The Politics of Paradise: Aesthetic Fantasies of Otherwise within Tourist Economies in Northeast Brazil

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Abstract

This thesis asks how the concept of paradise offers an insight into the formation of political communities in tourist locations. I argue that ideas of paradise underpin the fantasies through which residents of Praia da Pipa, a paradisial beach town in northeast Brazil, cope with the changing demands of touristic economies as the town grows. Through their embodied engagements with paradisial space, I argue residents produce, reproduce, and challenge inequalities inherent to the developing tourist industry and persisting colonial social hierarchy through the political communities they form. Using ethnographic data, I explore the multiple and contrasting ways in which residents make sense of the world around them through the sense that life in Pipa should somehow be different and the way their engagements with the town both impart this expectation and challenge it, creating paradise as they do. To do this, I trace four interconnected modes of paradise as residents sense and enact it in the town to demonstrate the often-surprising ways in which its fantasies form the basis for possible social relations there. Firstly, I look at the way spatial conflicts engender governance through rendering the space one of consumption; secondly I explore the temporal framings through which residents craft their worlds through attachments to paradise; thirdly I consider how Edenic understandings underpin resistance; and finally I explore how the circulation of touristic capital in the form of mobility prompts chance connections and solidarities. Fantasies of paradise enable unexpected communities of sense within expected hierarchies of colonial power and capital, through which residents enact a critique of the limits of utopian promises of touristic development and its economies of dispossession. Overall, this interdisciplinary thesis contributes to understandings of the role of fantasies in the production of and challenges to touristic development and the political relations therein.

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Contents

Chapter 1: Sejam bem vindos ao paraíso

Welcome to Paradise

Figure 1 Image of Praia do Centro[1]

A car horn beeps repeatedly as the driver resignedly tries to make his way through the crowd that inevitably gathers outside the reggae bar at the end of the night. Laughing groups of friends in the middle of the road only peripherally register the headlights carving their way through the smoke unfurling from cigarettes and joints. Noise from the horn only partially cuts through the music and laughter that hangs in the air as palpably as any smoke could. Some girls dance amid the beams of light. It's like a smoke machine at a disco. The air is warm, there's still three caiprinhas on sale for ten *reais* from a cart outside even though the bar has closed. 'No, no no' Dawn Penn's voice seems to make it to people's ears more readily than the car horn, 'you don't love me and I know now' she continues as some unseen voices in the crowd join in. The air is warm, the smells of cannabis and the pasteis cooking nearby are mingling with the breeze coming through the overhanging palm trees. And even though the buzz of conversation pierced with shouts of laughter is undoubtedly pleasant, I feel a little lost. The problem is that I don't speak Spanish, and nearly everyone around me is doing so. Valentino, a Brazilian friend who sees my confused face, amid slipping effortlessly between Portuguese and Spanish, stops and laughs.

[1] All photographs my own.

‘Well… why didn’t you learn some before you came?’ he teasingly asks me.

I’m indignant. ‘I didn’t know I’d need to! I thought Portuguese would be plenty given that I’ve come to Brazil…’

‘Ahhhh, *querida*, that’s where you went wrong. You’re not in Brazil, you’re in Pipa. You’re in paradise…’

Paradise. There that word was again. I had come to Praia da Pipa, a small touristic beach town in northeast Brazil, to research something else, but my interest in practices of the consumption of national novelas (soap operas) in a small tourist town came up again and again against the same challenge. People would tell me that ‘nobody watches that sort of thing here’ because life in Pipa was somehow different. They’d tell me I needed to go down the coast and find a ‘normal’ place to learn about that, as Pipa had too much going on to be marred by something so quotidian. They’d tell me again and again that I was in paradise now, so I didn’t need to worry about something so boring, so chato. Whilst it became clear from further conversation that in fact many of the town’s residents did in fact watch novelas as I had hoped, the way their justifications centred around beliefs that Pipa offered a way of life that other places did not intrigued me. It was clear that Pipa represented something more to many people, and its relationship with the idea of paradise was never far from vision.

However, what was not immediately clear was why paradise was so important. It was clear that Pipa was a beautiful place with many of the features common to both the global construction of the beach as a space of leisure (Löfgren, 2002) and the Edenic tropical features central to the colonial imaginaries of Brazil which still characterise its relations today (Holanda, 2000 [1959]). But why this would make daily life in the town different was less immediately apparent. After all, within a place where the growing touristic economy is increasingly characterised by the demands for flexible labour common across the industry (Ioannides and Debbage, 1997), that the idea of paradise has any bearing on the challenges of living within such instability seems unlikely. When faced with the difficulty of losing a home because tourism has driven up the rent, or the chaos of balancing a working life with a home life when a tourist economy means everyone works late but your children still go to school early, it seems like paradise ought to all but disappear.

Indeed, the rich imagery of paradise tells us that something is good, someplace feels nice, or that somehow, a dream is being indulged. It readily conjures luxury and ease, so readily in fact that we rarely stop to think about what it might mean (Wood, 1997). The tourist industry markets certain places as being able to promise such luxury by merit of their being as close as one can get to earthly paradise. Such images abound 'in spite of social, cultural, political, and economic phenomena that clearly embody anything but earthly bliss' (Strachan, 2002: 3) for those who live in such places. Indeed, the production of tourist economies of paradise rests on the simultaneous mobilisation of these images and implementation of conditions of extraction, exploitation, and dispossession. In this way, it is not only that exoticised images of paradise continue to tell historical stories of sensuous luxury, but that these images underpin the continuation of material and symbolic dynamics of colonial economies and power relations. A place called paradise tells a singular and seductive story of ease to tourists through marketing, guidebooks, and global social imaginaries, whilst these stories underpin economic conditions of a slow and unfolding violence (Nixon, 2011) of the sort which makes lives increasingly fragile. As Devine and Ojeda argue, '[i]nstead of narrating multiple, co-existing, and contentious histories, identities, and relations that define place, tourism's spatial fetishism paints an imaginary picture' (2017: 606) through which images of paradise not only have material effects, but obfuscate the violence and labour which create them. As such, the mobilisation of Pipa within touristic economies as paradisial space delimits embeds certain ways of being, knowing, and sensing within. This aesthetico-political construction of paradise therefore entrenches unequal economies and power relations by rendering its spaces as those of wealth and accumulation for some but dispossession and violence for others.

However, whilst such spatial fetishism certainly points to the material and symbolic power of paradisial tropes, it alone does not explain why the idea has such hold among those in Pipa who suffer such exploitation. Indeed, the touristic mobilisation of paradisial stories is undoubtedly embedded in highly asymmetric power relations. Nonetheless, understanding these stories solely as an idea imposed by the functions of colonial histories and the material relations through which they continue to characterise places such as Brazil prevents perception of the multiple ways they feature amid the lives of people in these places (Alexeyeff and McDonnell, 2018). The centrality of ideas of paradise to the way so many in Pipa made sense of the town as it changed around them begs the question of how these pervasive visions are not simply imposed on a place but also produced within it. Indeed, the way that Pipa's residents produced, reproduced, challenged, and negotiated these stories of paradise whilst I was there begs some questions. Is paradise a singular story? Does it reflect only an imposition of power or is it something produced in place? What can

we understand differently about places such as Pipa when we understand paradise from this perspective?

In this thesis, I explore the way Pipa's residents produce the town as paradise in the process of understanding and enacting their lives there alongside others trying to do the same. I argue that in doing this they create multiple paradises in overlapping and often conflicting ways which therefore trouble the town's straightforward production as a locus of development by bringing into question just what development means and who is included in its purview. Indeed, as Pipa's residents both produce these hierarchies and question them through the different ways they sense the possibilities of their relations to one another. They encounter and critique the limits of touristic development as a mode of political and economic governance by disrupting the singular story of paradise itself. I argue that this demonstrates the capacity of Pipa's residents in ways which exceed and challenge structural assumptions which render them only as relevant to analysis by means of their abjection, showing that their capacity to feel joy, pride, fear, and love lies at the heart of what makes paradise so.

In Pipa, rather than holding just one meaning, fractured and incomplete ideas of paradise underpin the multiple dreams and visions residents hold of what life should be amid the utopian promise of touristic development. Simultaneously, the town's label of paradise mobilises colonial national imaginaries surrounding the question of what it means to live in paradise and who should benefit from this which continue to characterise social relations (Holanda, 2000 [1959]) and state-led modernisation initiatives (Barros, 2007) to this day. However, that these local/global asymmetries are written through this space through its mobilisation as paradise does not suggest these representations are complete or static. Indeed, as Fernando Coronil tells us, in effect, a system of representation 'always entail[s] different forms of mutuality' (1996: 57). Through their everyday engagements with the promise of paradise, Pipa's residents contextualise and produce its meaning and therefore the possible modes of political relation which take place in the town. Through sensing and enacting the fantasies of their own lives and the communities which enable or challenge them, Pipa's residents construct stories of paradise. As I will show, their fantasies of paradise and the way they relate to one another through them both constitute and are constituted by the global and local inequalities engendered by the functions of capital and colonial modes of power. Therefore, in this thesis I trace these fantasies to argue that their richly productive nature tells us not only about the way that power characterises a place like Pipa, but to argue that they both constitute and challenge this power. In Pipa, the deep entanglements between these material inequalities and

residents' intimate fantasies of what their own lives mean point us to a deeper understanding of the limits of contemporary touristic capital.

1.1 Research Questions

In this thesis I therefore provide an understanding of the production of paradise as a shifting fantasy with the capacity to prompt the redrawing of social relations. Doing so offers deep insight into both the possibilities of lives within touristic capital, and how critiques to capital are enacted through modes of living.

How does the concept of paradise offer an insight into the formation of political communities within tourist locations?

- *How do spatial conflicts over the meaning of paradise underpin modes of governance in Pipa?*
- *How do residents' multiple attachments to different meanings of paradise enable and trouble the formation of different communities?*
- *How do multiple understandings of paradise enable resistance to tourism?*
- *How do residents' various mobilities intersect with the redrawing of political communities?*

In answering these questions, the contribution I propose in this thesis is therefore twofold. I firstly, and perhaps most succinctly, draw our attention to the importance of further incorporating the tourist industry into our discussions of International Relations (IR) as an affective, aesthetic, highly contingent mode of enacting global power dynamics. Secondly, I provide an important provocation to broader disciplinary concerns surrounding the nature of politics within the contemporary international by presenting an aesthetic understanding of how localised, ordinary experiences of life under capitalism can deepen our knowledge of both its overarching functions and its slippages, inconsistencies, and gaps, forcing us to question who the authors of global politics are. Doing so therefore deepens our understandings of capitalism as both a set of embodied practices and as a signifying system and how these two functions relate. My findings therefore contribute to social, political, and cultural understandings of the contemporary role of tourism as a constituent element of global politics in that they do not simply tell us of the way places such as this are caught amid the structures of capital, colonialism, and governance, but how they produce and reproduce their conditions. As such, my work spans several disciplines, providing insight into the way in which knowledge from within diverse areas such as tourism studies, critical international political economy (IPE), human geography, urban anthropology, and utopian political theory can enable us

to critique assumptions over the formation of contemporary limits and the location of politics within international relations. It does this in that it advances a conception of transformative politics which plays out through the contemporary conditions of touristic economies as they are embedded within and produced through embodied engagements with urban space. By basing these claims on extensive ethnographic fieldwork in Pipa, I have been able to ask questions about how we should conceive of places beyond designating them as symbols of structural violence or economic exploitation, whilst nonetheless sitting uncomfortably within these realities. As such, the discomfort and tensions I experienced between modes of dispossession and abjection engendered through the tourist industry, and the fantasies and survival strategies which both challenged and sustained them provides a way to envision these conflicting experiences of place.

That we feel we all know what paradise is means we also feel ready to dismiss its political potential. In the remainder of this introductory chapter I sketch out an understanding of why living in a place called paradise should be seen from the perspectives of the lives therein, and what that can tell us about the importance of understanding a place like Pipa as a site of global politics.

1.2 Piparaíso/Piparadise

'*To tell you the truth it's always been tourism here, of some sort… people will tell you the surfers came first, but not really. Before them there were the rich families from Goaninha, they would spend their whole summers here. There isn't anyone alive today that remembers Pipa before tourism, there hasn't been for a long time!*' – João [Pipa, 09/01/2019]

Figure 2 Tourist information point. The banner reads 'Welcome to Pipa. You are in an area of environmental protection.'

Figure 3 Map showing location of Pipa in Brazil.

