela.* I rented a small one-storey house in the same street as the children's project where I had worked in 2009. Living in a familiar neighbourhood surrounded by familiar faces, greatly facilitated the early stages of research and I found it relatively easy to reinsert myself into community life. *Alto da Estrela* is one of Lençóis' poorer neighbourhoods, located outside its historic centre. The houses in this area are informally constructed

[1] Reflecting on my first experiences in Lençóis, I would suggest that this impression came from my own interest in local history. When I had participated in treks in 2009 I had shown particular interest in the mining past and in response local guides had shared with me stories of regional history.

and the streets are largely unpaved. Most of the people who live in *Alto* are *nativos*;[2] they occupy the lower stratums of the social hierarchy and are predominantly black, self-identifying as *pretos* or *pardos*. Life for those that occupy this neighbourhood brings many challenges, but most of those I spent time with expressed affection for the place in which they live. The community is stronger in *Alto* they told me. Indeed, children spend long hours playing together in the street, and in the evenings, friends and families congregate on their doorsteps, sharing stories and gossip. While lacking in state provisions, *Alto* finds strength in the bonds of sociality.

Figure 4: Alto da Estrela, photograph by author

Interviewing

I began the process of interviewing within the first few weeks of arriving in the field. I was keen to get started and, given that I already had an established network of contacts in the city, I was able to recruit participants fairly quickly. I began by focusing on interviewing those directly employed in the tourism industry. I was also particularly interested in identifying participants who had been previously been involved in mining activities. The main technique I used for recruiting these groups was snowballing. However, I also approached the local guiding association, the

[2] Term used locally to denote those born in the municipality. Is sometimes also extended to those from the Chapada Diamantina region.

Associação de Condutores de Visitantes de Lençóis (ACVL), to ask them if they would be willing to help me gain access to this particular group of tourism workers. After speaking to the president of the association, I was given permission to visit their city centre office and talk to the guides. This proved to be a very productive research relationship. I managed to recruit several interviewees and time spent at the ACVL gave me insights into the organisation of this form of labour. In September 2012, I participated in an event organised by the association. They were seeking volunteers to help clear rubbish from trails near the city. I also engaged routinely in conversation with members of this organisation, the ACVL was a place guides congregated as they waited for tourists.

In the first few months of research I also conducted survey interviews with owners/managers of local tourism agencies. I felt that this technique was useful in establishing an initial contact with members of this sector. It also helped me to develop a picture of how the local tourism industry was organised and managed. I also visited hotels and *pousadas*. In most cases, people were receptive and happy to engage in informal conversations about my research. This method was, however, not so successful in recruiting interviewees. Almost all interviews with individuals working in the hotel sector were arranged as the result of introductions via friends and previous research participants.

In general, I did not have any major difficulties recruiting research participants, however, some groups were more difficult to access. While the focus of my research was the experience of men, I was also interested in developing an understanding of the perspectives of local women. Initially, I found it difficult to recruit female research participants. They seemed less present on the streets of Lençóis and I found there were fewer opportunities for developing research relationships. I was also interested in speaking to members of the city's older generations. It was pointed out to me by one local person that these individuals might feel uncomfortable talking to a young researcher. In his view, there was significant mistrust between older generations and *forasteiros* (outsiders). I relied on contacts to recruit participants within these groups. The majority of these interviews were conducted successfully, however, they did not tend to produce such in-depth accounts. At times, I struggled with the feeling that I was imposing too much on their lives.

By the end of fieldwork, I had managed to conduct a total of 73 interviews (see appendix A for interview schedule).[3] Most interviews averaged 1h30, the shortest being 20 minutes and the longest 3h30. Interviewees varied in age and socio-economic status. 68% of interviewees were male. I began each interview by explaining my research interests and by reassuring participants that any information they shared would be treated with confidentiality. The vast majority of these interviews were recorded using an audio-recording device, always requesting the permission of participants. A small number of interviewees expressed some reluctance at having their voices recorded; for some, the presence of the audio device seemed to provoke embarrassment,[4] for others, it was the source mistrust.[5] These reactions prompted me to think more carefully about when I felt it necessary to use a recorder. On occasions when I did not use an audio-device I relied on note taking

Archive work

I commenced archive work within the first month of fieldwork. As there were no public archives in the city of Lençóis, I travelled to the *Arquivo Público de Rio de Contas* (Public Archive of Rio de Contas), 270 km from Lençóis, in order to investigate what documents it contained pertaining to regional history. I left Lençóis on 15th July and spent a week exploring the archive. The collection was considerable and fortunately the women working in the archive were very willing to help me in my searches. We soon discovered, however, that primary documents concerning the city of Lençóis were relatively scarce. Lençóis had been declared an independent municipality in 1858, and, as such, most of the information available concerned Rio

[3] The majority of these interviews were formally arranged. I contacted participants in advance and arrange a convenient time and meeting place. However, several interviews were more spontaneous. A number of participants who were reluctant to commit in advance suggested conducting the interview on the spot.

[4] Amongst women and older participants in particular I sensed embarrassment. When I asked to use the voice recorder some responded by telling me that they doubted they would have anything interesting to say. In these cases, I reassured them that all I was interested in was their personal experiences and perspectives. Most then agreed to the use of the audio-device. However, in some cases, I felt that the recorder remained a barrier in establishing rapport.

[5] With two male participants the presence of the audio device was the subject of some negotiation. These men were ex-miners and when I first approached them both seemed keen to participate in my research. However, on the day of the interview each requested that we do the interview first without a voice recorder and then later they would decide if they wanted to do a recorded interview with me. With one of these men, following his request, we did the interview twice; first without the recorder and later with the recorder. With the other man, I sensed particular reluctance and I decided not to pursue a formal interview. We had a number of informal conversations over the course of fieldwork.

de Contas and its gold mining industry. The archive did contain a number of secondary historical texts and these proved useful in orienting future investigations.

When I returned to Lençóis I made efforts to identify alternative sources of information. I visited a number of local libraries and public institutions and was able to gain access to regional literature and academic research. However, the most valuable source of information turned out to be personal archives. Several members of the local community have actively collected documents, newspaper articles, photographs and texts relevant to local history over the last 40 years. During my time in the field I was able to access two of these personal archives.[6] These collections gave me crucial insights into how local history was being framed by local residents. As Jonathon Boulter (2011) emphasises (via Derrida), while the archive is traditionally conceived as a location of knowledge, it is better understood as 'a place from which the order of things—let us call it for now the order of history—is governed' (4).

At the end of my fieldwork I travelled to Salvador to visit the *Biblioteca Manuel Querino* (Manuel Querino Archive) and technical archive of the *Companhia de Desenvolvimento e Ação Regional* (Company for Regional Development and Action). This was an extremely valuable trip and I was able to get copies of a number of governmental documents published in the 1990s. During my time in the field I also identified and purchased works of fiction published during the 20th century. Access to these sources has been crucial in developing a sense of the historical context of my research.

Participant observation

During my time in the field I developed relationships with three organisations, the ACVL (as detailed above), the *Associação Casa Grande* and *Grãos de Luz e Griô*. *Grãos* is an NGO based in Lençóis, which runs workshops for local children according to the Pedagogia Griô. It is involved in community education projects and is the only organisation that actively promotes the development of cultural/community

[6] One of these archives was located in a local hotel. It contains books on regional history, copies of documents and travel writings published at the beginning of the 20th century, and governmental programs published in the 1990s. The second archive is a private collection. It belonged to a local man who had been involved in the campaign for the city's designation as a site of national heritage. It contained an album with photos and texts dating back to this period. It also contained newspaper articles from the 1970s. I am very grateful to these individuals for allowing me access to these documents.

tourism. During my time in Lençóis, I was interested in understanding their efforts to engage local tourism businesses in *Turismo de Base Comunitário* (Community-based Tourism) and in promoting their *Trilhas Griô* (Griô Trails). They invited me to participate in a workshop for staff members and also gave me permission to observe a workshop with local children. In exchange I provided them with some English translations of promotional material. During my time in Lençóis, *Grãos* led a number of tourism trips to rural communities; however, they struggled to engage the support of local businesses. I understand that they have further developed this side of their project since I left the field. They also support trips to the recently reopened *Rancho do Garimpeiro* in Lençóis, a family run museum celebrating the life of local miner.

I also maintained contact with the *Associação Casa Grande* throughout my time in Lençóis. Many people continued to recognise me as one of the project volunteers and I believe that my relationship with this organisation assisted me in legitimising my presence in the local community. I developed friendships with the new volunteers, who, in turn, also put me in contact with potential research participants. I participated in events run by the project and in one *multirão* (community-run effort to renovate the project). Living in the same street as the project I also maintained contact with a number of the *Casa Grande* children. This, I stress provided me not with research opportunities, but with a source of support and diversion while in the field.

I also participated in formal treks and tourism excursions with local guides. As I have already indicated, before arriving in the field I had anticipated that these interactions would be a key focus of my research. While this became less important as fieldwork progressed, I still felt that it was necessary to understand the kind of experience sold to tourists visiting the region and also to speak informally to tourists about their impressions of the city. Each of these trips provided key insights into how the local tourism industry is organised. All those involved were aware that I was conducting research and I wrote field notes and took photos. Beyond the formalised tourism encounter, I also observed interactions between tourists and locals in the streets, at the bus station, at the local market, during cultural performances, during festivals and in the local bars and restaurants. I took part in and observed activities occurring before, during and after 4 “feriados” (public holidays).

Social media and other materials

In my research design I had not considered using social media. During my time in the field, I found community facebook groups very useful in keeping up to date with local news. I also tracked popular discussions on events and local happenings. This platform provided an important window into community relations and grievances. I have continued to follow these groups since leaving the field. These sites have alerted me to a number of important developments that have informed the interpretation of my data. Finally, I also collected promotional and tourism marketing material while in the field. This gave me an idea of how the region is constructed as a tourism destination.

Finally, it is also worth noting that during my time in the field campaigns for municipal elections were underway. When I arrived in the field, I confess that I struggled to get to grips with what was going on and who the key protagonists were, however, I did find that this climate greatly facilitated informal conversations about difficulties faced by local inhabitants. I collected political propaganda and attended *discursos em apoio* (public speeches in support) of the principal candidates. I also observed a meeting between the current *prefeito* (mayor) and the ACVL.

3.4 Data analysis

The process of data analysis began when I was in the field. As I made field notes, prepared for interviews, and engaged in continuous reflection on the process of research, I started to make connections and identify relationships that have structured the way I have subsequently interpreted my data. I have returned to these field notes and reflections time and time again and, while there are few explicit references to these notes in my thesis, they provide much of the context and background of my interpretations.

By the time I left the field in December 2012, I had collected an extensive amount of qualitative data. My first task was to transcribe the interviews I had conducted with key research participants. I divided these interviews into batches and spent long hours transcribing in portuguese. This process, while tedious, was crucial in developing an in-depth understanding of my interview data and in formulating my ideas. As I transcribed the interviews, I engaged in ‘open coding’ (Charmaz, 2006; Strauss and Corbin, 1998). As Anselm Strauss and Juliet Corbin (1998) write, this is the process through which the researcher attempts to ‘open up the text’ and to ‘expose

the thoughts, ideas and meanings contained therein' (102). To do this I read and reread the interview transcripts, identifying key words, categories, and concepts and making comments in the margins in which I recorded initial analyses, thoughts, interpretations and questions (Strauss and Corbin, 1998). During this process, I tried to let my data "speak"; that is, to ground my analysis in the empirical data and not impose preconceived categories and concepts (Charmaz, 2006; Strauss and Corbin, 1998). I conducted both close analysis of interview segments and broader analysis of the interview structure and content.

Upon finishing each batch of transcripts, I reread each of the interviews again and reviewed the categories of my analysis. I then began a second phase of coding. At this stage, I was interested in establish links and connections between categories and concepts. Following the approach outlined by Kathy Charmaz (2006) I focused on the most significant and/or frequent codes identified in the first stage. I moved across interviews and compared interviewee experiences, actions and interpretations (Charmaz, 2006: 59). I also returned to my research questions and made attempts to conceptualise interviewee responses (Strauss and Corbin, 1998). During this process, the main arguments of my thesis began to take shape.

The process of analysis did not end with transcription and coding. After returning from the field I began to re-engage with literature and scholarly debates. While the readings I completed before fieldwork had been useful in formulating my research questions, the data I had collected promoted me to expand my theoretical and conceptual framework. As I came to the end of the process of transcription, I began balancing data analysis with reading and writing. I began by writing extended reflections, which were later incorporated into draft chapters. I found this process helpful in formulating my ideas and making connections. Continuous interplay between writing, reading and analysis continued right up to the final stages of this research project.

In writing this thesis I tried to allow space for exploring the plurality of voices and experiences collected during fieldwork while bringing them together to form a coherent and meaningful narrative. Within this account there emerge key participants to whose descriptions and narratives I return repeatedly. These were individuals who invested time in helping me to understand the complexities and ambiguities of daily life in the city of Lençóis. Their accounts articulated clearly what I felt were the key themes of analysis. As Bruner writes 'we choose those informants whose narratives

are most compatible with our own—just as, I am sure, informants select their favourite anthropologists based on the same criterion of compatibility' (151).

Finally, given the sensitivity and personal nature of the information shared during interview and in view of community tensions uncovered in the process of data collection, I use pseudonyms for each of my research participants.[7] Extracts from interviews included in the main body of the thesis are in Portuguese. Translations into English are provided in an endnote in each chapter. The decision to keep interview data in Portuguese was taken based on the argument that this way of presenting ethnographic data ensures that the texture and intonation of local worlds in preserved.[8]

3.5 Concluding remarks

This chapter has provided an overview of the methodology adopted in this thesis. Bringing together ethnographic research methods, archive work and interviewing, this thesis takes a grounded approach to the collection and interpretation of data, aiming to let empirical observations guide its interpretations. In the chapters that follow, I present the key findings of this process. I stress that the interpretations offered are intimately shaped by decisions and choices made whilst in the field. This research is the product of a dialogue between my own subjectivity and those of my research participants.

[7] The only exception here is when referencing interviews with public figures.
[8] It should be noted that extracts from interviews set within the text are translated into English, as are extracts from academic writings and governmental programs.

Chapter 4

Tourism development in the Chapada Diamantina

4.1 Introduction

In this chapter, I set out the historical and political economic context of my research, focusing on the establishment of the city of Lençóis as the principle gateway to the Chapada Diamantina National Park. Drawing on both secondary and primary materials, I trace the evolution of development interests in the region to provide an account of the role of state and capital in the production of place (Escobar 2008; Harvey, 1996). Over the course of my discussions, I describe how tourism development strategies and conservation interventions have sought to transform uses and understandings of the material landscape and explore how these processes have impacted the organisation of local social and economic relationships.

The purpose of this chapter is to set the scene for the ethnographic insights that follow. My aim is to describe the history of eco-tourism development in the Chapada Diamantina and to examine existing literature in this area. It should be noted that much of the historical context presented in this chapter is indebted to the work of sociologist Francisco Emanuel Matos Brito (2005). In his monograph, entitled *Os ecos contraditórias do turismo na Chapada Diamanatina,* F.E. Brito provides a detailed account of the socio-economic and environmental impacts of tourism development programs. Crucially, it was F.E. Brito's work that alerted me to the distinct phases of tourism development in the region and, in many respects, this chapter constitutes a retelling of this history. However, while drawing important insights from this piece of research, I also seek to extend F.E. Brito's analysis, indicating why my thesis is a necessary supplement to this literature. In particular, by linking tourism development initiatives to the neoliberal project, I aim to shed further

light on the social and political forces driving local processes of place transformation.[1]

It is important to note that this chapter will not evaluate the successes and failures of tourism development strategies.[2] My approach, rather, is more descriptive. Bringing together secondary materials with first hand analysis of governmental programs, I hope to develop an understanding of how government interventions have been rationalised and to identity the political and economic imperatives driving local development strategies. In adopting this approach, I am particularly influenced by the work of Tania Murray Li (2007a, 2007b). In her book, *The Will to Improve* (2007b), Li examines improvement schemes introduced by the Indonesian government in the 1990s (see chapter 4). At the heart of her analysis lies a focus on the operation of "rendering technical"; that is, the process by which development programs identify an arena of intervention and seek to devise corrective measures to produce desirable results (123). In this chapter, I follow Li in tracing the manner in which the development potential of the region has been imagined and in exploring how ways of understanding the ideal means of cultivating this potential have evolved over time.

This chapter is divided into four sections and takes a chronological approach to the exploration of tourism development initiatives. The first section looks at early precedents for the establishment of tourism flows during the 1970s and 1980s. Here I focus on the circumstances that led to the city of Lençóis' listing as a site of historical patrimony and to creation of the Chapada Diamantina National Park. In the second section, I move on to explore the impact of the neoliberalisation of the Brazilian state on tourism planning. I begin by considering the nature of Brazil's adoption of neoliberal reform. I then examine how these political transformations have influenced ways of envisioning the development potential of the Chapada Diamantina and how they have entered into tension with existing socio-economic and political formations. Finally, I conclude this chapter with an account of the political economy of tourism development, briefly exploring how neoliberal-led development projects have impacted local social and economic relations. I will argue that despite the promise of

[1] In later chapters, my contributions to this literature will be further extended. Departing from the work of F.E. Brito, this thesis places greater analytical weight on personal narratives of change and transformation. In doing so, it seeks to shed light on the impact of development planning on subjectivity and to acknowledge the trauma of economic change. I present local people as critically aware of the failures and contradiction of eco-tourism development planning and explore subjectivity as a source of creative and critical potential.

[2] This work has been undertaken by F.E. Brito (2005).

growth and social inclusion, the introduction of eco-tourism has failed to significantly alter local structures of power (see also F.E. Brito, 2005).

4.2 Tourism development and heritage conservation (1970-1985)

Recognition of the touristic potential of the Chapada Diamantina region of the Bahian interior dates back to the early 1970s, and has, since this time, exerted influence on planning and policymaking at both municipal and state level. While the growth trajectory of this industry has been slow and uneven, fluctuations in its development can be seen to reflect much broader national trends. In this section, I outline the establishment of the region as an area of interest for tourism development. Following F.E. Brito (2005), I suggest that it was during the decades of the 1970s and 1980s that important precedents were set for the implementation of an industry that would later seek to capitalise on the natural beauty of the regional territory. I describe the local dynamics of development planning, while also seeking to make connections with the broader political economy.

4.2.1 "The Diamond Capital wants to be a heritage site"[3]

The first indication of local interest in tourism development emerged in the early 1960s. After the failure to develop agriculture, the Mayor of Lençóis, Olimpio Barbosa Filho, established the city's first *Conselho Municipal de Turismo* (Municipal Tourism Council) (Brito, F.E., 2005: 117; see also Araújo et al, 2002; Brito, C., 2013). Describing this initiative as somewhat premature, F.E. Brito (2005) notes that, at this time, the proposal lacked not only the necessary funds for investment in infrastructure, but also failed to inspire the support of the local population (117-118). However, by the end of the decade, the situation was changing. With the further decline of mining activities, a level of consensus was emerging amongst members of the city's intellectual and political elite that the future of the region might best be secured by harnessing the economic value of its historical patrimony (Brito, C., 2013). As reported in a state newspaper in 1970, 'a new mentality' was taking hold of city residents, their hopes and dreams coming to rest on what appear to be a new 'magic word'; tourism (Jornal da Bahia, 1970, translation own).

[3] I take this section title from the headline of a newspaper published in *A Tarde* on 30/10/1971 (Pires, 1971)

The trigger for these shifting attitudes is often popularly attributed to the arrival, in 1970, of Steve Horman, an American volunteer working for the Peace Corps.[4] Horman, via the actions of an organisation known as the *Movimento de Criatividade Comunitária*[5] (Creative Community Movement or MCC), is credited with playing a key role in the *conscientização* (or consciousness raising) of key community members with regards to the viability of a local tourism industry. During my time in Lençóis, I had the opportunity to speak to a member of this organisation. Recalling his experiences working for the MCC, this individual described how Steve had worked to stimulate community action around tourism development. Inspired by the story of a small mining town in the United States, which, following economic decline, had found in tourism a means of securing its socio-economic survival, Steve had been quick to identify the economic potential of the city's architectural and cultural heritage. This '*gringo*'[6] with his 'extraordinary idea' would thus play an instrumental role in re-orientating the economic and cultural outlook of the city of Lençóis [Gustavo, 03/09/2012, Lençóis].

However, it is also important to note that, concurrent to these local trends, political interest in preserving symbols of national identity was burgeoning at state and federal level.[7] Concern for the preservation of the nation's historical patrimony had first emerged in Brazil with the decline of the Old Republic (1889-1930) and the establishment of the Vargas Estado Novo (1937-1945). As Daryle William's (2001) influential study of this period attests, cultural management policies played a central role in institutionalising and nationalising this populist authoritarian regime. A key instrument in this approach being the *Serviço do Patrimônio Histórico e Artístico Nacional* (National Institute of Artistic and Historic Patrimony or SPHAN), institutionalised in 1937 and tasked with the inscription and administration of an official registry of national heritage, known as the *Livros de Tombo*. However, as Williams highlights, 'given the criteria used to select particular kinds of sites and objects, primarily originating from the social and ecclesiastical elite, federal

[4] In my interviews with local men and women the arrival of Steve Horman was often identified as crucial in understanding growing interest in tourism development. Similarly, historical accounts such as those provided by F.E. Brito (2005) and Araújo et al (2002) also note the importance of Horman's activities in the MCC.

[5] This organisation worked to develop projects to improve living conditions and community well-being (Brito, F.E., 2005: 121; see also Araújo, 2002).

[6] Portuguese term for foreigner, typically American.

[7] The link between evolving federal interests and emerging municipal interests is strongly established in C. Brito's (2013) analysis of heritage conservations initiatives in Lençóis.

preservationist activities assured that the prevailing regional, class, and racial biases would persist in the way in which the federal government reconstructed, ordered, and displayed national heritage' (134).

Yet, by the late 1960s the parameters of this selective approach to heritage conservation had begun to undergo significant revision (Brito, C., 2013; Silva, 2013). As Silva (2013) explains, with the establishment of a new era of military government, and in view of concerns over the economic and political stability of the Brazilian state, notions of the inherent value of national patrimony would be supplemented with a distinctly developmentalist agenda (Silva, 2013: 4; see also Brito, C., 2013). During visits from UNESCO heritage consultants in 1966 and 1967, the government of Castello Branco institutionalised the *Conselho Federal de Turismo* (Federal Tourism Council) and the *Empresa Brasileira de Turismo* (Brazilian Tourism Company or EMBRATUR), signalling an intention to expand public policy on national heritage to incorporate the promotion of its historic and cultural assets for tourism development (Silva, 2013: 4-5). It was this confluence of interests that would trigger greater federal engagement with heritage conservation in regions beyond the nation's metropolitan centres, encouraging municipal authorities to re-examine the economic potential of their historic assets (Brito, C., 2013; Silva, 2013).

Here we begin to gain some insight into the social and political forces driving local interest in heritage conservation. Concerned for the economic future of the region, local political and intellectual elites began to mobilise around the preservation of the region's historical patrimony and were successful at gaining support at state and federal level (see also Brito, C., 2013). These processes are clearly evidenced at the *II Encontro de Governadores para a Preservação de Patrimônio Histórico, Artístico e Arqueológico e Natural do Brasil* (II Meeting of Governors for the Preservation of Historic, Artistic and Archaeological and National Patrimony) held in Salvador in 1971. Here federal and state support for newly expanded understandings of national patrimony met favourably with local impetus for pursuing heritage conservation and tourism development in the city of Lençóis (see also Brito, C., 2013).[8] Hosted by the governor of Bahia, Antonio Carlos Magalhaes, and attended by

[8]This confluence of interests is examined in detail by C. Brito (2013). For C. Brito's (2013) the success of the campaign for city's designation as national patrimony rested on the establishment of a connection between the region's cultural and historical formations and the diamond mining civilisations of Minais Gerais. He argues that, from the decade of the 1970s, attempts were made by

representatives of each of the Brazilian states, this meeting called for collaborative action in the name of the defence of the nation's historical patrimony (IPHAN, 1973). Political discourse centred on the amplification of the nation's heritage registry and stressed the importance of valorising the past in securing the future of the Brazilian nation (see also Brito, C., 2013). As reflected in Magalhaes' opening speech: 'no country can project itself towards the future, even on the back of great waves of development, if we do not know how to preserve, above all, the conduct of our past' (IPHAN, 1973: 53, translation own). It was thus that tourism received unprecedented attention as a vector of both the preservationist and developmentalist agenda.

In the forth session of the *Encontro*, dedicated exclusively to the question of integrating heritage conservation with tourism development, representatives of the *Prefeitura Municipal de Lençóis* (Municipal Government of Lençóis) presented their case for the city's consideration by IPHAN as *cidade-monumento* (city-monument). Stressed in the proposition submitted to the plenary was the rich cultural and historical legacy left behind by the city's civilisation of diamond miners and the importance of securing this legacy in ensuring the future of the city of Lençóis (see also Brito, C., 2013):

> The executive authority of Lençóis, which signs this declaration below, upon becoming aware of an initiative led by a most selfless group of citizens, some of which are sons of this earth, and others its residents, is implementing action so that all the pageantry of our history full of heroism, culture and labour, shall be preserved, protected, maintained and divulged, and, taking into account that it is a primary duty of public authorities to support, incentivise and applaud, in every respect, measures laid down by the Federal Constitution (sole paragraph of article 180 of amendment number 1), [the executive authority of Lençóis] sets outs norms aimed at its righteous preservation;
>
> Taking into account, furthermore, that he who shows contempt for his past has no right to the future given the disaffection that this attitude manifests.
>
> Taking into account, finally, that Lençóis' past, its history and its monuments constructed in the most pure colonial style and its miraculous and eternally suggestive landscapes, could constitute a perennial source of wealth for the rational exploitation of the tourism industry, [the executive authority of Lençóis] resolves … to give its integral and whole hearted support to this cluster of beings who desire solely the "well-being" of our community and the future of this land, that once was brilliant and promising. So be it authorised and published this declaration (IPHAN, 1973: 291, translation own).

This statement makes clear that, at this historical juncture, the city's rich 'acervo turistico' (tourism archive) was understood to be founded upon the cultural wealth of

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members of the city's intellectual elite to resignify the history of the region, placing emphasis on its connection with the mining civilisations of Minas Gerais (118). As he writes, 'the diamond civilisation of Bahia was perceived as a legacy from Minas Gerais, as an example of cultural continuity from a region that had long been valorised by IPHAN' (120, translation own). In this chapter, I draw on arguments made by C. Brito (2013) in understanding how federal and state discourses on national heritage were mobilised by local intellectuals and in setting out how these concerns intersected with a growing interest in tourism development.

its mining past.[9] We see how municipal representatives make a direct appeal to state discourses on heritage, clearly mirroring the developmentalist agenda set by the opening speech of the *Encontro* (see also Brito, C., 2013). This suggests that, while proclaiming the moral and ethical value of preservation, local interest in conservation is closely intertwined with the dictates of state and capital, the city's rich historical

Figure 5: The historic centre, photograph by author

assets clearly articulated as "resources" for securing economic and social development.

Lençóis would finally secure its place in the *Livros de Tombo* in December 1973, the second of three urban sites to be protected in the state of Bahia. In a statement published in a state newspaper, the *Tribuna da Bahia*, Professor Pedro Calmon, president of the *Instituto Histórico e Geográfico Brasileiro* (Brazilian Historic and Geographic Institute), affirmed the historical and cultural import of the city, declaring that 'we hope that Lençóis never ends' (Calmon, 1971, translation own).

[9] This point has particular significance for my research and will be developed further in later sections. As I suggested in my introduction, this chapter sets out how, over the course of the decades of the 1970s and 1980s, tourism development strategies have evolved in focus—moving away from the historical import of the city of Lençóis, towards the beauty of its wider setting. This shift, I suggest, can be understood as a response to the evolving interests of state and capital.

Finally, key insights into the nature of municipal interest in tourism development and its relationship to dominant social and political forces can also be drawn from the 1977 film, *Diamante Bruto* (Rough Diamond). Directed by Orlando Senna and based on Afranio Peixoto's tragic love story, *Burgrinha*, *Diamante Bruto* depicts a city on the brink of transformation and captures an emergent impetus for political and economic rediscovery. As reflected in the opening dialogue:

> Dr Castro: …the Chapada is changing a lot. It was forgotten for a long time but now the government has discovered us again.
> ... We have all we need to be a tourism centre—did you know? [Diamante Bruto, 1977, translation own]

Here we have an indication of local perceptions of growing governmental interest in the region. Moreover, there is a suggestion that, formed in relationship with the interests of state and capital, understandings of this particular locality were beginning to shift.

However, one final note is necessary. In marking the arrival of a new era, *Diamante Bruto* also anticipates the increasing peripheralisation of the figure of the *garimpeiro*. Depicted in the film as ignorant and obstinate, there is a sense that the *garimpeiro* belongs to a past social order, soon to be made obsolete in the wake of economic progress. In his place, it is the natural environment that emerges as one of the film's key protagonists, signalling the arrival of new values and new demands.

4.2.2 Tombamento ecológico

During the 1980s, ways of approaching the touristic potential of the city of Lençóis would begin to shift (see also Brito, F.E., 2005). While early attempts to establish tourism had sought to capitalise on the city's designation as a *cidade-monumento*, increasingly the ecological importance of its wider geographic setting would take centre stage. In response to growing international pressure, the development priorities of the Brazilian government were evolving, provoking the incorporation of environmental concerns within their agenda for growth (Diegues, 2001; Drummond and Barros-Platiau, 2006). It is in this context that a campaign for the creation of a national park would begin to provoke federal interest, an awakening to the aesthetic and economic potential of the region's hillsides and valley floors.

The growing prominence of the environmental question in Brazilian national politics must be read in the context of what Macnaghten (2003) terms, the 'general broadening of the environmental agenda at global level' (65). As this author explains,

guided by NGO activity, during the decades of the 1970s and 1980s, there emerged the 'dominant storyline of the "fragile earth" under stress from human action and in need of care and protection from an imagined global community' (65). This storyline was effective in galvanising political support (Macnaghten, 2003) and, by the 1980s, the environmental agenda had begun to reach developing countries via international development agencies such as the World Bank and the IDB (Diegues, 2001). As Diegues (2001) highlights, at this time, these large financial institutions would begin to include and implement environmental protection clauses as a condition for loans on large-scale development projects (116).

In Brazil, this international stance on the environment would begin to feed into a critique of the "growth at all costs" model of development, pursued by the federal government since the established of the Estado Novo (Drummond and Barros-Platiau, 2006: 84). As Drummond and Barros-Platiau (2006) explain, only with the waning of public faith in pro-growth development and an increase in conservationist activity at the level of civil society, did Brazil begin to systematically enact and enforce environmental regulations and policies (84). A key indicator of this changing political climate was the *Lei da Política Nacional do Meio Ambiente* (National Policy Law for the Environment), introduced in August 1981. Described by Drummond and Barros-Platiau (2006) as a cornerstone in Brazil's environmental regulation, it aimed to strengthen the legal framework for ensuring environmental protection alongside socioeconomic development (92). As they explain:

> Its principles were thoroughly "modern" – the concept of natural environment as a public good worthy of protection, the rational and planned use of natural resources, the isolation of polluting activities in restricted zones, the reclamation of damaged areas, and environmental education. These principles and goals innovated national regulations, anticipating concepts later linked to the notion of sustainable development. (Drummond and Barros-Platiau, 2006: 92).

With this shift in environmental policy, increasingly federal goals for development would be rationalised in relation to their environmental costs and limitations (Drummond and Barros-Platiau, 2006: 95).

It is in this context that the campaign for the designation of the Chapada Diamantina National Park emerged. Amongst the first of its kind in the state of Bahia, the creation of the national park is popularly attributed to the actions of an American

biologist, Roy Funch; resident in Lençóis since the late 1970s.[10] Much like his predecessor Steve Horman, Roy had first come to Brazil as a member of a team of Peace Corps volunteers and, captivated by the beauty and rich ecological diversity of the Chapada Diamantina had decided to settle in the region. During my time in the field, I had the opportunity to speak to Roy about his involvement in the activities that would culminate in the creation of the region's first protected area.

Recalling his arrival in Lençóis, Roy noted that at the time the city had appeared little more than a "backward dirt street town". While a handful of miners were still working the hills, for the majority of the population, diamonds had long ceased to provide a viable mode of existence and, despite early signs of state investment in tourism development, many were leaving. With the termination of Peace Corps operations in Brazil imminent, and finding himself with little official work to do, Roy had spent most of his time in the company of the city's few remaining miners, exploring the hills and mapping the region. It was during one of these walks that the idea of creating a national park first took shape. As he described:

> I came from a culture that valued these things, but it wasn't what I was doing here. I was walking the hills one day between Lençóis and Capão, have you done the trip? That view of Morrão and the valley, I was walking by myself, and I was just enjoying the view, and I thought well if this was in the US, it would be a National Park and that just turned on a light bulb, that's a good idea! [Roy, 16/08/2012, Lençóis]

In the years that followed, Roy set about trying to "create the concept", writing to newspapers and attempting to generate interest in the idea of a National Park. This was made easier, he told me, with the opening of the first state-run hotel, the *Pousada de Lençóis* in 1979. Working as the region's first tourism guide he had some success recruiting the support of a number of visiting urban elites and state representatives in the idea of enclosing and preserving the region's natural environment. As he explained: 'I would show them their own state and the beauties that they had no idea were here, and the whole time selling, pushing the idea of a national park, they had no

[10] Amongst local residents, the creation of the national park is commonly attributed to Roy Funch. However, it is also important to note the activities of the Bahian environmentalist Humberto Brandão de Sousa, born in Mucugê, whose involvement is outlined in the *Chapada Diamantina National Park Management Plan* published in 2007. This document notes that, in the early 1980s, Sousa led a local initiative for the creation of a national park, which attracted media coverage at state level (Instituto de Chico Mendes, 2007). Similarly, F.E Brito (2005), also notes the actions of another Peace Corps volunteer David Blackburn, who arrived in Lençóis in the mid 1960s (120). In this chapter I focus on the contribution made by Roy Funch given the prominence of his story in popular discourse.

idea what a national park was but they wanted one for their state!' [Roy, 16/08/2012, Lençóis].

While Roy's descriptions of the events and circumstances that led to the designation of the Chapada Diamantina National Park place emphasis on the role of local action and consciousness raising, I would argue that implicit in this account is the suggestion of a political climate conducive to a certain coming together of environmentalist concerns with development incentives.[11] In a region of increasing

Figure 6: Valé do Pati, photograph by the author

interest for tourism development, and in the context of the growing prevalence of conservationist discourses, Roy's call to preserve the rich biodiversity of the region's territory would begin to gain traction amongst representatives of Bahia's growth-oriented agencies.

This confluence of interests is also evidenced in Roy Funch's 1982 publication entitled *Chapada Diamantina A Natural Reserve*. Written with the view of entreating the *Instituto Brasileiro de Desenvolvimento Florestal* (IBDF or Brazilian Institute of Forestry Development) to take action to protect the biodiversity of the Chapada Diamantina region, the preface is provided by Manoel Figueiredo Castro, Secretary of

[11] Particularly interesting in Roy's account is the emphasis placed on the role of his own cultural perspectives. He came from a culture that 'valued these things'. This statement speaks to the role played by the wilderness paradigm in shaping approaches to conservation taken by the Brazilian state during this period (see Diegues, 2001).

Industry and Commerce and once president of Bahiatursa.[12] In his introductory comments, Castro applauds Roy's contributions to the promotion of 'this beautiful piece of Brazil, that is the Chapada' and his ongoing work to defend the nation's natural patrimony 'so that it is not destroyed by the actions of mankind' (Castro in Funch, 1982: 4, translation own). Describing the region as 'a natural treasure that belongs to all Brazilian people', the preface concludes with a declaration of support from the Department for Industry and Commerce, the state agency responsible both for the promotion of tourism development and the preservation of natural patrimony (Castro in Funch, 1982: 5, translation own). In this regard, I would argue that the creation of the Chapada Diamantina National Park can be considered a precursor of a trend that would gradually begin to dominate conservation strategies from the late 80s onwards; one in which tourism would increasingly feature as a key impetus for the creation of protected areas (see Oliveira, 2005).[13]

Growing pressure from state agencies and civil society led to the formal establishment of the Chapada Diamantina National Park by federal decree 91.655 on 17th September 1985; implemented to protect the rich eco-systems of the Serra do Sincorá and to provide 'controlled opportunities for public, educative and scientific use' (Instituto Chico Mendes, 1985, translation own). Comprising an area of 152 000 hectors, its borders skirt the boundaries of the cities of Lençóis, Andaraí, Mucugê, Ibicoara, Guiné and Palmeiras. In the *Plano de Manejo* (Management Plan), published over twenty years later, the park's establishment is celebrated as amongst the first of its kind to be implement as a result of 'popular action' (Instituto de Chico Mendes, 2007: 125).

