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## **Community-based tourism in the context of the neoliberal paradigm: counter-hegemonic initiatives and land disputes in northeastern Brazil**

### ***Turismo comunitario en el contexto del paradigma neoliberal: iniciativas contrahegemónicas y disputas por la tierra en el nordeste de Brasil***

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#### **Abstract**

In the context of the neoliberal model, the expansion of tourism has been promoted by prioritizing market structures, supporting large businesses and often sidelining initiatives focused on social justice and equitable income distribution. Community-based tourism (CBT), in contrast, is seen as a counter-hegemonic practice aiming for greater socio-economic equity, unlike its conventional counterpart. This study aims to analyze the motivating factors and action strategies behind the development of CBT in Chã de Jardim, Doces Tambaba, and Porto do Capim in Paraíba State (northeastern Brazil). The methodology involved analyzing documents on public tourism policies, gathering data from non-governmental organizations and digital platforms, and conducting interviews. Despite challenging conditions, it was concluded that CBT is gaining visibility in Brazil. In the contexts examined, it represents counter-hegemonic actions, serving as a strategy to ensure land tenure.

**Keywords:** Community-based tourism, Land dispute, Neoliberalism, 2030 Agenda, Northeastern Brazil

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## Resumen

En el contexto del modelo neoliberal, se ha promovido la expansión del turismo dando prioridad a las estructuras de mercado, apoyando a las grandes empresas y, a menudo, dejando de lado las iniciativas centradas en la justicia social y la distribución equitativa de los ingresos. El turismo comunitario (turismo basado en la comunidad, turismo con base comunitaria o TBC), por el contrario, se considera una práctica contrahegemónica que persigue una mayor equidad socioeconómica, a diferencia de su homólogo convencional. Este estudio pretende analizar los factores motivadores y las estrategias de acción que subyacen en el desarrollo del TBC en Chã de Jardim, Doces Tambaba y Porto do Capim, en el estado de Paraíba (nordeste de Brasil). La metodología consistió en el análisis de documentos sobre políticas públicas de turismo, la recopilación de datos de organizaciones no gubernamentales y plataformas digitales, y la realización de entrevistas. Aunque las condiciones son desfavorables, se concluyó que la TDC está ganando visibilidad en Brasil. En los contextos examinados, representa acciones contrahegemónicas, sirviendo como estrategia para garantizar la propiedad de la tierra.

**Palabras clave:** Turismo comunitario, Disputa por la tierra, Neoliberalismo, Agenda 2030, Nordeste de Brasil

## 1. Introducción

From the 1990s onwards, the ideology of the neoliberal state began to guide government actions in Brazil. As part of this paradigm, tourism policies favored structuring works (airports, highways, sanitation, and urban projects) in order to capitalize on the territory to attract investment and promote the country abroad. Such policies show a preference for tourism practices that tend to favor large markets and investors, in line with the neoliberal doctrine (Harvey, 2008), which views the territory as a resource for wealth production (Santos *et al.*, 2000).

Concurrently, discussions about sustainability grew, and since the 2000s, the strengthening of counter-hegemonic actions) became evident, exemplified by community-based tourism (CBT) (Santos, 2009, 2012; Moraes *et al.*, 2018; Coriolano and Sampaio, 2013). In CBT, communities are pivotal, emphasizing the local economy, ecosystems, and culture.

The characteristics of CBT, as outlined in Brazilian literature (Coriolano and Lima, 2003; Maldonado, 2009; Irving, 2002, 2009; Mendonça, 2009; Oliveira and Marinho, 2009; Moraes *et al.*, 2018, 2020), include the defense of territory, a theme present in the demands of communities considered to be pioneers of this practice in Brazil. An example is the Prainha do Canto Verde artisanal fishing community on the coast of Ceará in northeastern Brazil, which utilized CBT to strengthen its territory and culture in the face of threats from large-scale enterprises (Moraes, 2019).

This study investigates three communities in the state of Paraíba, located in northeastern Brazil: Chã de Jardim, in the municipality of Areia; Doces Tambaba, in Conde; and Porto do Capim, in João Pessoa, the state capital. These communities share a common focus on CBT as a movement of territorial resistance to neoliberal public interventions amid land ownership and permanence issues.