First, perhaps we should officially 'travel' to Pipa. Praia da Pipa is a small touristic beach town in the state of Rio Grande do Norte, the northeastern-most part of Brazil's *nordeste* region. Since the late 1990s it has been one of the northeast's most popular tourist destinations, its visitor numbers continuing to increase to its contemporary position as one of the country's most popular. Representative of the almost total lack of archival material directly engaging with Pipa, there is no way of providing population figures. As Pipa forms part of the municipality of Tibau do Sul it has no data of its own; according to the most recent population estimates (IBGE, 2020), Tibau's population is 14,440 people, the proportion of which belong to Pipa is unclear. However, it is a small, self-contained settlement, separated from the nearest surrounding developments by beautiful countryside, and the estimates of people in the town hold it at about 6,000 people. Such lack of clear and official data means that the town's histories are often difficult to piece together.[2]

[2] However, due to the state's nearby federal university there is significant academic interest in the town and researchers have gathered many excellent oral histories.

Contemporary Pipa is a bustling tourist town which proceeds along a central avenue, the Avenida Baía dos Golfinhos, which snakes along its clifftops for about 2km, with a maze of side streets built up the hills alongside. As the quote above from João suggests, it is a space inextricable from both its history of tourism and the material contexts of successive colonial stories of abandonment and dispossession as various populations have been rendered fungible by changing economic fortunes.

Pipa is difficult to represent beyond the trite descriptions found in guidebooks. Any attempt to describe what the town feels like will undoubtedly recall their exoticising tropes; the sea really is that warm and blue, there *are* dolphins on three of the five central beaches, and at night turtles on the other two, the nightlife is excellent, and the restaurants fantastic. So, sticking with the Lonely Planet, we learn that Pipa is 'one of Brazil's magical destinations: pristine beaches backed by tall cliffs, dreamy lagoons, decent surfing, dolphin-and-turtle filled waters, a great selection of pousadas, hostels, global restaurants and good nightlife'. In short, it is the 'Northeast's hippest beach town' (2021). This small town, hugging Brazil's northeast coast offers a touristic experience of paradise which draws on its exceptionally beautiful natural charms, the provision of a certain sense of luxury, and the capacity for a hedonistic abandon. However, the history of Pipa shows a somewhat chequered relationship with the idea of paradise and how it has become known so.

Located where it is, roughly 90km south of Natal, the state capital of Rio Grande do Norte, means the town sits in a region famous mostly for its poverty. Inland lies the northeast's vast semi-arid hinterland, the *sertão,* sitting in stark contrast to the pockets of lush greenery which are the last remaining pockets of the immense Virgin Atlantic rainforest which used to hug Brazil's coast. Indeed, many depict such exuberant fertility, held within stark contrast in Brazilian national imaginaries to the difficulty of the interior, as one of the principal factors underpinning the Portuguese colonisation which marked the earliest significant development of Pipa's construction as paradise. The northeast of Brazil is where the first colonisers landed, whereupon they immediately spread joyous rumours of the earthly paradise found through the fecundity of South American lands which sat in great contrast to the dry Portuguese soil (Dodman in Mendes and Viera (eds.), 2019). The instantly recognizable colonial images of Brazil as Eden come from places like Pipa, whose Praia do Madeiro [Wood Beach] gets its name from French and Portuguese expeditions for the wood which was taken back to Europe from its shores. Indeed, the sight of Pipa's tree-covered hills stretching down to the coast when seen from open sea acted as a navigation point for the sailors, from which it gained its early name of Ponta Verde [Green Point]. It is here they would disembark, load their ships with the area's plentiful natural goods, and take them back

to Europe amid some of the earliest such voyages of the colonial encounter (Cavalcanti, 2002). These voyagers widely recounted their stories of a possible paradise on earth (Delumeau, 1994) thus embedding dreams of the possibilities that it could enable into colonial knowledge of the land.

Such voyages of extraction followed the now-familiar story encountered around the world in such settler colonies. These early settlers gradually drove the indigenous populations from their lands across all their Brazilian territories and forced them into the processes of miscegenation (Ribeiro, 1995). In Rio Grande do Norte, this process was so widely carried out that the contemporary state has one of the lowest indigenous populations in the whole country (IBGE, 2012). Indeed, the history of violence through this sort of eradication in Pipa is such that most accounts of the town's history do not touch on its indigenous past. When they do so, the only evidence uncovered is that of the wide range of Tupi toponyms for the town, all of which have indigenous roots and deeply suggest a historical settlement in the locale (Marinho, 1997). As such, from the beginning of recorded evidence of Pipa, paradise has been unevenly distributed, the colonial encounter rendering it a place which carried the possibility of betterment for some through exploitation of others.

However, due to centuries of patterns of land ownership established in the time of the colonial captaincies, the settler inhabitants of Pipa remained poor and largely cut off from the outside world for the intervening centuries. Largely subsisting on fishing and agricultural activity such as the production of cassava, the residents of this small settlement who were mostly of Portuguese descent remained in poverty. As Eduardo Galeano notes, despite its fertility, centuries of underdevelopment have rendered this lush strip of land a site of great suffering, marked by slavery, floods, and starvation (1997 [1973). Indeed, the marked and notable phenomenon of internal colonisation within Brazil centred around the *latifúndio* system of elite landownership (Godoy, 2013: 84) has profited families in the northeast who have often held their position of dominance since Portuguese colonial times. During this time, Pipa's residents entered into some trading relationships by boat with the regional metropolis, Recife, or by foot on a long and arduous journey through the rainforest to the local market town Goaninha. Largely, however, the town's isolated position left it out of any local development initiatives and the residents suffered accordingly.

A twist of fate in the 1930s began Pipa's journey to becoming the touristic paradise it is today. During the often punishing heat of the region's dry season of November to March, families of landowning elites from Goaninha had packed up their households and staff and made their way, at least a day's journey by foot, to nearby Tibau do Sul, the nearest settlement to Pipa which sits on the mouth of a large lagoon. However, at the start of one summer season, violent storms ravaged

Tibau's exposed coastline and wrecked the houses. It was then that the families settled upon Pipa, whose naturally occurring series of bays had protected it from the worst of the storms. Sending staff along to carve out a rudimentary road through the trees with machetes, the *veranistas* [summerers] of Goaninha began an annual tradition to spend time in Pipa (Simonetti, 2012). The significant natural gifts of the site once more played host to those for whom it appeared to offer a life of leisure, its paradisiacal qualities underpinning elite decisions to produce its space as one suitable for such a purpose. The town, which had remained secluded across the hundreds of years since initial colonisation therefore soon received its first road, opening it up to frequent trade for the first time. This rudimentary infrastructure, built in service of the elites who now granted importance to the town, therefore changed Pipa's future.

Through the passing decades, the settlement remained small. The large summer houses of the *veranistas* were the only significant change as the northeast remained a region of significant poverty (Furtado, 1977 [1959]). Trade significantly increased with Goaninha, but the economic activity of rural subsistence remained the principal mode of support for its residents (Cavalcanti, 2002). However, in the early 1970s, after about forty years, the first surfers arrived. Drawn by stories of the town's waves which had made their way across Brazil's vast expanses to the rich metropolises of the south, a growing number of adventure-seekers rapidly descended upon the settlement to spend their time surfing. Once more, its natural paradisiacal gifts featured at the heart of these stories of discovery. Local resident Seu Barruso informed me, however, that the townspeople lived in relative harmony with the surfers, who were 'respectful' [10/06/2018] and paid residents to spend time in their houses whilst they spent their days catching waves. Following another resident, Benedita:

> 'First came the surfers… good people… they just wanted to find good waves, you know? They came here in… I think the 70s? The late 70s… they'd all sleep in Zé Pereira's place, he'd put hammocks everywhere, and then land was so cheap here they would just buy a house, you know, swap the price of a donkey for somewhere to sleep, come back here every summer and just surf… and then I guess they started telling people about it! Then came people from the south, they bought everything…' – Benedita [Pipa, 19/05/2018].

Soon after, however, the 1980s brought the first significant waves of touristic investment, changing the town's agrarian focus to one of tourism. The stories the surfers spread of the beautiful, paradisiacal village in the northeast began to draw more and more tourists from around the rest of

the country. Stories soon abounded of these incomers buying up huge tracts of land in exchange for a donkey, and Pipa's growing popularity drove the prices up such that now the prices are so elevated that no worker who historically would have possessed land in the town would be able to afford it (Xavier, 2008: 69). As well as individual tourist landowners from the south who invested, large scale national and international development firms also invested in the town (Demajorovic et al., 2010), building large resorts and further problematising access to the town for local people who have left in large numbers, unable to afford life there any longer. One of my interlocutors estimates that about 75% of the families who lived in Pipa in the early 1980s have been forced out by this process, and as such, the history of tourism in Pipa is one of dispossession. Whilst the village, which had remained without 'running water, sewage treatment, electricity, public health provisions, education… access roads' (Cantalice, 2010: 174) has now been integrated into broader state infrastructures, increasing the touristic footfall in the town through its increasing status as paradise has meant that these resources are principally aimed at tourists. As such, Pipa now sits as one of the country's most prominent touristic locales

1.2.1 The problem with paradise

Figure 4 Tourist map of Pipa

Through this necessarily brief history of the town I have highlighted that its emergence as a touristic paradise happened in concert with stories of extraction, exploitation, and dispossession. Indeed, following the story of paradise around the world reveals many such stories in tropical places where tourism has come to dominate contemporary economies, building on colonial histories of paradisiacal imagery (Cocola-Gant in Lee and Phillips, 2018; Devine and Ojeda, 2017). As I will show further in Chapter 2, the construction of many places throughout the tropics as a space of leisure for some has been enabled by centuries of various patterns of extraction and domination of others, whether through the twin histories of paradise and plantation economies of the Caribbean (Strachan, 2002; Nixon, 2015), the mobilisation of island paradise and colonial imagery in the Indian Ocean (Kothari, 2015), or the militarisation of Hawai'i through paradise tourism (Vicuña Gonzalez, 2013).

As this brief history of Pipa demonstrates, extractive colonial voyages did not only remove goods from the lands they reached, but mobilised stories about the abundance and opportunity of such places, engendering myths and fantasies attached to the possibility of a different quality of life in these naturally gifted places. Indeed, as I will argue, the interlocking histories of fantasy and domination found within the colonial encounter are deeply embedded within the function of touristic economies of paradise today. The patterns of elite landownership and dispossession which characterise the northeast of Brazil continue to underpin daily life within such places, interlocking with new patterns of extractivism within global tourism. Paradise can already be seen as a constructed imaginary (Salazar, 2010), repeated and spread throughout the world and across the centuries, which has rendered the lives of Pipa and places like it as ones marked by difficulty and violence. The widely noted and continued capacity of tendency of touristic economies to transform places in accordance with the desire and fantasy of the tourists who visit (Cartier and Lew, 2015) therefore builds on these exploitative patterns to continue to enact such violence on these places.

Important and prescient such critiques of paradisiacal imaginaries and their role in tourist economies and colonial relations are, there is a presumed order of political importance contained within. I have shown so far that successive populations have been driven out, rendered fungible and precarious, and had their lives limited by the intertwined stories of paradise and domination in histories and presents of touristic places. Each of these stories, however, has drawn upon the role of change and exploitation afforded by incomers; power is awarded to those who invade paradise, who extract and exploit those already within. Whether as a bucolic construction of the Brazilian pastoral (Holanda, 2000 [1959]), representations of the aesthetic of the tropical sublime or pathological degeneracy (Driver and Yeoh, 2000) or a vague geography wherein the fantasies and desires of some become attached to tropical scenes (Löfgren, 2002), paradise is understood as a place constructed apart from modernity and the politics therein. Indeed, any such construction necessarily occludes perception of the class relations which enable it (Williams, 1973). As such, these critiques clearly and cogently demonstrate the importance in understanding the production of spaces of leisure as a political process (Lefebvre, 1991), embedding them clearly within global political economies through the strength of touristic engagement with paradisiacal imaginaries. Here, the fantasies of tourists enable the exploitation and exclusion of those who live in such places, and the way the space is dedicated to such activity places the strength of the paradisiacal imaginaries of which they dream at the core of such a process.

However, in seeking to understand the way that these constructions of paradise wreak such destructive effects on their places, and demonstrate the restrictive and violent effects they have on

lives within, those living out these lives are notably absent from analysis. When they do feature, they tend to appear as lives only limited by paradise, rendered abject by the touristic wielding of power and the accompanying conditions of poverty they bring (Schroeder and Bergson in Prasad (ed.), 2008). In this reading, the lives of residents of paradisiacal places are relevant only by means of the suffering wrought upon them; they are present in the analyses as evidence of the deleterious effects of touristic fantasies of paradise, but their *own* production of paradisiacal space is rather less prominent. Alternatively, others have chosen to highlight the way that many resist paradise, pointing to the ways in which such imposed visions of paradise become a symbolic focal point against which those cast out by history can struggle (Nixon, 2015). However, as Louise Amoore (2002) reminds us, when we bring the actions of such people into view only through perception of the ways they *respond* to the exogeneous impositions of capital and colonialism once more reinforces an implicit understanding that those people are only relevant to the function of global political processes by means of their suffering.