However, to what extent do these claims of participative action ring true? Most of the local people I spoke to had only vague memories of the processes involved in the creation of the national park. Many noted that they had only become aware of its existence when their traditional activities began to face restrictions. A lack of concern for the views and perspectives of local people was also reflected in my interview with

[12] Bahiatursa is a company linked to the ministry of tourism in the state of Bahia, responsible for the promotion of tourism.

[13] Research has shown that in many cases, tourism provides the key rationale for the implementation of protected areas as it is believed that conservation will eventually 'pay its way' through tourist development (Brockington et al, 2008: 132). While tourism was not an explicit concern in the designation of national parks in Brazil prior to the 1990s, the discourse on sustainable development which emerged during the 1980s is in many respects a precursor for this later development (Oliveira, 2005). In the case of the Chapada Diamantina it is clear that the movement for the creation of a National Park took place in the context of growing concern for the economic "future" of the region.

Roy Funch.[14] Considering them unlikely to relate to the principles of conservation, he admitted that at the time he had felt little need to engage local people in his initiative:

> I must confess that I didn't make that much of an effort to convince the locals, because, just out of, well there wasn't really any need to, they weren't going to make any difference in the decision, they were all, especially at that time, everything came from on top, … and anecdotally if I had been some local yahoo the guys from the government probably wouldn't have paid any attention to me either, but being a foreigner, you know, college educated, exotic, it gave the idea a bit more, … and that was in the good old days when people still liked Americans. So it gave the idea more force [15/08/2012, Lençóis].

This statement is suggestive of the existence of a political climate that, although favourable to outsider interests, demonstrated little regard for the perspectives of local inhabitants. In this context, I would argue that the case of the designation of the Chapada Diamantina National Park be read as exemplar of what Albakerli (2001) has identified as trend in the management of Brazilian natural resources, one in which governmental priorities and special group interests have been systematically valued over the majority well-being (558). Under the rhetoric of environmental protection, the park was created in a top-down manner with little regard for the tensions it would create between local livelihoods and the protected area paradigm (see also Albakerli, 2001).[15]

As outlined in the preceding paragraphs, during the decades of the 1970s and 1980s, the touristic potential of the Chapada Diamantina region began to capture the attention of the state. While a consistent or rigorous plan for tourism development was never implemented, there is evidence of the emergence of a particular way of envisioning the economic potential of the region, articulated in relation to an evolving set of interests and priorities at federal level. However, over this 20-year period, the discourse on tourism would gradually shift, moving away a focus on the historical and cultural assets of the city of Lençóis, towards the ecological importance of its wider

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[14] Anecdotally, Roy Funch told me that the boundaries of the Chapada Diamantina National Park were ultimately defined as the result of a flight undertaken by the technical team of the IBDF, during which the size of the park increased by a further 40% as the result of a suggestion by the pilot that there were a number of waterfalls yet to discovered south of Mucugê. In her case study of a *caiçara* community in the Atlantic rainforest of south-eastern Brazil, Cristina Adams (2003) also notes that a significant number of protected areas were defined on a map after a flight over the region (19)

[15] This point echoes F.E. Brito's (2005) findings. Evaluating the impacts of the creation of park, he emphasises profound transformations to the local populations' way of life. He notes that environmental regulations prevent local people from conducting traditional subsistence activities such as hunting, collecting wood and mining. He also emphasises the contradictory position of the state government, who in restricting the activities of the local population, promoted the park as a tourism attraction (217).

geographic setting.[16] Indeed, following the formal designation and delimitation of the Chapada Diamantina National Park in 1985, the natural landscape would begin to predominant images of the region produced for touristic consumption (see also Brito, F.E., 2005). Crucially, I argue that these shifting understandings at local level must be read in relation to the evolving interests of state and capital.

4.3 Tourism development and the neoliberal project (1985+)

It was in the decade of the 1990s that the Chapada Diamantina first emerged as an explicit target of state-led tourism planning and development initiatives (see also Brito, F.E., 2005). In a climate favourable to the pursuit of decentralised development strategies and with funds available for investment in regional infrastructure, the Bahian government took action to promote the development of tourism centres across the state territory (see also Brito, F.E., 2005). In the Chapada Diamantina, plans for development spoke of sustainability, conservation and social inclusion yet tensions remained, represented, most notably, by the presence of mechanised mining activities at the borders of the Chapada Diamantina National Park.

In this section, I examine development plans produced by state and municipal agencies during the 1990s.[17] Following the approach detailed by Tania Murray Li (2007b), I aim to convey the 'vision of improvement' contained within these texts and to identify how key goals for regional growth interacts with neoliberal principles and perspectives. However, before moving on to this analysis, I would first like to provide a brief introduction to the nature of the neoliberal project in Brazil. I begin this section with a description of Brazil's adoption of neoliberalism and an account of its impact on the first national tourism policy.

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[16] F.E. Brito (2005) also identifies this shift. However, for Brito (2005), the eventual privileging of ecotourism was a response to state interests, overstepping those of local social actors. He describes the campaign for the city's designation as a heritage site as a spontaneous initiative led by local social actors (157). By comparison, he suggests that ecotourism development initiatives were 'stimulated by financial institutions, defended by environmentalists and propagated by entrepreneurs linked to tourism activities' (157, translation own). In this thesis, I follow F.E. Brito in identifying a shift in tourism development interests, however, my analysis of these dynamics differs. Crucially, I highlight how local understandings of place evolved in relationship to state interests throughout the decades of the 1970s and 1980s.

[17] An analysis of these programs is also carried out by Brito (2005). In chapter 3 of his book, he evaluates the successes and failures of state-led development strategies. In returning to these documents, my aim is to development a picture of the political and economic perspectives mobilised by the state agencies in rationalising their development initiatives.

4.3.1 Neoliberalism in Brazil

This thesis argues for the central role played by neoliberalisation in driving local processes of place transformation. However, in the face of this claim, it is important to recognise the many complexities that characterise Brazil's adoption of neoliberal reform. Implemented in the context of redemocratisation and generating support from across a wide spectrum of political alliances, Brazil's experience of neoliberalism is unique in many important respects. In this section, I briefly describe Brazil's engagement with the neoliberal project and provide an introduction to its impact on policy-making.

Political economists have often noted the analytically challenging nature of Brazil's adoption of commercial liberalization. In his detailed examination of neoliberalism in Brazil, Peter Kingstone (2001) describes the high-levels of support for free trade that emerged in the late 80s as defying 'almost every expectation of conventional political economy' (987). As he explains, until this time, the Brazilian economy had largely benefited from the market protection offered by Import-Substitution Industrialisation.[18] The country exhibited a 'highly diversified and closed economy' that, focusing primarily on the production of goods for the domestic market, was reliant on the state to ensure protection from foreign capital (Kingstone, 2001: 990). In particular, domestic industrialist held positions of power in national politics and seemed unlikely to support the opening up of the nation's economy. Nevertheless, by the end of the 1980s, these groups began to form surprising coalitions with politicians in support of free trade (993). In the context of rising inflation and growing economic crisis, there was growing impetus for a new approach to development planning.

This shift towards neoliberalisation can explained, in part, by what Pinheiro et al (2004) have identified as the tendency toward pragmatism that has traditionally underpinned Brazilian politics. Evaluating the approach adopted by successive Brazilian governments during this period, these scholars argue that, in Brazil, policies favouring commercial liberalization were rarely ideologically driven but were instead adopted in a piecemeal and fragmented fashion. Similarly, Kingstone (2001) argues

[18] This is an economic model that, as Saad Filho (2010) explains, was dominant across many export-dependent economies of Latin America until the 1980s. Through high levels of state-intervention it aimed to stimulate processes of industrialisation and modernisation, and to reduce vulnerability to fluctuations in international trade (Saad Filho, 2010: 3).

for the central role of policy inducement in explaining support for free trade. Examining the micro-level dynamics of neoliberal reform, he traces the manner in which policy makers 'bundled commercial liberalisation with other policies' (1003), enabling reform governments 'maintain political support for difficult reforms' (1004).

Crucially, what these analyses indicate is the importance of recognising the contingent nature neoliberal reform. In Brazil, governing elites did not simply introduce market-based reform in a blanket fashion but worked with neoliberal principles to construct policy agendas that served evolving political interests (Nem Singh, 2012; see also Kingstone, 2001; Pinheiro et al, 2004). As Nem Sign writes, neoliberalism is based on a 'consensus that is in fact negotiated' (231). This understanding reinforces the need to attend to the micro-dynamics of encounters with neoliberal logic (Ong, 2007; see also Larner, 2003; England and Ward, 2008). As Ong (2007) has argued, neoliberalism is best understood as 'a logic of governing that migrates and is selectively taken up in diverse political contexts' (3).

However, while shifting and subject to negotiation, the neoliberal project can be understood to have become significantly consolidated during the presidency of Fernando Henrique Cardoso. Cardoso's *real* plan, introduced between 1994 and 1999 to tackle high inflation, included policies such as import liberalisation, currency overvaluation and fiscal reforms (Mollo and Saad Filho, 2006). As Mollo and Saad-Filho (2006) explain, these policies while not entirely new, were for the first time implemented methodically by the federal government and contributed to the 'locking in' of the neoliberal agenda (103; see also Saad Filho, 2010). During the two terms of his presidency, Cardoso was successful in stabilising the Brazilian economy and in maintaining powerful coalitions in favour of neoliberalisation. However, towards the end of his second term, growth stagnated and the Brazilian economy entered economic crisis leading to a collapse in his popularity (Mollo and Saad-Filho, 2006). Evaluating the impact of Cardoso policies on growth and inequality, Mollo and Saad-Filho (2006) highlight the significant deterioration of the labour market—reflected in increasing levels of unemployment, the flexibilisation of the workforce, an increase in informality and a decline in wages—and a failure to alleviate social inequalities (112).

The 2002 presidential elections thus promised rupture with neoliberal reform (Chossudvsky, 2003; Hunter and Power, 2005; Petras and Veltneyer, 2003; Saad Filho and Morais, 2003). Candidate for the Workers Party (PT), Luiz Inacio Lula da Silva, had long been a critique of neoliberal principles and had taken a largely

oppositional stance to Cardoso's reforms (Nem Singh, 2012). However, upon taking office, it became clear that little would change in terms of the economy policy. Reviewing Lula's first term, Hunter and Power (2005) note the market-conformity of the PT-led government (130). Indeed, they continued and, in many cases, extended the economic policies implemented by the Cardoso administration (Hunter and Power, 2005; see also Mollo and Saad-Filho, 2006; Petras and Veltneyer, 2003).

Finally, it is also worth considering neoliberalim's interaction with social policy. Alongside the progressive deepening of neoliberal reform, over recent decades the Brazilian state has significantly expanded its systems of social assistance (Hunter, 2014; Morais and Saad Filho, 2011; Saad Filho and Morais, 2014). As Morais and Saad-Filho (2011) detail, particularly following Lula's election social provisions were extended in three ways: (1) through the growth of its social programs (2) through the expansion of social security coverage, and (3) through the rapid increase of the minimum wage (35). Crucially, these policies have been linked to fall in social inequalities.

One important social welfare policy is the *Bolsa Familia*. Introduced during the Cardoso administration and significantly expanded during Lula's presidency, *Bolsa Familia* is today amongst the largest conditional cash transfer programs in the world (Hunter, 2014: 27). Aimed at reducing intergenerational transmission of poverty, it has led to significant improvements in the living standards of Brazil's marginal populations (Hunter, 2014). However, under closer examination, the principles of this scheme can be seen to conform to neoliberal perspectives. As Ferguson (2007) suggest in his analysis of the rationalities of poverty alleviation in South Africa, there are 'certain points of commonality' between arguments for social payment schemes and 'familiar neoliberal themes of human capital, risk-taking, entrepreneurship' (79). One clear objective of programs like *Bolsa Familia* is to develop human capital; as Hunter (2014) points out, children are required to attend school as a condition of the grant (27; see also Burges, 2009).

Similar trends can be identified in educational reform. In his analysis of education policy in neoliberal Brazil, Lopes (2009) argues that social assistance schemes are designed to facilitate the productive integration of previously marginalised populations. That is to say, they are governmental strategies aimed at ensuring that each individual can participate and contribute to the national economy—'be included in the game'. In a similar vein, Costa (2009) also points to the growing

prevalence of a *cultura empreendedora* (entrepreneurial culture) in Brazilian schools. He argues that through schooling and social assistance programs there is a diffusion of neoliberal values. Young people are encouraged to be active in the development of skills and assets, and flexible in their approach to the labour market. This indicates, following Ferguson (2007), that in the Brazilian case, it is possible to identify neoliberal perspectives 'put to work in the service of pro-poor and pro-welfare political arguments' (80).

What this brief introduction indicates is that far from conforming to a particular standard, Brazil's adoption of neoliberal reform unfolded gradually and was subject to significant negotiation. I will now move on to a consideration of its interaction with tourism policy.

4.3.2 National Tourism Policy 1990s

Coinciding with Brazil's adoption of the neoliberal project, during the decade of the 1990s, federal and state interest in the development potential of the Brazilian tourism industry intensified (Cruz, 2005, 2006). Of particular interest to the Brazilian state was the use of tourism as a means of advancing development across the national territory (Cruz, 2005). As reflected in the wording of Brazil's first National Tourism Policy, introduced by federal decree in 1992, tourism was envisioned as a key strategy for the reduction of regional disparities, for the creation of jobs and for the redistribution of national wealth (Poder Executivo, 1992). In an era of neoliberal reform, the notion that the development of the nation's tourism industry could deliver economic growth while also promoting decentralisation, participation and sustainable development, would lead to its increasing prominence in national politics.

A product of this political climate, the *Programa de Desenvolvimento do Turismo no Nordeste* (Tourism Development Program for the Northeast or PRODETUR/NE), launched in 1991 during the Collor de Mello administration, can be seen as crystallising federal interest in promoting regional development and decentralisation (Brito, F.E., 2005; Paiva, 2010). In essence a program of infrastructure development, the PRODETUR/NE sought to create the conditions necessary for the expansion and development of the touristic potential of the Brazilian Northeast, while promoting opportunities for private investment (Brito, F.E., 2005; Paiva, 2010). A key feature of the program was the *Contrato de Emprestimo* (Loan Contract) signed in 1994, which secured investment from the Inter-American

Development Bank (IDB) and the *Banco do Nordeste* (Northeastern Bank). To be rolled out across the 9 states of the Brazilian northeast over a twenty-year period, the PRODETUR/NE sought to promote the participatory development strategies, cultivating partnerships between state bodies, public and private investors, NGOs and civil society (Paiva, 2010).

Another key governmental program, introduced during this period, was the *Programa Nacional de Municipalização de Turismo* (National Program for the Municipalisation of Tourism or PNMT) institutionalised in 1994. As Trentin and Fratucci (2013) explain, this program sought to counter trends that had typically seen local and municipal interests subordinated to those of the federal government (720). Based in five guiding principles—decentralisation, sustainability, partnerships, mobilisation and empowerment—the PNMT sought to re-structure the management of the tourism sector, strengthen municipal institutions and sensitize community members to the economic potential of the tourism industry (Trentin and Fratucci, 2013: 720; see also Emmendoerfer et al, 2011). A key strategy in the implementation of this program was the introduction of a series of workshops and training programs and the creation of *Conselhos Municipais de Turismo* (municipal tourism councils). It was hoped that by raising awareness of the potential economic, social and environmental benefits of the tourism industry, municipal governments and local social actors would be increasingly motivated to pursue and self-manage the development of this sector at local level (Emmedoerfer et al, 2011: 402).

What an analysis of the aims and objectives of these governmental programs and tourism policies reveals is the structuring role played by neoliberal principles and perspectives in ways of conceptualising the value of tourism development. We see how social and political forces invested in the nation's development link tourism to the promotion of decentralisation, economic growth and environmental protection. The next two sections further extend these discussions, exploring the specific tourism development programs introduced by the Bahian government in the Chapada Diamantina region during the 1990s and early 2000s.

4.3.3 PRODETUR/BA Phase 1 (1990-2002)

In the state of Bahia, federal support for the tourism development coincided with a growing concern for the expansion of urbanisation beyond the limits of the state capital of Salvador (Brito, F.E., 2005). In a document entitled *Salvador a post-*

industrial solution, published in 1990, tourism is explicitly identified as key strategy in bringing development to municipalities located in the interior regions of the state and is presented as ideally suited to bringing about their transformation into 'urban centres offering high standards of living' (Bahia, 1990: 27; see also Brito, F.E., 2005). This linking of development objectives emerges clearly in the *Programa de Desenvolvimento Turístico da Bahia* (Program for Tourism Development in Bahia or PRODETUR/BA) introduced by the Bahian state in 1990. As Spinola (2000) notes, with plans for the elaboration of an integrated network of tourism centres across the state territory, PRODETUR/BA indicates the state government's adoption of a regional approach to economic development and its dedication to the decentralisation of tourism activities (42). Concentrating investment in five key sub-regions, this project aimed to increase the state's capacity for attracting both domestic and international tourism flows and to open up these region's to private investment (Spinola, 2000: 42-43).[19]

Selected as one of five sub-regions to be prioritised for investment by PRODETUR/BA, it is interesting to note that the Chapada Diamantina is the only region specifically intended for the development of eco-tourism (see also Brito, F.E., 2000; Spinola, 2000). Examining the discourses mobilised by the state agencies across a range of publications, F.E. Brito (2005) highlights the consistent emphasis placed on the region's natural resources, its picturesque landscapes, and untouched wildness (141). Yet, while extolling the aesthetic value of this rare oasis of ecological diversity, state discourses clearly position the environment as an economic resource, 'ready to be *exploited* by the tourism industry' (Bahiatursa, 1991: 55, emphasis own, translation own; see also Brito, F.E., 2005).

With the Chapada Diamantina's biological diversity identified as a 'fundamental raw material' (Bahiatursa, 1993) for the establishment of tourism, the question of how best to manage the economisation of this precious resource, optimising the relationship between conservation and development, emerges as the central focus of governmental planning and resource allocation during this period. Following directives set out by PRODETUR/BA, early plans to maximise the touristic potential of the region's natural resources were based on the elaboration of two

[19] The five subregions are the Litoral Norte, Bahia de Todos os Santos, the Litoral Sul, the Litoral Extrema Sul, and the Chapada Diamantina.

interrelated *circuitos ecoturisticos* (ecotourism circuits)—the diamond circuit and the gold circuit—with each then subdivided into four separate *Zonas de Interesse Turístico* (zones of tourism interest) (Bahiatursa, 1993). As outlined in a document published by Bahiatursa in 1993, it was envisaged that these networks, developed, funded and managed by state and municipal governments in partnership with private enterprise, would facilitate the integration of the region's tourism products and services, the diffusion of it's economic benefits, and the preservation of the natural environment, ultimately ensuring the "profitability" of investments in the region (Bahiatursa, 1993).

Ecotourism potential for promoting the "eco-rational" and "environmentally sustainable" exploitation of the region's natural resources is also emphasised in the *Programa de Desenvolvimento Regional Sustentável Chapada Diamantina* (Regional Sustainable Development Program Chapada Diamantina or PDRS CD) and in the *Plano de Desenvolvimento Municipal Sustentável de* Lençóis (Municipal Sustainable Development Plan Lençóis or PDMS de Lençóis), both published in 1997. Mobilising neoliberal development perspectives, these governmental programs detail directives for the implementation of sustainable, decentralized and participatory development strategies, envisioning creation of what the PDRS CD explicitly describes as a "competitive Chapada", a "participative Chapada", an "eco-efficient Chapada", a "fair Chapada", and a "environmentally responsible Chapada" (Bahia, 1997: 33). Oriented around the identification of the region's socio-economic *potencialidades* (potentials) and *estrangulamentos* (restrictions), both documents elaborate solutions based in the notion that development and conservation objectives can best be met through the decentralisation of decision making, through education and training and through the incentivisation of community participation in the formulation and implementation of governmental programs. As noted in the PDMS de Lençóis, it is through the demonstration of commitment to devolving power to local communities that state-led projects acquire 'social legitimacy' and 'stop being an instrument of the government and become, truly, collective projects' (Bahia, 1997: 74, translation own). Here we see the emergence of a particular 'vision of improvement' for the region, a plan founded upon the introduction of measures capable of achieving both economic growth and environmental conservation (Li, 2007b).

In these government programs for tourism development we see the growing prevalence of a neoliberal conservationist agenda (see for example Fletcher, 2009).

Tourism is conceptualised as a key strategy in stimulating regional development while, at the same time, promoting the conservation of the natural world and the well-being of local populations. Decision-making and development planning is envisioned as ideally placed amongst local communities and the private sector is identified as a key player in stimulating regional growth.

4.3.4 PRODETUR/BA Phase 2 (2002+)

Coinciding with the election of a new president, the left-leaning politician Luis Inácio Lula de Silva, the second phase of PRODETUR/NE was introduced in 2002. During his election campaign, Lula pledged renewed commitment to prioritising tourism as a strategy for regional development and, within the first year of his administration, had succeeded in both institutionalising Brazil's first Ministry of Tourism (Mtur) and publishing a new National Tourism Plan (Lanzarini and Barretto, 2014). Under Lula, while the discourse on tourism remained focused on questions of sustainable development, there was the addition of a greater emphasis on its capacity to promote social inclusion (Lanzarini and Barretto, 2014: 202; see also Araújo, 2002; Trentin and Fratucci, 2013). Articulated as a key strategy for soothing regional inequalities, creating jobs and integrating the nation's marginalised populations, tourism policy during this period placed more explicit focus on its role in promoting community well-being (Lanzarini and Barretto, 2014).

The emphasis on the role of tourism as an agent of social inclusion emerges strongly in the *Plano de Desenvolvimento Integrado do Turismo Sustentável Pólo Chapada Diamantina* (Integrated Sustainable Tourism Development Plan Chapada Diamantina pole or PDITS- CD) published in April 2004. Evaluating the progress of tourism development in the region and detailing a plan of action for its further expansion, proposals for governmental intervention are couched in relation to PRODETUR/NE II's overarching objective to contribute to the 'improvement of the quality of life of inhabitants of tourism centres in participant states' (Bahia, 2004: 417, translation own). As stated in this document, tourism planning in the region, in seeking to integrate economic, socio-cultural and environmental concerns, would be based in three key pathways to development; a) the valorisation of people, b) the valorisation of nature, c) valorisation of the tourism product (Bahia, 2004: 376, translation own). To achieve these objectives, the PDITS-CD details actions and projects of proposals for infrastructure development, for the strengthening of

institutional arrangements, for the training of local populations, and for the re-structuring of touristic products (15).

Amongst these proposals, the emphasis placed throughout the PDITS-CD on development of the region's 'human resources' is of particular note. Couched in relation to a recognition of the Chapada's 'elevated potential for the development of a tourism activity based in … the hospitality of the Bahian people' (312, translation own), it is suggested that this potential should be suitably *alavancado* (leveraged/stimulated) through the implementation of appropriate training mechanisms (312). Conceptualised as a key strategy for promoting not only the involvement of local people in the local economy, but also for ensuring the valorisation of the region's natural and historical patrimony and the improvement of local tourism services, investment in training fulfils each of the three development

Figure 7: Tourism in Lençóis, photograph by author

principles identified by the PDITS-CD (Bahia, 2004: 380-381). Here, we see how, made an explicit target for government intervention, the local population emerge in this document as a resource to be cultivated in order to sustain further economic growth (see also Li, 2007b). Crucially, according to this document, investment in training should be balanced against the need to preserve the 'positive characteristics

of regional hospitality, given that these aspects are quite valued by tourists' (Bahia: 2004: 10, translation own).

Questions of professional training have been assumed with new vigour in recent years. As Lanzarini and Barretto (2014) note, following the announcement that Brazil would host the 2014 World Cup and 2016 Olympic Games, many of the action plans developed by MTur have focused on the *aperfeiçoamento* or improvement of "human resources" in Brazil's principal tourism poles (207). This attention to educative mechanisms was reinforced with the announcement of the *National Program for Access to Technical Education and Employment* (PRONATEC) by the Dilma administration in 2011. With the aim of expanding local access to vocational training and of extending the provision of governmental finance and grants, this governmental program has been implemented largely via partnerships between public bodies and private agencies, most notably organisations pertaining to the "Sistema S" (Scabo and Bezerra, 2014). One of nine municipalities located the state of Bahia to be selected for this program, Lençóis welcomed on 14 September 2012 its first permanent *Núcleo de Educação Profissional de Lençóis do SENAC* (Centre for Professional Education).

Over this second phase of tourism planning, we see the continuing prevelance of neoliberal arguments. While there is an increasing emphasis on themes of social inclusion and community well-being, the focus on these development objectives can be seen to be driven by the interests of state and capital. Through the introduction of professional training and educational campaigns, local population are to be improved and perfected so that they can better participate in the local economy.

4.3.5 Mechanised mining

Existing in notable tension with conservation interventions and tourism development planning, between the decades of the 1980s and 1990s, communities in the Chapada Diamantina saw the return of mining activities. Triggered by a government initiative, a mining company from Minas Gerais established a number of *garimpos de draga* (dredging machines) along the banks of the rivers São José and São Antonio (Brito, F.E., 2005: 134: Senna, 1996). According to Senna (1996), this activity peaked in 1985, with an estimated 100 to 150 *dragas* operating in riverbeds pertaining to the municipality of Lençóis (107). Each of these machines employed, on average, seven people, with labourers earning 1% of daily production (Brito, F.E., 2005; Senna,

1996). While employment in this industry was predominantly male, the income generated from these machines was substantial and contributed to the sustenance of a significant proportion of the city's population.[20]

However, the extensive environmental destruction provoked by mechanised mining activities would not sit easily with those invested in the implementation of ecotourism (see also Brito, F.E., 2005). By the early 1990s, the activities of *drageiros* (mechanised miners) were the focus of increasing criticism. F.E. Brito (2005) notes that these workers came to be seen as 'villains who polluted and damaged the natural environment' (135, translation own). At odds with narratives of sustainability, eco-rationality and environmental conservation, the continue existence of mining activity looked increasingly untenable.

Under pressure from environmental agencies and civil society, the local *Ministério Publico* (Government Agency for Law Enforcement and Prosecution of Crimes) took action in 1992, closing down *dragas* it determined to be in breach of environmental protection legislation and trading laws (Senna, 1996: 107; see also Brito, F.E., 2005; Matta, 2006).[21] As a result of these interventions, owners of dredging machines began to abandon the region, selling their equipment to local miners (Brito, F.E., 2005: 137). However, in 1993, numerous sites were re-opened. Under the supervision of the municipal government of Lençóis, local *garimpeiros* were allowed to return to work under the agreement that they followed guidelines for good practice and participated in the recuperation of the natural environment (Matta, 2006: 99). Senna (1996) notes that in November 1994 there were 52 *dragas* operating in the municipality of Lençóis, the government collecting on average R$500 (today $140) in monthly tax per machine (107).

However, despite assurances, destructive practices continued and, in the late 1990s, the federal and state government took decisive action to formally terminate all mining activity. This process is described in detail by Paulo Magno de Matta (2006) in his thesis examining the environment impacts of mining activity. As he explains, in

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[20] The 1991 census recorded the total population of the municipality of Lençóis at 7584, with 3481 resident in the urban centre (Brito, F.E., 2005: 98). Senna (1996) notes that by November 1994 there were only 52 *dragas* operating in the municipality. However, basing his calculations on the notion that each man employed in this industry was responsible for 5 dependents, he estimates that at this time between 1600 to 2000 people relied this source of income (108).

[21] There is a suggestion in F.E. Brito's (2005) analysis that by this point the fiscalisation of mining activities had become highly irregular, with a significant proportion of diamond production bypassing state inspectors (136).

March 1996, the *Departamento Nacional de Produção Mineral* (National Department of Mineral Production or DNPM) in partnership with IBAMA, COPPA, CRA[22] and the federal police launched "Operation Chapada Diamantina", tasked with the formal eradication of diamond mining activity in the region (100). The DNPM despatched 47 trucks, resulting in the forced closure of 100 *dragas* and in job losses for approximately 700 miners (101). These events were reported in state newspapers and the paralysation of mining activity was formally announced in the media. To those affected by these closures, the state government initially made promises to supply a *cesta basica* (food basket) for a period of six months (Brito, 2005; Matta, 2006).

Yet, within weeks, the state government had failed on its obligations and miners, faced with few alternatives, began to resume their activities. As a result, between 1996 and 1998, government agencies made three further attempts to enforce the closure of the mines in the region (Matta, 2006: 102). The second, occurring in 1997, was the most brutal, culminating in the arrest of more than 30 miners and the issuing of fines totalling over R$6000 (today approximately $1700) (Matta, 2006: 103). Recalling the prolonged and protracted nature of this process a state employee made the following statement:

> Olha, foi um trabalho do Governo Federal, ele veio de cima, o Brasil querendo conquistar o mundo, né, mostrar o cara dele lá fora. Aconteceu o seguinte, ele não podia reivindicar uma coisa, do Banco Mundial ... que o Brasil queria desenvolver uma nova política de educação, de saúde, e tudo, mas estava destruindo a natureza, se acabando, e aí veio uma iniciativa do Governo Federal de fechar os garimpos, mas esse processo foi 5 anos mais ou menos ... coisa de vai e vem [Rodrigo, 21/11/2012, Lençóis].[1]

Experienced by those living and working in the city of Lençóis as an initiative emanating from above, the closure of the mines had a devastating impact on the lives and livelihoods of local families. In an attempt to highlight these difficulties, in 1998, the *Soceidade Uniao Mineira* (SUM) or miners association petitioned IBAMA on behalf on the city's *garimpeiro de serra* (manual miners), requesting that allowances be made for the maintenance of artisanal mining activities (Araújo et al, 2002). However, as discourses of sustainability and conservationism began exerting increasing influence on local elites, room for alternative perspectives and modes of existence was shrinking.

[22] These are federal agencies for the protection of the environment.

4.4 A political economy of tourism development in the Chapada Diamantina

So, how has tourism impacted the organisation of social and economic relationships? Who has benefited growing governmental interest in the natural beauty of the Chapada Diamantina National Park? As F.E. Brito (2005) rightly points out, while appealing to notions of social inclusion and sustainable development, in practice, state-led interventions in the region have largely benefited members of the city's traditional oligarchy and new entrepreneurial elite. In Lençóis today, most of the city's upscale hotels and tourism agencies are owned and run by *forasteiros* (outsiders), middle to upper class Brazilians, many of whom first arrived in the region "*de passeio"* (on holiday) during the late 1980s and early 1990s. With access to private capital and with loans made available for the amplification of local tourism services, these individuals were able to buy up real estate, placing them in a privileged position as the tourism economy strengthened in the late 1990s (see also Brito, F.E., 2005).[23]

Alongside these incomers, members of the city's traditional oligarchy have also maintained their economic status. While initially resistant to the implementation of eco-tourism and the termination of mining activities, these groups have been able to successfully negotiate processes of economic transformation and maintain their position in the social and economic order.[24] In particular, with property in the city centre, many of these families have been able to earn substantial income from rent, freeing up cash for investments in commercial, touristic and agricultural enterprises (see also Brito, F.E., 2005).

In addition, these traditional elites have also continued to dominate local politics. Since municipal elections began in 1951, the *prefeitura* (municipal government) and *camara municipal* (municipal council) have been controlled by a small handful of families, descendents of the region's landowning *coroneis*. Critiquing the administrative and political organisation of the city, Araújo (2002)

[23] The steady growth in tourism activity also brought investment from larger players. Notable examples are the Pantanal Group, who, following the opening of the regional airport, began operating tourism agencies in the region (Brito, F.E., 2005: 266). Similarly, the construction of the exclusive Hotel Portal de Lençóis, while funded by governmental loans, triggered the interest of private investors, increasing the city's visibility as a destination for inter-regional and international tourism (Brito, F.E., 2005: 266).
[24] F.E. Brito notes the initial resistance of these groups. Resistance was also noted in my conversations with local people.

notes that prevalence of relations of patronage.[25] Indeed, many local people spoke to me of their dependence on the municipal government for handouts and of the suffering caused by disputes between governing parties.[26]

By comparison, the majority of the local population have found themselves largely excluded from meaningful participation in the new economy. While recent years have seen an increase in population flows to the municipality, structural inequalities continue to prevent local men and women from accessing better-paid and more stable forms of employment in the tourism industry. Job opportunities for *nativos* are generally limited to positions such as domestic workers, cleaners, shop assistants, waiting staff, informal tourism guides and receptionists, and with few employers offering the assurance of a *carteira assinada* (formal work contract), workers face the constant risk of losing stable employment during the low seasons. In the 2010 census, only 4838 local residents were recorded as "economically active" across the municipality, the median monthly income calculated at just R$510 (today approximately $136) and 68.3% of the population registered as earning less than half one minimum wage, R$255 (today approximately $60) (IBGE, 2010).

Tourism development has also precipitated processes of displacement (see also Brito, 2005). Over the past twenty years, the local population has gradually lost its presence in the city centre. As F.E. Brito (2005) notes, having sold their homes to real estate speculators in the mid-1990s, the majority now live on the periphery of the city, occupying less privileged and less valuable areas of land (235). For Fernando, a *foresteiro* and manager of one of the city's most prestigious hotels, this has led to a kind of social segregation:

> Existem as três periferias básicas, como eles dizem, né, o Tomba, o Alto da Estrela e o Lavrado. E essas pessoas [nativas] elas já não frequentam mais o centro, elas já não têm aquela relação da: "minha cidade", o centro não pertence a elas, elas ficam em seus bairros. São bairros inclusive, você percebe que os bairros eles são negros e o centro da cidade, ele é branco ... Essas pessoas, elas venderam essas casas que eram historicamente dos avôs, dos bisavôs delas, e foram para esses arredores. Eu percebo que segregou de certa forma. Elas descem para trabalhar, um dia de interesse, mas voltam para os seus núcleos, o centro não pertence mais a elas [Fernando, 09/11/2012, Lençóis].[ii]

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[25] While this particular organisation of social and economic relationships might seem at odds with neoliberal imperatives, it indicates the manner in which neoliberalism enters into relationship with existing social and cultural formations (see Kingfisher and Maskovsky, 2998).

[26] Interestingly, during my time in the field, the *prefeito* (local mayor) was under investigation by federal police for administrative irregularities, including the diversion of funds intended for the provision of *merienda escolar* or free school meals. Mired with corruption scandals, the city's *veredores* or councillors had proceeded to block any proposition made by *prefeito* to the *camara municipal* and as a result, little had been achieved for over a year.

There are two elements in Fernando's descriptions that are particularly telling. First, the link he establishes between disadvantages of class and disadvantages of race. In Lençóis, like much of Brazil, social inequalities map onto racial inequalities. In the 2010 census, the average monthly wage amongst the city's black population was recorded at R$ 538 (today approximately $143), whereas as amongst whites it was R$ 1248 (today approximately $333) (IBGE, 2010). Second, there is also a suggestion of the loss of a sense of ownership. The local population no longer occupy the city centre, their relationship to this area of the city conditioned only by the practices of their labour.[27]

Figure 8: The peripheries, photograph by the author

To sum up, while it could be argued that the transition to tourism has brought renewed prosperity, closer examination of local processes of economic change reveal that any gains made in the context of economic restructuring and neoliberal reform can be seen as playing into historical inequities and patterns of exploitation. Current research sheds valuable light on the history of tourism development of the region and indicates that the implementation of eco-tourism development initiatives and

[27] These are themes that will be further explored in later chapters of this thesis (see in particular chapter 7).

conservation interventions has failed to significantly alter the distribution of wealth (see Araújo et al, 2002; Brito F.E., 2005). It is here that this piece of research seeks to make a contribution to furthering understandings of these dynamics. Taking an ethnographic approach, it focuses in on the views and perspectives of local inhabitants and explores how the contradictions of governmental planning are lived out and negotiated in everyday life. While current research provides detailed examination of the successes and failures of tourism development strategies (see for example Brito, F.E., 2005), little is known about the lived experience of these political economic transformations. Placing the thoughts, feelings and aspirations of local men and women at the centre of its critique, the substantive chapters of this thesis shed light on how those most deeply affected by recent transformations are responding to and beginning to challenge dominant political and economic imperatives.

4.5 Concluding remarks

In this chapter, I have set out the historical and political economic context of this piece of research. Drawing on existing literature on the Chapada Diamantina, I have provided an overview of the history of eco-tourism development in the region and have explored the role of state and capital in transformations of place. Crucially, I have suggested that, over the course of the decades of the 1970s and 1980s, there was an important shift in the discourse on tourism development, one that saw a move away from the historical and cultural import of the city of Lençóis towards a valorisation of the ecological diversity of the city's wider geographic setting (see also Brito, F.E., 2005). This shift, I have argued, must be read in relationship to the broader political economic context and should be understood as a response to the evolving interests of state and capital.