Given the above, we sought to analyze the motivating factors and action strategies for developing CBT in Chã de Jardim, Doces Tambaba, and Porto do Capim. Through this analysis, the work aims to contribute to understanding CBT within the Brazilian context, even amidst a challenging neoliberal environment.

## 2. Methodology

The theoretical perspective guiding this study conceptualizes space as a dynamic interplay of objects and systems of actions that mutually influence each other, leading to the utilization of a territory (Santos, 2009, 2012). This process, known as territorialization, arises from the functional roles that different regions assume within the spatial division of labor, hence transforming space through its application.

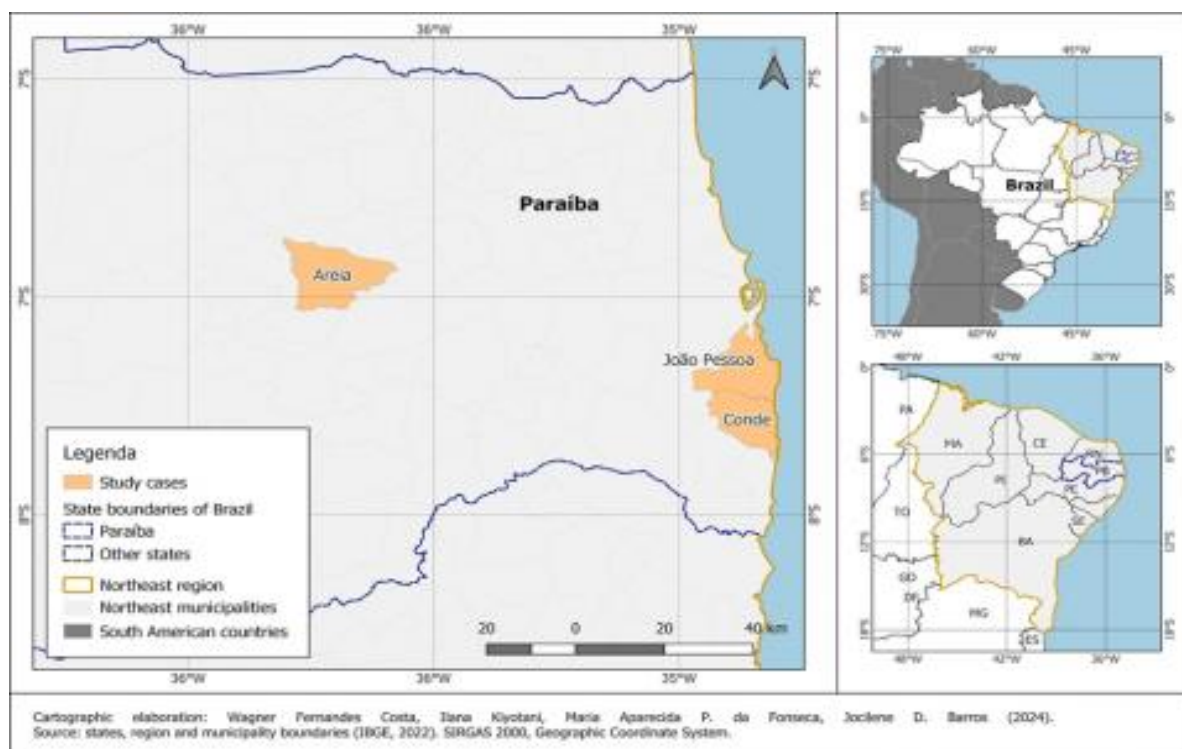
In adopting this theoretical and methodological framework, our research sought out literature that addresses CBT with a focus on land rights struggles or emphasizes the importance of local valorization – culture, activities, and employment – as a central aspect of such initiatives (Coriolano, 2009; Sansolo and Burzryn, 2009). Notable contributions include Irving (2009), Silva *et al.* (2009), Gómez *et al.* (2015), and Lima *et al.* (2022). Additional relevant works discussing CBT within the Brazilian context were also reviewed, highlighting the contribution of the CBT-REDE virtual library in cataloging Brazilian CBT research.