Upon my arrival in Pipa I was therefore equipped with these perspectives, keen to explore the multiple and interlocking cruelties wrought upon the lives of those who lived there. I expected paradise to play a background role to the violences of people's existences, an image which lent a harsh irony to the suffering of life amid the demands for flexible labour common across the industry (Ioannides and Debbage, 1997). Indeed, I more or less imagined a rather natural division to emerge between a tourist-facing paradise and some sort of *real life*, marked by labour and difficulty (Vandegrift, 2006). It seemed it would be naïve to the point of blindness to think of paradise in any different sense. After all, paradise means something, it carries a claim to the possibility of life free from difficulty, to the abundance which motivated the exploitation of colonial voyages and subsequent touristic industries. Viewing Pipa as any sort of paradise felt like accepting promises that tourism offers a smokeless form of development (see Gonsalves, 1996), that it could bring that chance of something better to its places and improve the lives of those there. Paradise felt like a stultifying dream, a somewhat shaky mirage to be easily debunked simply by uncovering the dirty and very smoke-filled reality which sat below.

However, it soon became abundantly clear that try as I might I would not be able to escape its presence quite so easily. Rather than quickly disappear and enable me to get down to the muddy business of uncovering real life, the people I spoke to would mention paradise again and again. It would crop up in unexpected, interesting, ways. Often these would be ironic, knowing, and ambiguous engagements, their complexity would surprise and confuse me. People brought the fact that we were in paradise to conversations where I did not expect to find it. As an example, in the

rest of Brazil, the nightly event of the national *telenovelas* forms a common and frequent point of conversation, and yet in Pipa I had simply not heard them discussed. Whilst idly chatting with a cashier at one of the town's principal supermarkets one day I mentioned this to her:

'I'm surprised I haven't really heard much about *novelas* around the town'

'Well you're in Pipa, nobody watches them here'

'Oh really? Why's that'

'Well… you're in paradise, aren't you? Why would people watch *novelas* when they could go to the beach? We find fun in different ways in Pipa. I think you'd have to go to Tibau to hear people talking about *novelas*...'

Much like the conversation I recounted with Valentino at the start *there it was again*. Paradise, the reason that life in Pipa somehow worked differently. In this instance, it seemed unlikely that these reasons would stop people getting their nightly *novela* fix. After all, they are screened at night, and neighbouring Tibau also has a very lovely beach. Nonetheless, rather than sit totally apart from real life, here was paradise once more, being used as a sort of bedrock to make sense of something about life in the town that perhaps wouldn't otherwise be obvious. 'Why is there so much litter in some places in the town?' 'Well, because it's paradise and that means everyone wants to come here.' 'Why do you work here when you live so far away?' 'Well it's paradise… and paradise means more work.' It was an explanation for the way things worked in Pipa, something that enabled people to make sense of life in the town in myriad different ways. However, these explanations did not seem to simply act as shorthand for the fact that tourists think of it as paradise, and also did not seem to simply map on to symbolism of paradise, but pointed to a different kind of role, attachments to paradise which worked in different ways. On some level, Pipa really is paradise, and those who live there experience and enact that in fantastically complex and ambiguous ways.

1.2.2 Paradise beyond

Indeed, whilst it is clear that touristic fantasies of paradise underpin the production of Pipa as a space of leisure, the way Pipa's residents spoke about the possibilities of a life somewhere which promises an escape from the norm spoke to a different type of attachment. Whilst the tourist chooses their holiday spot through consideration of what temporary escape might enable in their

lives, whether relaxation or fun, their dreams are those of a speculative investor with flexible attachments.[3] By choosing a place for a short escape, these visitors are indeed embedded in its production as a space dedicated to attract them and others like them. However, the presence of paradise in the lives of those who have a more permanent, or at least longer-term relationship with Pipa points to a different sort of dream. What is also apparent is that these dreams are no less involved in the production of Pipa as a space. Indeed, these dreams and visions asked me to consider what role paradise might play in this process for those often assumed to be excluded from its power. As such, following work which recognises that the role of paradise in peoples' lives goes beyond that of domination (Alexeyeff and McDonnell, 2018; Deckard, 2010; Little, 2020) I instead ask a different set of questions. How might their inclusion in this process change perception not only of such processes of production, but in the assumed relationship they have with the town and its possibilities? How does placing these fantasies and attachments at the centre of my analysis change what I can understand about their ability to enact a different paradise, one not entirely understood through assumptions of false consciousness but which demonstrates the interesting, creative, and often surprising ways they navigate its dominant imaginary as an apolitical place apart? How, in short, does understanding these fantasies help avoid reproducing Pipa's residents as abject and silenced, and instead understand them as political agents?

In this thesis, I argue for an understanding of the role of paradise in the construction of Pipa's touristic space which affords agency to those that live and work there. I do this by asking how they relate to the promise of a different life embedded within the story that Pipa's touristic development, built on its offer of paradise, suggests the possibility of a different life lived there. Placing the ways the town's residents understand and enact life in such contexts at the heart of my analysis therefore forces me to ask different questions regarding the role of paradise in the town. Rather than think solely of how paradise dominates their lives, I ask instead how they relate to it, what they believe of it, and how they produce such different modes of being within its pervasive and dominant mode of representation. Indeed, in showing how living in paradise enables unexpected ways in which residents relate to one another in the formation of aesthetic political communities in the town (Hinderliter et al., 2009), wherein certain ways of being with and knowing other people simply make sense, I demonstrate that the formation of these communities changes what is possible within the town. I therefore make the case that tracing these communities, and the way residents' inner lives in paradise enable or foreclose their formation do not only tell us about what is possible within these individual lives, but show how these lives reformulate, negotiate, and enable the limits of

[3] Many thanks to Victor Coutinho Lage for this differentiation.

global capitalist process. Indeed, as Victor Coutinho Lage argues, 'ideas out of place here (in Brazil) shed light on the ideas out of place *there* (in Europe); moreover, the *Brazilian discrepancy* sheds light *both* on other national discrepancies *and* on a *global* process' (2019: 142, emphasis in original, see also Schwarz 1999). In understanding how contemporary global processes intermesh with and are produced through the negotiation of colonial social structures in towns like Pipa, we are therefore able to see them as mutually constituting (Coronil, 2010) factors of daily life. The ordinary lives of those in Pipa, with their labour, failures, hopes, dreams, fears, and loves are therefore not simply embedded in broader processes, but as I will show in this thesis, in the way these facets of their inner lives play out in how they relate to one another in paradise and therefore are generative of what both paradise and the broader political economies in which it is situated can be.

Such a focus therefore requires a theoretical approach which centres the political possibilities produced by Pipa's residents in the playing out of their daily lives. It must enable perception of the material conditions these touristic economies and colonial histories engender, whilst allowing for the complex, ambiguous ways in which residents craft their own worlds within such historical presents, pointing to the unexpected ways people carve space out amid punishing conditions to feel and experience in ways beyond abjection and suffering. Therefore, the ways people make sense of what living in paradise might mean point to openings in how life works there which structural critiques cannot answer. However, understanding Pipa's residents as political agents requires further investigation into what these spaces and openings might mean; simply looking for ways in which fantasies of paradise enable them to cope within this exploitative world runs the widely critiqued risk of marking out ways in which those who suffer are resilient (Joseph, 2013) and does little to enable consideration of these inner worlds beyond a mode of stupification. To follow the traces of fantasy and their inner worlds as they play out through the town I therefore argue for an approach which already assumes people's political capacities and therefore their ability to enact a different paradise, whilst understanding how the slow violence (Nixon, 2011) of their worlds delimits and frustrates much of what they wish to do.

To uncover these abilities, I therefore engage a framework which does not specifically locate politics within wider structures of power, but rather in the everyday life of feelings, sensations, and affects which reveal how the residents of Pipa navigate, and crucially, rupture, these wider structures. Doing so enables me to ask how the town's residents enact the possibilities in their own lives in ways which do not separate them from the town, the broader historical present, representations and sensations of paradise, or from one another, but considers these elements as

inextricable from the complex ways in which people live out their own possibilities. I therefore turn to literature from aesthetic and affective theory, arguing that the emphasis within these approaches on somatic, embodied engagement with the world enables perception of the way politics emerges from within broader patterns of ordering.

Specifically, I turn to the work of Jacques Rancière, and his conception of *dissensus* as rupture of accepted social order as the basis of politics (2004). This framing is useful to me as it enables perception of the sensory nature of engagement with the world, and how this engagement both underpins the way we are governed and how we enact the capacity to exceed such governance. It therefore lets me think of how colonially-mediated representations of paradise underpin the possibilities of life there in ways which continue to enable the perpetuation of highly asymmetric modes of power, but also how these same representations and power structures can form the basis for their own undoing. Crucially, therefore, this aesthetic approach enables perception of the unexpected ways in which Pipa's residents enact paradise and can also sense and disrupt its gaps, and how their capacities to act together or apart can produce new political communities which challenge knowledge about practices of contemporary touristic development. However, within this framing I also require an understanding an understanding of how the hard-to-reach knowledges of people's inner lives intersect with this political potential. For this I therefore turn to feminist iterations of affect theory, most notably from the work of Lauren Berlant (2010), whose work on the complex and inconsistent nature of our inner worlds brings residents' fantasies of living in paradise into analytic view. Indeed, in understanding how such fantasies, or *cruel optimisms*, of what life might enable serve to bind us to some things which are often barriers to our thriving, we can consider the intimate relationship between our hopes and dreams (which, Berlant shows us, are never truly our own) and the historical present in which they unfold. Importantly, these modes of creativity and coping can be understood together to avoid a totalising perception of their power. Drawing these approaches together in reference to the way paradise is felt and known in the town by means of the affective atmospheres (Brennan, 2004) thus brings the constant renegotiation of political possibility as something deeply intimate, enacted through space, and publicly shared into view. I introduce here the concept of the *vibe* as a locally expressed way in which people would try and get at the vague sensation of how they were able to feel in certain spaces of the town, or how the town felt overall.

As such, I use this thesis to consider how such fantasies develop, circulate, and are felt in conjunction with the other in the town. I argue that tracing paradise as it practically appears through the negotiation, closure, and appearance of new political communities in Pipa enables me to

understand the way global processes of development and the political economies of tourism with which they intersect are embodied, intimate, and never fully closed. Whilst the lives of the residents of Pipa are caught amid deeply unequal interactions of capitalism and colonialism, with all their racialised and gendered elements, they are lives with dreams and expectations which can challenge and rupture what is expected of them.

To do this, I have therefore drawn upon an ethnographic methodology designed to enable me to engage the unexpected affective expressions of desire we might usually miss. I have done this to enable an approach which takes interlocuters seriously as political subjects, thereby taking on board the way they think, feel, and act through their lives in paradise. Indeed, through a series of 34 semi-structured interviews carried out with those who represented the complex and interchanging patterns of who lived in Pipa at what time of the year and why, I was able to listen to the different ways people talked about their attachments to paradise, tracing the ways in which they felt their fantasies and dreams underpinned what was possible in their lives. To begin to think about how these inner lives and intimate dreams related to Pipa as a space constructed and produced as paradise, I also conducted extensive ethnographic observation and periods of deep hanging out (Rosaldo, 1994), to understand what people do when they are navigating paradise. Following whether people uncritically follow its directives, being and acting where they were supposed to, or whether they ambiguously inhabited its spaces, or indeed contested and challenged them showed how these inner feelings played out within their banal daily lives. Within these approaches, tracing the affective connections residents had to paradise and their lives within it therefore enabled me to make a broader political claim about their generative and productive capacities in the town by tracing how such connections strengthened, changed, or challenged various prevailing vibes of Pipa.

1.3 Thesis outline

Figure 5 More maps.

The point of this chapter has been to argue that the experiences and fantasies of residents of touristic space constitute a fertile site from which to understand the way various affective and aesthetic modes are involved in the negotiation, reproduction, and challenges to relations of capital as embedded within colonial systems. The remainder of this thesis explores this aim by exploring the different ways that political action, meaning, and material inequalities are produced through the everyday enactment of social relations in Pipa. It will show that even from within a place so defined by its dominant touristic representations, residents think and act in ways which challenge the boundaries and functions of these ways of knowing a place. I follow these lines of thought in two principal ways. The first of these is theoretical, and argues that to understand how ideas of paradise themselves cannot be understood as static we must explore the ways they intersect with an aesthetic conception of politics, and will be discussed throughout the next three chapters. The second considers how this framing of the political enables us to bring the wide emotional and affective vocabulary involved in daily life in Pipa into purview as a fertile ground from which to understand the limits of contemporary politics.