In addition, in this chapter, I have sought to supplement existing literature on the region by drawing important links between the rationale of tourism development planning and neoliberal arguments. In section 4.3, I examined documents produced by state and municipal agencies during the decade of the 1990s and highlighted the increasing dominance of neoliberal conservationist perspectives. As my analysis indicates, what we see in these documents is a distinctly apolitical rendering of the obstacles to regional growth (see also Brito, F.E., 2005) and increasing investment in the notion that, through the cultivation of both economic growth and environmental conservation, tourism would ultimately ensure "the right disposition of things"

(Foucault, 2003). Representing a radical departure from 'what had long been established', tourism would pave the way for a new development era, one founded in the principles of 'sustentabilidade' (sustainability) (Bahia, 1997: 22).

Finally, I have also considered impact of tourism development strategies on local social and economic relationships. Current research indicates that while bringing prosperity for some, the implementation of eco-tourism has failed to address historic inequalities (Araújo et al, 2002; Brito, F.E., 2005). Compounding the marginalisation of historically disenfranchised groups, the implementation of eco-tourism can be understood as processes through which local elites have simply renegotiated their claim on local resources and political power (see also Brito, F.E., 2005). In the proceeding chapters of this thesis, I build on this analysis to explore how these inconsistencies are lived and interpreted by local people. Foregrounding the views and perspectives of local men and women, this thesis will further current knowledge on the social and economic consequences of tourism development by providing greater insight into the affective dimensions of labour-market change.

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[i] Look here, it was a project led by the federal government, it came from the top, Brazil wanting to conquer the world, y'know, show its face out there. And what happened was, it couldn't claim one thing to the World Bank … that Brazil was wanting to develop a new education and health policy, etc., if it was destroying the environment, using it up, and so came the initiative from the federal government to close the mines, but this was process that took five years more or less … it went back and forth [Rodrigo, 21/11/2012, Lençóis].

[ii] There are three main peripheries, as they say, y'know, Tomba, Alto da Estrela and Lavrado. And these people [natives] they no longer spend time in the centre, they no longer have that feeling of: "my city", the centre doesn't belong to them, so they stay in their neighbourhoods. Even these neighbourhoods even, you can see that the neighbourhoods are black and the centre of the city is white … These people, they sold the houses that used to belong to their grandfathers or great grandfathers, and they went to the peripheries. It seems to me that there has been a kind of segregation. They come down for work, when they need to, but they return to their nuclei, the centre no longer belongs to them [Fernando, 09/11/2012, Lençóis].

Chapter 5

Narratives of Transformation and Progress

5.1 Introduction

> [O garimpo] é uma atividade extrativista, uma atividade onde a pessoa ia querer colher sem ter plantado, ia querer lucrar sem ter investido. Isso é a mais primaria forma de vida, é, o extrativismo. E você passar do extrativismo a uma atividade de serviço, pulando a industria (.) não é fácil [Leonardo, 30/10/2012, Lençóis].[i]

In the previous chapter, I provided the historical context of this research, linking local processes of economic restructuring to broader changes in the national political economy. As my analysis demonstrated, over the past twenty-five years, the Chapada Diamantina region has emerged as a key target of governmental programming—tourism development initiatives and conservation interventions envisioned as the ideal means of extending social and economic development to this long neglected area of the Bahian interior. However, as yet, little has been said in relation to how these state-led projects for development have been received by the local population. In this chapter, and in the chapters that follow, I turn directly to the question of the impact of economic change on subjectivity. Focusing in on personal accounts of change and transformation, I seek to provide important insights into how recent shifts in the local political economy are lived and interpreted in everyday life.

In this first substantive chapter, I begin by examining dominant narratives of economic transformation and consider their interaction with key elements of neoliberal reasoning. Pointing to their foundation in particular political and economic rationalities, my aim is to identify the "taken-for-granted" truths mobilised in interviewees' descriptions of the significance of economic restructuring and to question the logic at work in the depiction of tourism as the *only* viable means of

securing social and economic progress. In this context, I focus particular attention on how tourism was said to have effected changes in the hopes and aspirations of the local population; altering not only the forms of work available to local men and women, but also significantly transforming notions of what constitutes productive labour and what defines the value of individual life.[1]

This chapter contributes to the overarching argument of this thesis by examining the powerfully normalising effects of development initiatives and conservation interventions. In exploring the prevalence of a particular 'regime of truth' in shaping individual thoughts, behaviours and desires, I am interested in understanding the consequences of recent economic transformations for ways of understanding subjectivity. In doing so, I engage with work that explores neoliberalism not merely as a set of policies nor as pure ideology but as a form of governmentality (Dean, 1999; Lemke, 2001; Larner, 2000); that is, as Wendy Brown (2003) defines, a 'mode of governance encompassing but not limited to the state, and one that produces subjects and forms of citizenship and behaviours, and a new organization of the social' (37). As I outline in my theoretical chapter, in extending economic or market rationality to all aspects of social life, neoliberalism had been credited with effecting new understandings of human nature and social existence, with becoming an entire way of life (Read, 2009).

Yet, in establishing a frame for the apprehension of intelligible action and intelligible subjects, I am also interested in exploring how the political processes implicated in the transition from extractive industry to service economy have worked to exclude other subjects.[2] As Butler's (1993, 1996) work on questions of power and subjection demonstrates, subjects are formed not merely through regulation and production, but also through operations of exclusion, foreclosure and abjection. In this chapter, I make use of the notion of abjection to explore the manifestation of these themes in my research data. Reflected in dominant accounts of economic re-structuring was the sense that the constitution of notions of valuable and meaningful life in the new economy were in many respects dependent upon the exclusion of any

[1]In his examination of the tourism industry in the Dominican Republic, Steven Gregory (2007) examines the socio-spatial relations and discourses of difference that constitute the social division of labour (see in particular chapter 1). I draw on his suggestion that ideas about productive labour and notions of value play an important role in regulating social relations.

[2] Butler (1993) writes of the importance of recognising how constraint works not only to produce the domain of intelligible bodies, but also a domain of abject, unlivable bodies (xi). This excluded domain is not the opposite of the former but a limit of intelligibility (xi).

reference to, or remnant of, the city's extractivist past. Positioned as the antithesis of the ideal subject of new economic order, the miner was representative of all that would be overcome on the road to social and economic progress.[3]

But there is one final complexity to draw out. Articulated in terms of a primary and necessary exclusion, there was also the sense that the past retained an unsettling and potentially damaging hold upon the present. Lying beyond the scope of the possible, the tolerable, the thinkable, vestiges of past modes of existence worried and fascinated narratives of transformation and progress (Kristeva, 1982: 1). It is thus that, in the final sections of this chapter, I extend the scope of my analysis to consider how abject subjects linger on, challenging dominant visions of what is possible in the region in terms of development (Butler, 1993; Kristeva, 1982). This will provide scope for addressing the inherent instability of dominant political economic categories, a theme to be further developed in chapters 6 and 7 of this thesis.

This chapter is divided into two key sections. The first considers dominant narratives of community transformation and explores the depiction of tourism as the only option for sustaining local development and progress. Over the course of my discussions, I examine dominant understandings what it means to be a productive citizen/worker under tourism and examine their relationship to *garimpeiro* identity. In the second section, I move onto to a consideration of that which troubles narratives of progress. Here, I look to those moments in my interviews when dominant narratives falter, when it becomes apparent that the very idea of progress is threatened from within (Butler, 1993; Kristeva, 1982). My aim here will be to convey the instability of dominant norms and subject categories—to indicate their vulnerability to transformation.

Before moving on to the body of my analysis, I would first like to briefly clarify one aspect of my approach. In this thesis, I argue that development strategies,

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[3]One clarification is necessary here. As Kingfisher (2008) argues in her analysis of the debate around homelessness in the Canadian town of Woodridge, 'neoliberalism does not unfold in a vacuum, but by means of articulation with received cultural formations' (197). Exploring processes of neoliberalisation as they unfold in dialogue with already-present cultural valorisations Kingfisher (2008) demonstrates the importance of placing efforts to differentiate and exclude in their historical context (197). In Lençóis, present-day understandings of the nature and disposition of the native worker interact in complex ways with historical imaginaries. As I explored in the introductory chapters of this thesis, the figure of the *garimpeiro* has long occupied ambivalent subject position. It is thus that following Kingfisher (2008), I clarify that I approach ways of narrating the transition from mining to tourism as indicative 'not of a rupture with preexisting cultural formations, but rather of their intensification and recapitulation' (197-198).

implemented by the Bahian government in efforts to stimulate economic growth, have significantly transformed the lives and livelihoods of local inhabitants. Combining normalising and disciplinary mechanisms with the introduction of economic incentives and educational campaigns, we can say that state agencies, in partnership with a plurality of public and private organisations, have been involved in promoting particular discourses, demanding the adoption of particular knowledges and limiting the field of what can possibly be understood as good, virtuous and responsible behaviour (Dean, 1999).

Yet, while adopting this perspective, I do not wish to convey an image of the state as 'crafting people as if out of clay' (Legg, 2005: 140). Proffering caution as to a reading of government rule as a complete project, Rutherford (2007) calls for attention 'to ways in which governing is always becoming, necessarily uneven, often contested, and sometimes exercised outside of the state' (292). In Lençóis, local people do resist and challenge neoliberal perspectives, however, at certain moments they also take advantage of their central tenets and demands. It is thus that while acknowledging that the translation of governmental rule 'is subject to innumerable pressures and distortions' (Rose, 1999: 51), this chapter focuses on the extent to which dominant framings of community transformation reveal themselves to be underpinned by a distinctly neoliberal commonsense.

5.2 The shift to tourism: new projects, new demands

In describing the social and cultural changes brought about by the introduction of tourism, interviewees often drew instinctively from a narrative that asserted the necessity of rupture and a desire for transformation and progress.[4] Almost intuitively, local inhabitants conceded that tourism was the only answer to improving aspirations and quality of life, offering a future where mining could only hinder individual and collective advancement. These narratives likened the birth of tourism to the birth of a new era; one that represented a brutal yet necessary departure from modes of social

[4] In her contribution to the edited volume *Ethnographies of Neoliberalism* (2010) Sandhya Shukla points to the reliance of neoliberal narratives of progress on notions of the necessity of rupture and on the sense of a dramatic departure from the past (179). Exploring processes of gentrification in Harlem, the focus of her analysis is on exploring stories that, as she writes 'are not easily assimilated into a coherent future' (179). In identifying the 'presentism' that underpins political ideological like neoliberalism, I found Shukla's work useful for framing the manner in which my interviewees spoke of tourism as demanding a radical and necessary departure from the past. As I will later identify, key arguments made by Shukla regarding the productive potential of alternative conceptions of history, meaning and place have also fed into the proceeding chapters of this thesis (see in particular chapter 6).

reproduction that had long dominated life in the Chapada Diamantina. Positioned, in this context, as the abject or rejected other, all traces of *garimpagem* were to be cast aside, expelled from the body of the collective in the pursuit of the promise of "*uma outra Lençóis*" (another Lençóis) [Roberto, 28/06/12, Lençóis].

5.2.1 The promise of "uma outra Lençóis"

In my conversations with local people about their memories of the events and circumstances that led to the final cessation of mining activity in the late 1990s, many rationalised that change was necessary in relation to notions of the inherent incommensurability of past modes of existence with ways of living under tourism. Representing modes of production fundamentally opposed, the transformations instigated by the closure of the mines and the city's gradual redevelopment as a destination for ecological tourism were presented as an inevitable consequence of social and economic progress; one that demanded that members of the local community adapt in order to secure their place in the future of the city of Lençóis. Describing what he recalled as growing community awareness of the tensions inherent in the co-existence of such antithetical modes of production, the essence of this narrative emerged clearly in my interview with Rodrigo. Born in Lençóis, Rodrigo had worked as a state employee during the 1990s:

> Você viver de garimpo com turismo não tinha condição, ou você constrói ou você destrói, os dois juntos não dão certo, um construindo e o outro destruindo, não dão certo, então, entraram em choque. Só que a comunidade foi muita sabida e nós ficamos com a construção, com o turismo ... Então, não era para represar o garimpo, mas era uma coisa que Lençóis tinha que construir para o seu futuro [Rodrigo, 21/11/2012, Lençóis].[ii]

Here Rodrigo describes the transition from mining to tourism in terms of the resolution of a pressing moral and ethical dilemma. With mining cast as an inherently destructive practice, there is a suggestion that the city's survival was predicated on the necessary extinction of extractive activities. Framed, in this context, as the expression of collective will, the decision to opt for tourism is read as step forwards, away from an antiquated and exploitative mode of existence towards a more progressive and sustainable future. For Rodrigo, while local authorities never sought to repress the legacy of *garimpagem*, there is a suggestion that its exclusion was necessary in the pursuit of both economic recovery and socio-cultural renewal.

The suggestion that mining stood ideologically and ethically opposed to the principles and values of ecological tourism was also mobilised in my interview with

Iago, manager of one the city's foremost tourism agencies. Born in a neighbouring city, Iago had spent much of his working life in Lençóis, employed in the local tourism industry. Identifying, in our interview, as someone heavily invested in the protection of the natural environment, what is particularly interesting about the following statement is the way he positions himself in relation to a claim of mining ancestry:

> Acho que eu peguei uma fase boa, uma fase de transição, difícil, mas uma transição para o melhor. Porque na verdade, o garimpo (.) falando como garimpeiro e filho de garimpeiro e neto de garimpeiro (.) o garimpo, ele-ele só trouxe, na verdade, só tem história, ele só deixou história, a riqueza para uns, mas para outros só deixou história ... Porque o extrativismo, o que é extrativismo? É você vai lá pegar, abrir a terra, fazer buracos na terra, para procurar uma pedra preciosa, uma coisa que você não foi lá colocar, e o que você está lá procurando, tirando da natureza, uma hora aquilo ali vai acabar, entendeu? Uma hora aquilo ali vai acabar. Então, o garimpo, o extrativismo, ele não é viável de jeito nenhum, e aí, a partir do momento que-que-que mudou, eu acho que mudou para o melhor, bem para o melhor, vejo pelo menos, eu vejo, que mudou para o melhor [Iago, 09/08/2012, Lençóis].[iii]

Assuming the subject position of a converted environmentalist, Iago rationalises his evaluation of mining activity in relation to two key ideas; first, that it entails the destruction of the environment without legitimate aim, and second, that it offers little of constructive value to the economic development of the region. With his own life history proof of the productive potential of a life under tourism, Iago affirms his own faith in the validity of economic transformation. Change, coded irrefutably as a change for the better, is thus presented as the only viable indeed desirable option for securing social and economic progress.

Mobilising questions of economic sustainability and environmental conservation, while the narratives of both Rodrigo and Iago can be seen as interacting with a number of the central principles of the sustainable development discourse, Iago assumes this perspective with particular conviction. Sharing with me a little of his life story over the course of our interview, Iago emphasised that his participation in a local environmental movement had been instrumental in the shaping of his belief in the need to conserve the region's rich bio-diversity. Recalling how, in the early years of tourism development, those closest to him had considered him *meio-maluco* (half mad) for his involvement in conservationist activities, such as collecting rubbish and fighting forest fires, he now felt justified, his labours rewarded in the trajectory of his career development: 'it turned out really well, and today, I believe my family are proud of me' [Iago, 09/08/2012, Lençóis]. Expressing faith in tourism's ability to

deliver both economic growth and the protection of the environment,[5] Iago's narrative is indicative of an inclination or will to believe that the ethos of tourism development would ultimately ensure "the right disposition of things" (Luke, 1995: 69).

Crucially, it is worth noting here that it was often in direct relation to this discourse on the sanctity and intrinsic value of the natural environment that the abjection of mining emerged most powerfully. Implicated in the exploitative and wasteful extraction of the region's valuable natural resources, the figure of the miner is newly transformed into a site of ambivalence and collective shame.[6] No longer heralded for his role in constructing the city of Lençóis, he is instead cast *outside,* made abject in defining the contours of the new socio-economic order (Butler, 1993). Possessing, in this regard, innate and deliberate purpose, the introduction of tourism emerges as a natural consequence of social and economic progress. However, it should be noted that, built upon the remnants of that which it now so resolutely excludes, it is only through expelling the abject that the contours of more progressive, more ecological Lençóis can be defined (Butler, 1993; Kristeva, 1982).

5.2.2 Change as "re-educação"

Marking the commencement of a new phase of development, tourism was also often credited with playing a key role in redefining the ideals and aspirations of local inhabitants. Bringing with it a new values and new understandings, it was said to have ignited processes of *re-educação* (re-education), opening up the minds of the local population to radically different manners of living. As Isabella, a local health worker explained:

> O turismo ele ajudou melhorar, assim, ajudou as famílias ter uma condição financeira melhor. O nosso diamante hoje é o turismo, né, [laughs] que antes, era o garimpo, né, que dava diamante. Mas o garimpo, ele era uma coisa assim que as pessoas pegavam o seu diamante e esse dinheiro gastavam tudo, né. Mas o turismo, acho que as pessoas já têm outra visão, porque têm muito contacto com pessoas de outras culturas, né, e aí, vai aprendendo também a melhorar a sua vida, ter uma qualidade de vida melhor. Porque, na época dos garimpos, eram poucos que realmente tinham noção de uma vida melhor. Eles, no momento do diamante, melhoravam, mas gastavam tudo em farras, né, em farras e esse aquilo outro, e voltavam ao que eram antes, voltavam ter necessidade, e aí, iam para o garimpo, aventurar outro diamante ... e no caso de turismo não, no turismo a visão é outra [Isabella, 16/11/2012, Lençóis].[iv]

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[5] The notion that both development and the protection of the environment can be advanced is at the heart of the sustainable development discourse. As Escobar (1995) writes, 'by adopting the concept of sustainable development, two old enemies, growth and environment, are reconciled' (195).

[6] As I suggested in section 1.5, the figure of the miner has long occupied an ambivalent subject position.

Once lacking even the very notion of what it might mean to enjoy a better standard of living, tourism is identified as a key impetus in instigating a transformation in the way local people govern their lives and their livelihoods. Countering the "natural" improvidence of the native population (see section 1.5 for a discussion), the shift in political economy is linked specifically to a change in the way money is spent and fortunes are made. Instrumental in redirecting the hopes and desires of the local worker, tourism is presented by Isabella as contributing to a process of cultural awakening, through which local inhabitants have come to adopt modes of conduct deemed conducive to the development of productive lives.[7]

Interestingly, like Isabella, many of my interviewees also related this change in aspirations to increased contact with *pessoas de fora* (outsiders). As an industry based upon human interaction and cultural interchange, the suggestion was that over time the postures, behaviours and ways of thinking, displayed by international and national tourists, had begun to rub off on local people. Carol, herself a *forasteira* and custodian of a local cultural institution, explained this process to me:

> Quando chega alguém de fora, ela já, automaticamente, ela já transforma, porque é o jeito dela andar, é a forma dela se comunicar. Quer dizer, tem também você, ou o turista tem trazido um pouco de educação ... e isso vai ajudando de certa forma que ele reproduz, assim, uma outra oportunidade, entendeu ... Acho o turismo importante porque as pessoas, de alguma forma, são um modelo [Carol, 29/11/2012, Lençóis].[v]

Exposed over the course of the tourism encounter to distinct modes of being, Carol envisions these interactions as opportunities for individual and collective advancement. Imagined as more educated and more cultured that his native counterpart, the tourist is attributed a civilising role in the local community.[8] Targeting the bodies and minds of the local population, Carol's narrative speaks to the biopolitics of local tourism development; that is to say, its tendency to place a concern for the transformation of the collective subject at the heart of its discourse on social and economic renewal.[9]

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[7] There is also a moral aspect to Isabella's narrative. She suggests that in the past money was wasted but today people are more inclined to put their earnings to good use. Drawing on the work of Max Weber, Amable (2011) explains how the coupling of an individual search for profit and a strict work ethic makes capitalism socially acceptable. Isabella's narrative makes an appeal to this logic in rationalising local processes of economic transition.

[8] Echoing mainstream development discourses, implicit in Carol's statement is the notion that underdeveloped and marginal subjects can achieve progress through modelling themselves on more developed ones (Escobar, 1995: 8-9).

[9] As Lazzarato (2006) argues, the biopolitics of neoliberal rule places "life" and "living being" at the heart of new political battles and new economic strategies (9).

In similar terms, Ana, a member of the city's traditional elite, also spoke in terms of the positive social effects of *convivência* (living together). However, in this case, emphasis was placed on the benefits brought by those who had set up residence in Lençóis, bringing with them new ideas:

> A gente viu também as próprias pessoas mudar (.) as questões todas, de-de-de economia se esclareceram. [Os forasteiros] levavam as pessoas, os adolescentes, e as pessoas mesmas que moram aqui, a outra visão do mundo, né, porque a convivência, né, teve muitas pessoas que vieram ... e, até hoje, que participam na formação da própria comunidade, vieram e trouxeram os seus filhos [Ana, 21/11/2012, Lençóis].[vi]

For Ana, as a result of living alongside outsiders, there has been a change in the way local people interpret and relate to their social reality. Contact with these others is credited with clarifying questions of social and economic development and with altering the way each generation envisions their place in the world. Sparking, in this regard, a process of *conscientização* (consciousness raising), the values and priorities of the local population were often depicted as positively influenced by the influx of *forasteiros*.

It is important to note that, amongst the principles and postures brought in by *forasteiros,* the adoption of a concern for the natural environment was credited with particular value. The introduction of environmental protection measures, the proliferation of governmental and non-governmental conservation agencies and the growth in numbers of "green" or eco-friendly visitors was thought to have had a profound impact on the way local people understood the global significance of their actions. In an interview with an English-speaking resident the implications of this discourse became clear:

> In one generation, we have entirely turned their heads around, now they are the ones putting out the fires that their fathers probably set, there is a lot of competition between the kids to be the greenest so we have installed, through tourism a green mentality a preservationist mentality but whether it would have been possible in any other way, if you just teach it at school they don't have any any any whats the word… incentive, they wanna earn money these guys they wanna make a living and well they get to meet foreign girls and stuff like that and um so its great to be a guide, great to be ecological, so they compete with each other to be more ecological, so they are putting out fires, they are volunteering they pick up garbage on the trails, the trails are absolutely clean! [Roy, 16/08/2012, Lençóis].

Pointing to tourism's success at transforming the hearts and minds of the local population, Roy's statement is clearly structured within neoliberal conservationist logic. In his view, a "green" mentality and motivation to participate in local conservation projects has proliferated amongst local people as a direct result of their

growing awareness that being green is an economically and morally valued attribute. Environmentalist norms and responsibilities, introduced via regulatory mechanisms and made profitable through tourism, are thus credited with producing a population of 'eco-rational subjects' (Goldman cited in Igoe and Brockington, 2007: 442; see also Fletcher, 2009), competing to be greenest on the local labour market.

5.2.3 Producing a new economic subject

In calling for a definitive break with the past, transformations in the economic sphere also demanded the production of a new kind of economic subject. Success in the tourism industry was said to be dependent on the individual's ability to master a new set of skills and traits, thereby overcoming any undesirable characteristics or cultural predispositions inherited from his/her "innate" *raiz garimpeira* (mining roots). That is to say, in the new economy, the value of individual life seemed to be intimately related to the subject's capacity to remake themselves in accordance with the demands of the market, and ultimately, to come to embody the common-sense values and principles dictating ways of living and working under tourism.[10] Visions of this ideal economic subject permeated interviewees' descriptions of their experiences of the tourism labour market and structured popular imaginings of the region's potential for future economic growth.

In describing their experiences of seeking work in the new economy, local men and women often emphasised that an individual must show willingness to prove their worth in a competitive marketplace. Critical for the tourism worker was the ability to distinguish him/herself from other less capable workers through education and training, requiring that they engage in what Rose (1999) has termed, the 'continuous economic capitalization of the self' (162). Reflecting on this shift in the relative roles and responsibilities of the worker, Iago noted that whereas in the past a man's priority was to secure his daily survival (*buscar a sua sobrevivência*) today his main concern was to seek self-betterment through education (*buscar conhecimento*).[11] It was important, he told me, that the worker invest in developing marketable skills and

[10]For literature examining processes of subjectification under neoliberalism see Rose (1999), Lazzarato, (2009), McNay, (2009), Read, (2009).

[11] There is an interesting dynamic to be drawn out here. While presented as a shift in labour market demands, it could be argued that this represents only the continuation of precarious living and working conditions. Today, the struggle to differentiate oneself in a competitive market place is the basis upon which socio-economic survival is secured.

assets; a shift that had proven problematic for those still struggling to overcome the *raízes* of an extractivist past [Iago, 09/08/2012, Lençóis].

Governing the assumption of this work ethic, interviewees often spoke of the pressure to compete as central to their experiencing of life under tourism. In response to a question as to what was required to work in the tourism industry, Junior, a local guide, suggested that an individual's failure to take responsibility for their self-development could result in permanent exclusion from productive citizenship: [12]

> Se você se acomoda, se você não busca conhecimento, a tendência é dele tomar seu espaço. É como na vida, a vida é competitiva, e fulano vai ser competitiva, não vai ser diferente, não aqui ou em outro lugar. Aqui e lá em Europa é competição, sabe, se você tem mais conhecimento, se você sabe mais, você está na frente, ... é quase uma coisa natural da vida, a competição [Junior, 06/10/2012, Lençóis].[vii]

In describing what he perceives as the natural dynamics of the local tourism labour market, Junior clearly emphasises the individual's duty to continually strive to get ahead. With little tolerance for complacency or apathy, those that show disregard for the advancement of their skills and assets may quickly fall behind. For Junior, competition functions as a global economic truth, a perspective formed not in the abstract but in relation to his own lived experience of managing labour market interactions.[13]

This imagining of ideal working subjectivities conforms, in many respects to Foucault's account of the *homo oeconomicus* of neoliberal rule. Drawing on Lemke's (2001) interpretations of Foucault's original text, Wendy Brown (2003) writes of the manner in which neoliberalism constructs subjectivities, 'normatively constructing and interpellating individuals as entrepreneurial actors in every sphere of life'. Bearing full responsibility for the consequences of his or her action, 'the model neo-liberal citizen is one who strategizes for her/himself among various social, political and economic options, not one who strives with others to alter or organize these options' (Brown, 2003).

This call to practice active non-reliance on the state and to actualise principles of 'regulated self-responsibility' and 'depoliticised autonomy' (McNay, 2009: 63) emerged particularly clearly at the *4th Regional Forum "Copa Bahia" 2014*, held in

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[12] It is worth noting that at the time of interview Junior had given up working as a guide, stating frustration with the tourism labour market as the main reason for this decision.

[13] Here I draw on Read (2009) who argues that neoliberalism is 'a transformation of ideology, generated not from the state, or from a dominant class but from the quotidian experience of buying and selling commodities from the market which is then extended across other spaces' (26).

Lençóis in September 2012. During one of the public lectures, the speaker begin by reminding the audience how many days had past since the announcement that Brazil would host the 2014 World Cup, and asked; "and since this time what have we achieved?". This question was then qualified a moment later with the statement "and when I say *us,* I want *you* to think about *yourselves*!". For this private sector worker, the World Cup was an opportunity to be grabbed by each and every Brazilian worker/citizen/entrepreneur, an opportunity not to be delivered by the state but to be assumed by the individual. Gesturing towards notions of responsible self-management, this discourse can be seen as rooted in the neoliberal ideal that individuals be treated less like workers and more like entrepreneurs (McNay, 2009: 65); that they display a 'readiness to self-responsibly bring one's own abilities and emotional resources to bear in the service of individualized projects' (Hartmann and Honneth cited in McNay, 2009: 65). As Roberto, a local state employee, emphasised, in the tourism economy it was no good waiting for opportunities to fall from the sky, tourism demanded that the individual take action (*fazer*) and show initiative in seeking out success [Roberto, 28/06/12, Lençóis].

Finally, in addition to adopting a competitive, self-sufficient approach to labour market interactions, the ideal tourism worker was also required to put to work every aspect of the self. Representing perhaps the most radical of all changes demanded under tourism, subjectivity was made productive and subsumed into the workings of the economy (Anderson, 2011; Read, 2009). This dynamic is no better illustrated than in interviewees' descriptions of the work performed by the tourism guide; epitome, I would argue, of the ideal neoliberal worker.

In delivering his service, the guide incorporates diverse pieces of himself to satisfy the needs and demands of the tourist. His identity, his unique *jeito de ser* (way of being/ doing things) and his ability to *encaixar perfeitamente no lugar* (to naturally fit in) were conceptualised as invaluable resources, commodities to be bought and sold in a competitive marketplace. Caio, a local guide, spoke to me of the value of his *sotaque* (accent) in dealing with tourists and commented that a guide should be careful not to lose those cultural peculiarities that make him authentic in the eyes of the outsider [Caio, 04/09/2012, Lençóis]. This basic principal was also echoed in my interview with Erick, a locally born guide and tourism agency owner:

> A cultura, o guia passa justamente. O modo de falar, as palavras normais de uma região, que as vezes são engraçadas, né, "estamos na hora de bater o rango", né. Os apelidos.

> Tipo, todo baiano praticamente, em Lençóis, tem que ter um apelido ... Então são essas coisas culturais. O modo também de, pela cidade ser pequena, a gente passa e conversa sempre, assim, com todos. Os guias normalmente têm isso, esse dom, porque o guia, quando estiver com o publico, tem que ser um pouco extrovertido, não tem que ter vergonha. Então, eu por exemplo, quando passo, estou sempre cumprimentando todo mundo, e aí, as pessoas falam: "ah você é político? Você é alguma coisa?" Falo: "não isso é normal, que é uma cidade pequena, eu conheço todos, não tenho problema com eles e não custa nada dar um bom dia" [Erick, 26/07/2012, Lençóis].[viii]

As a showman and purveyor of local culture, Erick stresses the importance of communicating those intangible expressions of cultural heritage over the course of the tourism encounter. Requiring natural charisma and charm, the guide puts to work the very essence of his being, working to emulate touristic expectations of what it means to live in the Bahian interior. Here we see how, under neoliberalism, capital no longer

Figure 9: Work in the new economy, photograph by the author

simply exploits labour but demands the 'incorporation of all subjective potentials,' transforming 'the capacity to communicate, to feel, to create, to think, into productive powers for capital' (Read, 2009: 33).

In addition, in dealing in experiences and sensations, the work carried out by a tourism guide is also heavily based in what Hardt (1999) terms, the creation and manipulation of affect. Interviewees stressed that a guide should be attentive to the emotions of his client, always appear happy and relaxed, and demonstrate skill in knowing how to *dialogar* (converse with) and *lidar com* (treat/deal with) tourists. In essence, his role is to create a feeling of ease and enjoyment and, to this end, he is

tasked with employing the right combination of deference, intimacy and playfulness in accordance with the dynamics of each encounter. In this regard, Caio described the nature of his labour as infinitely malleable, requiring that the individual demonstrate skill in adapting to the diverse needs of the client: 'to be a guide, you should have to take a course in psychology, to understand people, because you come across all sorts of situations, all sorts of situations' [Caio, 04/09/2012, Lençóis].

However, given that the form and nature of his day-to-day labour changed with each encounter, there was also a sense that guiding work left the subject exposed to certain risks. As Caio went on to emphasise, the guide must be 'totally prepared, physically and emotionally, dealing with people is one of the most difficult things in

Figure 10: The guide, photograph by author

life, really, you can be sure of it, but it's *gostoso* [tasty, enjoyable]' [04/09/2012, Lençóis]. Transforming the worker into his or her own exploiter (Lazzarato, 2009: 126), the work of a guide places high demands on the subject; demands that, carries a potential physical and emotional cost.

The first section of this chapter has explored how the introduction of tourism has contributed to a significant transformation in ways of understanding what it means to be a productive worker/citizen. Inclusion in the new economic order requires that the individual set aside any trace of their "extractivist" past and that they come to comport themselves as neoliberal 'subjects of interest' (Read, 2009: 29), bringing all

subjective potentials to bear in the context of local labour market interactions. While framed in relation to ideas of social and economic progress, these narratives raise questions as to the role of development discourses and practices in producing new exclusions and in compounding social and economic precarity.[14]

5.3 The past is not past: narrating encounters with the *garimpeiro*

The first section of this chapter has explored dominant narratives of economic transition as founded upon the necessary exclusion of the city's extractivist past. However, in the face of this desire to relegate *garimpo* to a past and long redundant era, to confine its contributions to the realm of history and legend, there was also a constant preoccupation with remains. Troubling efforts to narrate socio-economic transition as wholly realized or completed, spectral traces of the past seemed to disrupt dominant imaginings of economic renewal.[15] In this section, I explore the vestiges of *garimpagem*, the remnants of its modes of existence and forms of everyday thinking as they challenge and disturb the path to development and progress. Adopting Avery Gordon's (2008) concern for ghostly matters, I examine the narratives of my interviewees for those moments of 'turmoil and trouble' when, as she writes, 'the cracks and rigging are exposed, when the people who are meant to be invisible show up without any sign of leaving' and 'when disturbed feeling cannot be put away' (xvi).[16] Haunted by the disquieting possibility of return, I explore dominant narratives of economic transformation as they emerge as distinctly inhibited by

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[14] I come back to this point in chapter 7, in particular section 7.2.

[15] Here I draw on Cameron's (2008) description (via Derrida) of the politics of ghosts. As she writes, ghosts 'trouble any efforts to finish and close' (383).

[16] In formulating my interpretations I found both Avery Gordon's book *Ghostly Matters* (2008) and work pertaining to the 'spectral turn' (Luckhurst, 2002) in the arts, humanities and social sciences, useful as I began thinking through what Van Wagenen (2004) terms 'the dialectics of presence and absence, of inclusion and exclusion' in my research data (287). What we see in Gordon's work is a concern for the politics of haunting and the elaboration of a new vocabulary for attending to that which is marginalized, trivialized, denial and aggrieved (xviii). It is in this sense that she writes 'haunting is one way in which abusive systems of power make themselves known and their impacts felt in everyday life' (xvi).

Yet, in incorporating this language of the ghostly, of absent presences and of the spectral, I also recognise a number of key distinctions between the approaches proffered by these writers and the one adopted in this chapter. Here I search not to uncover the stories and silences materialised in the bodies of ghosts (Gordon, 2008) nor to represent the unrepresentable (Holloway and Kneale, 2008) but to use the language of spectrality to evoke the manner in which local people spoke to me of the "problem" of the intrusion of the past on present lives and to explore how a concern for the ghostly emerged in relation to renewed attempts assert the boundaries between the inside and the outside, the included and the excluded. It is thus that I find Judith Butler's and Julia Kristeva's writing on the abject ultimately more fitting for framing the analysis that follows.

fragments of the past that linger on, challenging the will to radically separate the legacy of the region's past from the course of its future development.

As I indicated in the introduction to this chapter, it is in this section that I consider the status of the abject as 'something rejected from which one does not part' (Kristeva, 1982: 4). Hovering at the borders of self-identity, it is in the sense that the abject can never be fully excluded that I have found this framework useful for thinking through those moments in the narratives of my interviewees when futurist aspirations meet with the worrying sensation that progress is inherently threatened from within (Butler, 1993; Kristeva, 1982). Drawing on Kristeva's description of abjection as constituting that strong 'desire for separation, for becoming autonomous and also the feeling of impossibility of doing so' (Kristeva cited in Johnston, 2002: 85), I explore attempts to establish boundaries as forged upon uncertain ground. As Kristeva (1982) writes, 'abjection is above all ambiguity. Because, while releasing a hold, it does not radically cut off the subject from what threatens it – on the contrary, abjection acknowledges it to be in perpetual danger' (9).

5.3.1 The haunting legacy of the "cultura extrativista"

Weighing heavily on local impetus for change and development, the continued existence of a *cultura extrativista* or *mentalidade extrativista* (extractive culture or mentality), cultural legacy of the region's mining past, provoked considerable concern amongst many of my interviewees. To his detriment, the *lencoense* was said to be haunted by the moods and postures of his ancestor, the humble yet primitive *garimpeiro,* who took from the earth in order to sustain his existence. Conceptualised as the most primary mode of existence and constructed in radical opposition to the principles and values of the new economy, the persistence of *extrativismo* (extractivism) was read by many as a worrying symptom of a past not properly laid to rest. Impressing upon me the pervasive hold exacted by this undesirable manner of living, Pedro, a hotel owner from the south of Brazil, made the following statement:

> Eu acho assim, para você, que é antropóloga, né, o que eu acho importante, é que fundamentalmente, a cultura do lencoense, ela é uma cultura extrativista. E isso é muito marcante, isso-isso, eeemm, permeia sempre todas as atividades, entendeu? É uma coisa antiga, uma coisa de mais de 100 anos, que você sabe o que é o extrativismo, né? Ir lá na natureza, tirar da natureza [Pedro, 30/10/2012, Lençóis].[ix]

Constituting much more than a means of making a living, Pedro stresses his belief that local culture remains fundamentally marked by its long history of mining activity.