For the identification of existing CBTs in Northeastern Brazil, data was gathered from thesis and dissertation databases, academic search platforms (Google Scholar, SciELO, Redalyc), and social media networks (Facebook, Instagram) using keywords such as “community-based tourism,” “community tourism,” and “CBT.” This search yielded 529 documents, including academic papers, thesis projects, web content, videos, and social media pages. Furthermore, inquiries were conducted through online and telephone surveys among travel agencies, social organizations, and CBT networks.

Analysis of public tourism policies implemented by the Brazilian government revealed the inclusion of CBT in National Tourism Plans (MTur, 2013, 2018). Studies synthesizing national and state tourism policies post-2008 (MTur, 2023a) – after the launch of the inaugural CBT promotion initiative via the MTur Public Call for Projects/No. 001/2008 – were also examined. This review provides insights into CBT’s integration into Brazil’s tourism landscape, including the scope of initiatives, distribution across macro-regions, and established networks.

The MTur (2023b) survey highlighted that Paraíba hosts 10 CBT communities spread across inland and coastal areas. To gain deeper insights, three initiatives recognized nationally and internationally were chosen for qualitative analysis. In 2023, two of these were finalists for the Expo Favela 2023 award, where “Doces Tambaba” was honored as one of the ten most innovative initiatives. Additionally, the state’s oldest CBT in Chã de Jardim won the Open Passport award from the World Tourism Journalism Organization, underscoring its social impact. Subsequent fieldwork in February 2024 included semi-structured interviews with community leaders in these areas to explore the motivations behind CBT implementation and the strategies used for promotion.

The study focused on two communities in rural areas (Chã de Jardim/Areia and Assentamento Tambaba/Conde) and one in an urban setting (Porto do Capim/João Pessoa) (Figure 1).

**Figure 1: Location of the study areas**

Source: IBGE (2022)

At Assentamento Tambaba/Conde, home to CBT Doces Tambaba, a round table featured discussions among the project's pioneer, the current leader, and another collaborator, totaling three participants (two women and one man). Similar discussions took place in Porto do Capim/João Pessoa with a youth collective leading the CBT, involving six participants (five women and one man). Lastly, in Chã de Jardim/Areia, the study interviewed the principal leader of the CBT project since its inception (a woman).

### **3. Territory as a refuge within the neoliberal paradigm: the evolution of community-based tourism in Brazil**

The exploitation and expropriation of territories continue to be significant outcomes of capitalist relations and the systematic deepening of these relations since the last quarter of the 20th century (Sassen, 2016). The requisition of areas for primary activities, transfers of environmental liabilities from industry, the establishment of infrastructure and urbanization projects, and new forms of labor relations represent some aspects of this economic order.

However, when pressured to identify new operational fronts, economic activities led by business corporations often encounter resistance from groups established in these territories. In settings characterized by imposition and dominance, affected population groups forge knowledge, economic alternatives, and political practices of resistance, organizing themselves either from a desire to retain their identities or from a necessity to continue their existence, as highlighted by Santos (2012), Porto-Goncalves (2017), and Boaventura Santos (2019, 2022).

Therefore, the advancement of the neoliberal economic model has highlighted a contradiction in territorial perception. While proponents of this model (notably, large businesses and the state) view territory as an opportunity for the reproduction and accumulation of capital, and thus, a resource, for population groups, the same territory becomes a shelter, supporting activities that reproduce differently in terms of production, politics, and culture (Santos *et al.*, 2000).

Tourism, captured as a social practice serving capitalist accumulation, evolves in lockstep with contemporary globalized capitalism. Generally, this model overlooks social, environmental, or cultural considerations in its areas of operation (Coriolano and Sampaio, 2013; Moraes *et al.*, 2020). Similarly, governments often reduce tourism to an economic growth instrument, promoting actions that primarily benefit projects of interest to large (often international) businesses, forsaking a holistic development approach for a narrower vision. This approach fails to equate job creation with social betterment or inclusion for the population.

Conversely, CBT has been recognized as a counter-hegemonic practice, advocating for greater inclusion, social justice, solidarity, and environmental and cultural sustainability (Coriolano and Sampaio, 2013; Moraes *et al.*, 2020; Kiyotani *et al.*, 2022; Bartholo *et al.*, 2016; Lee and Jan, 2019). The research conducted by Lima *et al.* (2022), which synthesized the tenets of CBT identified in Brazilian literature, served as the basis for this study. These include local protagonism, self-management, generating economic benefits for local populations, valuing local culture, commitment to nature conservation, opportunities for genuine visitor engagement, and enhancing local communities' well-being and quality of life.