In chapter 2, I therefore engage with the concept of paradise as it appears in various traditions to draw out some of the implications contained within its theorisation. The point of this discussion is to foreground the various ways in which an understanding of Pipa as a place of paradise comes laden with various theoretical assumptions which already foreclose our ability to view it as somewhere political. I argue in this section that there is simply something about paradise which means we already dismiss the various ways which lives within it might be unfolding. To do this, I firstly situate paradise as an idea within traditions of utopia, arguing that whilst this work argues that paradise has a political function it is only ever a stultifying, commodifying one, and that attempts to recuperate its political potential as transformative ultimately establish a future political horizon which stops us seeing how politics might be happening in Pipa now. I outline here an understanding from utopian thought of paradise as a desire for something better (Levitas, 1990) that I will employ throughout the thesis. I then explore work which focuses on paradise as a representation, arguing that it traces many of the same assumptions regarding globalisation, change, and resistance we have already seen. I then explore work which aims to view paradise as something other than necessarily restrictive, but argue that there is a failure to theorise the political which problematises these approaches. I use this chapter to explore some of the dominant structural conceptions of paradise, arguing that their focus on the suffering it brings serves to reproduce its subjects as relevant to analysis only by means of their abjection. I argue that this presumption implicitly accepts certain claims about globalisation and the possibility of politics therein, pointing to the restrictions such an approach places on what we can know about places of paradise and who can be political within them.

Chapter 3 is where I outline the theoretical steps I take in the rest of the thesis to understand a politics of paradise beyond these limitations. In this chapter I consider how we might recuperate a sense of the political from within paradise, arguing that it is precisely through its hedonistic, embodied capacity that we can understand somewhere called paradise as already political. I explore the role of fantasy from within affect theory, and situate these fantasies within the histories of capitalism and colonialism of the built environment through conceptualisations of ruins, to argue that understanding the interplay of these phenomena requires an aesthetic approach. I therefore outline my engagement with Jacques Rancière, whose way of framing emancipatory political action enables a perception of the politics within paradise now, rather than in the future. The aim of this discussion, then, is to resist either dismissing the politics of paradise out of hand, or the temptation to explain that it is only political by merit of not being paradise, preventing perception of the various roles that paradise plays in the chapters to follow. I situate my reading of Rancière alongside the work of Lauren Berlant, arguing that their approach to affect theory enables an understanding of how a politics of rupture comes from within the hard to reach places of our inner lives. I then build on work on affective atmospheres to think about how prevailing vibes which might otherwise render Pipa seemingly apolitical are instead crucial elements in the way its residents negotiate and challenge the demands of its touristic economies and colonial imagery. After

outlining my methodological approach in chapter 4 by outlining the aesthetic ethnographic stance I take in this work, and the methods and approaches I used to gather data, I conclude the theoretical steps necessary to enable me to understand Pipa as a political space.

Chapter 5 begins the ethnographic part of the thesis. Each of the following four chapters explore how ideas of paradise sit at the heart of differing sets of social relations. The first of these explorations lays out the way the concept of paradise underpins a spatial conflict within the town over how the town should feel, pointing to the modes of governance, individualising social relations, and obfuscation of labour which residents enact. It argues that due to an association with labour-free wealth, residents internalise failures of the exploitative touristic economy as it makes their own lives harder, showing how fantasies of the benefits of touristic development sustain relations in the town. In this chapter I also introduce the association between these patterns and the spatial politics of the touristic enclave. Chapter 6 builds on these understandings, but begins considering how the multiple and conflicting desires of what paradise can be stem from varying affective attachments to what Pipa is in the lives of residents. It argues that as the town undergoes a rapid change in the type of tourism it receives, residents draw on multiple temporalities to make sense of their lives. It introduces the concept of the vibe, which I build on throughout these chapters, showing that within the fears and anxieties over the future these changes in tourism prompt, what emerges as important is the general sense the town feels.

Chapter 7 considers the role of colonial imaginaries of Edenic and the way they intersect with the possibility of resistance in surprising ways as residents enact a critique of whether tourist development can provide the utopian modes of improvement they feel it promises. It draws on conflicting Brazilian colonial imaginaries of whether nature ought to be used in the name of progress or valorised to draw out the understandings of what type of life Pipa as an enclavic space can offer. It shows that these conflicting understandings enable both resistance to, reproduction of, and critique of the logics of capital. Chapter 8 is the final ethnographic chapter and draws many of these different themes together to consider the role of mobility in the production of Pipa as an enclave. It therefore explores how aesthetic engagement with the infrastructure of the town's recently repaved road both embeds understandings of the necessity of the circulation of touristic capital and precarious labour regimes, but also shows how residents refuse these logics through the perception of the exploitative nature of the touristic economy.

In chapter 9, I offer some concluding thoughts on what an affective, aesthetic exploration of touristic place can tell us about understandings of the function of contemporary international politics and living otherwise within capitalism. I argue that the diverse ways in which alternate modes of governance and solidarity show the mutual constitution of inequality and community in Pipa, and how these relations underpin the production of developmental space and economic practice. I highlight the contribution this

makes to understandings of the authorship of global politics, and suggest avenues for future research into the role of fantasy and place which emerge from this investigation.

In the chapter I turn to now, I build upon the discussion so far that our knowledge of touristic places means we can only understand Pipa as depoliticised by arguing that the fact that its imaginaries are those of paradise is central to this process. I unpack the ways we know of paradise and the problems of politics they provide.

Chapter 2: A paradise within politics?

Figure 6 Tourists photographing dolphins.

Igor, an artist from the nearby state capital of Alagoas, Maceió, has lived in Pipa for about ten years now and laughs at me when I ask him what paradise means. 'Who knows? Paradise… paradise man… what an idea. What kind of question is that? Of course we aren't in paradise… it doesn't exist.. well… I mean, I can't say it doesn't exist, maybe this is paradise? What if paradise means something different for everyone? I guess for me I can live here from my art… you probably don't find better than that'. We will meet Igor again shortly, but for now I want to focus on the way he engages with paradise. At first, he dismisses paradise as a fixed image, immediately ridiculous as it conjures a perfection that obviously cannot hold true. However, he quickly finds himself unable to dismiss the idea out of hand. Paradise quickly morphs into a way in which he can think about his life, of the possibilities and capacities it holds. It tells him of what he is able to do as he has chosen to live somewhere which, through the tourist industry's continual redeployment of its imagery and history, renders his life as in some way being produced in tension with its hold as an idea.

Igor's ambiguous engagement with paradise encapsulates the complex ways I saw its ideas deployed, redeployed, resisted, and transformed in Pipa. Throughout the chapters that follow Pipa's residents engage with paradise in a way which continually reformulates its meaning; its ideas will shift and flow, representing quite contradictory possibilities from one page to the next. It is all at

once a locus of deep affective attachments, a mode of imagining other ways of being, and a seductive device which obstructs perception of exploitative social relations whilst simultaneously enabling emancipatory modes of identification. In short, it is a profoundly political idea that, as Igor deftly illustrates, deserves attention. This chapter traces my attempts to do so from within existing modes of thought which engage with paradise. These engagements are frequently explicit, but sometimes implicit, to enable me to follow a thread of attempts at what I call paradisial thinking that lies amid various unexpected ways of viewing the world. However, what I conclude here is that existing modes of viewing paradise do not equip us with the necessary tools to understand the subtle, ironic, and knowing ways that Pipa's residents exist in productive tension with a promise that hangs in the air that life here, in paradise, should somehow be *different.*

A look at the way paradise emerges throughout scholarly engagement, however, paints a somewhat different picture, one unable to account for the subtle ways a belief in paradise can at once underpin and foreclose politics in its places. I argue that a tendency to view paradise as outside the political unless it is somehow brought into the realm of utopia troubles our ability to view it as a political phenomenon in its own right. This move results in its dismissal as a hedonistic fantasy with few effects beyond the soporific and obfuscatory, a fantasy now found only through the colonising effects of tourism and advertising. This issue causes most work on paradise to view it either as an ahistorical poor cousin of utopia, or dead relic of a theological geopolitical fantasy known now only as a mode of governance and means we can only view Pipa in this light. Indeed, these depoliticised understandings underpin in some way even work which entreats to take paradise seriously as something that goes beyond these static roles. The aim of this chapter is therefore to trace the limitations of representing paradise solely as a mode of governance imposed upon those in its places. I argue that such an approach forecloses perception of the rich political potential of paradise as it exists now.

I therefore begin by exploring some engagements with paradise from a literary and historical perspective to establish its importance. I follow this discussion with an exploration of paradise *as* utopia, building on the work of Ruth Levitas (1979, 1990) to claim that the political potential of paradise lies in its utopian expression of a *desire for a better way of being.* However, I argue that this forecloses understanding of how this desire functions and delinks paradise from its violent colonial context. To counter this I therefore situate this work within claims as to the possibility of politics within globalised capital made by Frederic Jameson. I therefore follow this by tracing work concerned with the material effects of paradise, arguing that this work establishes a colonial binary which again, depoliticises paradise in its immediate application. By turning to the interlocking

histories of paradise and utopia in Brazil, I demonstrate that in its places, paradise has a richly productive capacity which cannot be separated from contemporary political modes of understanding, bringing paradise back into view. I finally then turn to work which treats paradise as a more subtle and ambiguous concept, arguing that although it demonstrates the fertility of paradise as something beyond a trope, it remains trapped in the utopian temporal deferral of the political.

The point of this chapter is therefore to say that paradise is an idea which deserves political attention, but that understanding it only as a mode of governance limits how we are able to understand its importance.

2.1 Paradise as perfection

Whilst paradise may have been reduced to a series of trite advertising slogans, its symbols splashed across the front of bottles of shampoo, chocolate bars, and holiday brochures, its seemingly hackneyed set of tropes belie the way its dreams are found within an overwhelming range of contexts and purposes. Its fantasies tell us of the possibility of suspending the harsh realities of the world around us, whether through using a coconut bubble bath with tropical foliage splashed across the bottle, or a quick getaway to a tropical beach, paradise has come to mean those small snatches of existence where our hedonistic bodily desires might be (temporarily) satisfied (Waade, 2010). Stemming from this, the idea that paradise must be something shallow and easily dismissed is persistent.

Indeed, these assumptions constitute the first and most obvious barrier to thinking through paradise politically, one which I will not dwell much on as it is easily sidestepped, but which nonetheless haunts much scholarship on the matter: paradise means something that cannot ever be real. This is not the realm of serious politics. Paradise is nothing more but shorthand for a slightly mocking, often hedonistic, always impossible satisfaction of needs.

When Slavoj Žižek (2014) speaks of the *Trouble in Paradise* of capitalism, or Robert Kagan (2003) in *Paradise and Power* uses its presence as shorthand for an explanation of European lack of aggressive power politics, this is the paradise they mean. This is not a term that needs unpacking; neither author directly entreats with the function of paradise in their analysis. The mere presence of paradise in the titles of their books has already done some heavy lifting in outlining the endeavour found within to uncover the *real* modes of politics that various forces serve to obscure.

Paradise is an oppositional force which lies apart from genuine politics. That it is everywhere and nowhere at all in this way thus seems to suggest a dispersal of its power. Indeed, as Michael Wood (1997) argues, such ubiquity alone is not evidence for its potency; many things that were once powerful are no more. However, he proposes that with paradise there's something else going on:

'The topic is highbrow, austere and difficult; philosophical, as the names of Proust and Benjamin suggest; so difficult that I feel I'm waving at it rather than understanding it. And also quite ordinary, lurking everywhere, unexplored perhaps, casually evoked, but on people's minds, in their language, even when they are not paying any attention to it' (1997: 246-47).

Indeed, before continuing I must very much echo Wood's difficulties in engaging with paradise as an idea. That something so powerful which speaks at once to shared stories of loss and perfection remains in view, however beyond the horizon of understanding it might seem is no easy task. In this spirit, I do not endeavour here to provide any sort of authoritative account of what paradise might be. Indeed, as we see, my hope is quite distinct: rather than define paradise I want to get to grips a bit more with its power and think about what its presence does. Rather than dismiss this assumption of hedonistic fantasy, I will eventually argue that it is here we must return to understand why paradise haunts us so.