Resisting attempts to mitigate or lessen its grip on the local population, the way of thinking born of extractive practices is described as saturating all aspects of social, cultural and economic life. Constituting the primary obstacle to development, interviewees often spoke of *extrativismo* as that *coisa cultural* (cultural thing), that *problema* (problem) or *doença social* (social disease) whose presence proved insidious and, for many, impossible to overcome.

Unsettling the dynamics of everyday life, fragments of the *cultura extrativista* also cast a long and troubling shadow over talk of the city's potential for future growth. Just as Kristeva's account of abjection implies a 'violent, clumsy breaking away, with the constant risk of falling back' (Kristeva, 1982: 13), so too was the city and its inhabitants presented as vulnerable to discarded vestiges of the past. In the context of a discussion concerning the innate fragility of the local economy, Caio described his concern for the future of the city of Lençóis:

> Então, eu e quase todo mundo, entrou no turismo, diretamente ou indiretamente, por falta de opção. Porque essa é a economia que agrega a maior parte dos lencoenses. Então, é o que a gente sabe fazer. Tanto que hoje, é muito-é muito raro você encontrar uma pessoa que plante, uma pessoa que cultive uma flor, é, porque nós somos ex-extrativistas, a gente só sabia procurar o diamante, hoje a gente só sabe trabalhar o turismo, amanhã, deus lá sabe o que a gente somente vai saber. Mas isso é muito perigoso. O leque tem que abrir. As pessoas têm que aprender coisas novas. As vezes você tem um potencial imenso para outra coisa, mas as vezes você fica preso naquilo ali. Tanto que tem gente que prefere comprar uma pimenta que vem da zona rural, de outra localidade, de Seabra, de onde seja, mas não sabe cultivar em casa, porque a gente só aprendeu tirar da natureza. É por isso que a gente não da tanto valor as cachoeiras, as montanhas, as belezas que a gente tem, e pode perder [Caio, 04/09/2012, Lençóis].[x]

Here Caio depicts local development as largely unstable and incomplete. Schooled only in how to take from the environment without giving back, the 'absent presence'[17] of the past is depicted as severely limiting economic progress, confining the local population to the endless repetition of ecologically and morally damaging patterns of production. Voicing, in many respects, his own abjection, Caio imagines the *nativo* as imprisoned by his heritage; unable to break with the past, he is likely to return again and again to modes of conduct and forms of behaviour that have historically characterised life in the Chapada Diamantina region.

Disrupting the course of social and economic transformation, living remnants of the city's extractivist past were also thought to explain flaws and deficiencies of the local worker. Characteristics such as the inclination to *querer tudo facil* (want

[17] I borrow the phrase 'absent presence' from Van Wagenen (2004).

everything easy) and the desire to *ganhar muito sem fazer nada* (earn a lot without doing anything), were imagined as rooted in residual attachment to past modes of existence and thought to limit the new generation's capacity for progress. Describing to me the many problems she encounters in her day-to-day dealings with *mão de obra nativa* (native workforce), Marina, co-owner of a successful tourism agency, attributed the common cultural failings of the local population to the formative influence of their mining heritage:

> O comodismo é natural das pessoas. Porque ela nasceu, cresceu e foi educado dessa forma, a ser cômoda, a fazer o mínimo, a ganhar muito sem fazer nada. Tipo assim, o garimpeiro não precisa falar outra idioma, né, ele não precisa escrever direito, ele só precisa saber fazer uns pontinhos ali. Então lógico o pessoal já vem com essa deficiência [Marina, 06/10/2012, Lençóis].[xi]

Like other members of tourism's growing entrepreneurial elite, Marina stressed the idea that the past remained powerfully present *within* the body and mind of native worker. Coming from a culture in which men worked only for the fulfilment of immediate desires, the local workforce was often portrayed as naturally apathetic and as prioritising instant reward over long-term gain. Difficult to train and resistant to discipline, Marina related this cultural predisposition to her battle to find *nativos* willing and able to work as permanent and formally contracted members of staff.

Yet, a concern for these lingering and disruptive traces was not limited to those who positioned themselves beyond their grasp. A sense of unease also characterised the accounts of those who described their own life histories as intimately connected to mining. As the narrative of Erick demonstrates:

> Tudo isso vem da historia do garimpo. Tudo ligado, porque assim, sabe, o conforto assim, de você (.) como se fala? (.) No garimpo, você pega uma boa pedra de diamante e cê tem o luxo de ficar ali um tempo sem trabalhar. Então, não quer aprender, só sabia que aquilo era o garimpo. Não tinha aquele garimpeiro daquela época que falou "ah eu vou ganhar de garimpo e vou mandar meu filho fazer faculdade", eles não pensavam naquilo, só pensavam na riqueza, então, queria que os filhos fizessem o mesmo. Então, aquele [garimpeiro] de aquele período era assim. E os filhos, praticamente já nasciam com a profissão do pai, não se preocupavam com o estudo não. Essa coisa cultural justamente vem de isso (.) o cara não pensa na coisa continua. Então, a cultura de aqui tem esse mau cultural. Eu coloco justamente, eu acho que é por relaxamento, não fomos criados, e vou me incluir nessa parte mesma, de você ter a ganância de querer ser alguém melhor [Erick, 26/07/2012, Lençóis].[xii]

Understood to be a cultural remnant of *garimpagem,* a tendency to display apathy or laxness is identified by Erick as a key barrier to the productive integration of the local workforce. Ill-adjusted to neoliberal values of education and investment, and unlikely to think ahead, the native worker is depicted as facing a daily struggle to avoid

exclusion from meaningful participation in local social and economic life. Imagining this cultural deficiency as constitutive of his own subjectivity, Erick's narrative is an example of what Peutz (2011) describes as the 'more-intimate articulations of abjection among those fearing its imminent embrace' (340).

5.3.2 Threatening the borders of community identity

Haunting remnants of the past also retained a material presence on the "other" side of community life. Amongst the catalogue of social ills listed by my interviewees, the absent presence of the *cultura garimpeira* (mining culture) was often highlighted as a determining element. Made manifest in the bodies of the undesirable, the marginal, the excluded and the redundant (Bauman, 2004), the incursion of the past on present lives provoked particular discomfort.

Of particular concern to many of my interviewees was the phenomenon of idle and unproductive men. Highly conspicuous on the streets of Lençóis, the presence of these redundant men was both the focus of disparaging talk and the source of a feeling of general unease. Representing the antithesis of the responsible and autonomous subject of the new economic order, these listless individuals were regarded by many as a stain on the fabric of social life. Sharing with me her understanding of a community divided into three distinct social groups, Carol characterises the nature and disposition of these idle men:

Carol: Então, há essa divisão de quem é de fora e quem é de dentro, ou seja, os nativos, nós os forasteiros e os *in*ativos, que são-que são essa quantidade de homens que ficam na balaustrada, nas esquinas, sem fazer nada! (.) Entendeu, ... tem muitos homens que não fazem muita coisa, entendeu? Porque a mulher (.) ela procura uma roupa para lavar, uma facinha para fazer, ela está sempre buscando uma-uma cozinha, um restaurante, para lavar pratos ou para fazer comida, mas o homem se da o luxo de ficar nas esquinas, só olhando quem passe. Então, para mim são três, os nativos, né, os que vem de fora, né, e os inativos, três.

Sarah: Os in-ativos?

Carol: É os inativos

Sarah: Ah entendi, entendi,

Carol: Os inativos são os que não fazem nada!!

Sarah: Eles não tem emprego?

Carol: Olha, eu fico muito curiosa, porque eu não sei. Eu fico, eu acho, inclusive me incomoda passar e ver um monte de homens sem fazer nada, seguindo as mulheres, sabe. Quer dizer, eu vejo que as mulheres (.) não tem-não tem mulher em pé, as mulheres circulam e procuram ganhar algum dinheiro. O homem, os homens não. Ficam parados nas esquinas. Isso é uma coisa também que daria um bom estudo sociológico, daria alguém que fosse-que fosse estudar parte das relações sociais, encontraria ali algo muito interessante, quer dizer, vamos ver porque esses caras estão ali parados, né [laughs].

Sarah: Eles são os que fazem os trabalhos mais informais? Quer dizer são guias?

Carol: Não, não, tem gente que só fica parada, fico impressionada! São homens que não fazem nada e as mulheres trabalham para eles. Eles chegam em casa meio dia e tem comida em casa, entendeu, e eles não se esforçam muito. Agora, eu

tenho uma coisa, assim, que eu ouvi falar muito aqui, que-que o garimpeiro pelo fato dele ser-dele ser-ser extrativista, ou seja, ele extraía da terra (.) o que ele precisava (.) certo, também não repunha a terra ou nada, ficavam lá os buracos, as grunas, né. E esse cara, esse garimpeiro, tem a-a questão cultural no inconsciente dele, está lá. ... E coloco esses inativos ali, o cara que não precisa trabalhar muito, entendeu, não precisa trabalhar, ele-ele é só de extrair, vejo isso que é uma cultura extrativista.

Sarah: -que ainda existe hoje?

Carol: -que existe no inconsciente das pessoas, no inconsciente delas [29/11/2012, Lençóis].[xiii]

Set apart from his native and non-native counterpart by a refusal to enter the local workforce and assume full and productive citizenship, the presence of the *inativo*[18] or inactive native man on the street corners and pavements of the city centre is depicted as a source of anxiety and social distain. As men who *will not* work, the *inativo* is, for Carol, a dangerous anomaly, a striking irregularity whose unshakable permanency gestures towards the existence of an unresolved and threatening social ill.[19] Made abject by his existence at the boundary of what is assimilable, daily encounters with these men unsettle the borders of collective identity and raise spectres of a not so long forgotten past (Kristeva, 1982).

Representing figures of disorder and social excess, the presence of the *inativo* was also linked to a fear of the spread of delinquency and crime. Idleness was said to breed an inclination for criminality, posing a significant threat to a city whose touristic reputation was built on notions of tranquillity, harmony, and security. Expressing concern for the damage levied against the touristic image of Lençóis by the bodies of those *que estão vagando* (are drifting), João, a local construction worker, worried that these individuals proved particularly vulnerable to suggestion and to the iniquitous intent of others. Fiercely challenging the notion that the city was full of these *vagabundos*, João expressed a sense of unease with regards to the moral threat posed by the presence of idle men. With their minds and bodies unoccupied and lacking a legitimate purpose in life, there was a suggestion that these vagrant men

[18] Brito (2005) also identifies the use of the term *inativo* in popular discourse (228).

[19] As men who will not work, these individuals also challenge gender norms. Carol places emphasis on the fact that these men rely on the labour of their wives and female family members. Not only do they fail to fulfil the role of productive worker but also responsible provider. Kingfisher's (2008) analysis of the status of homeless Aboriginal men in the Canadian town of Woodridge is instructive here. She notes that homeless men violate not only neoliberal norms of industriousness and thrift but also gender norms, taking on feminine characteristics of need and dependency (207). However, as she notes, at the same time as representing feminized dependence, these men are also hypermasculinized, displaying exaggerated characteristics of threatening aggression (Kingfisher, 2008: 207-208). This tension is reflected in Carol's statement as she relates her distain for the reliance shown by these men on female labour and her discomfort at passing them in the street.

may be easily tempted into wrongdoing. Inactivity, in this sense, is presented as an ambiguous and vulnerable state, which, in violating neoliberal notions of productive citizenship, leaves the individual at risk of succumbing to that which inhabits the *other* side of community life [João, 24/11/2012].

This relationship between indolence and criminality was also established in my interview with Junior. He suggested that a desire for an "easy life", combined with a reluctance to engage in hard work, made the native population susceptible to involvement in illegal activities:

> Talvez, aquela coisa do garimpo, ficou impregnado em determinadas pessoas que não querem buscar conhecimento, que querem uma coisa fácil. Essa facilidade é um grande problema porque (.) quando não vai estudar, para conseguir uma coisa com dificuldade, a única facilidade que você acha é o mundo das drogas, esse dinheiro é o mais fácil de você ganhar, entendeu. Então, querer as coisas fáceis talvez seja a pior coisa que o ser humano tem na vida, porque tudo o que você acha fácil, é toda coisa ruim, é toda coisa fora da lei [Junior, 06/10/2012, Lençóis].[xiv]

As an enduring remnant of past modes of existence, the desire for easy money is judged incommensurable with neoliberal values of investment and self-governance. Threatening to uncover residues of that which should have long been erased, the inclination to pursue *coisas fáceis* (an easy life) triggers anxiety about the moral integrity of the native subject. In this context, the bodies of idle and unproductive men emerge as a site of potential contagion, a locus of societal dysfunction that must be cast outside, held at a distance and ultimately overcome on the road to transformation and progress.

Finally, it is also worth noting that this discourse on the disruptive potential of idleness was also mirrored in talk of another abject figure, that of the *cachaceiro*[20]. Commonly found roaming the *Rua das Pedras,* these individuals were said to be haunted by ghosts of the past, calling for their surrender to a natural proclivity for drink and destructive behaviour. As César explained:

> Eu acredito que aqueles homens que estão sentados ali, são possuídos por aquilo que não presta, são espíritos de garimpeiros, espíritos beberrão, que destroem aqueles homens todos. Porque aqueles homens todos são todos feitos para destruir, eles mesmos se destroem. Ele não quer uma mulher, ele não quer uma companheira, ele só quer beber [César, 06/08/2012, Lençóis].[xv]

Violently yet joyfully consumed by the spectre of the *garimpeiro,* the *cachaceiro* is that stray, fascinated victim of the abject (Kristeva, 1982: 9). Haunted by all that is without function in the new economy, and fit only for the purposes of destruction, he

[20] Alcoholic who typically drinks cachaça, a spirit made of sugar cane.

can have no meaningful place in present or future living. In this sense, lingering on in the bodies of the unfit and the undesirable, we begin to see how the past emerges repeatedly and disconcertingly in the discourse of my informants as a problem yet to be resolved.

Figure 11: *Inativos*, photograph by the author

5.3.3 Disrupting the affective life of the collective subject

Finally, spectres of the past were also made manifest at the level of lived affective experience. Haunting the emotional dynamics of everyday life, these ghostly remnants were said to determine a kind of cultural propensity for nostalgia and a predisposition for fear and anxiety. Understood to be a cultural and psychical *herança do garimpeiro* (legacy or inheritance of the miner), destructive affects were thought to linger on in the bodies and minds of the collective subject.

The legacy of the region's diamond mining industry was often identified as underlying the native population's susceptibility to a range of negative affects. It was commonly suggested that those who had failed to adapt to the new economy were suffering from depression or a persistent form of self-doubt, which prevented them from seizing opportunities that past their way. Living with wounds that would not heal, the *nativo* was described as reluctant to take risks and as resigned to accept the inevitability of failure. Describing the local population as overcome by fear and low self-esteem, Caio provided the following reflections:

> Isso, é uma deficiência nossa, o não querer apostar naquela economia. Porque quem veio de fora, já conheceu o turismo de lá, a gente não (.) Essa turma já veio sabendo o que era o turismo, então, veio somar com a gente, mas mesmo assim, a gente ainda com aquele medo. Então, você pode ter certeza, pouquíssimas coisas aqui pertencem às pessoas do local, porque até o auto-estima a gente perdeu na época do garimpo. A gente foi tão escravizada que até o auto-estima a gente perdeu ... Por tanto que quando você quer fazer uma coisa, como estou fazendo essa pousada ... tem muita gente que fala: "isso não vai dar certo". E eu: "por quê não vai dar certo? ... vai! Tem que dar certo!" Ontem um amigo meu me falou assim comigo, um dos meus melhores amigos que eu tenho, ele falou comigo: "Caio você não pode construir aqui". Eu falei: "posso!". "Ah, porque o rio vai levar a sua casa, a sua pousada". E aí, eu falei: "e por quê não levou o Canto das Águas?". E ele falou: "mas o Canto das Águas é o Canto das Águas". E eu: "a minha pousada é a minha pousada!" Então, é isso aí. Eu fico olhando, assim, imaginando, poxa, tudo o que era de bom dessas pessoas, o garimpo tirou, e eu estou tentando recuperar, eu estou fazendo alguma coisa para levantar o auto-estima dos meus filhos, o meu, principalmente, aí chegou um amigo e falou: "isso não vai dar certo". Por quê não vai dar certo? Talvez, se ele fosse Deus, ele derrubava minha e deixaria só a do outro! É complicado isso! E para você adquirir isso de volta, demora, requere um tempo, porque é quase uma doença isso, você achar que você não consegue e que só o outro consegue [Caio, 04/09/2012, Lençóis].[xvi]

Characterising the reticent and fatalistic attitude of the native population, this anecdote exposes what Caio perceives to be the underlying cause of their failure to prosper in the new economy. Stripped of all confidence by the violence and injustice of mining activities, any difficulty adapting to the demands of the tourism economy is read back as the product of this originary trauma. Constituting a hereditary flaw in collective pathology, for Caio, it is fear that undermines the *nativo's* ability to invest, both emotionally and financially, in the promise of progress and growth.

Challenging the will to believe in the inevitability of progress, the native population was also portrayed as haunted by an incurable nostalgia.[21] Described in terms of a collective malaise, irrational attachment to the past was considered inherently problematic; a cultural deficiency to be quickly overcome. Unable to transcend a longing for a lost potential, the native population was charged with housing regressive attitudes, with projecting emotionally and psychically towards the past and with immobilising collective energies for change and transformation (Natali, 2004).

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[21] Nostalgia has long been the subject of negative representations (Bonnet and Alexander, 2012; Boym, 2001; Natali, 2004). As Svetlana Boym (2001) points out, first coined by the medical profession in the 18th century to refer to a new 'disease of an afflicted imagination', nostalgia was linked to a wide array of physical and spiritual ailments, thought to incapacitate the body and exhaust the "vital spirits" of the nostalgic subject (4). Migrating from medicine to the philosophies of politics and history, by the 19th century this disease was increasingly associated with populations considered incompletely modernised; that is, a label for those who 'fell outside the modern framework' (Natali, 2004: 11; see also Boym. 2001). In this section, I draw on the concept of nostalgia and particularly the work of Natali (2004) in my analysis of local talk as to the nature of the nostalgic psyche.

In the narratives of my interviewees, nostalgia was often said to be the key factor distinguishing the region's ex-mining communities from those born of agriculture. Whereas agriculture provided a dedicated and disciplined workforce, who understood how to administer time and money, mining was said to breed a lazy and unmanageable population, prone to patriarchal and oligarchic systems of social and political organisation. It was thus that, able to plan and look ahead, the agricultural worker was said to be more suited to the future-looking outlook of the neoliberal economy and did not suffer the same debilitating *projeção para o passado* (tendency to project backward) typically displayed by the local miner.

Interestingly, this distinction emerged not only as a feature of popular discourse but was also reproduced in local intellectual production. F.E. Brito (2005) speaks of the local population's tendency to display a *mentalidade de apego ao passado* (mentality characterised by attachment to the past) that permeates not only local social relations but also relations of production (94). Simarly, Orlando Senna (1996), acclaimed local author and cinematographer, writes of the *saudosismo*[22] that haunts the body and mind of the *lencoense*. In his diagnostic study of the city of Lençóis, Senna (1996) places affect for the past at the centre of his cultural critique. Mirroring approaches to nostalgia that pervaded 19th and 20th century thought (see Natali, 2004), his analysis of the nature and origin of local *fisionomias culturais* (cultural physiognomy) identifies a failure to assimilate the categories and practices of progress as a determining feature of the collective psychic. Forged under the conditions of the mining economy, he suggests that the communities of the *Lavras Diamantinas* are characterised by a *mentalidade retrograda* (backward-looking mentality) that in producing sentimental longings for past days of glory, obscures the path to transformation and progress (16-17). Clearly conceptualised as 'the weight that keeps society from progressing' (Natali, 2004: 17), nostalgia is positioned as a key obstacle to socio-economic renewal.

Finally, the sense that the *lencoense* remained haunted by a residual attachment to the past was also said to contribute to the reproduction of unequal structures of power. There was a suggestion that, in staunching defending a way of life now deemed exploitative and unjust, *nativos* showed themselves to be 'prisoners of a certain oligarchy', trapped by 'the legacy of *coronelismo'* that they have been

[22] Feelings of *saudade,* that is, longing or melancholy.

unable to overcome [Fernanda, 09/10/2012, Lençóis]. Mirroring the kind of thinking on nostalgia that treats it as an explicitly political problem (see Natali, 2004), these statements imply that the *nativo* is unable to see beyond the confines of history and challenge prevailing inequalities in the socio-economic and political sphere. Constituting, in this regard, an oblique and indeterminate threat, nostalgia marked local development as forged upon uncertain and ambiguous ground.

5.4 Concluding remarks

In this chapter, I have explored dominant narratives of economic re-structuring, tracing their interaction with neoliberal perspectives. In the first section of my analysis, I drew on interviewees' descriptions of the social and cultural changes effected in the transition to tourism and reflected on the role of political and cultural interventions in shaping notions of productive citizenship. According to these narratives, the shift to tourism and conservationism was an inevitable consequence of social and economic progress, one that required that the local population adapt to new social and economic realities. Calling for 'a dramatic departure from the past', these narratives position the value and meaning of life in the new economy in radical opposition to mining existence.[23]

However, amongst these narratives of necessary rupture, there was also a constant preoccupation with remains. In the second section of this chapter, I adopted the language of abjection and haunting to capture the manner in which remnants of past modes of existence lingered on, troubling and disturbing social and economic progress. Haunting the body and mind of the collective subject, I explored the past as it emerges as a key obstacle to development, as threatening the very idea of progress from within. Worrying yet also fascinating desire, it is in these narratives that we see that the exclusion of the abject is never total (see Butler, 1993; Kisteva, 1982). The miner, existing 'outside the norms of life not only becomes the problem to be managed by normativity, but seems to be that which normativity is bound to reproduce' (Butler, 2009: 8).

The central aim of this chapter has been to demonstrate the role of political and economic imperatives in establishing a frame for the interpretation of actions, behaviours and desires. I have demonstrated how, in their attempt to make sense of local conservationist initiatives and development strategies, local men and women are

[23] The phrase 'dramatic departure from the past' is Shukla's (2010).

engaging with and mobilising neoliberal principles. However, this is not to say that my interviewees did not also, at times, resist these perspectives. As Rose (1999) writes, the translation of a particular governmentality 'is not a process in which rule extends itself unproblematically across a territory, but a matter of fragile relays, contested locales and fissiparous affiliations' (51). Moreover, as my discussion of the disruptive potential of the abject demonstrates, boundaries are not stable but open to contestation and reformulation (Butler, 1993). In the chapters that follow, I will begin to tease out these emergent signs of contestation and critique, extending my discussions to explore the manner in which personal accounts of economic change work against these dominant visions of necessary rupture and inevitable renewal.

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[i] [Mining] it's an extractivist activity, the kind of activity where the person looks to reap what they haven not sown, to profit without investment. It's the most primitive mode of existence, really, extractivism. And to go from extractivism to a service economy, without passing through industrialisation (.) it's not easy [Leonardo, 30/10/2012, Lençóis].

[ii] To live off mining and tourism just wasn't possible, you either build or you destroy, the two together will never work out, one building and the other destroying, it can't work, so, they collided. But, the community was smart and we decided to opt for building, for tourism … So, it was never a question of scorning mining, it was just something Lençóis had to do for it's future [Rodrigo, 21/11/2012, Lençóis].

[iii] I think I caught a good phase, a transitional phase, difficult, but a transition for the better. Because, in truth, mining (.) speaking as a miner and as the son of a miner and as the grandson of a miner (.) mining, it only brought, in truth, it's just a story, all it left was stories, wealth for some but for the rest of us just stories … Because extractivism, what is extractivism? It means going out there to take, to disrupt the earth, to make holes in the earth in the search for precious stone, something you never put there in the first place, and what you're looking for, taking from the earth, one day it'll run out, right? One day it'll run out. So mining, extractivism, it's not viable by any means, and from the moment that it-it-it changed, I think it changed for the better, so much for the better, in my opinion at least, in my opinion, it changed for the better [Iago, 09/08/2012, Lençóis].

[iv] Tourism made things better, that is, it helped families become more financially stable. Today, tourism's our diamond, isn't? [laughs] whereas before it was mining, wasn't? that brought us diamonds. But, with mining people found their diamond and wasted all that money, right? But, with tourism, I think people see things differently, because they're in contact with people from other cultures, right? and so they're learning how to improve their lives, how to have a better quality of life. Because, during the mining era, there were so few people who knew what it meant to have a better life. When they had diamonds things improved, but they'd spend it all on parties, right? on parties and that sort of thing, and then they'd be straight back to the way things were before, back to being needy, and so then, they'd go back to the mine, to try their luck again … But, with tourism, with tourism you see things differently [Isabella, 16/11/2012, Lençóis].

[v] When someone from the outside arrives, automatically they begin to change things [the local population], they change things, it's the way they walk, the way they talk, like you for instance, or other tourists, they've brought with them a bit of education … and this helps to produce opportunities, you see … I think tourism is important because people, to some extent, serve as a model [Carol, 29/11/2012, Lençóis].

[vi] We've also seen people themselves change (..) and all sorts of questions, about-about-about the economy they've become clearer. [Outsiders] have encouraged people, adolescents, and people who live here, to think about the world differently, y'know, as a result of this interaction, y'know, so many people came … and even today, they continue to participate in building the community, they came and they brought their children with them [Ana, 21/11/2012, Lençóis].

[vii] If you sit back, if you don't look for knowledge, he's likely going to take your place. It's like in life, life is competitive, that guy is going to be competitive, it's not going to be different, neither here or anywhere else. Here and over there in Europe, it's all about being competitive, y'know, so if you have more knowledge, if you know more, you're going to be ahead … competition is pretty much the most natural thing in the world [Junior, 06/10/2012, Lençóis].

[viii] It's the guide who communicates culture. The way of talking, funny words for the region, y'know? "its time to *bater o rango* [to eat in northeastern dialect]" y'know? Nicknames. For example, pretty much all of us Bahians, in Lençóis at least, have a nickname … So it's these kinds of cultural things. Also, because of the city being small people pass one another and chat a while. Guides, for example, they normally have this talent, because the guide, when he's with the public, he has to be a bit of an extrovert, he can't be shy. So, for example, when I pass people in the street I always greet them, and people [tourists] ask me: "are you some sort of Politian or something?". I say: "no, it's normal here, it's a small city so I know everyone, I have no problem with them and it doesn't cost anything to say hello! [Erick, 26/07/2012, Lençóis].

[ix] I I think that, for you, being an anthropologist, right? What I think is important, is that fundamentally, the culture of the *lencoense*, it's an extractivist culture. And this is really obvious, it-it ermmm, it permeates everything, do you understand me? And it's an old problem now, more than 100 years old, and you know what extractivism is don't you? Going out into nature, taking from nature [Pedro, 30/10/2012, Lençóis].

[x] So, I and almost everyone else, ended up in tourism, by direct or indirect means, because there was no other option. Because this is the economy that supports the majority of *lencoenses*. So, it's what we know how to do. So much so that today it's really-really rare to find someone who plants, someone who grows flowers, because we are ex-extractivists, before we only knew how to find diamonds, today we only know how to work in tourism, tomorrow, who know what we are only going to know. But this is really dangerous. Our options need to open up. People have to learn new skills. Perhaps you have this huge potential for something else, but you stay trapped in the same old thing. So much so that there are people who prefer to buy peppers that come from other municipalities, from Seabra, or wherever, but don't know how to grow their own at home, because we only learnt how to take from the environment. This is why we don't pay much attention to waterfalls, mountains, and the other beautiful things we have, and could lose [Caio, 04/09/2012, Lençóis].

[xi]Apathy is natural amongst people here. They were born, brought up and educated that way, to be complacent, to do the minimum, to earn a lot without doing much. For example, the *garimpeiro* didn't need to speak another languages, right, he didn't need to write properly, he just needed to be able make a few marks. So, logically people already have this deficiency [Marina, 06/10/2012, Lençóis].

[xii]All this comes from the mining history! It's all related, because well, you know, the comfort like, of you (.) how do you say? (.) In mining, you find a nice diamond and you have the luxury of taking some time off work. So, you're not interested in learning, all you knew was mining. I never knew a *garimpeiro,* in those days, who said "ah I'm going to make my living from mining and send my son to university", they just didn't think like that, they only thought about the money, and they wanted their sons to do the same. [miners] back then they were like that. And their sons were born to do the same thing, just like their fathers, they didn't worry about studying. This cultural propensity comes from this … these guys didn't think ahead. So, the culture here has this flaw. I think that its because of laxness, we weren't brought up, and I am including myself here, to want to be someone better [Erick, 26/07/2012, Lençóis].

[xiii]

Carol: So, there is this division between outsiders and insiders, that is, nativos, us the outsiders and the inativos, who are-who are that group of men who hang about on the railings, on the street corners, doing nothing! ..) Y'know, … there are lots of men that aren't up to much, y'know? Because women … she's always looking for clothes to wash, for some cleaning to do, she's always looking for a-a kitchen, a restaurant, to wash dishes in or to cook in, but men they have the luxury of sitting on street corners, just watching the world go by. So for me there are three, nativos, outsiders, and inativos, three.
Sarah: *Inativos*?
Carol: Yeah, *inativos*.
Sarah: Ah, I get it, I get it
Carol: *Inativos* are the one who don't do anything!
Sarah: They don't work?
Carol: Look here, I'm curious, because I don't know. I get, I think, it even makes me feel uncomfortable to pass by and see a load of men doing nothing, just following women with their eyes, y'know. That is, I see that women (,) you never see women standing around, women are always moving about and looking to earn some money. Men, men no. They just stand at the corners. This is something that would provide good material for a sociological study, for someone who were to study social relations, they would find something very interesting there, that is, we would find out why these men are just hanging about, right [laughs].
Sarah: Do they do more informal jobs? That is, are they guides?
Carol: No, no, there are people who just hang around, it leaves me gob-smacked! These are men who don't do anything and their women provide for them. They arrive home at midday and they have food on the table, they don't try very hard. Now, I have this idea, well, that I heard a lot around here, that-that the *garimpeiro*, because he was-he was an extractivist, that is, he took from the earth (.) what he needed (.) right, and also he did not repair the earth or anything, the holes were just left there, the caves, y'know. And this guy, this *garimpeiro,* has this cultural trait in his subconscious, its there … And I put him together with those *inativos* too, the guy that doesn't need to work much, y'know, doesn't need to work, he's only interested in taking, I see that it's an extractivist culture
Sarah: -that still exists today?
Carol: -that exists in the subconscious of people here, in their subconscious [29/11/2012, Lençóis].

[xiv]Perhaps, mining stayed impregnated in thise people who're not interested in knowledge, who just want things easy. This *facilidade* (desire for easiness) is a big problem because (.) when you don't go and study, to achieve something difficult, the only easy thing you'll find is a world of drugs, that is the kind of money that's easiest for you to find, y'know. So, wanting things easy is perhaps the worst thing that a human being can have in life, because everything that comes easy is usually bad, it's usually illegal [Junior, 06/10/2012, Lençóis].

[xv]I believe that those men, that are sat there, are possessed by things that are no good, spirits of miners, spirits of drunks, that destroy all those men. Because all those men are made for destruction, they're even destroying themselves. He doesn't want a woman, he doesn't want a companion, he just wants to drink [César, 06/08/2012, Lençóis].

[xvi] This is our problem, this thing of not wanting to gamble on this economy. Because people who came from the outside, already knew tourism from out there, but we didn't (.) That group came already knowing what tourism was, so, they came to help us out, but even so, we still had that fear. So, you can be sure, very few things here belong to local people, because we even lost our self-esteem during the mining era. We were so enslaved that we even lost our self-esteem … So, you see, when you want to do something, like I'm making this *pousada* … there're lots of people that say: "it's not going to work". So I say: "and why isn't it going to work? … It will work! It has to work!" Yesterday a friend of mine told me, one of my best friends, he told me: "Caio, you can't build here". I said: "I can!" "Yeah but the river will take your house away, your pousada". And so, I said: "and why doesn't it take the *Canto das Aguas*? And he said: "but the Canto das Aguas is the Canto das Aguas". So I said: "and my *pousada* is my *pousada*!" So, that's it. Sometimes I catch myself thinking, imagining, damn, everything that was good about these people, mining took away, and I'm trying to do something to

bring it back, I'm doing something to lift the self-esteem of my children, and my own, principally, and then my friend comes up to me and says: "this isn't going to work out" But why won't it work out? Perhaps, if he were God, he would knock down mine [*pousada*] and leave the other guy's [*pousada*]! It's complicated! And to get it back, it's slow, it takes time, because it's almost a disease, believing that you won't achieve anything and only other people will [Caio, 04/09/2012, Lençóis].

Chapter 6

Narratives of Trauma and Loss

6.1 Introduction

> To articulate the past historically does not mean to recognize it 'the way it really was' (Ranke). It means to seize hold of a memory as it flashes up at a moment of danger (Benjamin, 1968: vi).

In chapter 5 of this thesis, I examined dominant narratives of economic restructuring and explored the transition to tourism as founded upon the necessary exclusion of the region's extractivist past. As my analysis highlighted, in these narratives, the past emerges as a site of disruptive potential, an obstacle to be overcome on the road to transformation and progress. Yet, while the nature of community relationships with the past were undoubtedly conflictual, many of the local people I spoke to offered up emotive accounts of their memories of *garimpo* life, expressing in their narratives a profound and enduring sense of attachment to this now deprivileged mode of existence. For these individuals, the closure of the mines represented a deeply traumatic event, one that continued evoke feelings of hurt, sadness, and loss. Set against the dominant imperative to sever and exclude, personal accounts of mining's loss asserted the impossibility of forgetting and worked to recover identities discarded and devalued in the transition to the new economy.[1]

In this chapter, I focus on the nature of local men's attachment to a life of mining and consider the role of memory in negotiating the relationship between past

[1] As Shukla (2010) found in her ethnographic account of life in Harlem, confronting neoliberal economies and political formations are stories that are not so easily assimilated into dominant narratives of necessary rupture (179). In my research, I explore this dynamic as local men and women draw on memory, feeling and emotion to resist and confront dominant narratives of transformation and progress.

and present lives.[2] In Lençóis, while mining no longer sustains livelihoods, there is continued engagement with the past; the *garimpeiro* remains, as it were, in the stories and in the cultural and emotional landscapes described to me by my interviewees.[3] In this context, I question what motivates attachment to past landscapes and past selves, exploring narratives of loss and melancholia not as they fix or hold, but as they work to create, producing 'a world of new representations and new meanings' (Eng and Kazanjian, 2003: 5). In this sense, I emphasise that this chapter seeks not to capture life in the mine 'the way it really was' (Benjamin, 1968: vi), but to explore the role of personal memory in re-scripting and reformulating dominant representations of the past.[4] As Hill (2013) writes, 'looking back upon the past from the present is not about seeking absolute truths, but instead proffers a means by which we might grasp the importance of the past today and the manner by which it influences and haunts our daily lives' (393).

Engaging with themes of memory, emotion, attachment and loss, I begin to add texture to the picture of the subject developed in the theoretical chapter of this thesis. In exploring how attachment to and memories of past lives and past subjectivities continue to orient the experiencing of the present, I seek to demonstrate how dominant political economic imperatives are met and confronted by residual cultural formations and forms of subjectivity. In doing so, this chapter makes a contribution to the overall argument of the thesis by extending my critique of neoliberal visions of subjectivity. My analysis makes clear that local subjects are more complex than the neoliberal ethic can allow.

This chapter is structured thematically. In the first section, I focus explicitly on personal accounts of the trauma and violence of mining's end. My concern here is for how the events of this period were experienced by local men, and to draw attention to memories of the suffering inflicted by state authorities. In the second section, I turn to personal memories of *garimpo* life and consider the continued relevance of mining to the lives and biographies of local men. Here I draw predominantly on the storied

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[2] The approach to memory taken in this chapter is influenced particularly by the work of Jones and Garde-Hansen (2012), Leyshon and Bull (2011) and Booth (2008)—for a review of this literature see section 2.4.3.

[3] In her examination of the figure of the peasant in contemporary rural life in Italy, Krause (2005) describes a similar dynamic. She notes that while the peasant has 'all but vanished as an exemplar of an economic way of life', as a social figure it 'persists in meaningful ways that shape people's family making practices' (593)

[4] Here I draw particularly on the work of Edensor (2005) and Booth (2008). For a review of this literature see section 2.4.3.

accounts of two of my interviewees. These men spoke with particular emotion of their experiences in the mine and displayed strong attachment to their identities as mining men. In engaging with these individual narratives, I hope to convey something of the subjectively lived experience of economic transition and, following Booth (2008) while I recognise that personal memory is of course 'personally unique and situationally distinctive', I argue that a focus on the personal remembrance 'can provide insights into memories and meanings beyond that of the individual' (Booth, 2008: 300).