Since the mid-1980s, CBT initiatives have been integrated into resistance movements and the preservation of ancestral territories in Latin America, countering global market pressures on rural and indigenous communities' natural and cultural heritage (Maldonado, 2009). In Brazil, the earliest CBT initiatives emerged in the 1990s and solidified into networks by the early 2000s, spearheaded by NGOs and civil society in diverse communities (Moraes *et al.*, 2023, 2024). Following 2003, several networks were established, garnering nationwide attention, including *Rede Brasileira de Turismo Solidário e Comunitário (Rede Turisol)*, *Rede Cearense de Turismo Comunitário (Rede Tucum)*, and *Rede Batuc* (2005), which had a significant impact nationwide. These were followed by other networks: *Rede Nhandereko* (2006), *Redetur* (2011), *Rede Caiçara* (2013), *Rede de Turismo Rural Consciente* (2020), and *Rede de Turismo de Base Comunitária da Paraíba* (2021) (MTur, 2023a).

Regarding government actions, the Public Call for Projects to support CBT initiatives through Notice 01/2008, issued by the Ministry of Tourism (MTur), is a benchmark in Brazil. Through this call, the MTur selected and supported 50 CBT actions nationwide (Silva *et al.*, 2009). However, after this initiative, discontinuity in public tourism policies and a lack of financial incentives ended up dismantling many of the initiatives that had been growing stronger (Bartholo *et al.*, 2016). In 2017, nearly a decade later, a call for proposals by the Chico Mendes Biodiversity Institute (ICMBio) supported nine CBT proposals in conservation units (ICMBio, 2019). A new ICMBio call in 2024 aims to support six CBT initiatives within conservation units, emphasizing the Amazon and other biomes.

Recent documentation from MTur recognizes 40 national CBT initiatives, with a notable expansion in the Southeast region, accounting for 45% of the total due to the concentration of conventional tourism (MTur, 2023b). The Northeast accounts for 20%, the South and North for 15% each, and the Midwest for 5% (Table 1) (Fonseca *et al.*, 2022).

**Table 1: Distribution of community-based tourism initiatives in Brazil, 2022**

Region	Brazilian state	Number (%)
Southeast	São Paulo	8 (20)
Southeast	Rio de Janeiro	5 (12.5)
Southeast	Minas Gerais	4 (10)
Southeast	Espírito Santo	1 (2.5)
<b>Total</b>		<b>18 (45)</b>
Northeast	Bahia	3 (7.5)
Northeast	Ceará	2 (5)
Northeast	Paraíba	2 (5)
Northeast	Maranhão	1 (2.5)
<b>Total</b>		<b>8 (20)</b>
South	Santa Catarina	3 (7.5)
South	Rio Grande do Sul	2 (5)
South	Paraná	1 (2.5)
<b>Total</b>		<b>6 (15)</b>
North	Amazonas	5 (12.5)
North	Tocantins	1 (2.5)
<b>Total</b>		<b>6 (15)</b>
Midwest	Goiás	1 (2.5)
Distrito Federal	Distrito Federal	1 (2.5)