However, before doing so I will briefly outline some threads of the way paradise has been seen to speak to something deeper. It simultaneously straddles accounts of perfection and violence, and its fantastical spread possesses elements of these latent potentialities. Therefore, it is necessary to understand the messianic and exclusionary understandings such a seemingly banal and ubiquitous (Wood, 1997) idea has wrought.

The history of paradise appears at first glance inextricable from its role in religious traditions. As most similarly brief histories of paradise will tell you, the word derives from a Persian term for 'walled enclosure' (Deckard, 2009; Scafi, 2006), and makes its way through Jewish eschatological traditions, to holding a central role in the theologies of the Abrahamic religions spread across the surface of the world through colonialism. However, crucial though this religious association is to consider the importance of paradise, the myth of somewhere existing without scarcity is perhaps even more pervasive. Indeed, as Mircea Eliade has it, 'we encounter the 'paradise myth' all over the world in more or less complex forms' (1953: 18). Therefore, whilst the theological iteration of paradise is currently most well-known, it is not hard to understand the recurrence of a belief in somewhere wherein the material difficulties of terrestrial living are suspended. We must instead

understand the relevance of specifically Christian theological traditions as spread through colonialism, encountered differently in their specific places. Characterised by stories which construct the tantalising possibility of a life not marked by death, labour, and scarcity, paradise emerges over and over, always out of reach and guiding the dreams of those who think on it.

Therefore, paradise remains for many a useful shorthand for ruminations on the very nature of the human condition. Whether as a Jungian archetype for the mother-infant relationship (Jacoby, 1985), as a damaging search for social perfection (Rushby, 2006) which keeps us searching for a future (Brooks, 2004), the underlying logic for the violence wrought by acts of enclosure and exclusion (Solnit, 2009), or as underpinning expectations of resource abundance in capitalism (Fresco, 2016) there are many who claim that this dream of paradise carries a distinct social function. These thinkers are prominent, whether it is Proust's location of paradise amid the torment of painful memories (cf. Wood, 1997), or Kafka's ruminations on paradise which tell us that 'the eternal nature of the occurrence (or, temporally expressed, the eternal recapitulation of the occurrence) makes it nevertheless possible that not only could we live continuously in Paradise, but that we are continuously there in actual fact, no matter whether we know it here or not' (1961: 29). Rooted within theological temporal claims of loss, for these theorists paradise represents the presence of perfection which haunts humanity. Memories of the fall from Eden are seen to underpin all manner of deleterious social events in the name of a progress designed to somehow get us back there.

This formulation is perhaps most famously expressed by Walter Benjamin, who is worth quoting at length, inspired by a Paul Klee painting which: 'shows an angel looking as though he is about to move away from something he is fixedly contemplating. His eyes are staring, his mouth is open, his wings are spread. This is how one pictures the angel of history. His face is turned toward the past. Where we perceive a chain of events, he sees one single catastrophe which keeps piling wreckage upon wreckage and hurls it in front of his feet. The angel would like to stay, awaken the dead, and make whole what has been smashed. But a storm is blowing from Paradise; it has got caught in his wings with such violence that the angel can no longer close them. This storm irresistibly propels him into the future to which his back is turned, while the pile of debris before him grows skyward. This storm is what we call progress.' (1969: 257-258).

Although rather more attention has been paid to the storm of progress, Benjamin inescapably locates the concept of history it implies within paradise itself. Paradise is not an idyllic source of calm but the very font of the storm (Handelman, 1991). Indeed, Benjamin shows us that visions

and expectations of what paradise means are not simply those of an apolitical idyll but deeply embedded within politics itself.

To explore this deferred political horizon in this section I situate paradise within histories of utopia. To be sure, I do not depict utopia as totalitarian or static. There are indeed many ways of engaging with utopian thought which do not seek to assert a finalised social product but instead think about its capacity to engender complex, nuanced modes of social change.[4] My argument is that whilst many theorists consider paradise in reference to utopia, they do so in ways that empty it of politics. It is instead a hedonistic fantasy, a soporific mode of evidence that politics cannot happen by emptying it of space and time.

2.1.1 Paradise as distinct from utopia

For many, paradise and utopia are easily differentiated. Indeed, paradise is frequently used to describe what utopia is not: whilst utopia is seen as a temporal projection into the future, paradise is a spatialised projection to elsewhere; utopia requires labour to achieve whilst paradise simply provides; utopia necessitates an element of community whilst the individualised fantasy of Robinson Crusoe's deserted island does not require thought of the other. This differentiation has been used by many to suggest that utopian thinking is dead as the seemingly apolitical fantasies of paradise are all that remain. Utopia is thus a relic of a time when projected fantasy dreams of the future constituted a realisable driving force for political action (Claeys, 2011; Jacoby, 1999; Kumar, 1987, 2010; Manuel and Manuel, 1979), or a blueprint for necessarily oppositional radical political action (Bloch, 1986; Mannheim, 1934 [1929]; Marcuse, 1955). Indeed, Louis Marin suggests that utopian thinking was enabled only as an ideological critique due to its capacity to illuminate both 'contradictions between conditions of ownership… and bourgeois productive forces' and 'the theoretical and conceptual instruments that let us think about these contradictions' (2016 [1984]: 199), placing the conditions of possibility of this tension amid the particular capital relations of the fifteenth to nineteenth centuries. Utopia is thus predicated upon a change that paradise, stultifying and sumptuous as it is, does not seek to explain.

Thus, the deliberate elision of Arcadian dreams from visions of utopia enables some to make the claim that utopia is something we must work towards. The compelling vision of a land of plenty which simply provides is a myth which has been found in myriad iterations across the world and throughout history. Indeed, it is easy to understand how such lack of want occupies the dreams of

[4] For example see Muñoz (2009) on queer utopia, Tabone (2016) for a discussion on utopia in black thought, Grosfoguel (2006) on utopia and decolonization, or Martell (2018) for an exploration of pluralistic utopias.

so many, 'since survival, ageing, pain and death are concerns common to all people…. the focus on abundance and physical ease is not surprising; and the motif of remoteness is a necessary device for explaining why everyone is not there' (Levitas, 1979: 23). However, for some thinkers, such myths do not constitute utopian dreams. For Colin Davis, then, 'Arcadia and Cockaygne idealise nature' whilst 'The Utopian idealises not man nor nature but organisation' (1981: 38). Paradise, therefore, can come about without human agency. Similarly, Karl Mannheim's vision of utopia excludes 'myths, fairy-tales, other-worldly promises of religion, humanistic fantasies' (1934 [1929]: 184) from the utopian realm due to their inability to prompt a break in the status quo. Naturally occurring abundance obscures questions of the political relations between those who share it; if everyone can access everything there is no need to assess the ideologies and rules of a paradisiacal community.

As such, as Zygmunt Bauman has it, utopias enable us to relativise the present, envision a societal project for the future, and present a counter-cultural alternative to capitalism (1976). Paradise, however, not future-facing and not predicated on communities or organisation, is without this capacity and does not enable us to challenge what we know. That paradise does not depend upon a shared capacity to realise it therefore renders it a space for individual retreat, rather than a planned route for societal escape. These approaches thus split paradise from utopia along lines of time and space: the inaccessibility of paradise is predicated upon a spatial dislocation (a mythical elsewhere we have not found) whilst utopia proper is temporally distant (we have not yet constructed it).

However, as various thinkers highlight, a social move away from understanding utopia as realisable through this particularly linear causal temporality does not mean it has died as many suggest (e.g. Kumar, 1987). It is in this temporal reframing that paradise comes back into play, painted as a utopia for times when hope is no longer a widespread social mode of thought. Paradise expresses dreams, but not in a way which corresponds to the enactable utopia of bourgeois capital. Indeed, Levitas (1979, 1990) moves us away from an overt focus on the form of utopia towards a consideration of its sociological function, considering what utopian visions across societies have *done*. Whilst utopian visions of social change express a vision of time as unfolding under humanity's control, paradise does not assume this is necessarily possible. This is a dream simply of getting away, a wish to just be different rather than to make this happen. In this way, as Beauchamp (1981) highlights, the escapism of drugs and alcohol, of Baudelaire and Cockaygne, forms just as much part of utopian ways of being as Thomas More or Robert Owen's perfect societies. Indeed, such a vision rehabilitates utopia from a solely European conception end enables us to think of the other forms it has taken (Dutton and Sargent, 2013). Levitas demonstrates that

the function of utopia carries on through a dream of living otherwise in the form of paradise, reflecting the material conditions in which these dreams are found: 'The problem is not lack of utopias, but lack of hope; and the cause of this lies not in imagination but in the real conditions of the present' (1979: 31).

Therefore, Levitas aims to take us away from the view of Bloch or Marcuse that utopia is necessarily 'oppositional and transformative' (1990: 212), and instead towards an understanding that the very wish to live otherwise is the locus of the political potential which unites these dreams. Paradise *is* utopia because it expresses a vision that life can be better, it simply does not pretend to get us all there. It is not wholesale social transformation, but a tantalising promise that that which requires critique can somehow be left behind and a labour-free land of milk and honey uncovered (Deckard, 2009). As such, what unites paradise and utopia is simply a *desire for a better way of being* (cf. Levitas, 1990: 199) or 'wish-fantasy' (1979: 19).

What I wish to draw attention to here is the implications this has on the politics of paradise *per se*. If it is only through relocating paradise as something which can provide the basis for utopian critique, whilst it remains a fantasy as such its effects must therefore be soporific. In this reading, paradise as a type of utopia thus has the potential to enable political change through its capacity to stimulate an imagination for something better, something different, but it is only through its rearticulation as utopia proper that this can happen. I therefore argue that there is an implicit construction here regarding politics within a mode of capital which has abandoned the hope enabled during a time of bourgeois modes of production.

What we see is the assertion that paradise is an expression of utopian dreams without the assumption that anything can be changed; only by reintroducing hope can we recuperate this change. If paradise is not transformed, it must therefore prevent change. It is, therefore, presented here as an inherently apolitical phenomenon due to its dearticulation from these specific utopian modes of thinking which posit change as predicated upon something that rests upon a yet unrealised utopian temporal horizon or spatial separation. In short, such a view presupposes that amid the current conditions of capitalism, it is only by rescuing utopian dreams from their soporific paradisial expression that any possibility of politics is possible. What this tells us about a place like Pipa is that it must necessarily be apolitical as it is a paradise whic exists within the current bounds of capital. We can locate a dream for something better there, and its very capacity to promise something more both through touristic development and a vague dream of something not beset by the stresses of outside might locate some utopian tendencies within its bounds, but as they are

realised within capital they can only ever be compensatory. When thinking of Pipa as a place whose relations are formed by capital, we are therefore left with a rearticulation of the issue that people only live in response to globalisation (Amoore, 2002).

This discussion on paradise as utopia has carried out three principal functions in this chapter. Firstly, by introducing paradise as a mode of utopia I have argued that it is inextricable from some form of desire for social change, and thus is an idea which requires political treatment; secondly, that its spatial and supposedly atemporal dimensions prevent perception of its role in social change; and thirdly, that prominent attempts to recuperate its political capacity involve removing it from its status as a seemingly dead fantasy and rearticulating it as possessing temporal horizons which necessitate a radical break. I have outlined these issues as they allow me to draw out the principal problem I see underpinning attempts to uncover the politics of paradise, namely that *politics itself is seen as impossible within capitalism and empire,* which I expand upon momentarily. Indeed, I argue that more often than not, work which engages with paradise either explicitly or implicitly leads to a conclusion that rather than possess any transformative potential in and of itself, paradise is merely evidence of a lack of utopian imagination.

2.2 Jameson

By asserting that 'the properly utopian program or realization will involve a commitment to closure (and thereby to totality)' (2005: 4) Fredric Jameson points to an understanding of enclave which clarifies his view on the impossibility of politics in that thinking outside of capitalism requires not being within capitalism. Another *utopian* space is required. In a view which mirrors that of Hardt and Negri's (2000) conceptualisation of smooth space, the presence of capital in all spaces and (contemporary) social times has rendered such an enclave impossible. It is this saturation which has problematised utopia; whilst colonial visions historically rested on a projection onto virgin territory, there is now nowhere capable of being presented as *terra nullius,* no earthly paradise unsaturated by capital. It is the erasure of difference in places like Brazil which destroys utopia. The 'disappearance of the 'Third World' thus '*manifests* the onset of late capitalism' (Colás, 1992: 260, italics in original), marking its epochal shift from previous iterations of capital (Jameson, 1991). The impossibility of utopia, then, is a defining feature of the age.