6.1.1 Loss and Melancholia

In characterising local men's relationships with the past as in some way characterised by feelings of loss and melancholia, it is necessary to clarify my approach to these terms. It is worth remembering that the portrayal of the native *lencoence* as an inherently nostalgic or backward-looking subject has long been a feature of regional discourse, mobilised most recently in the context of processes of economic transition (see section 1.5 and 5.3.3). This is a characterisation I firmly oppose. Instead, in speaking in terms of loss and melancholia, I aim to take seriously what local men told me of their experiences of economic change, reading expressions of sadness and regret in relation to a growing body of literature that attempts to locate the productive and, often, subversive potential of loss (Butler, 1993, 1997; Cheug, 2000; Eng and Kazanjian, 2003; Khanna, 2006). In the following paragraph I provide an introduction to a number of studies that have been useful in framing my understanding of these terms.

Recent efforts to theorise loss and melancholia often depart from Freud's 1917 essay *Mourning and Melancholia*, revisiting and revising these early formulations in their interpretation of contemporary experiences of loss (Butler, 1993, 1997; Cheug, 1997, 2000; Eng and Kazanjian, 2003; Khanna, 2006). For Freud (1917), melancholia was distinct from mourning—the normal and natural reaction to loss–in a number of ways (243). As Cheng (1997) summarises, 'unlike the successful finite work of mourning, the melancholic cannot "get over" loss; rather, loss is denied as loss and incorporated as part of the ego' (50). While the notion that melancholia constitutes a distinct pathology has been much criticised in recent literature, the suggestion that melancholia can be productively interpreted as a refusal of loss has been central to

attempts to rearticulate its creative potential (see Butler, 1993, 1997; Cheug, 2000; Eng and Kazanjian, 2003; Khanna, 2006).

Developing these insights, David L. Eng and David Kazanjian's (2003) edited volume, *Loss The Politics of Mourning,* makes an important contribution. Supplementing Freud's theories with Walter Benjamin's *Theses on the Philosophy of History*, Eng and Kazanjian (2003) articulate what they describe as a 'counterintuitive perspective' on loss; one that engages with practices of mourning as productive for history and for politics (5). Crucially, for these authors, in melancholia, the lost object is not fixed but is 'continually shifting both spatially and temporally, adopting new perspectives and meanings, new social and political consequences, along the way' (5). As such, they argue melancholic attachments to loss should not be imputed a negative or pathological quality, but should be read for their 'creative, unpredictable and political aspects' (3).

Adopting a similar approach, David L. Eng and Shinhee Han (2003) suggest that melancholia can be interpreted as an attitude of revolt against dominant norms and privileged identity categories. Exploring the experiences of Asian Americans in the United States, Eng and Han invoke the term racial melancholia to describe 'the unstable immigration and suspended assimilation of these groups into the national fabric' (345). For these authors, Asian American subjects suffer the loss not only of ideals of whiteness, but also of Asianness, as they attempt to negotiate the social structure. Here, what I find particularly useful in Eng and Han account is their suggestion that within the inability to "get over" these losses there lies a 'nascent ethnical and political project' (364). In their formulations, the melancholic process is one of the ways in which socially disparaged objects are preserved by the ego; a process that they ultimately suggest may be 'the very precondition for survival, the beginning of a strategy for living and for living on' (365).

The notion that melancholia enables the preservation of a threatened or socially disparaged object has been productive in my own work. As I established in chapter 5 of this thesis, dominant narratives of economic transition position the loss of mining as a kind of 'ungrievable loss' (Butler, 2003, 2009). Antithetical to the values and principles of the new economic order, it was presented as happily sacrificed on the road to progress. In this context, I follow Eng and Han (2003) in locating local

men's refusal to "let go" of the past as a gesture of preservation, a 'militant refusal to allow certain objects to disappear into oblivion' (365).[5]

I have also found this literature on loss and melancholia useful in understanding the critical impulse that ran through the storied accounts of my interviewees. In exploring nostalgic rememberings of, and melancholic attachments to, the mining landscape, my intension is not to paint a picture of a community in perpetual mourning, one whose longing for days gone by acts as an obstacle to their insertion in the new economy, but instead to begin to convey some notion of the unresolved, contested and conflicted status of local processes of economic change. Marked by a refusal to let go, the accounts of my interviewees worked to reclaim the contemporary relevance of the past, creatively challenging dominant framings of economic transition that positioned the erasure of the past as a precondition for renewal.

6.2 Narrating the trauma and violence of the closure of the mines

In this section, I examine the stories people told me of their memories of the events and circumstances surrounding the closure of the mines, exploring the loss of mining as it is articulated as a profoundly traumatic event. While nearly two decades have past since the formal eradication of mining activity, memories of the pain and suffering produced in the wake of federal intervention continue to reverberate personal accounts of the lived experience of economic transition. In speaking to ex-miners and their family members, I uncovered stories that challenged dominant narratives of necessary rupture, pointing to prevailing cultural and psychic effects of the closure of the mines.

In exploring the pain and trauma produced in the context of economic restructuring, I am particularly influenced by a series of books, edited by Arthur Kleinman, Veena Das, and Margaret Lock—with co-editors Pamela Reynolds, Mamphela Ramphele—that take the theme of social suffering as their explicit focus (Kleinman, Das and Lock, 1997; Das et al, 2000, 2001). Examining the societal consequences of violence, running through each of these three volumes is a concern

[5] The militant or political potential of melancholia is also articulated by Ranjana Khanna (2006). In her essay *Post Palliative: Coloniality's Affective Disonance*, Khanna describes melancholia as endemic to the field of post-colonial studies, but characterises this particular affect not as a disabling but a source of critical agency, one that acts towards the future while weighing against 'normative gestures, palliatives and alibis'. Similarly, Butler (1997) provides a re-reading of Freud's theories on mourning, examining melancholia as a site of subversive potential.

for how social suffering 'ruins the collective and the intersubjective connections of experience and gravely damages subjectivity' (Kleinman, Das and Lock, 1997: x). Collapsing old distinctions between the individual and the collective, representation and experience, the personal and the political, they link experiences of suffering to its social production and explore 'how acknowledgement of pain, as a cultural process, is given or withheld' (Kleinman, Das and Lock, 1997: xiii).

This primary emphasis on the human costs and consequences of diverse forms of social violence is supplemented, in later volumes, by a movement towards a consideration of how moments of destruction and violence are produced and recontextualised in the act of narration. In *Remaking a World,* Das et al (2001) extend their focus to account for how communities cope with social suffering and to explore the strategies through which they might begin to contest long histories of official inattention. In this context, while recognising the limits to agency, they point to the manner in which the expression of personal pain can act as a form of cultural representation, 'defining what matters most to local groups who have been marginalised and whose local world has been broken apart by powerful social force' (20). These authors suggest that, resisting forces of social control, stories can open a space for the expression of individuality and alternative collective sentiments (Das et al, 2001: 20):

> Stories, like other social phenomena have unanticipated consequences. This is especially true in communities undergoing or trying to break away from established conventions. The social space occupied by scarred populations may enable stories to break through routine cultural codes to express counterdiscourse that assaults and even perhaps undermines the flow of taken-for-granted meanings of things as they are (Das et al, 2001: 21).

For these authors, it is the ethnographer's challenge 'to pay close attention not only to the content of narratives, but also to the processes of their formation', to consider tensions between competing truths and to explore 'the shadows that fall between what is regarded as truth and what as fiction' (Das et al, 2001: 5). In this chapter, I follow these authors in exploring how narrative functions as a means for re-interpretating and negotiating personal experiences of social suffering and in examining the impacts of these processes on subjectivity.

6.2.1 Embodied suffering

Challenging visions of the calm teleology of economic progress, personal accounts of the processes implicated in the closure of the mines characterised this period as one

marked by the experiencing of brutal rupture and embodied pain. For many of those I interviewed, life in Lençóis was marked by a before and an after mining, the termination of this activity fracturing the continuity of individual and collective life. Described as unexpected and violent, the closure of the mines was remembered as a sudden and abrupt blow; a *golpe* that struck at the heart of the community, leaving it stunned and gasping for air:

> De repente, teve um baque enorme, não teve nenhuma preparação ... Foi simplesmente, aí pow! Como se a pessoa tivesse alguma coisa que junta as duas pernas dela, e com muita força, que arranca ela do chão, ela vai cair, entendeu? [Bruno, 05/11/2012, Lençóis].[i]

While only 12 when the federal police arrived in Lençóis to enforce the prohibition of mining activity, Bruno evokes his memories of this event with particular vivacity. Registering in terms of bodily impacts and physical injury, the lived reality of change emerges as painfully disorienting. Pulled to the ground with sudden momentum and force, the local worker is depicted as ambushed by the state, physically and symbolically incapacitated by the rapidity of change. In this sense, running counter to the claim that the closure of the mines was largely inevitable, Bruno emphasises the violence of economic transformation and portrays the local population was wholly unprepared for the loss of their livelihoods.[6]

However, as well as constituting a kind of collectively felt and locally shared loss, it also became evident that ways of remembering the lived significance of change were gendered in salient ways. That is to say, it was the male body that was said to have suffered. Once a symbol of strong masculine heritage, the traumatic impact of the closure of the mines could be meaningfully traced in the transformation of the strong, muscular and virile body of the miner into the dejected and socially vulnerable body of the redundant worker; that is, as one interviewee noted, in his symbolic castration. Left "with no purpose [à-toa], motionless, sat on the pavement" [Carlos, 10/08/2012. Lençóis] the end of mining had stripped the *garimpeiro* of his productive function, leaving both emotional and physical wounds:

> Foi a mesma coisa que a escravidão. Acabou e ficou [o garimpeiro] sem educação (.) o garimpeiro, sem conhecimento, o garimpeiro não conseguiu uma outra profissão, e ficou

[6] This is an interesting contrast to be drawn here. In the historical accounts outlined by Matta (2006), Brito (2005) and Senna (1996) [see section 4.4] there is a suggestion that the closure of the mines was a gradual process, occurring over several years and with the involvement of the local community. This was a narrative also repeated to me by state employees, tourism investors and members of the local elite. Yet, ex-garimpeiros and their family members remembered the intervention as sudden and brutal.

> estancado, ficou no canto, esquecido, que já estava na idade avançada, e aí, a tendência é isso, fala: "poxa, eu não consegui nada na vida, eu não estudei, não tenho nada" e aí, a tendência é a cachaça, é droga (..) se sente desacreditado [Junior, 06/10/2012, Lençóis].[ii]

In likening the situation of the miner to that of the slave, Junior points to the shattering impact of the closure of the mines on the intelligibility of the miner's social and gendered identity. Left with no place in the new economy, what emerges clearly in this extract is the extent to which the paralysation of mining activity is remembered for its immobilising and stagnating impact on the male population. Made insignificant and redundant by the process of change, the erasure of the miner's social and economic function is understood to have relegated a whole generation of men to the margins of social life.

These narratives so far discussed begin to capture something of the viscerally felt impact of change and of its far-reaching consequences for the local male population. As one local man put it, losing mining was like losing everything you had, it took away the entire structure of your existence and left you not knowing which way to turn [Felipe, 20/11/2012, Lençóis]. It is thus that, while I recognise that individual responses to change were undoubtedly multiple and conflictual, I suggest that these narratives indicate that, for many, the end of mining constituted a devastating blow that struck at the heart of the reason and purpose of their social existence.

6.2.2 Damaging subjectivities

Alongside descriptions of embodied suffering and gendered loss, the brutality and violence directed against the mining population by the federal police, in their attempt to enforce the eradication of mining activity, also emerged as an enduring concern of many of the men I spoke to. Recalling the events that culminated in the definitive closure of the mines, interviewees typically expressed profound regret over the treatment of the *garimpeiro* at the hands of the Brazilian authorities. For José, mining at the *Baixio*[7] at the moment of the arrival of federal forces, his treatment as a lowly criminals had led to the unravelling of his sense of self-identity:

> Sarah: E como foi para você quando parou [o garimpo]?
> José: Uhh, foi ruim viu, vixe, até acostumar de novo.
> Sarah: Você lembra o dia que você deixou o garimpo? Como foi?
> José: Lembro, lembro como hoje. Aí, a gente estava trabalhando, aí começava, vixe, a polícia chegou, até agrediu alguns colegas da gente. Eu mesmo não

[7] Name of one of the sites upon which a mechanised mining encampment was established.

> fiz nada de isso (.) agressão (.) eu fiz nada, mas teve muitas colegas da gente que eles (.) chegaram-chegaram de uma, de tal maneira assim, como que (.) [como] se a gente fosse, sei lá, né, se tivesse fazendo coisa errada ali. E não era. Todo o mundo estava trabalhando! Chegaram de uma maneira assim brutal (.) e não era necessário aquilo. Ninguém era bandido, era todo mundo trabalhador, né, todo mundo estava trabalhando (.) que era uma maneira de-de-de conseguir manter a família ... então não era necessário que a policia chegasse como chegava, é, tinha outra maneira de chegar, né [03/09/2012, Lençóis][iii]

In recounting tales of the violence that marked the end of mining activity, José repeatedly emphasises that his involvement in mechanised mining, like that of his peers, was motivated solely by a desire to provide for and sustain his wife and family. Made the indiscriminate target of state persecution, it is this painful experience of misrecognition that constitutes the prevailing memory of this period. For José, in failing to correctly identify the miner as *trabalhador pobre* (impoverished worker), confusing him with *um bandido qualquer* (a common criminal), the actions of federal forces are remembered as a violent assault on the legitimacy of his claim to productive citizenship. However, attempting, through this narrative, to cast off negative conceptions of *garimpeiro* identity, he actively resists the attribution of dangerous and disruptive subjectivity.

Mirroring the account above, another of my interviewees, Carlos, also expressed a lasting sense of unease with regards to the physical and symbolic violence inflicted by the federal authorities. In his mid 80s, while Carlos had never worked in mechanised mining encampments, he had mined manually in the Chapada's hills for much of his working life. In our interview, he vividly recalled the arrival of the federal police and relayed rumours of the injustices committed:

> Eu não estava lá, mas fecharam lá em baixo. Veio muita gente, uma coisa que, pareceu que era uma guerra, todos armados pensando que os garimpeiros iam se revoltar, foi, e aí, mas os garimpeiros não fizeram ação nenhuma. Eles chegaram lá, fecharam, todo mundo armado, né, vieram, desceram lá em baixo. Não tem o Mercado? Ali, nesse baixio ali, era garimpo ali. Mas os garimpeiros não fizeram ação nenhuma ali. Também dizem que mandaram, mandaram deitar e caminharam por cima deles, assim, fizeram muita coisa errada. Aí dizem que teve também, eu não vi, teve um armado que ficou ali no meio dos garimpeiros, para filmar, para dizer o que era um garimpeiro, e os meninos falaram assim: "olha, você não tem vergonha? Não faz uma coisa dessa não!" e o garimpeiro não fez ação nenhuma [Carlos, 10/08/2012, Lençóis].[iv]

Careful to stress the relative compliance and passivity of the mining population, it is the federal police whose use of excessive force is noted for its incivility. Described as arriving in Lençóis as if prepared for war, Carlos attributes this level of aggression to the assumption that the miner would resist the enforcement of law and order.

Rumoured to have been mercilessly goaded by the authorities and made the object of humiliation and shame, it is clear that Carlos relates to this period as one in which his sense of self-identity, if not his very humanity, was radically called into question.

For both Carlos and José, memories of this period continue to evoke feelings of hurt and anguish. Displaying enduring attachment to their lives as mining men, the brutality enacted by the federal police remains central to ways of remembering this period. Yet, in repeatedly rejecting the subject positions pressed upon them,[8] I would argue that the narratives of both José and Carlos be read as a refusal to accept the annihilation of their individual and collective subjectivities. Interpellated as dangerous subjects, José and Carlos actively mobilise alternative social categories. As Carlos stressed to me, 'I don't regret being a garimpeiro because, thank God, I was able to bring up my children, and now at 85 … not one person has a problem with me, no, everyday that passes I have more friends, no … if you were to ask around, people only have good things to say about me' [Carlos, 10/08/2012, Lençóis].[9] Guarding against the destruction of positive conceptions of self, Carlos' narrative works to reclaim a place within the domain of liveable sociality (Butler, 1997).

6.2.3 Long-lasting reverberations

Beyond the immediate trauma of mining's loss, a number of my interviewees also expressed a sense of discomfort in relation to the *persecução para todos* (indiscriminate persecution) approach that began to pervade the city as newcomers invested in its development as a tourism destination. Not only did the work of the *garimpeiro de draga* loose legitimacy, but the city's manual miners also became the target of collective reproach. As Felipe recalled, in the years that followed the closure of the mines, and as pressure mounted to adapt to new economic realities, negative talk concerning the behaviours and customs of the *garimpeiros de serra* began to proliferate:

> Todo mundo tinha algum sotaque, algum comentário do garimpeiro ... Mas quem é esse garimpeiro? Entende? ... Todo mundo era garimpeiro e ninguém era *o* garimpeiro [Felipe, 20/11/2012, Lençóis].[v]

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[8] Here I draw on Butler's (1997) description of subjection as a power that presses down on the subject and assumes a psychic form. However, here, my suggestion is that there is a refusal to accept this process of subjectification.

[9] 'não tenho arrependimento de ser garimpeiro porque graça a deus eu crie meus filhos, e estou com 85 anos ... e aí com esses 85 anos eu não tenho uma pessoa que tem raiva de mim, né, cada dia passa é mais amizade né ... quando procurar por mim todo mundo só tem noticias boas!' [Carlos, 10/08/2012, Lençóis].

Pointing to the work of discourse in demonising the figure of the *garimpeiro,* Felipe's description is also suggestive of a certain move, on the part of the local community, to begin distancing themselves from the less salubrious aspects of mining identity. There emerged, he suggests, a certain desire to cast off the shadows of this particular version of working subjectivity. Yet, in this extract, Felipe mocks the irony of this process and its role in producing certain "truths" as to the nature of *garimpo* life.

As our interview progressed, Felipe also went on to directly challenge the harm inflicted by these discursive practices. Indicating what Das et al (2001) have identified as the potential for a moment of violence experienced in one era to produce shadows and reverberations that may be grafted onto the experiences of another (7), he told me a story of how the destruction of his grandfather's artisanal mine had prompted him to suffer a near heart attack:

Felipe:	Em noventa e sete, meu avô praticamente teve um infarto
Sarah:	Foi?
Felipe:	Porque existia, agora, uma pressão muito grande das pessoas que estavam envolvidos com o turismo, para que não houvesse o garimpo, né.
Sarah:	Ah foi?
Felipe:	Exatamente. Então, meu avô tinha uns setenta, ou quase isso na época, oitenta anos, e ele sofreu um derrame, simplesmente porque ele subiu a serra no Barro Branco com cimento para fazer um barragem, para ele ter um local para lavar o cascalho dele, e chegou lá e tinham derrubado, né. Lembro que foi até o argentino, qual é o nome dele? Que trabalhava na brigada? Então, na brigada, tinha uma visão muito deturpada do garimpo, porque o garimpo de-de serra era visto com se fosse-como se fosse responsável pelas queimadas, entende? Pela morte dos bichos. Porque geralmente as caras caçam, entendeu?
Sarah:	Então seu avô ... ele foi lá e ele viu que alguém tinha derrubado
Felipe:	é
Sarah:	E ele teve um infarto?
Felipe:	Ele teve um infarto, morreu dois anos depois mais ou menos, ficou mau [20/11/2012, Lençóis].[vi]

In this extract, Felipe links the deterioration of his grandfather's health to those more insidious forms of violence that began to pervade social life, shortly after the closure of the mines. Propagating a particularly warped vision of the practices of those who continued to climb the Chapada's hills, outsiders, and those involved in tourism development, inflicted what he regards as unnecessary suffering on individuals whose only hope was to continue to *ser prestativo para alguma coisa* (to be useful) [20/11/2012, Lençóis]. Drawing on personal memories of his grandfather's distress, Felipe points to the virulence of this negative affect and its capacity to inflict harm. It is thus that at this very personal level that he offers a firm critique of the injuries

inflicted not by the immediate actions of federal forces but by their long-lasting reverberations.

Expressing the individually and collectively felt impact of the loss of mining, personal accounts of the events of this period work against dominant visions of harmonious change and necessary rupture. Speaking both of the immediate dismay and despair prompted by the arrival of the federal authorities and of the harm inflicted over the years that followed, their narratives reveal the enduring cultural and psychic effects of the closure of the mines. It is, in this respect, that I argue that these narratives contained an important critical potential, indicating the conflicted and unresolved status of processes of economic transformation. As Das et al (2000) write, these narratives reveal how 'violence which may have become buried in the routines of the everyday may acquire life—how unfinished social stories may be resumed at different times to animate feelings of hate and anger' (15).

6.3 Narrating attachment to the past landscapes and past selves

As this chapter has so far demonstrated, a sense of traumatic loss was central to interviewees' descriptions of the subjective experiencing of economic shift. However, just as they shared with me narratives of painful rupture and embodied loss, many local men spoke with pleasure of time spent working in the Chapada's hills.[10] In my interactions with local people, stories emerged that expressed enduring attachment to mining landscapes and mining selves; a desire to protect and shelter identities lived and lost in the transition to the new economy (Rose, 2006). In this section, I examine nostalgic rememberings of *garimpo* life. Following Leyshon and Bull (2011), I am interested in how memory is mobilised as a means of bringing meaning to periods of change.

This section draws predominantly on the narratives of two local men, Bruno and César. Both of these men strongly identified as *garimpeiro* yet they had spent only short periods of their lives either formally employed in the *garimpos de draga* or working in the hills as manual miners. Mining for these individuals had never represented a truly viable mode of existence yet they expressed a strong sense of

[10] It should be noted here that in describing their experiences of *garimpo* life, local men spoke both of their experiences working in mechanised mining encampments and of time spent as artisanal miners. In general terms, it can be said that positive affirmations of a life of mining emerged more frequently in the context of talk of manual mining. However, interviewees did, at times, speak fondly of *garimpo de draga*. I would argue that this distinction reflects a difficulty in expressing a sense of loss for a mode of existence that inflicted such extensive damage on the natural environment.

attachment to mining identity. It is thus that I suggest that for these individuals, a life of mining remained a kind of unlived possibility, a potential extinguished in the transition to tourism. The implications of this fact I will attempt to draw out in the following paragraphs.

6.3.1 Mining and belonging

In sharing with me stories of a life of mining, local inhabitants seemed to take great pleasure in vividly describing the moods and contours of the mining landscape. While now all but imperceptible to the unfamiliar eye, this landscape of past encounters retained a sense of vibrancy in the narratives of my interviewees. Reflecting on a time when *garimpos* were once ubiquitous to the Chapada's hills and the city of Lençóis was the "nervous centre of all local happenings" [Flávio, Lençóis, 15/08/2012], local men (and women) spoke nostalgically of time spent at the mine. In the imaginary, the *garimpo* remained a place of risk and adventure, of heightened violence and intense commemoration, its atmospheres heavily influenced by oft repeated stories of the inexhaustible wealth of the region's soils.

Yet, while housing grand narratives of social and cultural excess, the mine also emerged as a distinctly lived and inhabited social environment. Evoking memories of unity and friendship, of play and sociality, it became evident that the *garimpo* remained a uniquely cherished landscape, a place in which local men came to understand their own being in the world.[11] In the following paragraphs, I reflect on the intimate and personal recollections of time spent "within" the mining landscape, and consider the significance of these remembered experiences in shaping and sustaining meaningful senses of self (Leyshon and Bull, 2011). In the narratives of my interviewees notions of self, place and belonging were closely intertwined, and far from functioning as a mere setting for social action, the mining landscape emerged as powerfully orienting lived understandings of gendered and embodied identities.[12]

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[11]In this section, I am influenced by the work of Edward Casey's (1993, 1996, 2001). Drawing on the work of Heidegger and Bourdieu, Casey (2001) argues for the priority of place in the constitution of the self. For Casey (2001), places are tied to selves and it is through inhabiting certain places that we come to grasp our own being-in-the-world (684). However, in adopting this framework I do not want to suggest that these men are "essentially" mining men. My concern is for how experiences of mining are closely linked to the ways local men actively constructed meaningful identities.

[12]In his phenomenological approach to place Edward Casey (2001; see also 1996) writes against an understanding of place as a neutral backdrop or setting for social action. For Casey, the relationship between self and place is one of 'constitutive coingredience' (684). For a review of this material and of my approach to place see section 2.3.2.

Central to the narrative recounted to me by ex-miners and their sons was the sense that involvement in the world of mining had once been indivisible to the natural progression of their lives. Men from Lençóis were born to mine; it was in their blood and was thought of in terms of their *finalidade* (purpose) or *destino* (destiny). In this sense, gendered and working subjectivities were often presented as the product of a kind of visceral attachment to place; an attachment that manifested in a lifelong commitment to the place of the mine.[13]

> Meu pai nasceu de lado de gruna (..) basicamente o garimpo era a alma dele, toda a historia dele foi baseada no garimpo [Flavio, 15/08/2012, Lençóis].[vii]

Imagining the very essence of his father's being as firmly rooted in the topography of the mine, Flavio presents this landscape as powerfully animating the trajectory of his life. Depicted as constant and stable over the passing of time, the mine is attributed a central role in the organisation of personal biographies. Indeed, belonging to a family with strong mining lineage was a subject position that was often positively assumed by interviewees; functioning as a symbol of shared masculine heritage, it continued to orient ideas of individual and collective belonging.

In this context, for many of the men I spoke to, personal memories of their own coming-into-being remained intimately tied to their experiences in and of the mining landscape. Invested with meaning as a site of burgeoning consciousness, lived understandings of gendered and embodied identities were presented as closely bound to the place of the mine. These ideas are eloquently expressed in my interview with Bruno. In his late twenties, Bruno belonged to a generation of men who had been too young to work formally in the mechanised mining industry. However, during our interview he spoke passionately about time spent in the hills during his childhood and early adulthood and of his experiences working as a manual miner following the closure of the *dragas*.

> Sarah: Você sempre pensava que ia trabalhar no garimpo?
> Bruno: Olha, eu não sei te-te dizer, porque (.) eu trabalhava (.) aquilo-aquilo era o que importava, era o que eu queria fazer naquele momento, sabe. Eu sempre pensei (.) que eu teria o garimpo próximo de mim, sabe. Eu cresci na rua, um final de semana estou sem fazer nada, da mesma forma que eu vou pescar, entendeu, eu ia pra o garimpo. Eu já fiz isso, e nem para

[13] In her exploration of mining subjectivities in West Virginia coal camps, Stewart's (1996b) calls for the reader to note 'the visceral power of attachment to place' that emerges in local talk (46). She writes that for local people 'identity depends on the hills themselves and the local ways of life in the hills' (46). I suggest that similar dynamics are evident in the ways local men spoke to me of their relationship with the hills.

> trabalhar, chegar lá, botar um feijãozinho no fogo e ficar lá, de pernas pro ar, entendeu, bater um papo um poucinho e ver a paisagem [05/11/2012, Lençóis].[viii]

Here Bruno seems to struggle with the implications of my initial question. That is to say, he resists the idea that during his youth the adoption of mining was a product of conscious or deliberate choice. Instead, he presents the world of the *garimpo* as always already integral to his existence, positioning his absorption into this environment as natural to the rhythms of his everyday life. Contrasting directing with descriptions of mining as violent and destructive, in Bruno's account the *garimpo* emerges as an arena for free, uncomplicated being—a strangely elusive, yet distinctly familiar social environment.

Also structuring Bruno's account was a suggestion that it was through sensuous and habitual engagement with the world of the *garimpo* that he first gained a sense of his place in the world.[14] In characterising the nature of his early involvement in mining work, significant emphasis was placed on the frequency and regularity of his contact with this environment and on the sense of belonging produced through these interactions. As a boy, he accompanied his father to the mine and, as such, the point at which play became learning, and learning became work was not easy to identify:

Sarah:	Então, quando foi que você começou a garimpar?
Bruno:	Olha, eu (.) eu tinha (.) porra, eu tinha, como posso esquecer isso? (.) eu tinha (.) sei lá, uns doze anos quando comecei realmente trabalhar [strikes his palm repeatedly] sabe, mas como já te disse sempre acompanhava meu pai, sabe.
Sarah:	Sempre ia com ele?
Bruno:	É, meu pai ia pro-pro-pro garimpo e eu estava lá. Então, se precisar pegar alguma coisa, eu ia lá e pegava, sabe. Mas não (.) não (.) ou eu ia até mesmo lá em César. Aí se precisava fazer alguma coisa, ou montar uma bica ou fazer alguma coisa, uma corrida, alguma coisa, então, eu ia e fazia. Mesmo antes de estar realmente trabalhando. Então, é difícil dizer quando realmente iniciei.
Sarah:	É, e foi teu pai que te ensinou como garimpar?
Bruno:	Uhh acho que não (.) não-não (.) acho que não, porque sim, e não. É aquela historia, cê vê uma pessoa fazendo uma coisa e se acaba aprendendo, entendeu. Mas não necessa-não necessariamente nesse mesmo tempo cê faz. Você viu fazendo, então, quando cê precisa fazer você já sabe como é, não é? Mas não necessariamente: "vem cá, vou lhe ensinar como é e tal".
Sarah:	Foi olhando que aprendeu?

[14] Drawing on the work of Bourdieu, Casey (2001) has argued that it is the habitus that brings together place and self. As he writes 'habitus is a middle term between place and self—and in particular, between lived place and geographical self. The self is constituted by a core of habitudes that incorporate and continue, at both psychical and physical levels, what one has experienced in particular places' (686).

Bruno: Meu pai e todos os outros. Porque aqui, garimpo era pra tudo o que era lado, entendeu. Para quem ficava aqui [na cidade], não ... mas para mim que andei, que andava essa serra, então, cê parava aqui, aí cê está parado aqui, o garimpo está ali, e cê para aqui e começa jogar conversa fora com o garimpeiro, que não sei que: "que tem um garimpo lá, que tem o garimpo de serra onde? alguém esta com diamantes, que vou ir lá que vou fazer isso, vou fazer aquilo" e "olha, pega esse negocio para mim!" Sabe, é assim: "você quer tomar um cafezinho?" "vamos tomar um cafezinho!" "Vamos tomar um cafezinho!" então você-

Sarah: -acaba-

Bruno: -um garimpeiro está aqui outro está ali, então (..) eu estava sempre no meio, então, você me falar: "ah como foi?" é difícil de explicar [Bruno, 05/11/2012, Lençóis].[ix]

In accounting for his gradual absorption into the world of mining work, Bruno attributes this process a sense of natural coherence and an internal logic. As he recalls, as he began to explore the *serra* (hills)–a space marked and gendered male–he engaged with the world of other men and became incorporated into a way of life that gave him purpose and a sense of belonging. In this context, he places emphasis on the fact that the process of learning to labour required little conscious effort, his body incorporating practical mastery of mining skills through simply being there.[15] For Bruno, it was within this landscape that life first took shape, the mine coconstitutive of his sense of self-identity (Casey, 1996, 2001).

In the reflections so far discussed, Bruno draws deeply felt connections to the place of the mine. Presented as coextensive with the mining landscape, notions of self and belonging are gathered together and made meaningful in the act of remembering time spent at the mine.[16] While mining has long ceased to play a role in sustaining his daily existence, there is a suggestion that it remains integral to self-understanding. In this sense, following Leyshon and Bull (2011), I suggest that we begin to gain a sense of how memory constitutes not only a form of representation but also a creative process, through which the individual is attempts to 'reconcile their notions of identity with the undeniable reality of personal change' (164).

Another of my interviewees, César, also spoke of his sense of self-identity as firmly rooted in the Chapada's hills. Little more than five years older than Bruno, César had spent a number of years working in a mechanized mining encampment

[15] Here I draw on Bourdieu's (1990) description of the acquisition of the habitus as a process of incorporation; one that takes place below the level of conciousness (73). As he writes 'what is "learned by body" is not something that one has, like knowledge that can be brandished, but something that one is' (73).

[16] Here I draw on the notion that memory is an active and creative process, integral to meaning making (Leyshon and Bull, 2011; see also Jones and Garde-Hansen, 2012; Jones, 2012).

before its closure in the late 1990s. As he saw it, exposure to this milieu had awoken a desire, a kind of *vicio* (addiction) for *garimpagem* that had left indelible marks on the formation of his subjectivity. Presenting himself as a natural creature of the world of the *garimpo,* César regaled in the telling of stories of how, following the end of *garimpo de draga,* he had set about learning the skills and techniques of his *antepasados* (forefathers):

> [o velho garimpeiro] me contava de riqueza, me contava de riqueza, que ele pegou muito diamante (.) um velhinho com cabelo todo branquinho, meio parece comigo ... Então, esse velho aí, que eu conheci, ele é um dos garimpeiros daqui que sabe de tudo do baixo do chão, ele fazia, ele-ele-ele fazia um mapeamento lá, a gente fazia um mapa assim na mão, e eu ia lá e tava tudo do mesmo jeito. Eu peguei muito diamante com isso (.) e nisso aí, eu aprendei trabalhar facilmente, fácil, fácil [César, 06/08/2012, Lençóis].[x]

Hailing this old *garimpeiro's* profound sensitivity for the landscape in which he worked, César aligns himself with a legion of men collectively esteemed as masters of their trade. Describing the process by which he came to incorporate the tacit knowledge this man possessed, he attributes his successful accomplishment of these skills a sense of enduring value. In partnership with this *garimpeiro,* he too became a *mestre* (master) of artisanal mining, a status that César went on to suggest had brought him significant notoriety:

> E nesse meio aí, foi ele que me ensinou, e aí, eu fiquei um mestre, um mestre, aqui cê pode perguntar para muita gente que me conhece, monte de gente, que me conhece e viu meu trabalho [César, 06/08/2012, Lençóis].[xi]

In constructing the narrative of his own life story, César repeatedly invested in the place of the mine as constitutive of not only his sense of identity but also his sense of self-worth. Assuming a socially disparaged identity, Cesar is involved in resignifying dominant representations of what it means to be *garimpeiro*, reaffirming positive conceptions of the self.

Constructing an image of themselves as deeply imbricated in the world of the *garimpo,* I would suggest that it may be fruitful to consider the storied accounts of both Bruno and César in light of what Mitch Rose (2006) has conceptualized as 'the movement of care'; that is to say, as expressing an orientation towards attachment, a desire to shield, nurture or protect a particular modality of being-in-the-world (446). Tethering their identities to the world of the *garimpo,* I would suggest that, for these men, the mining landscape continues to orient and anchor ideas of who they are and where they belong (Rose, 2006). As Bruno emphatically stated, 'I was there everyday, y'know, I was close-by, I entered among it, I was there within that atmosphere'

[Bruno, ex-miner, 05/11/2012]. In the face of considerable change and incertitude, their narratives registers a movement towards or "dream of presence"; that is, an 'active desire to mark the world and orient becoming in the face of alterity and the anxious emptiness it presents' (Rose, 2006: 547). For both Bruno and César, the mining landscape continues to gather memories, stories and meaning, registering a desire for continuity, for coincidence in the face of change (Rose, 2006).

6.3.2 Mining and emotion

In providing an anchor for belonging, stable ground for the reinterpretation of lived subjectivities, it also became clear that remembered experiences of the mining landscape held deep emotional resonance. For many of the men I spoke to, there was a sense that prevailing attachment to mining was rooted in memories of their emotional response to the place of the mine; that is to say, in memories of how they were *affected* by their presence in this landscape.[17] In this section, I explore the emotional and affective dimensions of mining work as described to me by my interviewees and question what motivates continued attachment to the place of the mine.

In characterising their emotional attachment to the mining landscape, it became apparent that, for many local men, this was an environment that had once exerted powerful *affects* on their sense of self. Working in the *garimpo* figured not only as a means of subsistence, nor solely as the basis for understanding being in the world, but also played a central role in the emotional and psychical lives of interviewees. The *garimpo* did something to the subject; it healed psychological suffering, it rendered lives meaningful and it offered direction and purpose to those adrift in the world. Luciano, now a health worker, emphasised that entry into the world of mechanised mining had marked a turning point, enabling him to put an end to an existence marked by idleness and inactivity, in favour of a *rumo* (path/direction) that gave his life structure and meaning [23/10/2012, Lençóis]. For this individual, life in the mine had been a kind of therapy, remedying his dependency on alcohol and guarding him from

[17] In his phenomenological account of place, Edward Casey (2001) writes of the 'impressionism of place' (688). For Casey, 'places come to us lastingly', they linger in us, and this lingering is constituted most powerfully by the memory of how its felt to be in the presence of a certain place (688). Similarly, geographers Jones and Garde-Hansen (2012) argue that for the central role of memory, emotion and imagination in shaping experiences of the geographical self (see also Jones, 2012). For these authors, past affective remain as embers that smoulder, influencing our ongoing becoming (15). In this section, I draw on the work of these authors to explore how the emotions of remembered places endure and how these emotions acquire new meaning in relation to experiences of the present.

further social and economic precarisation. In similar terms, David, the son of a manual miner, also spoke of what he observed as his father's emotional reliance on the mine:

> Sarah: Seu pai gostava de garimpar?
> David: Gostava, gostava mesmo, era a diversão dele (..) era a diversão dele, quando ele não ia na serra ficava doente, era, não dormia direito ... tinha que estar lá [08/11/2012, Lençóis].[xii]

In the eyes of the child, periods spent away from the *garimpo* caused his father physical and psychological distress. Presented as integral to both his health and his happiness, his presence in the hills emerges as an essential requisite of his emotional well-being. Articulated in these terms, we begin to gain a sense of the extent to which the inner lives of working men were believed to have been enfolded with the world of the *garimpo*.