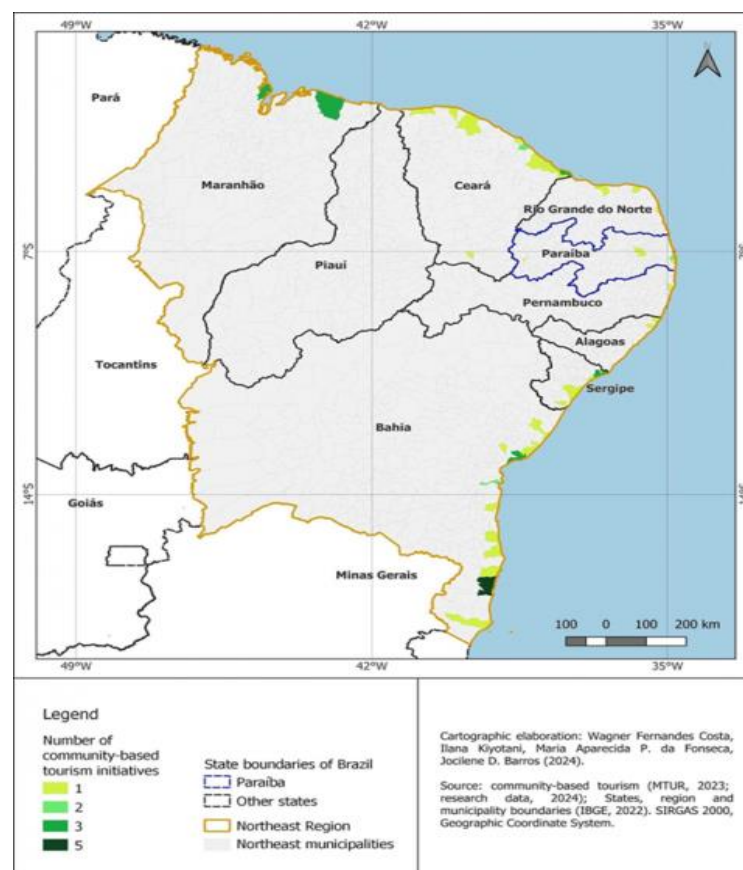


<b>Total</b>		<b>2 (5)</b>
<b>Overall total</b>		<b>40 (100)</b>

Source: MTur (2023b).

In the course of this research, a discrepancy emerged in the data from different sources, making it impossible to definitively quantify the number of experiences and locations that support CBT in the country. This uncertainty underscores the low priority given to this form of tourism. Nonetheless, the discrepancy does not render the study infeasible and represents an additional data point for analysis. Although official figures suggest only 40 CBT initiatives across Brazil, a targeted survey<sup>5</sup> of the Northeast region identified 69 CBT practices in the states of Bahia and Ceará (Figure 2), being particularly noteworthy due to their cooperation and support networks for communities looking to develop CBT proposals.

**Figure 2: Distribution of community-based tourism actions in northeastern Brazil, 2023**



Source: MTur (2023b), survey data (2024).

From the data presented, it is evident that CBT has been gaining momentum in Brazil since the early 2000s through both local initiatives and the establishment of networks that connect various communities. The period from 2003 to 2014 marked a greater openness to social demands in Brazil, leading to a focus on agendas and investments aimed at achieving

greater social equity, a trend that extended to tourism policies, including CBT. However, the political crisis that began in 2016 interrupted this progress. The advancement of neoliberal policies in the country (2016-2022) resulted in retrenching support for CBT-related initiatives. The re-emergence of neoliberal policies underscores the importance of considering CBT's potential to counteract dominant economic, political, and cultural narratives as a means of ensuring land ownership and sustained presence in territories, a topic that will be explored through the cases analyzed in this paper.

#### 4. Community-based tourism and resistance in northeastern Brazilian

Tourism contributes to the expropriation of territories by developing large hotel and real estate complexes and urban requalification projects. In the Northeastern region of Brazil, historically characterized by land concentration, the effects of tourism were accelerated in the 1990s due to policies encouraging tourism under a neoliberal political alignment. Against this backdrop of adversity, marked by land expropriation, real estate speculation, and workforce overexploitation, communities organized to develop the first CBT initiatives in the region despite their invisibility in public tourism policies (Coriolano, 2009).

Paraíba, until recently, was a relatively unknown tourist destination, even in conventional “sun and sea tourism.” The situation began to change in 2021 when marketing campaigns succeeded in attracting a larger influx of tourists, establishing João Pessoa as one of Brazil's most sought-after destinations.<sup>7</sup> Moreover, Paraíba has gained prominence with its CBT initiatives, receiving national and international attention: Chã de Jardim, Doces Tambaba, and *Vivenciando o Porto do Capim* [Experiencing Porto do Capim].