Jameson's understanding of the reordering of space under late capitalism encapsulates a commonly held view of the way this phase has rendered the sort of enclavic spaces necessary to achieve utopia as unattainable within capital's axiomatic spread. Indeed, as Robert Tally remarks: 'In the era of

globalization, any space 'outside' of the political economic system appears almost inconceivable, and radically alternative places and futures are almost invariably cast in dystopian terms' (2013: 11). Such a formulation is only condensed through the enclavic spaces of tourism; rather than attempts to delineate a way of existing otherwise by means of spatial separation from capital, enclaves help ensure its entrenchment. They are thus instead a constitutive feature which 'create a galaxy of differentiated zones unevenly integrated into the structures of state power and global capital' (Ong, 2006: 91; see also Ferguson, 1999, 2006; Sidaway, 2007). Any utopian vision of the development promised via tourism (see Jursa and Winkates, 1974) is thus a utopia realised through the intensified embedding of capital within a demarcated space. The tourist enclave,[22] for example, thus becomes a site not simply of the presence of capital, but one which generates social expectations of relations based around consumption. Therefore, as Claudio Minca (2009) tells us, within such spaces, so-called 'unexpected' behaviour is not oppositional to capital, but instead becomes part of a complex mode of the extension of biopolitical and governmental power through its role in creating a touristic 'experience'. Here, the touristic fantasy of paradisial escape is not in any way opposed to the spread of capital but quite the opposite; it is the very dream of escape which enables its spread through embedding capitalist modes of production, exchange, and social relation within its spaces.

What this tells us, via Jameson, is that the transformational politics of utopia are impossible within capitalism because rather than pose a challenge to its logics, contemporary enclaves instead promulgate them. Whilst Levitas (1990) enabled us to understand paradise as something more than a set of tropes by framing it as a materially-produced contextualised form of utopia, she nonetheless assumes that paradise *itself* cannot engender the sort of transformation that utopia can. Instead, we must view its realisation through the tourist enclave as something that 'spells an end to this type of utopian fantasy' by making 'enclave-type withdrawal impossible' (Jameson, 2005: 20). Indeed, the way our very desires for paradise ensure the complex embedding of capitalist modes of production and relation in new and varied ways and places demonstrates the difficulty of posing any sort of challenge. What I argue is that much of the literature views of paradise as something *only* responsible for the creation of these touristic enclaves, whether from the assumption that it prevents perception of an authentic experience of place (Nixon, 2015) or as a discursive representation of colonialism through tourism (Kothari, 2015). Positioning paradise in this way therefore implicitly accepts Levitas' argument that whilst it might represent a dream of something better, paradise is so deeply embedded within the material demands of capital that its functions are to ensure the continuation of capitalism/colonialism rather than to transform them in any way. The spatialisation of paradise therefore problematises its transformative potential.

2.2.1 Utopia's future horizons

As paradise therefore provides evidence that politics has died amid capital's death grip, utopia is offered as our only chance to see beyond. In this section, I build upon the previous discussion of the spatial impossibility of politics to argue that attempts to consider paradise politically have not overcome the deferred political horizons of utopia. The issue is: paradise is terrestrial whilst politics, due to the implicit rearticulation of the spatial problematic of globalisation, must therefore happen after some sort of deferred political horizon.

This horizon emerges through multiple forms and temporal situations. For Jameson, politics is 'nothing less than the movement of history itself as a series of modes of production' (Boeckmann, 1998: 44) which cannot be realised through liberal antagonisms within the twin structures of capital and colony. Meanwhile, for developmental visions of tourism (see Schyvens, 2007) the temporal assumptions of modernisation theory efface the political by means of the utopian. This view suggests that the eventual achievement of a so-called developed society can be realised through the erasure of political challenge and increasing the presence of capital. Here, as capital prevents the need for politics, it follows that its *re*emergence would happen only as capital declines. Many of those who challenge the modernising claims of tourism do so via the promulgation of a different sort of utopian horizon within paradise, offering localised solutions which somehow situate themselves outside what they frame as the homogenising forces of capital. We might think of 'alternative' modes of tourist development within these lines (see Harrison, 2015). The recuperation of the political here is the (future) construction of some alternative community that does not operate within the capitalist/colonial limitations of paradise.

Whilst this has been a necessarily brief overview of the way these temporal horizons appear throughout work which considers the intersections between tourism, capital, paradise, and utopia, what I mean to highlight here is that paradise *itself* as things currently stand is not seen as able to provide the basis for transformative political acts. It is instead simply a fantasy, a fantasy which appears in various forms and holds different functions, but it is not the location of some sort of *real* politics which might be able to happen after the realisation of a certain set of dreams. What this tells us is that within these dreams, paradise only appears as political when the capacity for change is reintroduced via the means of utopia. This results in the same conclusions reached by Levitas (1990) and Bloch (1986) for whom political transformation rests on the utopian capacity to hope, imagine, and introduce something better.

2.3 Paradises of the past

In this section, I overview work which treats paradise as a set of historical conditions which enabled the expansion of imperial modes of capital into particular, usually tropical places. I argue that whilst this work enables us to understand that paradise *itself* can contain transformative potential, it is seen as a transformation predicated upon enabling imperial expansion into 'virgin' territory. Through its treatment of contemporary paradise as a set of circulating images which recall and continue to enact this imperial past it thus implicitly constructs it as a dead idea, outside the purview of the political. Nonetheless, I also argue that any attempt to understand paradise must recognise its expression through these modes of domination due to the way this history awards paradise a material capacity. This serves to both contextualise the historical imaginaries of Eden we see within Pipa and point to problems which emerge from seeing them only as imaginaries.

2.3.1 Authenticity and paradise

The story that paradise *used* to rule the world is compelling. Amid the countless voyages to distant lands, paradise emerges as that which launched a thousand ships. Those who set sail in search of spices and exotic lands often based their passage on maps which assumed both the location of a literal paradise (Scafi, 2006) and huge tracts of *terra incognita*. Indeed, such beliefs were used to encourage and justify these voyages and the relations of exploitation they necessitated (Grove, 1995). Linking this belief to the dominance of Christianity within colonising nations, for Jean Delumeau (whose (1994) *History of Paradise* provides a more detailed and informative account of this past than I am able to here) the decline of faith across Europe renders the power of this fantasy as anachronistically impossible. So his argument goes: when Eden was thought to exist on earth, belief in it was so seductive it acted as an engine for colonial expansion. Even for some time after certainty over its terrestrial presence declined, the overarching theological structure of these societies remained one within which Eden was a possibility. Thus, its logics and language continued to dominate the relations colonists held with the exotic lands and peoples they encountered. It therefore follows that now these belief systems have waned, the obvious productivity of paradisial fantasies no longer applies. The world now is left with only the traces of a time when paradise was thought possible, and its remaining appearances are simply metaphorical reminders of when it might have been true.

Leading from this assumption, we are therefore left with a view of paradise as *only* a set of tropes which recall this colonial past. Such a perspective implicitly seems to underpin a wide range of work which considers how paradise has political power in its places. However, this is not to say that such an approach is without value; indeed, by overviewing some of the insights of these works I will show that the entanglements of these fantastical dreams with colonisation, processes of primitive accumulation, and the expansion of capital constitutes one of the most influential and persistent geopolitical imaginaries of our world. By presenting these insights, I argue that any understanding of the continued power of paradise cannot be seen outside its colonial histories, as this history renders any contemporary iteration of its power only knowable through the racial, gendered, and classed lenses of societies characterised by colonisation.

Paradise, then, is a beach. It is surrounded by palm trees, there are coconuts waiting to be split open and enjoyed, a light breeze perhaps ruffles the hair of whoever comes across its arcadian idyll. In short, paradise is tropical. Such knowledge is not accidental and is instead 'part of an enduring imaginative geography, which continues to shape the production and consumption of knowledge in the twenty-first century world' (Driver and Yeoh, 2000: 1; Power, 2003). Such imaginative geographies build on centuries of knowledge accrued through processes of uneven trade and imperial ventures and continue their hold to this day through processes of capital exchange and the neocolonising endeavours of tourism and the development industry (Nash, 1989). Indeed, as Sampson (2002) argues, the geopolitical imaginaries which contrast the internally civilised (European) state with the primitive anarchy of everything else constitutes one of the most persistent ways in which we can imagine the very functioning of global politics. There is no shortage of literature which explores the tenacity of these images in enabling these patterns, outlining how areas and nations as diverse and globe-spanning (but always tropical) as the Pacific Islands (Smith, 1985), the island in general (Baldacchino, 2007; Fuller, 2016), Bali (Vickers, 2012), the Caribbean (Strachan, 2000; Nixon, 2015; Sheller, 2009), Hawai'i (Jolly, 2018), India (Thomases, 2019) and Zanzibar (Deckard, 2010) have been caught up in the powerful structures of paradisial tropes which serve to separate them from so-called civilisation. Amid these works, paradise underpins the often simultaneous rendering of these places as belonging to the aesthetic of the tropical sublime or of the pathological degeneracy (Driver and Yeoh, 2000) thus demonstrating its centrality to establishing its places and people as oppositional to European modernity.

Therefore, whether we see that paradise tourism and advertising continue to recreate highly substitutable images of paradise to sell certain ways of being to European consumers (Connell, 2006; Waade, 2010), that hotels in Mauritius sell the aesthetic of colonial plantations in a way that

recreates colonial relationships (Kothari, 2015), or that paradisial descriptions from British colonist James Cook continue to designate colonially-inflected modes of knowledge (Thomas, 2003), what we see is that paradise was a rich source of dreams and fantasies imposed upon certain places, packaged up and continually commodified. Something important which emerges from these analyses is that we must understand paradise from within the *material* histories of its contemporary functions and that therefore paradise cannot be understood outside the contemporary modes of its expansion and relevance. From this literature, what emerges is the principal way which paradise is materially encountered in the world today is through tourism (Clancy, 2001; Nixon, 2015; Schroeder and Borgerson in Prasad, 2008; Waade, 2010), and it is therefore within tourism's complex symbolic and economic deployment of paradise which we find its most potent expression. Here, we see the strength of paradise as an expression of interlocking modes of colonialism and capitalism.

Paradise here is powerful in that it imposes certain ways of seeing the tropical regions in which such tourism is found, and therefore casts what Schroeder and Boergerson term an 'ontological shadow' (in Prasad, 2008: 32) over its places. However, framing the presence of paradise in this way implies a 'real place' being obscured by its presence. We are unable to understand paradise as anything other than an exceptionally powerful yoke which must be cast off. As Angelique Nixon has it, speaking of Caribbean cultural producers: 'their critiques of tourism are grounded in a *resistance to paradise:* defined as exposing the lie and burden of creating and sustaining notions of paradise for tourism and the extent to which this drastically affects people, culture, and identity across the region' (2015: 9, italics in original). Nixon's critique is rich, detailed, and imaginative, and has proven an invaluable resource for my understanding of both the complexities of living in paradise and its inextricability from the tourist industry. Nonetheless, space remains here for further consideration of the way resident engagement with these paradisiacal ideas, colonially imposed though they may be, is a fertile and productive ground. As Fernando Coronil (1996) reminds us, colonial pasts indeed persist in contemporary material realities, but this production can form the basis for ways to think and act beyond the inequalities they engender.

2.3.2 Beyond authenticity

The problem here is that such a framing renders the fantasy of paradise as outside the reach of those who live in it. By framing an opposition between authentic place and colonial/touristic paradise, such work ignores the complex ways in which engagement with such characterisation can occur. As Franklin and Crang suggest, 'we need to move away from a notion of 'authentic place',

corrupted by tourism' (2001: 10). Instead, they argue, we require a way to understand how such complex power relations are produced *in* place, not simply as evidence of external domination. Without such a framing, the productive dreams of living otherwise Levitas (1990) identifies are placed solely within the capacity of the European colonisers who characterised such places as bearing the potential to provide this life and we rearticulate the problem identified in chapter 1 of the location of politics within capital. Instead, a binary is established between paradise as a dead dream, and the only mode of political power extended to residents of paradise is a recourse to uncover an 'authentic' place which does not suffer such shackles. Indeed, despite Ian Strachan's observation that the multivalence of the paradisial 'myth-reality' lies in 'the strength of paradise as a metaphor and mythological construct lies in its ability to transform itself' (2000: 36), the assumption nonetheless continues that this transformation remains solely amid modes of neocolonising power. Similarly, although Kothari and Wilkinson caution us against essentialising colonial discourses, pointing to their open-ended natures (2010: 1398), it is never made entirely clear just how these transformations and changes might happen beyond the straightforward imposition of colonial tropes. There is indeed no room here for the vitality of paradise as anything other than an imposition.