Echoing the tone of the narratives discussed above, enduring engagement with the world of the *garimpo* also seemed to be rooted in memories of how it felt to be within this space. In the narratives of my interviewees, the mine emerged as a site of positive affect, and proximity to and encounters within this place were granted the capacity to modify both states of the body and states of the mine (Ahmed, 2004, 2010). In the following extract, Bruno describes to me the sensation of working beneath the earth as a manual miner:

> Bruno: Então, eu trabalhei em garimpo de serra e (..) muito tempo (.) e o garimpo que eu trabalhei (.) ainda não era no sol, era subterrâneo.
> Sarah: Ah é?
> Bruno: É, e para mim, sinceramente, era prazeroso, estar ali dentro, sabe. Lá dentro você, seu caminho era, assim, você não enxergava um palmo a sua frente. Era uma sensação, né (.) que não da para explicar. Tem essa questão de-do (.) querer pegar (.) do dinheiro que pode vir (.) de um tamanho que você desconhece … Bom, eu nunca fiquei rico, né. Peguei diamante na época, mas todo dia eu bebia muita cachaça, sinceramente. Bom, mas não fiquei rico [laughs] e (.) mas (.) depois, ficou um hobby, sabe. Eu vinha e estudava, eu trabalhava durante o dia e estudava durante a noite, e todo tempo que eu tinha ... eu ia pro garimpo. Porque é (.) lá é uma liberdade que (.) que não tem (..) que é inexpli- em realidade, não da para explicar. Imagine ... eu saia, trabalhava garimpo aqui, entendeu, e voltava aqui e a cachoeira estava ali ... o feijão estava ali cozinando, blublublu, e o trabalho que eu tinha era só ir lá, olhar para a panela, e ver se estava cozinhando, sabe ... O povo fala: "ah, quê trabalho pesado!" ... mas isso é para quem vê, mas para quem faz, não! Para mim, é mais pesado estar num computador ali do que lá
> Sarah: Trabalho gostoso?
> Bruno: Sim prazeroso demais [05/11/2012, Lençóis].[xiii]

In this extract, Bruno relates his prevailing attachment to the world of the *garimpo* to memories of its capacity to evoke feelings of pleasure and freedom. Recalling the

changing moods and sensations of his body as he moved within this space, his narrative can be read as an attempt to capture, and attribute meaning to, how he was touched by what he was near (Ahmed, 2010: 30). In his account there is a sense that memories of these past affective states remain central to self-understanding, playing an active role in the constitution of his lived relationships with the social world.[18] Moreover, expressing a deep sense of loss and melancholia for this past life, there is a suggestion that memories of time spent within the mine remain more familiar and enjoyable, more stable and comforting; that is, as Ruti (2005) writes 'more viscerally compelling than the experience of his actual life' (646).

Mirroring the account provided by Bruno, Cesar also offered a similarly vivid description of 'the feeling of what happens' (Damasio, 1999) when you find a diamond for the first time:

> No dia que você for pegar em um (.) você vai sentir a vibração de você tocar em ele, e você fica com aquela lembrança dentro do seu celebro, aquele brilho que você viu lá, fica lá dentro. Parece que teve uma foto, fica aquela imagem, dentro da sua cabeça (.) Se você tiver, como eu estou te dizendo, que nunca pegou um diamante, e vive numa situação completamente difícil, e você encontra um (.) você não vai querer largar aquilo mais nunca num dia da sua vida! (.) é a ilusão de muito gente [César, 06/08/2012, Lençóis].[xiv]

For César, the sensation of touching a diamond is not only felt but retained in the body of the miner. According to his description, the diamond emits an affective intensity that, upon discovery, permeates the surface of the skin, leaving a lasting imprint on the psyche. Provoking feelings of joy and elation, the experience leaves an affective trace, motivating deep-rooted commitment to the place of the mine. Articulated in these terms the experience of mining emerges as visceral and immediate yet also productive, situating and potentially transformative (Watkins, 2010). Far from fleeting or ephemeral, affect emerges as that which is leaves a residue, accumulating and 'forming dispositions' and thus 'shaping subjectivities' (Watkins, 2010: 269; see also Ahmed, 2004, 2010).[19]

Yet, there is an added complexity. As César suggests, the positive affective states generated through engagement with the world of the *garimpo* were not spontaneous but contingent, conditioned by the individual's attachment to a particular

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[18] Here I draw on the work of Sarah Ahmed (2004). In her model of emotion, she suggests that emotions are involved in the constitution of our lived relationships with the social world, that they engender attachments and they connect us to others (10, 208). In Bruno's statement there is a suggestion that the emotions he experienced in the mine were central to the shaping of his subjectivity.

[19] Here I draw on Watkin's (2010) suggestion that affect should not be regarded as fleeting, but as intimately involved in forming dispositions and shaping subjectivities.

dream or illusion. Mining required that the subject invest in and, to some extent, live out the fantasy that mining could, one day, make them rich:

> Agora o garimpo, é isso, sabe. Tinha aquela paixão ... Era uma coisa muito ilusória, pela seguinte razão, além de você gostar daquilo, entendeu, e de você precisar daquilo para poder viver, que é o que você faz, o que você aprendeu fazer e você gosta de fazer aquilo, ele alimenta também um sonho, sabe, de você pegar um diamante lá ou *vá*rios diamantes, pegava um mão de diamante naquela época, durante o garimpo de catra ... Hoje, no turismo, não libera o mesmo que liberava antes, era muito sonho, muito sonho, muito sonho. Nossa! E então, o garimpeiro ele ele-ele ganhava m*ui*to dinheiro e sempre imaginava que ia conseguir mais, que ia ficar rico [Bruno, 05/11/2012, Lençóis].[xv]

This description suggests that the subject's engagement with the world of mining was not only shaped by necessity but also by desire; that is to say, the inclination to believe that the miner would always find more diamonds.[20] In this regard, Bruno seems to suggest that, as well as needing and wanting to work, his actions were also motivated by a less tangible force; a feeling of anticipation rooted in the imagining of other possible futures and other possible worlds. As yet unequalled by his experiences of working in the tourism industry, it was this sense of potentiality that fuelled his labour in the mine. As he goes on to describe:

> É como se, olha, como se (.) como se tivesse vendo um tesouro aqui, entendeu? Um palmo da sua mão, e você vai e arranca aquele pedaço de cascalho ali, ou remove ou que for, e alcança aquilo mais. É como se seu padrão está mais a frente, e se tá mais a frente, ele te leva, entendeu? a você ir sempre uhh além uhh e-e-e-e mexe com a imaginação do-da pessoa que trabalha, enche de esperança, e aí, muito, né, ainda quando se ta-tá-tá-tá (.) tá pobre [laughs] tá-tá-tá fraco de grana, e precisa desesperadamente, então, você trabalha mais ainda, e cada palmo que você vai, entendeu, alimenta aquilo outro (.) é isso. [Bruno, 05/11/2012, Lençóis].[xvi]

The illusion of wealth messes with the imagination of the miner, filling him with hope and feeding his desire to return to the mine.

However, herein lies a central paradox. The promise of wealth, while experienced and remembered as liberating, was also suffered by the subject. As the term *ilusório* (illusive) suggests, the object of desire was elusive and deceitful, always just out of reach. Ultimately, all interviewees recognised the improbability of finding a diamond capable of transforming their lives. The miner, thus, 'lives with a constant frustration' and sustained solely by lingering hope, ends up 'living off his dreams' [Bruno, 05/11/2012, Lençóis].

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[20] Ahmed (2010) has argued that 'to be affected "in a good way" involves an orientation towards something as being good'; an orientation that imbues certain objects with the means for making us happy, with the promise of that which is not yet present (32-34).

So, the question remains, what are my interviewees really investing in? What explains continued attachment to or orientation towards the illusionary wealth of the mine? I would suggest that, in many cases, interviewees positioned their faith in these dreams as equally rewarding than the actual possibility that they could one day be realised. Enduring attachment to a life of mining seemed to be closely related to how local men understood their place in the socio-economic structure. As Felipe explains:

> É a única oportunidade de (.) um fraco, um fraco, falo, alguém da minha classe social, se ascender, assim. Porque o sistema não da a oportunidade para um se tornar rico, não sem sendo ladrão, sabe disso? E o garimpo é essa ilusão, que qualquer um pode ficar rico [Felipe, 20/11/2012, Lençóis].[xvii]

The illusion of the *garimpo* was that those at the very bottom, those *pobre* or *fraco de grana* (poor or hard-up), could enjoy moments of wealth and social status—an illusion brutally extinguished in the transition to the tourism economy. The *garimpo* functions, in this respect, as an egalitarian space, and retains affective value as an environment in which the subject was able to expand the possibilities of his existence, and at least momentarily, invert the structures of power. Moreover, while this transformative potential may never have been fully realized in material terms, it is lived out emotionally and psychically by the subject, in practice and in memory work:

> Não tem coração que resista, você passa a peneira assim, e vê o bicho brilhando lá dentro, e você sabe que ali, você ta ganhando cinco mil dentro de um instante. Não tem-não tem nenhuma explicação para isso aí. A explicação para isso aí é o coração batendo, no exato momento que você acaba de encontrar, o coração, já muda tudo! Você não sente mais dor. É tanto que, o diamante, eu-eu-eu-eu tenho uma coisa dentro de mim, que eu acredito que, é isso, a gente, tamos trabalhando no garimpo, o tempo todo sentindo muita dor, porque é um serviço que a gente trabalha muito abaixada, e no exato momento que cê pega um diamante parece que [deep inhalation of breath] que cê tomou um dorflex, acabou, você não sente mais nada, cê fica assim, do jeito que nós estamos aqui, sem sentir dor, a energia do diamante já está em você ... é serio mesmo, eu já prestei atenção mas de vinte vezes de eu estar morrendo de trabalho, não agüento mais: "hoje não vou mais fazer nada, só vou lavar só esse ultimo ali, que eu não quero mexer mais com garimpo hoje". E aí: "o meu Deus do Céu!". E agora, não consigo parar, e fico até de noite trabalhando, eu lavo o outro e o restante do outro [uninteligible – laughing] e nem senti a hora que eu lavei aquilo todo [César, 06/08/2012, Lençóis].[xviii]

As César recalls, the promise of transgressing social and economic boundaries, symbolised by the diamond, was experienced, quite literally, as a transformation in the self. Finding a stone was like taking a painkiller; it altered embodied modes of perception and the subject experienced discontinuity with the actions and experiences of the body. That is, the lived experience of pain, induced by his *serviço muito abaixado* (lowly service), were erased and the historical conditions of his embodied existence was momentarily transcended. The *garimpo* emerges, in this respect, as a

place marked by risk and desire, an alternative place of promise and suffering, that, in offering the possibility social and economic transformation, retains enduring meaning.[21]

It is here that we begin to uncover the creative potential of these narratives. For Bruno and César, mining remains a kind of 'unrealized or idealized potential',[22] attachment rooted not in memories of what was, but in imaginings of what could or might have been. In the narratives of these individuals, a life of mining represented freedom, self-determination and the promise of escape; a mode of existence that contrasts starkly with the experiences of their actual life.[23] Working against dominant narratives of transformation and progress, these personal accounts open up a space for the articulation of alternative conceptions of life, labour and subjectivity (see also Shukla, 2010). [24]

6.4 Concluding remarks

In this chapter, I have explored personal memories of economic transition, focusing on the nature of local men's attachment to a life of mining. As my analysis has demonstrated, the paralysation of mining activities continues to be remembered as a profoundly traumatic event, one that inflicted devastating blows on the intelligibility of local subjectivities. Entering into tension with dominant representations of economic shift, these personal narratives highlight the pain and suffering caused in the wake of government interventions and point to the unresolved and conflicted status of local processes of political economic transformation.

This chapter's contribution to the overall argument of this thesis stems from its focus on subjectivity as a site of critical potential. Over the course of my discussions, I have demonstrated how the dominant impetus for change and transformation is met and resisted by residual cultural formations and self-understandings. As reflected in

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[21] Here I draw on Stewart's (1996b) evocative description of the coalfields of West Virginian. She writes 'imagine the hills as a phantasmagoric dream space—a wild zone beyond the pale that is filled with things dangerous, tragic, surprising, spectacular and eccentric. Imagine how danger and promise mark that space of the hills as a dream world born of contingency and desire' (51). Like the men I interviewed, Stewart (1996b) notes that Appalachian miners also dream of returning to the hills.

[22] The phrase 'unrealized or idealized potential' is from Eng and Kazanjian (2003: 13).

[23] Chapter 7 will explore in greater depth interviewee's descriptions of the nature of life under tourism.

[24] Here Shukla's (2010) work has important implications for my own research. Examining the status of Harlem's pasts in the neoliberal present, she suggests that, in 'forcefully asserting the differences that matter', nostalgia may 'unlock something productive' and 'open up experiences that constitute the place as much by negation as by voice' (191). In this chapter, I identify similar dynamics and argue that stories of the past provide an important space for confronting neoliberal claims.

the narrative accounts of my interviewees, while no longer viable as a means of economic survival, mining remains central to ideas of self and belonging and retains value as a site of 'unrealized and idealized potential' (Eng and Kazanjian, 2003: 13). Marked by a refusal to let go, the accounts of my interviewees work to reclaim the contemporary relevance of the past, creatively challenging the inconsistencies and injustices of the present. Loss and melancholia emerge, in this context, as important resources of creative and critical potential. As Eng and Kazanjian (2003) suggest 'apprehensions and attachments to loss never simply dwell in the past, for the very process of narrativizing loss orients an impulse towards the future' (13).

It is here that we begin see the political limits to the implementation of ecotourism, based in neoliberal principles. As Shukla (2010) has argued, new forms of social and economic organisation do not simply 'wipe the slate clean of long-standing investments' but enter into complex relationships with historical understandings of place and subjectivity. In the final empirical chapter of this thesis, I continue to expand on these discussions, moving on to explore how local men and women feel about life under tourism.

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[i] Suddenly, there was an enormous thud, there was no warning … It was just, pow! It was if they had something tying their legs together, and with great force, they pulled them to the floor, they're going to fall, do you understand me? [Erick, 05/11/2012, Lençóis].

[ii] It was the same thing that happened with slavery. It ended and he was left [*garimpeiro/* slave] with no education (.) the *garimpeiro,* without knowledge, the *garimpeiro* couldn't find anything else to do, and he was left paralyzed, left in the corner, forgotten, you see, he was already quite old, and well, what normally happens is you think: "well, I haven't achieved anything in life, I didn't study, I don't have anything" and then you hit the *cachaça* [sugarcane spirit], drugs (.) you feel vilified [Junior, 06/10/2012, Lençóis].

[iii]

Sarah: And how was it for you when it [mining] ended?
José: Umm, it was bad, you know, gosh, until I got used it.
Sarah: Do you remember the day that you left the mine? How was it?
José: I remember, I remember as if it were yesterday. Well, we were working, and well, they just started, gosh, the police arrived, they even attacked some of our work mates. I, myself, didn't do anything like that (.) aggression (.) I didn't do anything, but some of our workmates they (..) they arrived-they arrived [the police] in such a way, like, as if (.) [as if] we were, I don't know, as if we were doing something wrong. And we weren't. Everyone was just working! They arrived in such a brutal way (.) and it wasn't necessary all that. No-one was a criminal, everyone was worker, y'know, everyone was working (.) it was our way of-of-of being able to maintain our families … So, it wasn't necessary for the police to arrive the way they did, right, they could have gone about it differently, y'know [03/09/2012, Lençóis]

[iv] I wasn't there, but they closed it [o *garimpo*] down there. Lots of people came, it was something like, it seemed like a war, everyone armed thinking that the *garimpeiros* was going to resist, really, and well, the *garimpeiros* didn't do a thing. They arrived down there, closed it down, everyone armed, y'know, they came, and they went down there. You know where the Mercado is? There, in that part of the river, there were mining encampments. But the miners didn't do a thing. Also, they say that they ordered

them to, they ordered them to lie down and they walked on top of them, well, they did so many things that were wrong. And they also say, I never saw, but they there was one guy armed that stood in the middle of the *garimpeiros,* to film them, so he could say what a *garimpeiro* was like, and our guys shouted: "look here, aren't you ashamed? Don't do something like that!" But the *garimpeiro* he didn't take any action [Carlos, 10/08/2012, Lençóis]

[v] Everyone had some remark, some comment to make about the *garimpeiro* … But who was this *garimpeiro*? Y'know? … Everyone was a *garimpeiro* but no one was that *garimpeiro* [Felipe, 20/11/2012, Lençóis].

[vi]

Felipe: In 97, my grandfather very nearly had a heart attack
Sarah: Really?
Felipe: Because there was, back then, a lot of pressure from people involved in tourism for mining to end, y'know.
Sarah: Oh really?
Felipe: Yeah really. So, my grandfather, he must have been seventy, or almost seventy back then, or maybe eighty, and he suffered a stroke, just because he went up into the hills near Barro Branco with some cement to make a dam, so he would have somewhere to wash his cascalho, and when he got there, they had knocked it down, y'know. I remember it was that Argentinean guy, what's his name? The one who works for the fire brigade? So, in the brigade, they had a really twisted view of mining, because manual mining was seen as if–as if it were responsible for the wildfires, y'know. For the death of little animals. Because generally those guys hunt, you see?
Sarah: So your grandfather … he went there and he saw they had knocked it down?
Felipe: Yeah!
Sarah: And he had a heart attack?
Felipe: He had a heart attack, he died two years later more or less, it left him bad [20/11/2012, Lençóis].

[vii] My father was born by the side of a *gruna* (subterranean mine) (.) basically mining was his soul, his whole life was bas- was based in the mine [Flavio, 15/08/2012, Lençóis].

[viii]

Sarah: Did you always expect to work in mine?
Bruno: Look here, I don't know what to-to tell you, because (.) I was working (.) that-that was what mattered, it was what I wanted to do at that time, y'know. I always thought (.) that I would be close to the mine, y'know. I grew up in the street, at the weekend if I had nothing to do, the same way I'd go fishing, y'know, I'd go to the mine. I used to do that, not even to work, I'd arrive there, put some beans on the fire and stay there with my feet in the air, y'know, chatting a bit and watching the landscape [05/11/2012, Lençóis].

[ix]

Sarah: So when was it that you started to mine?
Bruno: Look here, I (.) I was (.) damn, I was, how could I forget this? (.) I was (.) who knows, about twelve when I started to really work [strikes his palm repeatedly] y'know, but like I told you, I always went with my father, y'know.
Sarah: You always went with him?
Bruno: Yeah, my father would go to-to-to the mine and I would be there. So, if he ever needed me to get him something, I would go and get it, y'know. But not (.) not (.) or I'd go to Cesar's place. And if he needed me to do anything, help him make a dam or anything like that, a stream, anything, I'd go and do it. Even before I was really working. So, it's difficult to say when I really began.
Sarah: Ok, and was it your father who taught you to mine?
Bruno: Humm, I don't think so, no-no, I don't think so, well yes, and no. It's that story of you see someone doing something and you end up learning, y'know. But it's not necessarily in that very moment that you do it. You've seen it, so when it comes to it, you already know how, right? But it's not necessarily a question of: "come here, I am going to teach you"

Sarah: So, it was through watching that you learned?
Bruno: My father and all the others. Because here, mines were everywhere, y'know. For those who stayed here [in the city] no … but for someone like me, who walked, who used to walk these hills, you would stop, and while you were stopped, there would be a mine just over there, and you would chat with the miner, I dunno what: "there is a mine there, where is an artisanal mine? Whose got diamonds, I'm going to go there to do that or this" or "look, could you get that thing for me". Y'know, it,s like that: "would you like a coffee?" "let's have a coffee" " let's have a coffee" so you
Sarah: -end up
Bruno: -there's one miner here and another over there, and so (..) I was always in the middle of it. So, for you to ask me: "how was it?" it's difficult to explain [Bruno, 05/11/2012, Lençóis].

[x] [The old miner] he told me about riches, he told me about riches, about how he found lots of diamonds (.) an old man with white hair, who kinda looked like me … So, this old man that I met, he was one of those miners who knew everything there was to know about what went on beneath the earth, he would do, he-he-he would draw a map there, we would draw a map like this on our hands, and I would go down there and it was always exactly as he had said. I found lots of diamonds that way (.) and at the same time, I learnt to work easily, easy, easy [César, 06/08/2012, Lençóis].

[xi] So, it was it that way that he taught me, and so, I became a master, a master, you can ask anyone who knows me, anyone who knows me and has seen my work [César, 06/08/2012, Lençóis].

[xii]

Sarah: Your father liked to mine?
David: Yeah, he liked it, he liked it a lot, it was his distraction (.) it was his distraction, when he didn't go to the hills he'd get sick, yeah, he didn't sleep properly … he had to be there [08/11/2012, Lençóis].

[xiii]

Bruno: So, I worked as an artisanal miner (.) for a long time (.) and the kind of mining I did, it wasn't on the surface, it was beneath the earth.
Sarah: Oh really?
Bruno: Yeah, and for me, honestly it was gratifying, to be down there, y'know. Down there you, the path was like, you couldn't see more than a hands width in front of you. It was a sensation, y'know (.), that's indescribable. There's that question of-of-of (.) wanting to find it (.) of the money that could come to you (.) the size of which you can't imagine … Well, I never got rich, y'know. I found lots of diamonds back then, but I drank lots of cachaça, honestly. So, well, I never got rich [laughs] and (.) but (.) later, it became more of a hobby, y'know. I'd come and study, I'd work during the day and study at the night, and any free time I had, … I'd go to the mine. Because, well (.) there you have a kind of freedom that (.) that's (.) impossible to describe—in truth, it's impossible to describe. Imagine … I'd got out and work in the mine, y'know, and I'd come back here and the waterfall was just there … the beans were there cooking, blublublu, and all I had to do was just watch the pan, and make sure it was cooking (.) People say: "oh, it's back-breaking work!" … but this is for those watch, for those who do it it's not! For me, it's more like hard work to be in front of a computer here [in the city] than up there.
Sarah: It's enjoyable work?
Bruno: Yes, so gratifying [05/11/2012, Lençóis].

[xiv] The day that you find one (.) you'll feel a vibration when you touch it, and that memory will stay in your head, that light that you saw, it stays with you. As if had a photo, it stays with you, inside your head (.) That's if, like I said, if you've never found a diamond before, and you living in a difficult situation, and you find one (.) you're never going to want to leave ever again! (.) And this is the illusion that lots of people have [César, 06/08/2012, Lençóis].

[xv] So, mining, it like this, y'know. It had a kind of passion … It was something really magical, because, as well as liking it, y'know, and needing it to live, it's what you do, what you learnt to do, and you like to do it, it also feeds a kind of dream, y'know, that you might find a diamond or various diamonds,

back then you'd find handfuls of diamonds, during mechanised mining … Today tourism doesn't give as much as it gave before, it was a dream, a real dream, lots of dreams! Damn! And so, the miner he-he-he earned lots of money, and he always imagined that he'd get more, that he'd get rich [Bruno, 05/11/2012, Lençóis].

[xvi] It's as if (.) as if you were seeing a treasure just here, y'know? Just in front of you, and so you grab that piece of gravel there, or sieve it around or whatever, and you push a little further, and-and-and it messes with the imagination of the worker, it fills him with hope, even more when you're poor [laughs] or you-re-re-re hard up, and you desperately need it, so, you work a little bit more and each step you take, y'know, it feeds the circle [Bruno, 05/11/2012, Lençóis].

[xvii] It's the only opportunity for (.) a *fraco* [someone weak as in poor], and by *fraco* I mean someone from my social class, to rise up. Because the system doesn't give you the opportunity of becoming rich, not unless you become a thief, y'know? And mining it's this dream, that anyone can get rich [Felipe, 20/11/2012, Lençóis].

[xviii] There isn't a heart that can resist it, you move the pan like this, and you see that little creature shinning in there, and you know that there, you're earning five thousand in an instant. There's no-there's no explanation for that. The only explanation is your heart beating, in that exact moment that you find it, your heart, everything changes! You don't feel anymore pain. I have something inside me that I believe that, we work in the mine, all the time feeling lots of pain, because we work most of the time bent over, and in the exact moment that your hand touches a diamond it seems like [deep inhalation of breath] you took a pain killer, it's over and you don't feel anything anymore, just the way we are now, without feeling pain, the energy of the diamond is inside you already … really, i'm serious, on more than twenty occasions I was dying from work, I couldn't bear it anymore: "today I'm not going to do anymore". And then: "my god". And now, I can't stop and I stay working into the night, I wash the rest and what's left of the other [uninteligible – laughing] and I don't even notice that I'm doing it [César, 06/08/2012, Lençóis].

Chapter 7

Narratives of Contestation and Critique

7.1 Introduction

In this chapter, I build upon discussions of local responses to economic restructuring, focusing on descriptions of how it feels to live and work under tourism. In chapters 4 and 5 of this thesis, I demonstrated how government interventions in the region have worked to shape, regulate and manage the conduct and aspirations of the local population, creating the material circumstances for the imposition of a certain narrative about what is possible in the region in terms of development. However, this dominant framing did not go uncontested. As Jonathon Inda (2005) writes, 'while governmental practices might seek to create specific kinds of subjects, it does not mean that they necessarily or completely succeed in doing so. Individuals can and do negotiate the processes to which they are subjected' (11). It is thus that, in this final empirical chapter, I turn my attention to how local people account for, respond to and contest recent transformations to their lives and livelihoods, and reflect on the manner in which they are seeking to redefine their relationship to the new economic order.

Crucially, in this chapter, I focus in on the creative possibilities afforded by the ways in which individuals think and speak about their everyday experiences of living and working under tourism. I am interested in how, through the act of narration, people are actively involved in rescripting and renegotiating their relationships to the social world (McNay, 2000; Somers and Gibson, 1994). Over the course of my discussions, I hope to convey the extent to which local men and women demonstrate critical insight into the contradictions of local development programming. That is, following Li (2007b), I seek to capture how 'some of the more incisive critiques of improvement are generated by people who directly experience the effects of programs launched in the name of their well-being' (2). Exploring the manner in which they engage with neoliberal reasoning in new and creative ways, I am interested in how

local people are able to 'act on the world even as they are acted upon' (Ortner, 2005: 34).[1] In doing so, this chapter sheds further light on the political limits to the implementation of ecotourism based on neoliberal principles, contributing further to the development of an account of subjectivity that acknowledges local people as active in the transformation of meaning (McNay, 2000).

This chapter is divided into four sections. The first two sections focus on interviewees' accounts of the subjective experiencing of life and labour under tourism. Here I explore the sensations of apprehension, resentment, worry and anxiety that marked descriptions of tourism related changes. In the second two sections, I move on to consider how people are beginning to act on and creatively challenge changes to the material circumstances of their lives. I begin with a consideration of local men's refusal of waged labour and end with an examination of the call to readdress the economic potential of the mining past.

7.2 Life under tourism: precarity

As I boarded the bus to Lençóis in June 2012, it occurred to me that there were few "tourists" amongst my fellow passengers. It was the month of São João and while these particular festivities attract more Brazilian than international tourists, the majority of passengers appeared to be locals, returning home from Salvador to spend the holidays with their families. When we arrived in Lençóis there were few guides at the bus station. Those that had turned up for the early morning arrival glanced at the passengers but quickly resumed their conversations; there was nothing of the hustle and bustle I associated with my first visit in 2009. In the weeks that followed, I heard much talk of the difficulty finding and maintaining work in the tourism industry. There was concern for the kind of future that awaited a city dependent on ever-decreasing tourism flows.

In this first section, I consider how local people reflected on the impacts of tourism related changes on their lives and livelihoods and explore how precarity is experienced in everyday life. During the months I spent conducting fieldwork in Lençóis, I came to expect a daily commentary on the number of tourists in the city; while anticipation marked periods of *alta* (high season), apprehension and worry

[1] See section 2.3 for a review of my approach to subjectivity and 3.2.1 for a review of my approach to narrative.

prevailed during periods of *baixa* (low season).[2] As I will argue over the proceeding discussions, these emotions and feelings provide an important lens for exploring how local people understand and relate to the impact of the transition to tourism on their lives and subjectivities.

7.2.1 "This tourism of ours is in decline"[3]

As local people reflected upon the nature of their daily lives in the new economy, many spoke with a sense of uneasiness about what they regarded as the failed promises of tourism development. Talk of improved lives and greater opportunities had yet to materialise and there was growing cynicism regarding tourism's ability to adequately address all social and environmental ills. The local economy, I was told, was *decadente*[4] (in decline) and belief in the long-term sustainability of the tourism industry was significantly eroded. For many of those I spoke to, the future seemed increasingly uncertain; the lives of the local population ruled by the contingency of tourism's ebb and flow:

> Caio: Então, hoje a gente vive do turismo, basicamente, 80% das pessoas, mas, assim, o garimpo manual, eu acho que deveria existir
> Sarah: Você acha?
> Caio: Eu acho. Porque uma cidade que tem uma economia só, como a cidade de Lençóis, só turismo, temos turismo em Lençóis, a gente respira turismo, só que é um turismo desorganizado, e se esse turismo viera cair, viera desaparecer, acabou! Todo mundo tem que vender as suas casas, todo mundo fica desempregado, e vai para onde? Vai para a cidade grande, vai viver nas favelas. Então, isso é muito complicado, uma cidade como Lençóis ter uma fonte de renda só, é *muito* precário! Então, precisa repensar nesse modelo de vida que a gente leva em Lençóis, será que vale a pena ter uma economia só? [04/09/2012, Lençóis].[i]

Expressing apprehension about what the future might bring, Caio questions the exclusive focus on tourism as a vehicle for local development. With the vast majority of the population reliant on an industry he views as fundamentally unstable, he describes the conditions of living and working in Lençóis as deeply precarious. In his

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[2] In his examination of the situation of precarious workers in Italy, Mole (2010) reflects on significance neoliberalism as 'an object of emotionally charged apprehension and anticipation' (39). This argument is linked his suggestion that being a precariat 'is an ontological claim that exceeds economy typology and becomes a way of identifying subjects' classed position and psychic interiorities' (38). For Mole, understanding how neoliberalism is lived requires a consideration of affective and psychic processes that underlie is discrete manifestations. A sense of how people felt about life under tourism and how this impacted their subjectivity is something that I hope to convey over the course of my analysis.

[3] Interview extract [Caio, 04/09/2012, Lençóis].

[4] Local people also used the word "decadente" to describe the mining economy for much of the latter half of the 20th century. They also drew parallels between the decline of the mining industry and the decline of the tourism industry. Tourism, they said, was becoming a kind of *garimpo*.

view, in light of tourism's failure to secure the lives and livelihoods of the city's most vulnerable, there is a need to re-examine possible economic alternatives.

This description is, I would suggest, particularly suggestive and demands brief consideration of recent work on precarity. Since the early 2000s, the concept of precarity has received ample attention, both as an object of academic analysis and as a trigger for social activism (see Lorey, 2010; Neilson and Rossiter, 2008). As Neilson and Rossiter (2008) highlight in their influential re-imagining of the concept, debates on precarity first emerged in Europe in the context of the gradual erosion of the welfare state and in response to the increasing flexibilisation of the labour market. At this point, precarity was conceived as a potential rallying call for mobilisation; the precarious worker imagined as 'a new kind of political subject, replete with their own forms of collective organisation and modes of expression' (52).

However, as this political conceptualisation fed into academic debates, talk on precarity broadened (Neilson and Rossiter, 2008; Giorgi, 2013). Under question was the relative usefulness of the term for describing a condition of exception, linked exclusively to the advent of neoliberalism (see Butler, 2009; Ettlinger, 2007; Giorgi, 2013; Puar, 2012; Neilson and Rossiter, 2005, 2008). Contributing to this revisioning, Neilson and Rossiter (2008) have pointed to the fact that when the perspective on capitalism is widened, both geographically and politically, it is in fact precarity that emerges as the norm and Fordism the exception (54; see also Neilson and Rossiter, 2005).[5] For these authors, precarity is thus better understood as 'an ontological experience and social-economic condition with multiple registers', its discrete manifestations shaped by variations in geocultural and political context (55).

Brazil is, arguably, one such case in which precarity has long been the norm. As Kathleen Millar (2014) argues in her examination of the relationship between precarious life and precarious labour in Rio's urban peripheries, 'though Fordism might have existed as a dream, aspiration, or incomplete project in Brazil … full employment nonetheless remained the exception' (34-35). For Millar (2014), disruption and insecurity both suspend and constitute "normality" for favela inhabitants and she argues that, paradoxically, it is their precarious labour that enables

[5] Isabell Lorey (in Puar 2012) also makes the argument that even within the European context, precarity was only recognised as a crisis when the ordinary contingencies of life for the working classes, began to impact the middle classes (166). Similarly, Ettlinger (2007) argues that precarity has long underscored the lives of countless populations throughout 'Fordism's apparent golden age' (323).

them to contend with this uncertainty (34). In Lençóis, precarity is also 'nothing new'[6] yet I would argue that Caio's critique speaks to a temporally and contextually specific experience of precarity,[7] one linked to recent transformations in the local economy. While the transition to tourism has not introduced precarity into the lives of the city's inhabitants, it has significantly transformed the way in which this condition is understood.

Returning to Caio's description, we see clearly the suggestion that precarity constitutes an ontological condition, linked to, but extending beyond, local experiences of the labour market (Neilson and Rossiter, 2008). His narrative captures a situation in which a sense of uncertainty has come to infuse all aspects of social and economic life (Ettlinger, 2007). Yet, for Caio, there also seems to be something about the nature of the city's dependence on this industry that leaves local inhabitants particularly exposed to harm. Flimsy and insubstantial, life under tourism is governed by risk yet this risk is borne predominantly by the native population who, lacking social safety nets, are more vulnerable to disruptions in the economic sphere. For these individuals, the potential decline of the tourism flows represents the possibility of their further precarisation;[8] their relegation to the peripheries of Brazil's larger urban centres. Emerging thus as a kind of 'looming threat' (Banki, 2013: 450), precarity, in Caio's account, is linked to the organisation of economic and social relationships, indissociable from a certain politics of life (Butler in Puar, 2012: 170; see also Butler, 2004, 2009).

The argument that precarity constitutes an unequally distributed social condition is one made by Judith Butler (2004, 2009; in Puar, 2012). In her book *Frames of War* (2009), Butler advances two interrelated concepts: the first, precariousness, denoting dependency and human vulnerability; and second, precarity, which she describes as a 'politically induced condition in which certain populations suffer from failing social and economic networks of support and become differentially

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[6] This phrase is Lorey's (in Puar, 2012: 165). She uses it in the context of discussions of the concept of precarity.

[7] Here I follow Millar's (2014) suggestion that 'the way that the relationship between precarious labour and precarious life is articulated depends significantly on the specific history of capitalism in a given location, both in sense of geopolitical site and a social position' (35; see also Neilson and Rossiter, 2008) and supplement this argument with the notion that, following Puar (2012), precarity also has a temporal quality, that it is a relation that is constantly shifting (169).

[8] I use this term in the manner suggested by Butler (2009, 2012). For Butler (in Puar, 2012) precarisation denotes an ongoing process and 'allows us think about the slow death that happens to targeted or neglected populations over time and space' (169).

exposed to injury, violence, and death' (25; see also Butler in Puar, 2012). In establishing this distinction she calls attention to the political processes and practices through which precariousness is managed; that is, the manner in which forms of social organisation have 'developed historically in order to maximize precariousness for some and minimize precariousness for others' (Butler, 2009: 2-3). As she explains:

> Whether explicitly stated or not, every political effort to manage populations involves a tactical distribution of precarity, more often than not articulated through an unequal distribution of precarity, one that depends upon dominant norms regarding whose life is grievable and worth protecting, and whose life is ungrievable, or marginally or episodically grievable – a life that is, in that sense, already lost in part or in whole, and thus less worthy of protection and sustenance (in Puar, 2012: 170).

For Butler (2009), the distribution of precarity is thus 'at once a material and a perceptual issue', the designation of frames of value and recognition intimately linked to the provision of social and economic networks of support (25). As I established in chapters 4 and 5 of this thesis, in Lençóis, the territorialisation of certain political economic logics have profoundly reshaped ways of understanding the meaning and value of certain subjectivities. It is in this respect that I suggest that Caio's account speaks to an awareness of the manner in which the management of local processes of economic transition has had profound consequences on the ability of local populations to sustain their own lives.