The Chã de Jardim community is located in the municipality of Areia, adjacent to the Mata Pau Ferro State Park (Figure 3). The creation of this Conservation Unit in the 1990s displaced some community members who subsequently resided in its vicinity. This displacement prompted the development of activities near the reserve to sustain those displaced. In 2006, influenced by the Park's management, a group of young community members established the Association for the Sustainable Development of the Chã de Jardim Community, focusing on training in associativism and entrepreneurship. Regarding the association's creation and the beginning of the joint work, the community leader stated:

“The association was set up with the people who had left the forest and the young people who lived in the area [...] for the families who had been removed, houses were built on the banks of the road that surrounds the forest, a handicraft store was built and a fruit pulp factory [...] in theory, the project was wonderful.] in theory, the project was wonderful, it was said that it was no longer allowed to create or plant, because it became a crime, and the people removed would live with the structure built [...] the problem was that there was no training, and within ten years a process of these people leaving began. Those who stayed and joined the association now live off the CBT. (Chã de Jardim leadership)

Thus, the desire to remain in the place of origin, based on improving the living conditions of the community members, becomes a reality provided by the development of CBT. As a result of their experience with the ecosystem, these young people developed and began to offer the tourist service called *Trilha no Parque* [Park Trail], succeeded by *Piquenique na Mata* [Forest Picnic].

With the consolidation of these activities, a series of demands arose for new services, stimulating the structuring of new experiences and tourist enterprises. The opening of a rural restaurant has raised Chã de Jardim to national prominence. More recently, in 2021, an inn bringing national recognition to Chã de Jardim was opened.



**Figure 3: The Chã de Jardim Community**

Source: Chã de Jardim (@chadejardim)

The Tambaba Rural Settlement community, located in the municipality of Conde on the coast of Paraíba and winner of the ExpoFavela award, has a history marked by the struggle to remain in the territory (Figure 4). Its possession of the land was threatened by legal action, associated with acts of violence and the expulsion of families who had settled there. However, inspired by the Chã de Jardim initiative, the creators of the “Doces Tambaba” enterprise also envisioned alternatives for improving living conditions in this settlement, with the motivation of changing the historical situation of attempts to expel people and occupy marginal jobs which, for various reasons, have stimulated the exodus of people.

**Figure 4: Community settlement Tambaba/Doces Tambaba**

Source: Extreme Move (2018)

That is how, in 2013, women leaders started the first activities linked to tourism, selling handmade sweets on the banks of the highway that leads to the local beaches. A year later, a rustic Doces Tambaba store was built, as reported by the project leadership:

*“When we arrived here, it was a forest; the land belonged to a colonel who imposed significant challenges on us. Many people were beaten, others were threatened with death. In total, we went through six evictions, during which they also set fire to the structures we had built. Thirty-seven years ago, these lands were expropriated and turned into a settlement. In the meantime, many people left to look for work, and we ourselves worked for others. The turning point was the transformation of this whole community because, today, the people of this community, who once worked for others, now work for themselves. They own restaurants, campsites, and inns. Doces Tambaba has made it possible for people to stay within this settlement so that they do not have to leave and live in the urban area”* (Doces Tambaba leadership).

Motivated by the consolidation of the first enterprise, other women from the community started their own businesses in the settlement. Today, the place is known as Shopping Rural Tambaba, with 11 family businesses (Nagabe, 2019).

The CBT initiative titled Experiencing Porto do Capim, located in the urban and historic area of João Pessoa, was the brainchild of a group of young people (women and men) from the Porto Capim community. This initiative was based on a need identified by the community's Women's Association (Figure 5).

**Figure 5: Porto Capim Community/Living Porto Capim**



Source: Young community members of Porto Capim (2024)

This community's historical-identity relationship with the riverside environment dates back to the beginning of the 20th century, when its first residents settled on the banks of the

Sanhauá River due to the construction of the capital's first port, which was deactivated in 1940. The first tourism mobilizations began in 2015 and began from the need to prove the traditional relationship with the riverside territory; the local leadership briefly detailed this situation:

*“The main motivation for Experiencing Porto do Capim to become a tourism project was to strengthen the community's narratives, it is the stage for the narratives of the Porto do Capim Riverside Territory [...] The tourism proposal arises firstly as a strengthening of the community's narratives, secondly as capitalization, for us to monetize what we were already doing, and thirdly, to counter the municipality's narrative of removing the community.”* (Experiencing Porto do Capim leadership)

This movement reported above occurred as a result of an urban development project led by the local government, aimed at redeveloping the area and implying the removal of the community.