None of these objections are to assert that we should move beyond the violent colonial histories of paradise, their continued expression through neocolonising modes of tourism, or anything of the sort; the crucial recognition of these framings is precisely surrounding the nuanced and complex ways in which the paradise myth characterises so many places, relations, and people worldwide. Indeed, they demonstrate that to understand paradise as a contemporary phenomenon we must view it both amid its colonial history and its centrality to touristic industries. They have told that its production as a landscape 'obfuscates the history of exploitation even as it produces a site of exploitation' (Nichols in Campbell and Nesbitt, 2016: 149), that the construction of its people as part of said landscape has continued political purchase (d'Hautessere in Lew et al. 2004), and that paradise sits at the heart of so much of this production through a promise of difference which at once draws people to its promise whilst excluding so many others.

However, what I do argue is that paradise cannot be held as totally reducible to these histories without foreclosing its role as a fantasy of living better. Attempts to understand this fantasy from outside this colonial past must inevitably end up replicating its assumptions and delink it from these ongoing histories of violence, expropriation, and exploitation. However, framing it solely as a discursive mode of power precludes perception of any role fantasy might have in its places, or at least denies this fantasy from those who live there. Whilst this body of work shows the urgent

necessity of situating the ubiquity of paradisial dreams within their histories of violence, it does not enable us to consider what dreams of living better might look like within the spaces upon which touristic capital means they are still projected without recourse to an imagined and authentic past wherein this colonial paradise had not yet arrived.

2.4 *Gigante pela própria natureza*: Brazil as utopian paradise

'*If there is a paradise on earth, I would say it exists presently in Brazil… Anyone who wants to live in the earthly paradise has no choice but to live in Brazil*' – Portuguese Colonist Rui Pereira (in Delumeau, 2000: 111).

'*Brazil is the country of the future and always will be*' – popular Brazilian joke

What becomes clear is this framing does not enable us to understand the complex ways in which paradise both played a central role in modes of colonisation, but then *continues* to play a similarly crucial role in ongoing processes of sense-making and the formation of political relations in its places. Indeed, looking at the ongoing histories of paradise and utopia in Brazil shows us that we cannot understand their roles without viewing them as a locus of a generative, productive understanding of place, a far cry from a barrier to authenticity. Such an important role for paradise therefore demonstrates that we cannot view paradise a singular, imposed discourse, but as something that takes hold in the places it is found and provides fertile ground for myriad social and highly political understandings, rendering it central to both the modes of colonial governance we have seen it provokes, and also to localised modes of fantasy and their spatiotemporal projections. Therefore, understanding how paradise has played such a central governing and yet transformative role throughout Brazilian history tells us of the need to be able to understand it politically.

2.4.1 Dialectics of tropical utopia

Brazil suggests the need for a way to think through paradise as a mode of utopia with a living transformative political potential. Indeed, as Ildney Cavalcanti asserts 'cultural manifestations of Brazilian utopianisms have played an essential role in our history' (2016: 211). Tracing the emerging study of utopianism in Brazil, Cavalcanti points to a wealth of resources which explore the centrality of visions of a particularly Edenic utopia to national self-understandings:

'a myriad of myths, legends, fables, short stories, novels, poems, manifestos, songs, hymns, speeches, reports, films, graphic novels, Cockaignes, essays, and so on produced in Brazil may be (indeed, some have already been) viewed as an eclectic literary corpus that can be aligned with a

utopian tradition in writing to the extent that their contents, forms, and functions build bridges to utopia' (212).

What is important here is that Cavalcanti identifies this move towards utopianism not just in critical literary attempts to imagine a better society, but a simultaneous synthesis with the capacity of Brazil's verdant nature to provide the basis for imaginings of a life without suffering.

We therefore see throughout Brazilian history differing mobilisations of and expressions between Edenic nature and utopian progress. For example, during the 1920s and the great social change that accompanied the redrawings of oligarchal power taking place at the time, Brazilian nature was mobilised as the basis for the nationalistic fervour of 'excessive pride' (*ufanismo*), in a country which 'gives everything' (*tudo dá*), whilst never having suffered defeat at the hands of others. Founded in articulations of white racial supremacy (Costa 1985; Parker, 2009; Skidmore, 1974; Stepan, 1991), the *ufanistic* moment centralised understandings of nature mixed with visions of progress at the heart of what Brazil means. Conversely, utopian progress as an expression of capitalist modernity also found its place as a relationship of domination over nature. During the government of Juscelino Kubitschek (1956 – 1961) and the earlier stages of the subsequent military dictatorship (1964 – 1985), various mega-construction projects were undertaken with the aim of ensuring 'fifty years of development in five'. These projects, such as the construction of the new capital city of Brasília, the Itaipu Dam, and the Transbrasiliana Highway articulated a statement of progress achieved via the domination over nature and unity of territory. The location of the 'privileged spectacle of capitalist civilisation in the jungle' (Hardman, 2005: 35) was based in 'a teleological process' within which 'nature was associated with a past which should be forgotten' (Andrade, 2018: 4). These principal expressions of Brazilian relationships with nature have been deployed at the level of national governance in differing ways throughout its history, with the complex dialectic tensions between celebration of nature and dominance over it forming the basis for iterations of progress and exoticism. That utopian expressions of capitalist progress alongside and through nature thus continue to form the basis for varied understandings of Brazil as the 'land of the future' (Zweig, 1941) points to the necessity of understanding paradise not as a dead myth, but as a living element of political possibility within Brazil.

2.4.2 Ambiguities of Eden

It is of course crucial to understand the continued centrality of tropes of paradise as a core constituent element to the continuation of colonial modes of governance in Brazil. Indeed, from

Gilberto Freyre's (1934) discussion of Brazil's 'racial democracy', founded in colonial metaphors of exotic paradisial sexuality leading to critical consideration of Brazil's self-declared role as a racial paradise (Skidmore, 1974; Twine, 1997; Martins et al. 2004), or the way paradise is enacted through entangled modes of sex tourism and national identity (Bandyopadhyay and Nascimento, 2010; Goldstein, 2003; Mitchell, 2011; Simões, 2016), we see that paradise is a trope deployed to ensure the continuation of colonial modes of economic and cultural power. However, what I argue here is that these tropes are not simply deployed to oppress, but form part of a complex, living, and highly productive dialectic tension whereby contemporary Brazilian understandings grapple with the question of *what it means to live in paradise*. Indeed, this perspective is most famously expressed in historian Sergio Buarque de Holanda's (2000 [1959]) text *Visão do Paraíso: Os motivos edénicos no descobrimento e colonização do Brasil* (Vision of Paradise: the Edenic motives in the discovery and colonisation of Brazil), which seeks to uncover the fertile fantasy of belief in Eden which led Iberian colonisers to project its possibility into the spatiotemporal 'emptiness' of the New World. For Holanda, the importance of uncovering the fantastic elements of paradise within Brazil is not to assert it solely as a foundational idea imposed by colonists, but also as a living element of contemporary Brazilian political arrangement. Indeed, understanding this solely as an imported mode of colonial governance would therefore be to fail to understand its continued productive power, and the way its vitality underpins varied national dreams. What emerges here is Brazilian questions of how to understand the relationship between modernity and paradisiacal nature in the ongoing production of the nation. Ongoing tensions and conflicts between Eden and utopian dreams of modernising progress therefore illustrate the way these continued conversations in Brazil tell us about the function of capital.

Thus, the question of how these colonial fantasies continue to form the basis for how Brazilians can think of themselves should not be treated as holding a relationship to static tropes, but to how these tropes continue to be utilised and deployed (Giannetti, 2016). It is not only tension that happens through this engagement with tropical Edens, but new paradisial production of space and subjectivities. Anthropologist Darcy Ribeiro famously engaged with these questions in his (1982) book *Utopia selvagem: saudades da inocência perdida, uma fábula* [Savage utopia: longing for a lost innocence: a fable] which explores the question of Brazilian culture from within the 'cannibal' (*antropofagia*) movement. Ribeiro advocates for an understanding of the continued role of tropes of paradise, not as static relics of the past, but as a crucial and ongoing mode around which contemporary Brazil enacts political possibility. As Cavalcanti states, Ribeiro's book offers 'a narrative that, by adding the qualifier savage (i.e., precolonial) to the 'colonial' utopia, moves beyond the binary logic of colonialism by favoring a *mestiça* identity' (2016: 213). Similarly,

Nancy Leys Stepan's (2001) engagement with the anti-mimetic, tropical work of landscape artist Roberto Burle Marx shows the capacity for these questions to trouble assumptions about what representations of paradise both mean and enable. Indeed, what we see of Brazil as paradise when we move beyond this colonial binary reveals a highly productive and rich way of understanding the nation not limited solely to modes of governance. By following both Brazilian cultural producers and material moments which consider what it means to project utopia by way of Eden we see more about how this fantasy continues to structure political life in a way that cannot be thought of as dead, totalising, or beyond the political.

Viewing paradise in this way opens up our analysis to consider among other things the historical expressions of paradisial/utopian communities as enclavic space *within* Brazil, such as the messianic (Queiroz, 1965) movements of Canudos and Joaseiro, which Cava situates within 'national ecclesiastical and political power structures of imperial and republican Brazil' (1968: 403), wherein large inland settlements emerged in opposition to the state based around founding a society on religious grounds. Such an understanding thus enables a view of the living utopian element of *quilombos* (Nascimento, 1985; Aula in Eskelinen, 2020), building on their historical formulation as communities established by escaped slaves and other outcasts of colonial violence such as indigenous populations. In Brazil, colonial fantasies of paradise exist alongside, in tension with, and building upon the spaces and dreams of utopia.

What this brief look at this utopia/paradise nexus within Brazilian history has done is point to the way in which paradise has a productive potential within its places. Therefore, if we are to have any understanding of utopia as transformation, Brazilian thought demands that we historicise it through the colonial and capital iterations of paradise. In doing so, it shows the importance of uncovering an understanding of politics as possible within these dominant social structures in a way that tells us of the function of these structures more broadly.

2.5 Eden as otherwise

As I have thus far argued, as well as excluding paradise as a fantasy from its modes of thought, part of the issue with understanding the transformative mode of utopia is the way it frequently ignores its historical expression as paradisial projection onto virgin territory. I will begin by briefly outlining some different modes of utopia from black and queer thought to demonstrate ways of conceiving differently of these temporal horizons, although noting that they are not specifically in

paradise, before going on to draw out the inadvertently depolitical implications of some transformative theorisations of paradise as it functions in its places today.

It is in this spirit, although the body of work remains small (cf. Tabone, 2016), that there is a growing desire to look for utopian thinking in the work of black authors. Therefore, for thinkers such as Paul Gilroy, utopian modes of expression provide the capacity to '[offer]… a continuous commentary on… systematic and pervasive relations of domination' (1993: 38). This capacity to offer critique, whilst rooted in the same understanding of an 'oppositional and transformational' (Levitas, 1990: 212) utopia discussed previously is important to note as itillustrates the shifting capacity for utopian modes of thinking to be expressed from within the structures of colonial domination. Thus, as Ahmad has it, through expanding 'horizons of possibility' (2009: 148), it is important to note that the *desire to be otherwise* I have argued is a unifying strand of utopian thinking (including paradise) does not disappear within the domination of colonialism. Conversely, for Tabone (2016), Levitas' aim to explore how we might enable concrete utopias is thus best ensured through the imaginative mode that literary work which explores new and contingent forms of solidarity emerge in the face of such total oppression. He draws from Toni Morrison's interrogation of utopian communities in *Paradise* (1997), which explicitly explores the question of what emergent solidarities might look like in the face of totalising systems which seek to disable them, and highlights other literary engagement such as Ahmad's (2009) thinking through of utopia with W.E.B. DuBois. Instead, understanding how the utopian thinking which emerges from a particularly strong and complex overlapping system of domination can have transfigurative (Gilroy, 1993) potential provides us with a vision of this emancipation which emerges from those enmeshed within its power.

Engaging utopia with similar purposes in mind, queer theorists have drawn upon utopia as a mode of theorising latent potentiality in the present (Jones, 2013). José Muñoz explicitly situates his engagement with utopia as a way of moving beyond the 'quagmire' (2009: 1) of pragmatic thinking which forecloses existing minority modes of politics. The capacity to reimagine ways of being together therefore represents a possible route to overcome the modes of oppression which prevent such conviviality. However, what is interesting here is that Muñoz places this capacity amid an aesthetic engagement with existing modes of imagination. Indeed, this approach points to the need to embed any recourse to futurity within an embodied capacity to sense the other. What is slightly different here is that whilst nonetheless oppositional and transformative, this exploration of utopia *within* paradise does not rest on a deferred politics, but on a search for the possibility of the political as contemporary. In the next section, I explore the difficulty of thinking through paradise *as a place*

with the potential to enable the contingency and exploration of otherwise that these imaginative modes of utopia capture.