Awareness of an imbalance in the relative distribution of the costs and benefits of tourism development also emerged in my conversations with Beatriz, a *nativa* who I met during my first visit to Lençóis in the summer of 2009. Over the years I became particularly close to Beatriz and her family, and was invited to visit their *roça,* a rural smallholding, located about an hour's walk from the city of Lençóis. During one of these trips, our conversation turned to the city's status as an ecological paradise and I asked Beatriz how she felt about living in a city so desired by outsiders. In response, Beatriz told me that thought tourism had *acabado* (finished) with Lençóis. Life was expensive; land once considered worthless was today at a premium and local people struggled to meet the ever-rising costs of food, water and housing. Moreover, there was little hope, she told me, that the concerns of the local population would be answered by a municipal government so caught up in internal disagreement. While Lençóis might seem a paradise to outsiders, life was not so easy for local people.

In a later interview we returned to the same discussion. On this occasion, Beatriz's statements took on a more oppositional tone as she told me of the difficulties

she had faced in her attempt to convince local IPHAN representatives, the state body responsible for protecting the city's material heritage, to allow her to complete *reformas* (renovations) she considered necessary to make her house habitable for her family. To her, it was clear that while life for outsiders was facilitated at every turn, the native population struggled to secure their daily survival: "outsiders arrive and do everything, outsiders arrive and they achieve things, but those that have always lived here can't do a thing" [25/10/2012, Lençóis]. Framed in terms of a division between *us* and *them, nativos* and *forasteiros,* Beatriz links inequities in the social and economic order to a disparity in the distribution of the conditions required for the sustenance of life (Butler, 2009). Feeling her concerns disregarded and her interests de-privileged, for Beatriz, while economic change may have maximised opportunities for some, it has perpetuated the economic and social instability of the local population.

7.2.2 "People are not the same as they once were"[9]

Closely linked to the suggestion that tourism-related changes had made life in Lençóis more precarious, a number of those I spoke to also pointed to tourism's role in fracturing and damaging the affective bonds of community living. Drawing comparisons between life before and life after the introduction of tourism, Gabriel, a member of the local guiding association, spoke to me of what he perceived as a shift in the manner in which local people interacted with one another:

> O pessoal não é mais igual a antes. Antes, o pessoal tinha mais aquele, aquela parte da amizade, né. Hoje, está todo mundo preocupado em ganhar dinheiro. Então, não tem mais aquela integração na comunidade. Ficou meio-dividida, né. E antes, não existia isso não, ninguém (..) o pessoal da aqui antigamente, mesmo com garimpo, você não tinha muita ligação com dinheiro. Era mais amigável. Assim, ninguém vendia nada. Hoje tudo mundo só quer vender as coisas. Todo mundo é vendedor [08/08/2012, Lençóis].[ii]

Expressing what could be interpreted as nostalgia for life in the *garimpo* era, what is particularly interesting about Gabriel's description is the emphasis he places on the relationship between changing social relations and a shift in local attitudes to money. For Gabriel, there is a perceptible difference in the manner in which people comport themselves, a difference that can be interpreted as rooted in the proliferation of market-oriented perspectives and values. Damaging and dividing the local

[9] Extract from interview [Gabriel, 08/08/2012, Lençóis]

community, this revisioning of worker subjectivities is portrayed by Gabriel as destructive of the affective and relational dimensions of social life.[10]

Drawing similar comparisons between past lives and present realities, a scathing portrayal of tourism's impacts also emerged in my interview with Felipe. For Felipe, life under tourism was marked by violence. Tourism had altered not only the manner in which local people interacted with one another but had also transformed the way in which they experienced and moved about the city; the arrival of ever-increasing numbers of *desconhecidos* (strangers) alientating the *nativo* from the place in which he/she lived. In Felipe's eyes, Lençóis now resembled a *cidade grande* (big city);[11] people didn't talk to each other anymore and they didn't socialise the way they used to. This was particularly apparent during the *alta,* when, as he noted, local workers swarmed the city like *baratas* (cockroaches), intent only on securing their daily survival [Felipe, Lençóis, 20/11/2012].

In mobilising such abject images in his description of the local consequences of economic shift, I would suggest that Felipe's statement be read as a powerful challenge to the imperatives and demands levied on the subject in the new economy. In this account, and in the statement provided by Gabriel, there is a reworking of the dominant storyline that has traditionally framed ways of narrating the transition from mining to tourism. Far from liberating the local population from the violence and greed of the mining era, there is a suggestion that tourism introduces new threats, exposing the local population to new and insidious forms of suffering and harm.

Underpinning the descriptions so far discussed is the sense that bereft of social safety nets it is the local population that have suffered the most in the transition to tourism. A sense of precarity and vulnerability marks not only their interactions with the local labour market but also their experience of social and cultural life.

7.3 Life under tourism: constraint

Feeding into experiences of precariousness, local men and women also described life under tourism as characterised by constraint. In the following paragraphs, I explore

[10] As I established in chapter 5, the shift to tourism demanded a new kind of economic subject. One willing to submit themselves to the market and live by the principle of competition.

[11] In popular discourse, life in the big cities was associated with violence, alienation, poverty and discrimination. Life in the interior, or in city's like Lençóis, was often described as more comfortable. People struggled but there was also more community spirit.

local reactions to conservation interventions and local perspectives on the consequences of the creation of the Chapada Diamantina National Park.

7.3.1 "I never saw so many laws in a city so small!"[12]

When discussing the local effects of conservation policies and practices, many of the men and women I spoke to expressed growing resentment at what they perceived as the ever-increasing regulation of their lives and livelihoods. As they saw it, as eco-tourism had taken hold as the dominant development model, the lives of the native population had suffered greater restrictions, targeted by an array of disciplinary measures seeking to transform the manner in which they interacted with the local environment.[13] These interventions, justified in the name of protecting the integrity of the region's ecological diversity, weighed down on the local population, limiting viable options for socio-economic survival.

One particularly vocal critic on this matter was João, the husband of Beatriz. João was originally from a neighbouring city but had lived in Lençóis for much of his adult life. In our interview, João linked the shift to conservationism and tourism development to the propagation of what he considered a particularly "diseased" way of thinking, one that neglected the needs of the local population and threatened the bare existence of the city's most vulnerable:

> Criou essa doença, né, de o Lençóis hoje é o turismo, é o tombamento, que não pode. É uma cidade tão cheia de lei, que eu nunca vi tanta lei numa cidade tão pequena igual a Lençóis, que termina complicando ela. Em Lençóis, cê vê o IBAMA, cê vê a Policia do Meio Ambiente, vai ver a Promotoria do Meio Ambiente, cê vê o CIPPA que é outro modelo de policia para proteger o Parque, e mais, e mais, né, é muita coisa, muito problema dentro da cidade, e termina só o pequeno sofrendo! [João, 24/11/2012, Lençóis].[iii]

Questioning the logic and efficacy of federal and state approaches to environmental governance in the region, João is critical of the link between the local policing of conservation and social inequality. For João, when it comes to the enforcement of conservation objectives it is the "*pequeno*" (small person) that suffers the most.[14] Struggling to survive under the weight of extensive environmental regulation and

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[12] Interview extract [João, 24/11/2012, Lençóis].

[13] This dynamic has also been identified in much recent literature on tourism development and neoliberal conservation. See section 2.3.

[14] João's use of class idioms is interesting. Throughout our interview he used the term "pequeno" (small person) or "classe pequena" (small class) to describe the working populations of Lençóis. Other interviewees also used the term "fraco" (weak person) to refer to the same group. These terms seem to suggest that local people related to their social positioning to be that of a group socially and economically marginalised but also politically subjugated.

lacking the skills, the human capital, to find stable work in the new economy, it is the interests of the city's native populations that he considers unjustly forfeited in favour of the imperative to protect the natural world.[15]

While the vigour of João's critique was not echoed by all local residents, many considered their lives severely restricted by environmental legislation. Understood as an initiative imposed from above and enforced by outsiders, conservationism had, in the words of Luciano, succeeded only in disrupting "the lives of people who were free, because, before all this, we were free!" [23/10/2012, Lençóis]. Concealing a process by which access to local resources was facilitated for some, and restricted for others, it became evident that local people saw the implementation of conservation practices as closely linked to the perpetuation of social and economic inequalities.[16]

Evoking notions of freedom and constraint, I would also suggest that these criticisms speak to what Dean (1999) has termed the ambivalence of freedom under neoliberal rule (165; see also Rose, 1999). As Dean explains, while appealing to the desires and the rights of self-determining individuals, neoliberalism works to construct this version of subjecthood in multiple ways; 'in order to act freely, the subject must first be shaped, guided and moulded into one capable of responsibly exercising that freedom through systems of domination' (165). This dynamic becomes particularly evident in the context of neoliberal conservation. As Fletcher (2010) has argued, conservation programs have been shown to embody biopolitical approaches, operating via 'forms of 'green' governmentality intended to inculcate an environmental ethic by means of which people will self-regulate their behaviour in conservation friendly ways' (175). In Lençóis, judged unable to regulate their own conduct, it is the native population that find themselves targeted by educative and disciplinary mechanisms. Experienced as invasive, João notes that conservationism

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[15] Here I draw on Reid (2013) suggestion of an evolution in ways of conceptualising 'the life at stake in the practice of governing doctrines of development' (354). Examining the reasoning deployed by proponents of sustainable development, she suggests that there is a privileging of the well-being of the life of the bio-sphere over the economic life of populations. This is further complicated in with the introduction of neoliberal perspectives, which prescribes the economy as the very means of that security (354). Indeed, as Reid (2013) writes, 'neoliberalism breaks from earlier traditions of political economy by locating its legitimacy not in the life of the human, but in the life of the bio- sphere' (354).

[16] This is a situation commonly identified in literature exploring the impacts of neoliberal conservation and ecotourism development (Brockington et al, 2008; Igoe and Brockington, 2007; Fletcher, 2010). Brockington et al (2008) and Igoe and Brockington (2007) explore the link between neoliberal conservation interventions and processes of social and economic exclusion in depth. Fletcher (2010) also identifies the relationship between conservation and inequality as a common concern of work seeking to critique neoliberal conservation interventions.

has transformed Lençóis into "a city full of police, who spend their time giving orders, eating and sleeping!" [24/11/2012, Lençóis]

Frustration also emerged as interviewees spoke of the role of governmental interventions in displacing and criminalising large swathes of the native population.[17] Not far from the tidy streets of the city's historic centre, interviewees pointed to the existence of another Lençóis, inhabited by a population whose lives had been rendered unsustainable—unlivable (Butler, 1993)—in the transition to the new economy. Unable to find stable work yet prohibited from hunting, farming, or extracting the means of their own subsistence, this was a population abandoned by the state, victim to what Foucault (2009) has described as the biopolitics of making live and letting die:[18]

> Se o policial está passando pelo meio da mata ali, e encontra você com facão na cintura, ou inchado nas costas, vai te dar um tapa, porque você está garimpando num lugar que é proibido. Se lhe encontrar com machado, está cortando árvore, ele já quer te bater, já quer prender. Então, o que a gente tá vivendo aqui em Lençóis hoje, é um mundo desconhecido. Lençóis hoje, é um mundo desconhecido, tá muito diferente dos, dos tempos passados ... O pequeno agricultor, hoje, vai virar vagabundo, porque não pode apanhar uma areia, não pode apanhar um barro, não pode tirar uma lenha, ele vai viver de que? [João, 24/11/2012, Lençóis].[iv]

Challenging the privileging of environmental protection over the sustenance of individual life, João makes two interrelated arguments: first, that in the context of a growing concern for environmental protection, the presence of the local population in protected areas has become an object of disproportionate levels of suspicion and distrust; and second, that the imposition of new uses and understandings of the material landscape has been marked by violence. For João, the extension of state mechanisms of control and surveillance has targeted the bodies of the city's most vulnerable, restricting their activities and transforming modes of experiencing the place in which they live. Struggle to survive in this *mundo desconecido* (unfamiliar world), they are left with not option but to look to less honest means of sustaining their existence.

It was thus in relation to talk of the subjective experiencing of environmental regulation that many interviewees spoke of the conservationist agenda as conflicting

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[17]This dynamic is also identified by Igoe and Brockington (2007). Drawing on Giroux's writings, they interpret this in relation to a 'politics of disponsability' (444). As they write, 'due to the lack of real opportunities offered by neoliberal conservation, often only a select few local people can aspire to and succeed at becoming "eco-rational subjects"… they become simply disposable (444).

[18] Here I follow Li (2009) in applying Foucault's writings on biopolitics to an examination of the politics of conservation interventions.

with the realities of their daily existence. For César, in a city where alternative means of economic survival were scarce and systems of state support were insufficient, the idea of restricting the use of large areas of fertile land defied both logic and reason:

> Aqui, não tem trabalho, as coisas que tem aqui, que você mesma sabe, é o garimpo. Porque o problema é que aqui, é só vegetação, nos temos só vegetação e a vegetação a gente não pode destruir. Então, se a gente não pode destruir a vegetação, não pode garimpar, mas não pode morrer de fome! Porque quem produz é a terra para a gente comer, mas se essa terra não produz, você vai ficar em cima dela fazendo o que? Apelar para a aposentaria que não da para ninguém. Então, nisso aí tem muita gente que sofreu [César, 06/08/2012, Lençóis].[v]

Asserting a desire for self-sufficiency, while highlighting the illogic of local conservation initiatives, César creatively plays with the competing demands of neoliberal perspectives. Ready and willing to work yet dispossessed of the principal means of sustaining his existence, for César, the desire to play productive role in the local economy has been disrupted by the contradictory impulses of development planning. Caught in a double bind, he points to the suffering inflicted as a consequence of the environmentalist agenda.

Pointing to the many 'uncertainties, paradoxes and complex inequalities' (Igoe and Brockington, 2007: 426) produced in the name of environmental protection, the narratives of these individuals present a series of challenges to the validity of local practices of environmental governance. Resignifying and restaging neoliberal arguments, they raise questions as to the validity of state-led models of development. As the following extract from my interview with João demonstrates:

> Então, eu acho que a natureza tudo bem, vamos cultivar a natureza, dar qualidade à natureza, que o turista precisa chegar em Lençóis e ver o verde, sentir que está na Chapada Diamantina, mas também vamos localizar o pequeno agricultor e o nativo que está ali dando qualidade ... Imagine se Lençóis, se a classe pequena foi embora? Se a gente deixa Lençóis como eles querem, vai acabar tudo! Vai virar tudo uma mata só! [João, 24/11/2012, Lençóis].[vi]

Here, while recognising the economic imperative to conserve the natural world, João advocates for an approach to local development that would place renewed emphasis on questions of social justice. Challenging the marginalisation of the native population, I would suggest that his statement is suggestive of the emergence of a certain will or desire to speak back to the exclusionary logics of neoliberal conservationism. João, like many others I interviewed, sought not the reversal or complete subversion of the status-quo but demanded that a space be made, for the native inhabitant, within the new political economic frame.

7.3.2 "We want to work": the case of the city's caçambeiros

Murmuring discontent regarding the inequities of conservation interventions and their impacts on local livelihoods came to the fore during my fieldwork when the work of the city's *caçambeiros*[19] was suddenly halted by the *Policia Ambiental* (environmental police) in late September 2012. Banned from extracting sand and stone from the rivers and hillsides surrounding the city of Lençóis, the immobilisation of this small but integral workforce threatened to devastate not only the livelihoods of those directly implicated in this form of employment, but also the stability of the city's construction industry. Raising the question of where line should fall between environmental protection and social justice, for the *caçambeiros*, at stake was their right to work and to human dignity.

On the morning of the 22nd October 2012, it was announced through social media and on local radio that a protest was being held in the Praça Nagôs. Unable to work for 42 days, the city's *caçambeiros* together with the *Associação de Extratores* (Association of Extraction Workers) had taken to the streets to urge the municipal government take action in support of their cause. Emerson, the owner of a local hardware store and member of the association, explained to me their decision to protest:

> Na realidade, a idéia foi a seguinte, nós achamos um pouco de-de-de, na realidade, de descaso da sociedade em geral, não apenas os órgãos. Não estavam preocupados no que estava acontecendo. A maioria delas com-com a ignorância dizem: "ah estão garimpando". Não sabiam de fato o que acontece, não tem conhecimento técnico, e não estavam preocupados com o que essas famílias iam viver. Porque se você diz: "olhe, você não pode trabalhar, não pode tirar mais areia mas a gente vai criar uma opção de vida para vocês ... vamos criar outra opção para vocês". Não foi dado nada! [Emerson, 09/11/2012, Lençóis].[vii]

For Emerson, the protest was a response to a perceived lack of awareness amongst state authorities and the general population with regards to the suffering of the city's *caçambeiros*. Often regarded in the same light as the *garimpeiro,* he felt that the plight these men had been wilfully neglected by both state and society, their abandonment legitimised in favour of conservationist imperatives. Cast out of sight and out of mind, the protest would bring the very real concerns of this workforce to the fore.

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[19] The term *caçambeiro* is used locally to refer to people who work extracting sand and stone and particularly those who own their own *caçamba* (truck). A *caçambeiro* usually works with a small team of informal workers.

However, serendipitously, only a few weeks later, nature would have its own say. In the early hours of the morning, an instance of flash flooding broke the banks of the river São José, flooding the streets of the city centre and causing significant damage to local shops and businesses. Interpreting the implications of this event, one local man considered this a sign that the work of the *caçambeiro* was in fact integral to a process of *compensação ambiental* (environmental compensation), remedying the extensive siltation that obstructed the flow of water down the tributaries of the river São Francisco. Left to its own devices, a high volume of water had accumulated in the stretch of river immediately above the city of Lençóis, resulting in one of the most powerful instances of flash flooding he had ever experienced. In following days, the

Figure 12: "We want to work", photograph courtesy of Betukka Ribeiro

caçambeiro would experience a brief reprise, called back to work to assist civil defence in securing and re-establishing normal water flow.

7.4 Rejecting formal work and the "*carteira assinada*"

While concern for the ever-increasing precarity and insecurity of the tourism labour market permeated the accounts of many of my interviewees, there was also much disdain for formal waged employment and the *carteira assinada* (signed worker ID).[20]

[20] A signed worker ID guaranteeing the worker basic rights, including a minimum wage, a workers pension and holiday pay

Surfacing particularly in my interviews with men,[21] expressions of contempt for the conditions of waged labour positioned the formal work contract not as a source of stability but as a symbol of constraint, binding the worker to a life of exploitation and subjugation. In this section, explore the choice to be *autônomo* (autonomous), drawing inspiration from other anthropological literature exploring the perspectives and experiences of informal or autonomous workers.

7.4.1 Locating the symbolic value of the "carteira assinada"

Before moving on to an examination of my empirical data, it is necessary to establish an understanding of the symbolic value of work and formal waged labour in Brazil.[22] In her examination of the experiences of precarious labourers in Rio's urban peripheries, Millar (2104) traces the fetishisation of the worker ID in the contemporary era back to labour reforms of the Estado Novo. The significance of these reforms is also reflected in Brodwyn Fischer's (2008) acclaimed examination of citizenship and inequality in 20th century. In this section, I draw on the work of these authors in order to establish the context of the proceeding discussions.

As attested by Fischer (2008), it was under Vargas that the triad of work, family and patriotism became the touchstones of social and economic citizenship in Brazil, the formalised, documented worker glorified as a symbol of national pride. Introducing an array of radical and wide-ranging labour reforms and social welfare provisions, Vargas was popularly acclaimed for placing the plight of poor at the centre of his political project (Fischer, 2008: 93). With access to worker benefits and social welfare provisions, it was during this period that the labouring poor were, for the first time, offered the hope of inclusion (Fischer, 2008).

However, in practice access to these new rights and benefits was not bestowed equally (Fischer, 2008: Millar 2014). As Fischer (2008) firmly states, 'social and economic citizenship, as these laws defined them, were not birthrights or even rewards for patriotism, hard work or familial duty. Rather, they were privileges won

[21] Many of the women I spoke to had a different view of the *Carteira Assinada*. For them, the worker ID was understood to bring them more stability, often enabling them with to establish more economic and social independence. It was often said that women contributed stable incomes to family household while the income earned by men was more irregular (see also Medeiros, 2014). This was often identified as a source of conflict at home. The impact of economic change and female employment on marital relationships has recently been explored by Melanie Medeiros (2014). Brito (2005) also notes a preference for autonomy in working relationships amongst men (285).

[22] Here I follow Millar (2014). In her article exploring precarious labour in Rio's urban peripheries she places emphasis on the importance of placing contemporary understandings of the symbolic value of formally employed labourer within Brazil's historical and political context (40).

through narrowly circumscribed forms of labour, morality, loyalty and bureaucratic agility' (116). That is to say, while labour became a symbol of virtue and moral dignity, the legal and administrative framework built around the extension of rights generated new and subtle forms of social exclusion (Fischer, 2008; see also Millar, 2014). Access to labour and welfare benefits came within the purview of only the fully documented, transforming papers such as the *carteira professional* (work card, later *carteira assinada*) into 'a powerful symbol of righteous citizenship' (Fischer, 2008: 128). As Fisher (2008) writes 'the *carteira* thus evolved into a sort of distinguishing mark—more surely reliable even than color, dress, address, or style of speech—that allowed employers and judicial authorities alike to separate those they regarded as citizens from those they saw as *marginais'* (128).

It is there we begin to see the origins of contemporary ambivalences surrounding the significance of the worker ID. As Millar (2014) writes, 'by exalting "the worker" as the model citizen, Vargas created a worker-criminal dichotomy that continues to function today in Brazilian society's moral order' (41). Yet, it is also important to note that these notions have never been accepted passively. As Fischer's (2008) discussion of work and social value points out, while the 'rhetorical gestures' of the Vargas regime undoubtedly resonated with popular thought, *cariocas* also had their own ideas about the value and meaning of work (106). It is in this context that I suggest that the gulf that Fischer identifies 'between popular and governmental visions of what work was, and who legitimately practiced it' continues to hold relevance today, as does the sense of cynicism that surrounds notions of the extent to which hard work is truly rewarded in Brazilian public life (Fischer, 2008: 106). It is in relation to these key insights that I contextualise my own reading of the conflictual status of the worker ID amongst native men in Lençóis.[23]

7.4.2 I never wanted to work "assinado"

Narrating his personal experiences of navigating the labour market under tourism, Bruno stressed his reluctance to restrict himself to formal waged employment, stating his preference for balancing work as a day-labourer in the construction industry with intermittent stints as a local tourism guide. As he explained, the *diaria* or average

[23] It is important to highlight that here my research begins to divergence for much existing literature. Some of these complexities are unpicked in the proceeding section; however, this aspect of my work represents an important avenue for further research.

daily wage earned by guides was often three or four times greater than that of the construction worker, and while employment in this sector was undoubtedly less stable, it gave him the freedom of choosing when he wanted to work. For this reason, he explained:

> Se você olhe na minha carteira, não tem nada assinada. Eu nunca quis trabalhar fechado, porque se eu trabalho fechado, me prende e não me permite que eu vou, entendeu, para para aquela serra lá, que é minha, entendeu [Bruno, 05/11/2012, Lençóis].[viii]

Framing his work history as an informal worker in terms of the prerogative of individual choice, Bruno speaks with pride of his refusal of stable employment. Crucially, for Bruno, the *carteira assinada* symbolised not freedom nor stability but a form of constraint, an obstacle that would hamper his ability to flexibly navigate the world of work according to his best interests.

While it could be argued that this desire to maintain flexibility, to be autonomous merely echoes values espoused by neoliberal logics, I would argue that talk of work as freedom vs. work as constraint was more complex (see also Millar, 2014). Identifying similar ambivalences in the accounts of Rio's *catadores* (informal rubbish collectors), Millar (2014) points to the existence of a tension between the desire for "real" work and the need to contend with the everyday uncertainties that disrupt life in the peripheries. In this context, she theorises that, withdrawal from the formalised labour market should be interpreted as an act of release, a politics of detachment that 'enables life to be lived in the precarious present' (49).

In Lençóis, while this affect of detachment fails to capture the manner in which local men spoke of their refusal of formal employment, Millar's (2014) emphasis on the need to attend to the competing desires of the working poor and to recognise the cultural and geopolitical specificity of their experiences of irregularity is persuasive. Like Millar's (2014) *catadores*, the informal workers of Lençóis defended stable and regular employment as a dominant cultural ideal just as they spoke of their aversion to formal work in the tourism economy. That is to say, while a man's ability to work and to sustain a family were listed as valued attributes, the acceptance of a signed work contract was commonly articulated in relation to images of oppression and bondage (see also Barchiesi, 2012). As Dario, a local tourism guide, told me, with a *carteira assinada* a man was made *preso* (a prisoner), captive to a system of unjust and ever-exploitative labour relations [14/08/2012, Lençóis]. It is in this context that I

argue that the emotional tenor of these narratives indicates a more overtly critical and oppositional tone.

Writing of the experiences of casual labourers in Post-Apartheid South Africa the work of Franco Barchiesi (2008, 2009, 2012) is useful here. Noting that the refusal of waged work is a theme common to African labour studies, Barchiesi (2008) reflects on his own ethnographic work and emphasises worker agency 'in "resignifying" the relations between labour and citizenship' (62). As he writes, in many cases, 'instead of passive acceptance of wage labour discipline as the guidance for individual behavior and claims, workers' strategies and discourse questioned the very boundaries and the rigidity of the nexus between wage labor and social citizenship' (62). It is in this context that Barchiesi (2009) writes that precariousness can 'open spaces to imagine strategies of liberation from the compulsion to work for wages' (54).

Drawing on these insights, I would suggest that the aversion for waged work expressed by local men can be read as a direct response to contradictions in state discourses on the value of work. In Brazil, the situation is much like the one described by Barchiesi (2009), where hard work does not necessarily equate to decent, meaningful life yet continues to be maintained by the state as the foundation of the social order (54). Moreover, in Lençóis, despite promises of social and economic transformation, the introduction of tourism has failed to alter inequalities that have historically structured the social, political and economic order. As Felipe emphasised, even today local people continue to occupy the lowest paid, lowest valued jobs—"they are always cleaning hotels but never owning them" [20/11/2012, Lençóis]. In this context, I argue that while the rejection of formal waged work may appear to reinforce at least potentiate neoliberal demands, it is better understood as a gesture of resistance, a refusal to accept conditions long experienced as exploitative and unjust.

However, returning to my interview with Bruno, there is an added complexity. As our conversations progressed it became clear that his choice to remain outside the realm of more formalised employment was also rooted in the belief that he could not nor would not adapt to the demands of the tourism labour market.[24]

[24] Interestingly, Millar (2014) identifies similar themes in her discussion of Rio's *catadores*. She notes that in describing their preference for work at the dump, many informal workers stated that they could no longer adapt to regular employment (44). For Millar (2014), like wage labor, precarious work should be considered a site of subject-making, 'a process involving the transformation of desires,

> No garimpo (.) no garimpo (..) você não (..) é você ser o dono de si (.) é difícil explicar. Você era o dono de si. Você podia determinar o que você queria, o que você queria fazer e tudo mais, sabe (.) se tinha domínio, se tinha um controle, sabe ... Mas com o turista, você não (.) não é assim, porque quando cê tá (.) trabalhando, por exemplo, quando eu tava-tava trabalhando, cê não podia ficar assim [gestures as if day-dreaming] não, você tem que ter consciência do que está fazendo, sabe. Então, eu acho que isso meio que me-me prendeu, assim, meio que fora, como eu tava fora, e como eu fiquei muito tempo no mato ... eu não conseguia me relacionar com as pessoas de fora, na rua ou em festa. Então, eu nunca ia em festa. Eu nunca ia na boate. Mesmo hoje, eu nunca vou. Raro cê me ver chegando na Rua das Pedras ... Eu sou meio (.) sempre fui meio tímido ... Acho que essa questão também de não gostar muito de foto, acho que é muito por isso também [Bruno, 05/11/2012, Lençóis].[ix]

Here Bruno describes his personal experience of making the transition from manual labourer to service worker and expresses attachment to a form of work that no longer exists as a viable economic alternative. Used to being his own boss and working to his own schedule, he notes feeling a loss of self-determination as a consequence of his insertion into the tourism labour market. Emphasising his discomfort in occupying an environment in which life is subsumed into the workings of the economy, in many respects, Bruno prefigures his own exclusion, declaring himself too timid, too shy to meet the demands of the tourism labour market.

But what can be said to motivate Bruno's assumption of this marginal subject positioning? While not overtly oppositional in tone I would suggest that Bruno's narrative subtly and implicitly challenges the valorisation of neoliberal worker-subjectivities under tourism. Blurring the boundaries between the private and the public, Bruno acknowledges the intrusive and exhausting demands placed upon the tourism guide by his form of labour. It was for this reason, as he later told me, that he refuses to *pegar turistas* (pick-up, literally catch, tourists) in the street or at the bus station, preferring to leave this aspect of guiding work to those more adept at talking to outsiders:

> Eu não vou, eu mesmo lá, em busca não. Eu trabalho com os caras que estão conseguindo. Nunca quis eu ir lá, não. Você vai, acerta, e você me paga e vou com você, e faço o mesmo trabalho, mas eu nunca vou ... Eu nunca fiz isso, e nem vou fazer! [Bruno, 05/11/2012, Lençóis].[x]

Keen to emphasis that tourism was an industry that he entered into on his own terms, what we see in Bruno's account is not only a refusal to accept the exploitative conditions of regular employment but also an attempt to resignify and redeploy notions of what it means to be a productive worker/citizen in the new tourism

values and arts of living' (45). Following Millar (2014), I would also suggest that Bruno's account echoes many of the same ideas yet I also emphasise that the particularities of his account demand further exploration.

economy. While mobilising notions self-sufficiency and autonomy, his narrative suggests not affirmation of neoliberal subjecthood but firm acknowledgement of the contradictions of the present.

In his ethnographic account of the lives of tourism workers in the Dominican republic, Gregory (2007) argues for approaching informality (via Scott, 1990) as a hidden transcript, a field of offstage cultural production across which, as he writes, 'the labouring poor improvised and exercised modes of subjectivity and practice that brought them into conflict with dominant, neoliberal regime of accumulation and its discourses of difference' (35). For Bruno, informal work not only enables him to flexibly navigate the labour market, to cope with the precarity of his socio-economic position, but also constituted means of speaking back to and challenging the demands placed upon him under tourism. In Bruno's reworking of dominant visions of ideal working subjectivities, we see the limits of tourism's attempt to remake the aspirations of the local worker; as Bruno noted, while he may dabble with guiding work, he will always prefer the physical labour of the construction industry, for, as he emphasised, it is "something that you make and that lasts" [Bruno, 05/11/2012, Lençóis].

7.5 Rearticulating the value of the past

In this final section, I look to attempts to rearticulate and reclaim the cultural and economic value of the past. In chapter 6 of this thesis, I explored the enduring significance of mining in the lives and biographies of local men yet emerging from the body of my interviews also came a call to collectively recognise and re-address the contemporary relevance of the region's mining past. In the midst of an unrelenting focus on renewal, many expressed concern that tourism development had contributed to the emptying-out of place-based identities, to the weakening of cultural traditions, and to the erosion of local knowledge of regional history. Neither redundant nor lacking, in the accounts of many of those I spoke to, the past emerged as a site of creative potential.

7.5.1 Recognition and respect: defending the place of the "garimpeiro"

In the context of talk of vulnerability, estrangement and constraint, a number of the local people I spoke to also expressed a desire to rethink and remobilise histories and subjectivities neglected in the transition to the new economy. Reflecting on the changes effected as a consequence of tourism development, many noted that time had

been brutal in its treatment of the *garimpeiro* and spoke of the need to bridge the sense of disconnect between the past and the present. As Felipe emphasised:

> A cidade foi construída pelos garimpeiros, entende, mas a primeira coisa que fizeram foi assassinar a condição de vida do garimpeiro quando arrancaram tudo. Depois, com o turismo, não valorizou o garimpeiro, que tinha o maior domínio das trilhas. E, como foi tudo aqui, não foi incorporado no turismo. Até o dia de hoje não é incorporado, o garimpo de serra, que poderia ser um atrativo ainda, é uma coisa que poucas pessoas fazem de forma legal, escondido, entende. Então, o turismo, e o turista não conhece o garimpeiro e a historia de Lençóis, uma cidade que veio de isso, entende [Felipe, 20/11/2012, Lençóis].[xi]

Emphasising the violence implicit in the local governance of economic transition, Felipe speaks out against attempts to diminish and marginalise the figure of the *garimpeiro.* Made expendable and allowed to perish in the transition to the new economy, he challenges the failure to recognise and to valorise the role played by this population in constructing the city of Lençóis. For Felipe, the *garimpeiro* remains a figure of particular relevance; one whose economic and social incorporation could offer avenues for the city's further development.

This emphasis on recognition was a theme that developed across many of my interviews. Emerging in tension with dominant narratives of necessary rupture, many of those I spoke to asserted the impossibility of separating out the legacy of the region's past from the course of its future development:

> Essas trilhas todas-todas-todas estão representadas pelo garimpo. Sugiram através do garimpo. As próprias cachoeiras quem conheceu primeiro foram os garimpeiros (.) ... Hoje, as trilhas que ficam, e os turistas são conduzidos por essas trilhas, foram feitas pelos garimpeiros, né [Gabriel, 09/08/2012, Lençóis].[xii]

Here Gabriel offers a reimagining of the relationship between the city's mining past and its tourism present. Pointing to role of the *garimpeiro* in paving the way for the development of the local tourism industry, he challenges the notion that mining constituted an innately destructive practice, rearticulating the nature of its impacts on the natural environment. For Gabriel, local histories of diamond extraction and tourism development are not radically opposed but densely intertwined and co-constitutive.

Linked to this call to recognise the contributions made by the region's *garimpeiros*, a number of my interviewees also spoke of regional history as something that was at risk of being lost. Neglected and disregarded by both state and society, Caio worried that as the story of the miner was lost to living memory, something of value was slipping away: "it's all running through our fingers, we are

losing our history" [04/09/2012, Lençóis]. Placing the responsibility for safeguarding these historical narratives in the hands of the local population, Caio described to me his own unique approach to this preservation:

> Quando eu tenho tempo eu vou, subo o Rio de Lençóis, e mesmo poluído como ele é, eu consigo adquirir requisitos do garimpo ... pedaços de objetos que foram trazidos na época dos primeiros garimpeiros. É que, tudo o lixo de Lençóis era jogado no rio. Então, quando eu quero encontrar algo sobre a nossa historia, eu procuro no rio. Porque tudo o lixo de Lençóis era jogado no rio. Tudo o que não prestava, ou que estava no chão, ia no rio. Tudo que não prestava, o povo falava assim: "joga no mato" ou "joga no rio". Então, muita coisa está dentro do rio, aterrado ali, e com esses enchentes que acontecem, de vez em quando aparece alguma parte da historia de Lençóis e eu pego, aí eu pego e coloco na parede [Caio, 04/09/2012, Lençóis].[xiii]

While there are elements of Caio' description that seem to simply reproduce exclusionary narratives that have traditionally depicted the native populations of Lençóis as predisposed to environmentally unsound and destructive practices, what is particularly interesting about this extract is the suggestion of a move to reapproporiate the city's material heritage. Once tossed aside amongst objects deemed of little value, for Caio, there is a sense that what was once considered *lixo* (rubbish) could make an important contribution to local cultural and economic life. Sifting the riverbed for vestiges of *nossa historia* (our history), he imagines himself as a curator of regional history, collecting pieces of the past and resignifing their inherent worth. There is, I would suggest, immense creativity in the manner in which Caio frames his account, playing with notions of value, he inflects dominant narratives with new and alternative meanings.

I suggest that, from the interview extracts so far discussed, there emerges a demand for recognition and a call for respect. Restaging and resignifying notions of value and meaning, there is an attempt to reclaim that which was laid to waste in the transition to the new economy.

7.5.2 Ownership and value: "having to story to tell"

Yet, the importance of conserving local history was not only articulated in relation to notions of cultural integrity, but was also presented as possessing an inherent economic logic. Running through the narratives of many of my interviewees was the idea that "having a story to tell" was an invaluable resource, one yet to be harnessed in the service of tourism flows. Speaking to me of the importance of passing on the story of the *garimpeiro* to the next generation, César made the following statement:

> É importante, porque se eu passar [essa historia] para outra pessoa, isso aí não vai acabar nunca, só vai aumentando cada vez mas, e a historia de Lençóis continua. Porque se a gente esquece: "ah ninguém mais lembra do garimpo". Bom, tudo mundo vai esquecer do garimpo, e qual é a historia que você vai ter para contar? Ninguém vai ter uma historia para contar! Você vai contar: "ah teve um turista aqui ontem, comeu uma maçã e saiu correndo, esqueceu de pagar" [laughs] Não são historias! Então tem de ter uma historia do origem do lugar. [César, 06/08/2012, Lençóis][xiv]

In this extract, César argues for individual and collective investment in the preservation of oral history. In his eyes, it is these originary and place-based narratives that give the local community unique geographic and cultural presence, the neglect of which may seriously undermine its ability to sustain tourism flows. Engaging with and responding to neoliberal logic, César positions the *historia do garimpeiro* as a unique cultural trait, an asset to be deployed by the native population in their interactions with the local tourism market.