In common, as already mentioned, these three communities saw CBT as an opportunity to stay in their territories by generating work and income. In addition, for the Tambaba Settlement communities and the Porto do Capim Community, permanence also means proving the link they need to secure victories in legal proceedings that threaten their lands.

It is important to note from the speeches of the leaders how the need to defend or remain on the land they occupy was a motivating factor in starting the CBT, as well as earning income that makes it possible to support their populations and keep the natural conditions and cultural aspects that mark their way of life preserved. These motivations are intertwined, forming complex scenarios that refer to the territorial dimensions of their existence. Based on the survey conducted with the leaders, it was possible to draw a summary chart of the main motivating factors for the development of CBT and the action strategies present in the three communities (Table 2).

**Table 2: Characterization of community-based tourism actions, 2024**

Characteristics	Chã de Jardim	Doces Tambaba	Experiencing Porto do Capim
Year founded	2006	2013	2015
Leadership	Female protagonism	Female protagonism	Female protagonism
Motivating factors	Source of income, permanence in the territory, and improved quality of life	Permanence in the territory, source of income, and improved quality of life	Territorial defense
Ethnic-social typology/identification	Rural community/peasant	Rural community/peasant	Urban/riverine community
Form of management	Associations	Family self-management	Community cohesion



Services linked to the CBT	Guided trails in the forest; workshops; food services; accommodation; sale of handicraft products	Selling handmade products	Guiding in the community; food services; canoe trips
Multiplier effect	Purchasing products from other communities; direct and indirect job creation; (associative) entrepreneurship	Purchasing products from other communities; direct job creation; (family) entrepreneurship	Volunteer work; purchasing community products
Market insertion strategies	Social media, reports (TV, newspapers, magazines), regional and national tourism agencies	Social media and reports (TV, newspapers), local tourism guides	Social media

Source: Research data (2024)

The initiatives profiled prominently feature female leadership from their inception through planning and implementation, continuing to this day. These women remain central figures in the described CBT projects and are frequently invited across various Brazilian states to speak on entrepreneurship and tourism. Previous discussions highlighted that territorial vulnerabilities in three communities served as a catalyst for implementing CBT from diverse viewpoints. Specifically, Chã de Jardim and Doces Tambaba faced territoriality issues driven by residents' migration to urban areas for better living conditions, such as employment, income, and education. In contrast, the Porto do Capim community's challenges are magnified by land loss threats, with municipal government efforts to displace them.

In the cases analyzed, the economic context in which the CBT's actions began was marked by the low availability of financial resources. In Chã de Jardim and Doces Tambaba, CBT actions were geared towards finding an alternative source of income, which until then had been restricted to agricultural and extractive activities. In these areas, one of the effects of the difficult economic situation was the departure of young people in search of jobs in urban areas, with the consequent abandonment of traditional activities. Today, the dynamization of local capital, by prioritizing its residents to business opportunities, jobs, and income from CBT-related services, is helping to change this reality, as mentioned in the interviews with members of Doces Tambaba and Chã de Jardim:

*"Before, we lived in a situation where the crops didn't allow us to survive, we went hungry [...]. When we decided to change and invest in rural tourism and family farming, to do things differently, that's when we managed to change the reality of this community."* (Doces Tambaba leadership)

*"Today there are real gains, people with a formal contract, who earn their salaries, all their rights, without having to leave the community and without being a big businessman who has signed his contract, it's a small one, who has become an MEI and that's it."* (Chão de Jardim leadership)

In the Porto do Capim Community, the work carried out by the group at the head of the CBT has still been directly affected by the struggle to remain on the land. In this case, the interruption of tourist services jeopardizes the economic benefits when attention turns to fighting the local government's attempts to remove the community.

Culturally, the community services accentuate and preserve traditional representations, such as dances, legends, and cuisine, alongside peasant and riverside life narratives and knowledge. This approach significantly boosts the communities' self-esteem and combats internal stigma production that fosters discrimination, as can be seen in the statements below:

*"The main benefit of CBT is the empowerment of people. They no longer live in a peasant community, where the fate of the workers was to migrate to the big cities in search of work, but in a community that is a reference, that has won international awards, that is in the media all the time. This is the main achievement, this pride that people feel."* (Chã de Jardim leadership)