In her article addressing the challenges of neoliberal agency, Ilana Gershon (2011) suggests that the articulation of culture as possession works in line with a neoliberal perspective. Drawing on the ethnographic insights of Charles Hale and Comarroff and Comaroff, she points to the relative willingness of neoliberal policies to accommodate the claims of ethnic or indigenous movements, 'as long as the cultural difference at stake can be commodified or otherwise marketed' (542). It is, for Gershon (2011), this apparent compatibility of neoliberalism with the culture concept that has often presented anthropologists with a dilemma.

However, I would suggest that what we see in César's account is a redeployment of neoliberal claims, an attempt to subvert exclusionary logics that have prevented local people for asserting a sense of ownership over tourism product on offer in Lençóis. As I have argued in this thesis, local projects for tourism development have imposed certain conceptions of meaning and value on the local landscape and its population—constituting the region and its resources as useful, but its population as less so.[25] César directly challenges this assumption, demonstrating not only the importance of drawing on the economic potential of regional histories but also foregrounding the role of the native population in their future resignification. For César, in failing to mobilise stories of the past, the tourism industry in Lençóis fails to take advantage of one of its most valuable assets: 'the tourist runs to the region that

[25] Here I draw on Li's (2009) description of one dynamic of capital investment: 'one in which places (or their resources) are useful, but the people are not, so that dispossession is detached from any prospect of labour absorption' (69).

communicates the best information, and to tell you the true, I believe that the information, I believe that the best information is here in the Chapada, here inside Lençóis!' [06/08/2012, Lençóis].[26]

Echoing many of the criticisms raised in César's account, my interview with Luciano also provided a number of important insights into the manner in which local people were attempting to rearticulate their relationship to the political economic order. Like César, Luciano challenged the sidelining of local knowledge and local experiences in the transition to tourism. Particularly interesting, in this context, was his claim that guiding was something he, as a *nativo*, was born to do:

> Eles falavam: "é, para ser guia tem que ter um curso, ter aquela coisa mais, e bababa". Mas quando eu fui ver realmente, eu já era um guia nato e não sabia! Por eu conhecer a localidade, por conhecer a historia do lugar, certo, não buscar em livros e ler para poder contar pro turista. Eu conto pro turista o que eu vivencie, aquilo que aconteceu comigo, e aquilo que eu presencie, certo, e aquilo que meu avô me contou, não aquilo que esta ali escrito. Chegaram aqui pessoas que vieram para escrever a historia. Uma vez eu lei essa historia, mas nunca mais eu fiz isso [Luciano, 23/10/2012, Lençóis].[xv]

Declaring himself "um guia nato" (a born tourism guide), in this extract we see Luciano assert the legitimacy of his place at the centre of tourism labour market. Mocking the privileging of learnt knowledge—documented and disseminated by outsiders—over lived and embodied knowledge, his narrative can be read as an attempt to counter the emphasis placed on the education and investment in conditioning success in the tourism economy (see section 5.2). For Luciano, it is his lived knowledge of the landscape and his first-hand witnessing of local history that make him uniquely qualified as a tourism guide. It was in this context that he later went on to suggest that the failure to recognise this fact had led to the weakening of local place-based identities:

> Hoje, existe muito condutor que leva e traz, mas vai lá e volta tapado, certo. Vai e [o condutor] não conhece ... não é (.) as vezes não conhece, não tem aquela (..) não vivencio aquela coisa, aquela historia, certo. Porque acabou o garimpo e não foi andando com os pais pela serra. Então, ele que trabalhou no garimpo, que apanhou lenha na cabeça para poder ganhar dinheiro, porque não tinha esse gás, sabe, porque era fogão de lenha mesmo, essas pessoas geralmente são vividas, são nativas mesmos, nativas de verdade. Então, tem uma historia para contar, não foi buscar em livros [Luciano, 23/10/2012, Lençóis].[xvi]

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[26] 'a região que da a informação melhor é onde a turista corre para aquele local e para te dizer a verdade, a informação acredito, que eu acredito, as melhores informações esta aqui na Chapada, aqui dentro de Lençóis!' [06/08/2012, Lençóis].

Countering perspectives that have consistently undermined the legitimacy of local claims to self-determination—what another of my interviewees, João, referred to as their *autoria* (self-authorship)—Luciano suggests that the fragility of the local tourism market is rooted in its failure to cultivate local traditions and local knowledges. Native identity, understood here to be limited only to those who have walked the hills, carried wood upon their heads and who have mined the Chapada's soils for diamonds, is presented as an invaluable resource under threat of extinction. For Luciano, it is these individuals who "have a story to tell" and thus a privileged place in the local labour market.

In these extracts, we see how local people have begun to appropriate and subvert neoliberal thinking, mobilising its central claims and perspectives as they rearticulate their relationship to the local economy. For the local men and women I spoke to, "being authentic" and "having a story to tell" were important commodities, assets to be bought and sold on the local labour market. Speaking back to the de-privileging of their lives and subjectivities, their accounts provide an indication of the manner in which local men and women are attempting to negotiate changes to the circumstances of their lives (Biehl et al, 2007: 14).

7.5.3 A demand for inclusion

By means of concluding this section, I would like provide a brief comment on an event that occurred subsequent to my return from the field. On 28th January 2014, during the lead up to the festival of *Senhor dos Passos*,[27] members of the local community took to the streets to march against the neglect of their traditions and customs. My insights into circumstances of this protest come from an analysis of social media entries and from conversations with friends and colleagues living in the region at the time. I draw on this small instance of community organising as it

[27] The *Festa do Senhor dos Passos,* the local patron saint of *garimpeiros*, is a religious festival that has occurred annually since the city's establishment in the mid 19th century. Organised and led, since 1927, by the *Sociedade União dos Mineiros* (SUM or Miners' Society)*,* the festivities traditionally include an outdoor mass, processions, a novena, the singing of the *Canção do Garimpeiro* (miners song), and the recital of hymns (Brito, F.E., 2005: 251). Once the most important festival of the year, Brito notes that these celebrations have, since the 1970s, failed to galvanise the support they once enjoyed, gradually transforming into 'just one more event in the calendar of municipal festivals' (251, translation own). For Brito (2005), this fading in importance is a direct consequence of the growth of the tourism industry. Concerned with creating of new events and festivals capable of attracting visitors throughout the year, the *Festa do Senhor dos Passos* has lost much of its traditional verve (251). While I do not contest this interpretation, I would also suggest that the complexity of local relationships with the past may also feed into its fading importance.

captures many of the tensions and contradictions this thesis has attempted to bring to light.

In late January 2014, I became aware through discussions on social media and via news reporting that a march had taken place in the city of Lençóis. Led by the *Sociedade União dos Mineiros* (SUM or Miner's Society) in partnership with members of the local community, the protest voiced discontent regarding recent changes to the festival of *Senhor dos Passos*. In the *Jornal da Chapada* it was reported that the city's miners alongside their sons and grandsons, had paraded through the city centre, stopping at the entrance of the church to call for the removal of the local priest. The president of the SUM was reported to have said:

> We are mobilising in defence of the traditions of the *Festival of Nosso Senhor Bom Jesus do Passos*, our patron Saint, so that the memory our people is not lost, we value and respect our religion and we cultivate our traditions (Costa in Jornal da Chapada, 2014).

This message was also echoed on social media. At the heart of the argument seemed to be a sense of frustration at what was perceived as attempts to exclude the SUM from the organisation of the festivities and to erase the presence of the *garimpeiro* from the heart of the procession. For those supporting the march, at stake was a defence of the culture, history and soul of the city of Lençóis, the preservation of the last remaining trace of the region's mining past.

Yet, what was particularly interesting about this event was the discussions it sparked on social media and, in particular, the negative reactions displayed by some segments of the local community. Those opposing the march questioned the right of the SUM to challenge the local priest and disputed the very validity of the protest. Indeed, to one particularly impassioned critic, it seemed strange that these ex-miners would choose to protest over the management of this local festival when they had failed to mobilise against the paralysation of mining activity in the 1990s. Raising doubts as to what this group was seeking to achieve, she called for the population to stop looking to the past and to adapt to new realities. Others focused on the motivations of those supporting the SUM; what "interests" did people with no mining tradition have in supporting the claims of the SUM? what traditions were actually being disrespected by the local priest? where was the SUM the rest of the year?

What these discussions depict is the enduring conflict that surrounds questions as to the meaning and relevance of the past to the present, and the challenges faced by local people as they attempt to articulate their claims and interests. As I have

attempted to demonstrate through out this thesis, despite concerted attempts to depict displays of affect for the past as anti-progressive or as merely nostalgic, the value and meaning of change remains in flux and questions of how to deal with the past remain central. This is true not only for populations marginalised in the transition to tourism but also for those involved in repacking Lençóis as a destination for ecological tourism and for the new entrepreneurial elite. In this context, I suggest that this protest

Figure 13: Protest SUM, photograph courtesy of Betukka Ribeiro

is but one indication of a growing impetus, amongst community members, to challenge the exclusionary logic mobilised in the management of local processes of economic change and of a will to renegotiate the terms of their incorporation within the new economic order. Since I left the field, these emergent narratives of contestation and critique have undoubtedly evolved, the terms upon which they are founded open to continual change and transformation.[28]

7.6 Concluding remarks

In this chapter, I have explored interviewees' descriptions of the nature of life and labour under tourism. I began by examining the sense of precarity and vulnerability

[28] One particularly interesting event to note was the recent re-opening of the *Raucho do Garimpeiro*, a family run museum celebrating the life of diamond miners. During my time in the field, this museum had closed due to lack of funding and the ill-health of a family member. In 2012, the family made applications for funding to the Culture Ministry in Bahia, which were approved and backed by the *prefeitura*.

that marked personal experiences of social and economic life. I then extended these discussions by exploring local effects of conservation policies and practices. Many of those I interviewed, spoke of how they felt that the transition to tourism had contributed to their further marginalisation, impinging their ability to sustain their own lives. In the final two sections of this chapter, I moved to consider how local men and women were attempting to renegotiate their place in the new economy. First, I explored local men's disdain for the *carteira assinada* and suggested that their refusal of formalised waged work be read as a direct response to the explotative and intrusive demands of the local labour market. Drawing on other anthropological work on informality, I examined how precarious labour may open up a space for critiquing neoliberal working subjectivities and for resisting the continuation of unequal labour relations. Finally, I concluded this chapter with a discussion of local perspectives on the economic value of the past. Here we see how local people are engaging with neoliberal principles, seeking not complete rupture with the status-quo but a way forward. There is, in these narratives, a clear demand for inclusion and an emerging impetus for change.

Crucially, in this chapter, I have argued that it is in narrating the experiences of their everyday lives that local men and women actively reflect on and engage in critiquing local processes of economic restructuring. As I have demonstrated, their narratives reveal critical insight into the inequities of state-led projects for development and point to a widening gap between the rhetoric and reality of neoliberal conservation (see also Igoe and Brockington, 2007). I have paid close attention to what individuals say about their lives and experiences as, following Geetz (1986), I have attempted to scratch at the surface of their inner lives. The emotional register provides, I suggest, an important window into the experiencing of economic processes, and while claiming not to have accessed the "truth" of local subjectivities, I hope to have demonstrated that it is in the narrating of the everyday, of the personal and of the emotional that the validity of change and the legitimacy of political interventions are critiqued, endorsed, mocked and challenged. It can be said that it is within these individualised narratives that the contradictions that lay at the heart of neoliberal-led models of development are laid bare.

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[i] Caio: So, today we all basically live off tourism, 80% of us, but, manual mining, well I think it should still exist

Sarah: You think?

Caio: Yes, I do, because a city with just one economy, a city like Lençóis, just tourism, we have tourism in Lençóis, we live and breath tourism, but it's a disorganised kind of tourism, and if this tourism were to collapse, if it were to disappear, then that would be it! Everyone would have to sell their homes, everyone would loose their jobs, and where would they end up? They would end up in the big cities, living in the *favelas*. So you see, it's complicated, a city like Lençóis having just one source of income, it's *really* precarious! So, we need to think again about this life we are living, it is really worth having just one economy? [04/09/2012, Lençóis].

[ii] People aren't the same as they used to be, before, people were, they were more friendly, y'know. Today everyone is worried about earning money. So the community doesn't come together anymore. It's become kind of divided, y'know. And before, we never had that, nobody (..) people from back then, even during the mining era, people didn't have that kind of relationship with money. It was more friendly, you see. Nobody tried to sell you things. Today everyone wants to sell you things. Everyone's a salesperson [Gabriel, 08/08/2012, Lençóis].

[iii] It's created this sickness, y'know, that today Lençóis is all about tourism, all about heritage, you can't do anything. It's a city so full of laws, I never saw so many laws in a city as small as Lençóis, it ends up complicating itself. In Lençóis, you've got IBAMA, you've got the Environmental Police [Policia do Meio Ambiente], you've got the Department for the Environment [Promotoria do Meio Ambiente], you've got CIPPA, which is another kind of police to protect the park, and so on and so on, y'know? So much going on, so many problems within the city, and in the end, it the *pequeno* [small person] that suffers! [João, 24/11/2012, Lençóis].

[iv] If a policeman is passing through the *mata* [thicket] out there, and he finds you with a knife at your waist or a pick slung over your shoulders, he'll give you slap, because you're mining in a place you shouldn't be. If he finds you with an machete, he'll think you were cutting down trees, he'll want to beat you, he'll want to arrest you. So, you see, what we're all living here, in Lençóis today, it's an unfamiliar world, Lençóis is an unfamiliar world, it's so different from the past … the small-time farmer, today he's likely to become a vagabond, because he can't collect sand, he can't collect clay, he can't extract firewood, what's he going to live from? [João, 24/11/2012, Lençóis].

[v] Here, there's no work, but what we do have, as you well know, is mining. Because the problem here is that there's only vegetation, we've only got vegetation and we can't destroy this vegetation. So, we can't destroy this vegetation, we can't mine but we can't die of hunger…! Because the earth is here to provide for us, but if the earth doesn't provide, you're going to sit there doing what? Call on your pension that's never enough. So, it's this situation that has caused a lot of suffering [César, 06/08/2012, Lençóis].

[vi] So, I think nature all well and good, let's look after nature and respect nature, because the tourist coming to Lençóis wants to see that greenness, to feel that he's in the Chapada Diamantina, but let's also find a place for the small-time farmer or for the *nativo*. Imagine if Lençóis, if the workers [classe pequena] left? If we were to leave Lençóis the way they want it, it'd all be over! It'd end up all forest! [João, 24/11/2012, Lençóis].

[vii] In reality the idea was the following, we sensed a bit of-of-of, in truth, of neglect, on the part of society in general, not just the governmental organs. They weren't worried about what was happening. The majority in their ignorance were saying "ah they're mining". They didn't know for sure what was going on, they don't have any technical knowledge, and they weren't worried about what these families were living off. Because if you say "look you can't work, you can't extract anymore sand but we are going to create other options for you". But they gave us nothing! [Emerson, 09/11/2012, Lençóis]

[viii] If you look at my ID there is nothing signed, I never wanted to be pinned down [trabalhar fechando], because if I'm pinned down, it holds me back and it stops me from being to go, y'know, to those hills, which are mine, y'know [Bruno, 05/11/2012, Lençóis].

[ix] With mining (.) with mining (.) you don't (.) you're your own boss (.) it's difficult to explain. You were your own boss. You'd make your own choices, do what you wanted to do and everything else, y'know (.) you had power, you had control, y'know … but with tourists, you don't (.) it's not the same, because when you're (.) working, for example, when I was-I was working, you couldn't be like [gestures as if day-dreaming] no, you have to be conscious of what you're doing, y'know. So I think this kind of kept me outside, I was already on the outside, I'd spend so much time in the *mata* … I couldn't interact with outsiders, in the street or in parties. So, I never went to parties. I never went to nightclubs. Even today I never go. You'll rarely see me in Rua das Pedras … I was always so shy … I think also it was that thing of not liking photos very much, I think that was a reason as well [Bruno, 05/11/2012, Lençóis].

[x] I don't go, personally, seeking them out, no. I work with the guys who do that. I never wanted to do that, never. You go, you sort it out and you pay me and I'll go with you and do the same work but I'll never go looking … I've never done it and I never will! [Bruno, 05/11/2012, Lençóis].

[xi] This city was built by *garimpeiros*, right?, but the first thing they did was destroy [assassinar] the *garimpeiro's* standard of life when they tore everything apart. Then later with tourism, they didn't value the *garimpeiro* who had the best knowledge of the trails. And, like everything that happens here, he wasn't given a place [incoporado] in tourism. Even today he has no place. Manual mining, which is something that could one day be an attraction, is something that very few people do legally, it's hidden y'know. So, tourism, and the tourist, they have neither knowledge of the miner nor the story of Lençóis, a city that was born from this, you understand? [Felipe, 20/11/2012, Lençóis].

[xii] All these trails are marked by mining. They emerged as a result of mining, even the waterfalls were discovered first by *garimpeiros* (..) The trails that we have today and use for tourists, they were made by *garimpeiros*, y'know? [Gabriel, 08/08/2012, Lençóis].

[xiii] When I have time I go and climb the Lençóis river, and even as polluted as it is, I manage to find things left over from the mining era … small pieces of objects that were brought here by the first *garimpeiros*. The thing is, all the city's rubbish was once thrown in the river. So, when I want to find a piece of our history I look in the river. Because all the rubbish was thrown in the river. Anything that had no use or that was left on the floor was thrown in the river. If it didn't work, people would say "throw it in the *mata*" or "throw it in the river". So, there are so many things in the river, buried there, and when these floods happen, now and again some a little piece of our history appears and I pick it up, I pick it up and put it on the wall [Caio, 04/09/2012, Lençóis]

[xiv] It's important because if I pass [this story] on to another person it'll never end, it'll just keep growing and the history of Lençóis will continue. Because if we forget "ah nobody remembers mining anymore". Well, if we all forget about mining what kind of story will you have to tell? Nobody will have a story to tell! What can you say?: "ah there was a tourist here yesterday, he ate an apple, left quickly and forgot to pay" [laughs] these aren't stories! So, you have to have a story about where a place comes from [César, 06/08/2012, Lençóis].

[xv] They used to say: "to be a guide you have do courses, you have to have all these other things" but when I saw what it was really all about I realised I was born to be a guide and didn't know it! Because I knew the place, I knew its history, right, and I didn't have to look it up in books, or read things to be able to speak to tourists. I can tell the tourist what I have lived, what really happened to me and what I saw, right, and also what my grandfather told me, not what's written in books. People came over here to write books, once I read one of these books, but never again! [Luciano, 23/10/2012, Lençóis].

[xvi] Today there are so many guides that take you and bring you back, but you go and come back without learning anything, right. They take you and they don't know (.) they don't have that (.) they never lived it, that history, right. Because mining finished and they didn't go walking in the hills with their parents. So, those that never worked in mining, that didn't carry wood on their heads to earn money because in those days we didn't have gas, y'know, it was wood ovens, these people have experience, they really are nativos, true nativos, they have a story to tell, they didn't go looking for it in books [Luciano, 23/10/2012, Lençóis].

Chapter 8

Conclusions

'The past isn't dead. It isn't even past' (Faulkner, 1960)

In this thesis, I have explored the lived effects of economic restructuring in the city of Lençóis, focusing particularly on the role of tourism planning and conservation initiatives in rearticulating local relationships with the past. Combining ethnographic research methods, archive work and the analysis of governmental programs, I have argued that, in their territorialisation of new political and economic imperatives, recent governmental interventions have played a key role in transforming local lives and subjectivities, significantly altering notions of what constitutes productive labour and what defines the meaning and value of individual life. In Lençóis today, the success of these projects is reflected in the extent to which local men and women uphold and assume dominant political economic perspectives in their everyday lives. However, there are limits to the extension of governmental rule. In the face of efforts to sever and exclude, memories of past modes of existence continue to echo through lives of local residents, casting a long and troubling shadow over neoliberal visions of development and progress. In this final chapter, I bring together the findings of this research project and summarise its main theoretical, methodological and empirical contributions. I then conclude with a reflection on the wider implications of my research and avenues for further research.

8.1 Summary of findings

As defined in the introductory chapter of this thesis, the key research questions driving the interpretation and collection of data were as follows:

- What is the impact of economic change on subjectivity?

- How do local people experience and attribute meaning to local processes of economic restructuring? How do they understand its impacts on their lives and livelihoods?
- How are local people responding to and challenging contemporary processes of economic change?

In answering these questions, in chapter 2, I set out the cross-disciplinary theoretical framework used in this thesis. A key aim of this chapter was to provide an overview of the concepts and perspectives that have informed my writing and to establish the basis of my theoretical argument. Foreshadowing accounts presented in the substantive chapters, I identified the limitations of neoliberal theories of subjectivity and engaged diverse theoretical material to develop a view of the subject capable of attending to the complexities I encountered in the field. This account was further extended in chapter 3, where I discussed my methodological approach and explored the analytical categories that have oriented my interpretations. Crucially, neither processes of data collection nor data analysis were conducted according to a predefined theoretical framework but were guided by discoveries made in the field. I have combined a range of theoretical perspectives in order to speak about the experiences of my research participants and to draw out the complexities of my empirical data.

In chapter 4, I outlined the political and economic context of this research and provided a summary of existing material on tourism development in the Chapada Diamantina. Supplementing secondary material with interview data and an analysis of governmental programs, I described local processes of economic change and set out the key political and economic perspectives underpinning development planning in the region. My analysis focused on how ways of conceiving the touristic potential of the region has evolved over time and sought to identify 'the vision of improvement' driving governmental interventions (Li, 2007b). As my discussions demonstrated, over the last twenty-five years, there has been an intensification of governmental interest in the region, with tourism identified as the ideal strategy for promoting both economic development and environmental conservation. However, following F.E. Brito (2005), I argued that behind the rhetoric of progress, growth and social inclusion, any gains made in the shift to tourism have largely reproduced historical inequalities.

In chapter 5, I began the examination of my empirical data. Drawing on interviews from a range of research participants, I considered dominant narratives of economic change and explored their interaction with neoliberal principles. Here my interest was in identifying the commonsense knowledges framing ways of understanding the transition to tourism and in elucidating their role in regulating conduct and constructing subjectivities. Bringing together governmentality literature with writing on abjection, I explored how political processes involved in the transition from extractive industry to service economy have worked to organise the domain of intelligibility, normalising the inclusion of certain subjects and the exclusion of others (Butler, 1993; see also Rutherford, 2007). Yet, foreshadowing later arguments, I also highlighted the instability of these dominant norms and subject categories: that is, their vulnerability to transformation.

In chapter 6, I moved on to examine personal accounts of the closure of the mines. Here my focus was on individual memory as I sought to tease out how local people understood and experienced local processes of economic change. For many of those I interviewed, memories of past modes of existence continue to exert an affective pull; remembered experiences of time spent within mining landscape retaining relevance to the lives and biographies of local men. Set against the dominant impulse to sever and exclude, individual narratives of change and transformation revealed enduring attachment to past landscapes and past selves; an impulse to shelter identities lived and lost in the transition to the new economy (Rose, 2006). Crucially, while exploring the subjective experiencing of change as to some extent marked by pain and suffering, this chapter sought to identify the productive potential of loss (Eng and Kazanjian, 2003) and to explore memory and narrative as active in the creation of meaning (Leyshon and Bull, 2011; Jones and Garde-Hansen, 2012). Drawing from diverse literature on loss, melancholy, trauma, emotion and memory, I sought to engage a robust concept of subjectivity to demonstrate fractures in neoliberal attempts to remake local lives.

In chapter 7, I concluded discussions of my empirical data. Exploring interviewees' descriptions of the nature of life and labour in the new economy, I examined how local men and women accounted for the impact of tourism-related changes on their lives and livelihoods. In this final chapter, I paid particular attention to descriptions of how it felt to live and work under tourism and examined the strategies mobilised by individuals as they sought to negotiate their place within the

dominant frame. The local men and women I spoke to demonstrated critical insight into the inequities and contradictions of local development projects and a keen awareness of the impact of governmental interventions on their ability to sustain their own lives.[1] Here, my analysis built on observations developed in chapter 6, pointing to the manner in which local men and women display agency and creativity as they attempted to restage power in 'new and productive ways' (Butler in Salins, 2004: 335).

8.2 Contributions to knowledge

In response to recent calls to attend to the 'messy actualities' of neoliberal projects (Larner, 2003), this thesis has offered an in-depth account of how one particular community has been transformed in the context of development programming and conservation interventions. However, while providing a focused analysis of the localised effects of economic restructuring, my analysis raises questions that have implications far beyond the specific case of the Chapada Diamantina. In this section, I summarise the principle theoretical, empirical and methodological contributions of this research project and reflect on the key questions that arise from my analysis.

The complex local struggles over questions of meaning, value and recognition I encountered in the field provided me with rich and nuanced empirical material and demanded that I take an open and flexible approach to data analysis. As described in my methodological chapter, driven by an interest in understanding the lived effects of economic restructuring, the process of fieldwork led me to place greater emphasis on personal experience and to engage more fully in the ways in which individuals understood and interpreted recent changes to their lives. As a result of this approach, in this thesis, I have been able to make a significant contribution to understanding the impact of economic change on subjectivity. I have also provided important reflections on the political inconsistencies and economic inequities that characterise the neoliberal project. Over the course of my analysis, I have drawn upon and combined diverse theoretical approaches, moving between an analysis of the structural consequences of economic change and the subjective experiencing of these processes. It is thus that, in recognising that 'political economy entails problems of meaning' (Greenhouse, 2010: 4-5), this thesis demonstrates the value of ethnographic

[1] Here my analysis drew from the work of Li (2007b).

approaches to the study of neoliberalism and provides insights relevant to a cross-disciplinary audience of anthropologist, geographers and political scientists.[2]

My focus on how complex political economic processes are lived out and interpreted in everyday life also provides important insights into the emotional side of the economic. A key aim of this research was to explore how individuals feel, experience and respond to local processes of economic change and to acknowledge the affective and traumatic dimensions of these processes (14). The narrative accounts of my interviewees constitute powerful testimonies as to the damaging effects of neoliberal restructuring and reveal the burgeoning gap between what is promised and what is delivered by governmental programming (see also Igoe and Brockington, 2007; Li, 2007b). Throughout my analysis, I have paid close attention to individual expressions of pain, anguish, loss and resentment, drawing from emotion and feeling important insights into how local people make sense of and bring meaning to periods of radical change and uncertainty (Leyshon and Bull, 2011). Following Li (2007b), while I claim not to have accessed the inner most thoughts of my research participants (Li, 2007b), I argue that attention to how people feel about the circumstances of their lives can tell us a lot about the contradictions and ambivalences of governmental rule (157). There is, as Hall and O'Shea (2013) have argued, a critical impulse that runs through individualised expressions of disaffection, discontent and uncertainty, an indication of a growing will to challenge the inequalities of the neoliberal present (6).

This acknowledgement of the role of emotion in challenging and negotiating the inconsistencies of the present also raises questions about how to recognise and interpret expressions of agency.[3] In this thesis, I have argued that tourism planning and conservation initiatives have played a key role in shaping, regulating and managing the conduct and aspirations of the local population, imposing certain visions of what is possible in the region in terms of development. However, I have also explored how local people challenge these processes. Looking beyond overt signs or expressions of resistance, I have examined the resources mobilised by individuals as they seek to establish spaces of autonomy within the dominant frame. As my discussions have demonstrated, in narrating their personal experiences of life and

[2] Here this thesis can be understood to respond to Greenhouse's (2010) call to integrate political economy and ethnographic approaches to the study of neoliberalism.

[3] This is a debate with a long history that my thesis does not attempt to resolve. See Butler (1993, 1997), McNay (1999, 2000), Ortner (2005) and Greenhouse (2010) for pertinent discussions of this question.

labour under tourism, local men and women actively respond to neoliberal demands and imperatives, speaking back to processes of exclusion and abjection with creativity. It is thus that my research indicates the value of attending to what people say about their lives and their experiences; it can be argued that it is at the heart of these individualised narratives that the contradictions of neoliberal claims and imperatives are laid bare.

Building on these observations, this thesis has also identified memory as a key 'wellspring' of creativity and agency (Jones and Garde-Hansen, 2012: 8). In chapter 6, I explored personal memories of a life of mining and examined the nature of local men's relationships with the past. My analysis demonstrated how mining continues to serve as a locus of attachment and as a site for the negotiation of meaning. Working against the dominant impulse to sever and exclude, the accounts of my interviewees point to the unresolved, contested and conflicted status of local processes of economic change.

It is here that my research has implications for scholarship examining loss and melancholia as a source of productive potential (Butler, 2003). Existing theoretical work exploring these concepts has pointed to the value of reading contemporary expressions of melancholia for their 'creative, unpredictable and political aspects' (Eng and Kazanjian, 2003: 3; see also Butler, 1993, 1997; Cheug, 1997, 2000; Khanna 2006). In Lençóis today, this sense of potentiality is reflected in the manner in which local men (and women) speak of their lives as both encumbered and enriched by vestiges of the past that linger on. Providing an apt description of this dynamic, Butler (2003) writes:

> Places are lost—destroyed, vacated, barred—but then there is some new place, and it is not the first, never can be the first. And so there is an impossibility housed at the site of this new place. What is new, newness itself, is founded upon the loss of an original place that has within it a sense of belatedness, of coming after, and of being this fundamentally determined by a past that continues to inform it (468).

The suggestion that, although founded upon an act of negation, contemporary experiences of place can never truly be devoid of the past resonates strongly with my empirical data. As demonstrated in my substantive chapters, remnants of past modes of existence continued to inhabit contemporary cultural and economic formations, bringing to the surface alternative meanings of place, history and economy. It is thus

that, in serving as a source of creative potential, we see how loss turns out to be, as Butler writes, 'oddly fecund, paradoxically productive' (Butler, 2003: 468).[4]

But how do we interpret this potential? What value can be derived from identifying the role of melancholy and nostalgia in the present? A key concern running through each of the empirical chapters of this thesis has been to identify how dominant political economic perspectives are met and confronted by residual cultural formations and forms of subjectivity. Bringing diverse theoretical material to bear on rich empirical data, I have attempted to demonstrate how subjectivity resists and confronts dominant political economic forces. While my research indicates the potential for existing self-understandings to reinforce, or at least, potentiate neoliberal demands, there is, as Li (2007a) writes, 'inevitably an excess': 'processes and interactions, histories, solidarities, and attachments, that cannot be reconfigured according to plan' (Li, 2007a). It is here that my research begins to reveal the political limits to the implementation of eco-tourism based in neoliberal principles. I have demonstrated how individuals are able to draw on emotion, memory and affect in transforming political economic imperatives. This leaves scope for further research to shed light on how this excess may be channelled into an effective counter politics.

Finally, it is also worth examining how this thesis interacts with existing scholarship on the Chapada Diamantina region. Throughout my analysis I have drawn on historical and contemporary texts to develop a picture of the social and economic context and to frame my empirical observations. In particular, this research follows the work of Francisco Manuel Matos Brito (2005), whose sociological analysis of tourism development provides a comprehensive overview of local processes of economic change. Building on these observations, in this piece of research I have focused more explicitly on the subjective experiencing of neoliberal restructuring, attributing greater analytical weight to the voices and perspectives of local people.

It is here that I hope that this thesis has offered an alternative perspective to the "problem" of development in the region. Following Li (2007b), in constructing my arguments I have taken not the stance of an expert but have attempted instead to shed light on the complexities and ambiguities of local development initiatives and to make strange the logics and perspectives upon which they depend (2-3; see also Rose,

[4] Shukla (2010) also argues that, in asserting 'differences that matter', spaces of nostalgia may reveal something productive.

1999). In particular, I have sought to shift attention away from talk of how best to manage the organisation of social and economic relationships. As I have noted previously, there emerges, in both governmental programming and regional scholarship, a tendency to speak of the local population as requiring intervention, as the natural target of disciplinary and regulatory mechanisms. Calling for community empowerment, education (Araújo, 2002) and participation (Brito, 2005), these analyses can be seen to articulate the local population as a resource to be managed, honed and perfected so that they may be better incorporated into the new economy. I argued that this way of envisioning the capacities of the collective subject reveals itself to be underpinned by a distinctly neoliberal common-sense; one that can be linked to the vitiating of subjective complaints and demands.[5]

8.3 Avenues for further research

While making an important contribution to current debates regarding the social and cultural effects of neoliberalism, the interdisciplinary and exploratory nature of this research project also raises important question and avenues for further research. In this section, I outline two possible areas for further investigation.

In both the theoretical and substantive chapters of this thesis, I have begun to engage with theories of governmentality and have demonstrated their relevance for understanding the manner in which local processes of economic change have transformed experiences of everyday life. However, further work is required to understand the specific 'technologies' that produce governmentality in the Chapada Diamantina. An analysis of this kind could further develop the critique of governmentality that emerges in the thesis and could shed new light on the ways governance is produced in non-urban areas.

This research also raises interesting questions about forms of resistance that emerge in the context of change and uncertainty. One example, explore in chapter 7, is the rejection of the *carteira assinada*. In contrast to much existing literature, my research identified a tendency to reject formal work among local men. In my analysis, I demonstrated how precarious labour may open up a space for critiquing neoliberal working subjectivities and for resisting the continuation of unequal labour relations.

[5] Here I draw on an argument made by Biehl et al (2007) who suggest that the substitution of everyday commonsense categories and practices for rational and technical ones, vitiates the moral and political meaning of subjective complaints and protests (3).

However, further work could be undertaken to explore how this dynamic relates to local peoples' attempts to produce 'human capital' on their own terms. This would provide further insights into the manner in which local men and women are able to resist and confront dominant political economic imperatives.

8.4 Final remarks

In the introduction to my methodological chapter, I spoke of my emotional engagement with this piece of research. Over the four years of this PhD my relationship with Lençóis has undoubtedly changed but my desire to capture something of the lives of local residents and to communicate some notion of their experiences of economic transformation has remained the same. In writing this thesis, I hope to have done justice to the stories shared with me over the course of my research and to have made some contribution to attempts to bring greater attention to the difficulties faced by local social actors. However, I also stress that the reflections and observations that I have shared in this thesis reveal not the "truth" of local lives or experiences; they are, rather, intimately shaped by my own subjectivity. The findings of this research project are thus only partial: open to, and inviting of, contestation and critique.

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Appendices

Appendix A: Interview Schedule

Pseudonym	Date of interview
Roberto	28/06/2012
André	28/06/2012
Adriano	13/07/2012
Erick	26/07/2012
Cesár	06/08/2012
Danilo	07/08/2012
Dafne e Bernardo	07/08/2012
Carla	08/08/2012
Marcos	08/08/2012
Renan	08/08/2012
Gabriel	08/08/2012
Iago	09/08/2012
Carlos	10/08/2012
Alana	13/08/2012
Clarice	13/08/2012
Juliano	14/08/2012
Dário	14/08/2012
Flávio	15/08/2012
Roy	16/08/2012
Danilo	20/08/2012
Joana	20/08/2012
Vagner	20/08/2012
Samuel	21/08/2012
Lucas	23/08/2012
Robert	23/08/2012
Matheus	27/08/2012
Juliana	27/08/2012
Wiliam	28/08/2012
Lorena	29/08/2012
Eduardo	30/08/2012
Thiago	01/09/2012
José	03/09/2012
Gustavo	03/09/2012
Caio	04/09/2012
Helena	05/10/2012
Junior	06/10/2012
Marina	06/10/2012
Arthur	07/10/2012
Igor	09/10/2012
Fernanda	09/10/2012

Pseudonym	Date of interview
Luiz	19/10/2012
Débora	20/10/2012
Silvia	20/10/2012
Luciano	23/10/2012
Barbara	24/10/2012
Beatriz	25/10/2012
Pedro	30/10/2012
Leonardo	30/10/2012
Brenda	31/10/2012
Bruno	05/11/2012
Jessica	07/11/2012
Alessandra	07/11/2012
David	08/11/2012
Jean	08/11/2012
Emerson	09/11/2012
Fernando	09/11/2012
Marcio	12/11/2012
Ester	13/11/2012
Miguel	13/11/2012
Renata e Guilherme	14/11/2012
Isabela	16/11/2012
Juan	19/11/2012
Patrícia	20/11/2012
Felipe	20/11/2012
Ana	21/11/2012
Rodrigo	21/11/2012
Clara	22/11/2012
Cristian	23/11/2012
João	24/11/2012
Gabriela	28/11/2012
Vitor	28/11/2012
Carolina	29/11/2012
Carol	29/11/2012