*"We've been saying for a long time that we're a traditional riverside community and tourism has helped with that. The CBT brings together the political aspect of activism, the economic aspect and the cultural aspect. It's as if tourism created an imaginary bridge between the city and our community, it [the CBT] breaks down this idea that the railway line and the streets of the historic center limit visitors from entering the community, that they shouldn't cross the street, because visitors might come across a humble, deprived and violent community."* (Experiencing Porto do Capim leadership)

In the Chã de Jardim community, the CBT initiative aimed to enhance respect for and preservation of the surrounding forest ecosystem through the development of trails and workshops. In Doces Tambamba, innovations in interactions with natural elements were observed, particularly regarding the reuse of available materials for rustic structures. In the urban context, the Experiencing Porto do Capim tours have initially sought to foster engagement with the mangrove ecosystem, addressing and correcting historically erroneous perceptions about this environment.

In this community, cultural and riverside environmental aspects merge with political actions, becoming central to the defense of their territory. The introduction of the first tourism-related services highlighted the role of external actors. In Chã de Jardim, support and guidance from the management of Mata do Pau Ferro Park were crucial in directing the youth's efforts and emphasizing the significance of forming an association. Subsequently, SEBRAE (Brazilian Micro and Small Business Support Service) provided training in entrepreneurship and market practices. At CBT Doces Tambamba, SEBRAE also enhanced tourism through technical advice and brand development (Nagabe, 2019).

In Porto do Capim, the community benefited from technical support from the Federal University of Paraíba, offering expertise in various fields and political training. Tourism activities in all three communities commenced with member participation and cooperation, initially adhering to community and family cohesion. Nonetheless, Chã de Jardim formalized an association to bolster its ventures. Promotional strategies across the three cases commonly employed social media. Chã de Jardim and Doces Tambamba spontaneously promoted their attractions via stories and digital platforms, alongside partnerships with tourism agents (guides and agencies) and through lectures by two female leaders across Brazil. Leaders of Experiencing Porto Capim opted for exclusive promotion on social networks, avoiding tour operators upholding the principles of dialogue, conviviality, and respect for the community's pace and space, contrasted with mass tourism.

## 5. Conclusion

The intention identified in public tourism policies in Brazil has been to promote the territory as a resource for generating wealth, favoring large investors and mass tourism, and adhering to the principles of the neoliberal paradigm. However, despite market rationality becoming the norm and rendering alternative tourism proposals in government policies invisible, CBT is spreading throughout the country. In this context, a preliminary conclusion is that CBT already represents a counter-hegemonic and resistance movement in tourism due to the absence of policies and financial incentives that encourage more inclusive and sustainable tourism practices – economically, socially, culturally, and environmentally.

The varying contexts of the struggles to maintain their territories for the cases analyzed underscored the dialectic of losses and gains that characterize the territorial dynamics of the Chã de Jardim, Doces Tambaba, and Experiencing Porto do Capim initiatives. This dynamic stems from the fact that while the need to ensure territorial permanence was the primary motivation for community tourism, the structural conditions, services, and gains observed in each community reflect the opportunities provided by the moments of tension in the conflicts over land.

Despite the structural rationality imposed by the dominant economic model – characterized by spatial competitiveness, intensive consumption of territory, and exploitation of classes – the localities focused on in this study have fostered management practices and community solidarity that promote the decentralization of gains, benefiting a larger number of people. The perspectives offered by the leaders also suggest improvements in living conditions and socio-cultural empowerment through the strengthening of CBT.

Lastly, we understand that the most notable limitation of this study was the lack of updated, compiled, and reliable data on community-based tourism in Brazil.

It is also discernible that the complexity of the observed reality has stimulated additional reflections and identified avenues for future research. For instance, how does CBT intersect with market logic? When embedded in neoliberalism, do the acts of resistance and the struggle for land necessitate mediation by creating a market? Hence, we understand that these questions are consequences of this research.

In the cases examined, promoting CBT was necessary to enable productive activities, job creation, and income generation and justify territorial retention. Without market engagement, the land struggle would have been significantly weakened. More specifically, another suggestion for future research is understanding how CBT can employ promotional tools similar to those used in conventional tourism. This approach was evident in some of the cases examined, particularly in tourist reception agencies not specializing in CBT, which did not compromise the principles and values of these actions and possibly contributed to their recognition.

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