2.6 Paradise: produced/productive

There is indeed a recent body of work which aims to do just this. Stemming therefore from the simple observation that the relationship of colonised people with paradise contains complex, contradictory modes of engagement with the idea, this work points us to how we might begin to open up the possibilities of life there. It therefore points to how engagements with paradise span affective states such as pride and joy which cannot be simply dismissed as instances of 'seduction, wishful thinking, or neocolonial false consciousness' (Alexeyeff and McDonnell, 2018: 270). What this points to is a recognition of the claim I have made throughout; that paradise is too pervasive to be dismissed, and too complex to be expressed as a binary search for authenticity.

Like others (see Alexeyeff and McDonnell, 2018), the work that first alerted me to the necessity of moving away from simple binaries when thinking paradise is Sharae Deckard's outstanding (2010) *Paradise discourse, imperialism, and globalisation: exploiting Eden*. In common with many authors (Kothari and Wilkinson, 2010; Strachan, 2000), Deckard is prescient of 'flexibility and resilience' in the way paradise myths have changed 'over the centuries from a literal topos, to a myth, to a literary motif, to an advertising cliché with global relevance' (2010: 1). However, where Deckard's approach differs is that this mutability becomes the location of a complex and ambiguous mode of power rather than a simple point of recognition. By exploring the presence of paradise myths from a range of sources outside the usual Caribbean and Pacific Islands, Deckard refuses the straightforward story of the utopian elements of paradise as being a phenomenon unique to European colonialism and thus opens its histories to understandings which view it as a rich, shifting, and productive fantasy. Instead, she looks at material features of how paradise thinking has emerged in place through the way it is found in cultural outputs from areas designated with the name. Focusing on a diverse range of paradisial places,[19] she explores how thinkers engage with common threads of life in paradise, such as the way images of labour-free riches obfuscate the role of the other in their production, and questions what sort of politics these engagements enable.

Viewing paradise from a perspective of productive complexity rests on its historical articulation in place. What is particularly useful is her observation that 'paradise may come 'unstuck' from theology but not from the modes of production' (2010: 5). This understanding allows us to see the way in which paradise myths so frequently come to their uniquely powerful hold; rather than referring to a singular story which has now died, paradise is in constant productive tension with the

societies from which dreams of escape emerge, which, as Eliade tells us (1953) is nearly all of them. The contexts of paradise are thus so pervasive and so persistently relevant because the productive fantasy they engender is one produced dialectically with the conditions in which they emerge. Deckard's framing not only enables us to see how certain (colonial) histories and conditions became to be known as paradise, but also demands a contextualisation of its stories as a condition of capitalist expansion and therefore points us towards a historicised understanding of its ubiquitous power.

Deckard uses an understanding of its ambiguities with success when exploring how paradise underpins the possibility for articulating modes of resistance and the potential of thinking otherwise its logics suggest (2010: 189). This capacity has proven crucial to many who think on the potential of paradise. Indeed, Alexeyeff and McDonnell use the way Deckard locates this capacity for otherwise within the logics of the colonial expansion of capital, to argue that ''paradise' is both an imaginary that frames foreign engagement… as well as a complex and often contradictory landscape utilized in Indigenous articulations of home and belonging.' (2018: 281). Through their recognition that 'generations of habitation and ownership of land, would also contribute to local understandings of and attachments to place' (279), the authors contribute to understandings which frame paradise as a commodity (thus situated amid the 'tropical' construction of its places discussed earlier) which serves to render certain places as particularly vulnerable to the governing discourses of paradise constructed through their historical contexts. However, by building on Robert Foster's (2008) theorisation of the commodity as something which obtains new meaning as it is embedded in differing localised contexts, the authors note that 'paradise is not an inert commodity but rather has its own social life; paradise is an object that circulates through particular social and cultural settings' (Alexeyeff and McDonnell, 2018: 280). In this way, the attachments to place they identify do not necessarily reproduce the colonial binaries of paradise but can underpin differing logics of resistance and relation to territory enabled through the way affective attachments to paradise carve space for differing articulations of indigenous modes of relation and possession.

These recognitions are crucial to facilitating an understanding of how the multivalent ideas of paradise can enable a mode of politics enunciated beyond that of governance. However, it is unclear about how this mode of resistance emerges. The problem as expressed here is the assumption of 'a subjectivity which would claim to transcend historical networks of power relations too readily and thoroughly' (McSweeney in Lin and McSweeney (eds.) 2010: 185). That is to say, whilst the authors understand that it is in the very capacity of those who engage with paradise to understand its promises in different ways through its differently articulated commodity relations, how that

translates to overcoming historical modes of oppression is ambiguous. To be clear, the authors do not project this capacity for resistance simplistically, and instead understand it as a complex amalgam of various forces of challenge and potential repossession. However, there nonetheless remains an emphasis on thinking through how paradise enables these modes of politics specifically articulated as resistance and its accompanying reformulation of imperial politics (see also: Jolly, 2018; Taouma, 2004). Therefore, the articulation of paradise as an idea which can prove foundational to a political logic beyond governance is at its fullest in the work of Alexeyeff and McDonnell, but the way these ambiguities might lead to something expressly political is unclear.

Others have attempted to understand the political potential in the ambiguity of paradise in place via the potentiality it opens. This endeavour lies directly at the heart of work such as Gonzalez' (2013) exploration of the affective possibilities engendered by life in the militarised paradises of Hawai'i and the Philippines, or Kenneth Little's (2020) exploration of the 'impossible paradise' of Belize. For Little, the authoritative images of paradise imparted through the tourist industry of his field site are not the conclusive end to the story. As he notes, 'no efforts of Paradise-production can freeze time or space or transform its forces except through new forces, new compositional energies and inventions that are make-Belize' (2). Instead, he argues that paradise forms part of the 'shifty, fugitive, devious, undiscriminating, unstable, erratic, dream-like, eccentric forces that animate life… the power of which is resonant in everyday sensibilities, emergent vitalities, and immanent possibilities' (5). Little's work is beautiful and arresting. Its exceptionally rich account of the unexpected, magical, and ambiguous ways of life in this town in Belize has been crucial to my efforts to follow the threads laid down by paradise and think through not simply how to critique it, but to take seriously the myriad possibilities that life amid purported perfection implies. However, whilst Little aims to rid himself of the shackles of a critical perspective of tourist studies which cannot look past the oppositional categories of subject/object (2020: 11), I believe the tensions of the production of such meaning can provide deeper understanding.

Therefore, whilst it is essential to understand the power of paradise as something always productive, contradictory, and incomplete that those who experience it construct not as a static history but on the register of the intensities and energies that structure engagement with it, to consider how it acts politically, an analysis must be grounded within the colonial and capitalist contexts which contributed to its emergence in the first place. Indeed, as Debbie Lisle argues, the very way we consider these structuring differences should be considered in these emergent and productive ways, framing her own analysis amid this tension:

> ‘To avoid the reductive analytical horizons that often flourish amid structuring binaries such as here-there, us-them, domestic-international, and even war-tourism, this book understands productions of difference and domination as fundamentally contingent and thus examines the manner in which structuring binaries are secured, but also negotiated, troubled, fractured, disassembled, multiplied, reworked, and rearticulated… in an effort to open up the complexity, contrariness, and heterogeneity of these encounters.’ (2016a: 5)

Whilst Lisle’s analysis is not expressly concerned with paradise *per se* (although its power crops up repeatedly in its pages), it points towards a way of considering its complexities as expressed through the dynamics of its contemporary inextricability from tourism (Waade, 2010; Nixon, 2015; Strachan, 2000; Trask, 1993). Perhaps more significantly for the analysis here, she also points to the integral role that touristic fantasies of paradisial escape have had in entrenching processes of gendered commodification (2016: 174), the ‘fractured and ambivalent’ role of the Other in the production of touristic cultural diplomacy (146 – 147), and the touristic sensibility of militarisation in war zones (252). Indeed, by also pointing to the way that ‘the privileged experience of travel is now explicitly underscored by serious geopolitical concerns that make it increasingly difficult for it to fulfil its central fantasy of escape’ (242), Lisle also enables us to see the important role of fantasy in the continued production of both the production of political difference outlined above, and its centrality to processes of negotiation, rearticulation, and changing production of material structures and relations of capital. As such, Lisle demonstrates the inextricability of fantasy from this avowedly political articulation of the productive and generative capacity of paradisial escape. Whilst nonetheless demonstrating its fragmented and contingent nature, this enables us to move away from the more ambiguous approach favoured by Little and recuperate the possibility of the political by also recognising the production of paradise as something happening within colonialism and capitalism.

However, we nonetheless appear to be at somewhat of an impasse when considering how to think through the productive role of this fantasy to the everyday lives of those who reside amid these touristic contexts. Whilst Deckard’s (2010) explanation enables us to explore the multivalent and complex iterations of paradise whilst also demonstrating the way it produces and is produced by fantasies and relations of capital, it is located within the realm of literature. Whilst not wishing to establish a differentiation between the literary and the real, what we have seen is that moves to apply this recognition ‘in place’ seem to either be predicated upon romantic views of political capacities of resistance within an axiomatic system of capital (Alexeyeff and McDonnell, 2018;

Jolly, 2018), or, in seeking to explore the subtleties and generative potential of paradise in place, moves us away from having a political conception at all (Little, 2020). As such, we seem to be able to conceive of paradise as an articulation of productive power in the literary realm, but unable to consider the way this might be articulated through the material. Lisle's (2016) approach shows us how to think of the role of fantasy in the expansion and continuation of tourism in a way that seeks explicitly to uncover the contingency of the colonial binaries I identified earlier, thus bringing us to an understanding of how paradisial fantasy in place can be at once generative and political, but it is not expressly concerned with unpacking paradise.

2.7 An impasse

What the preceding discussion has shown us is that there is an impasse at the heart of our current ways of thinking through paradise as a political phenomenon. The problem is that for paradise to play a role in any rearticulation of political relation, current understandings of what enables imaginative modes of change rest on a utopian mode of politics which necessarily require the location of this change as in an indeterminate future. By arguing this, I do not mean to fall into lazy dismissals of utopianism as an unrealistic adolescent embarrassment (Niebuhr, 1952), but to point to a problem which lies at the heart of this thinking: locating the possibility of realising *concrete* change (Bloch, 1986) as something that happens in the future forecloses perception of where it might be happening now. What I will go on to argue is that the inability I have identified of locating a politics within and of paradise is not simply due to an undertheorisation of this astoundingly rich and fertile historical phenomenon, but as an encapsulation of a broader problem with the perception of emancipatory social change.

I have shown that some attempts to politicise paradise tend to divorce it from its colonial histories, further delinking it from its incredibly productive yet violent potential. The second issue expresses this problem almost in reverse; by depicting paradise as an expression solely of these colonial histories, work which embeds paradise in place often tends to reduce it to a set of circulating images which consign its inherently productive potential to the past, or to only belonging to the colonising capacity of tourists thus reasserting the denial of coevalness I note in the introduction. This is not to say that discursive tropes are not in themselves productive, but to highlight that viewing them *only* from this perspective establishes a binary which removes any transformative political capacity of paradise from its places, posing instead a quest to uncover a romantic authenticity beneath paradisial lies.

At the start of this chapter, I explained that such dismissal of paradise as something richly political in and of itself is incapable of explaining the uniquely productive role it plays in Pipa. I further contextualised this claim here by highlighting the existence of paradise *within* Brazilian utopian dreams, highlighting that it is Edenic modes of social relation which underpin existing political possibilities there. Doing this enabled me to explore analysis which attempts to recuperate paradise as something beyond a barrier to authenticity. However, I highlighted that such work runs into the overall problem of understanding paradise politically: either it renders it as something which enables a too-easy mode of resistance, or it delinks it from the political at all. I therefore argued that the contingency of colonial binaries themselves demands an understanding of how paradise must be viewed as both a mode of governance *and* as something which can enable politics.

What emerged from this discussion, therefore, is the complexity of theorising political change from within interlocking modes of capital and colonial oppression. Paradise is something complex here that doesn't quite fit; neither reducible to discursive tropes of governance nor a dehistoricised idea, it points to the need for a way of understanding ways of thinking otherwise as a material, embedded phenomenon both limited and enabled by the violent histories it invokes. What this overview has shown is that we require a way of understanding politics as a contemporaneous possibility.

In the next chapter I therefore argue for a way of understanding the agency of Pipa's residents which exceeds the structural role played by the analysis of paradise contained here. I do this to enable an understanding of the empirical chapters that follow and the deeply complex, ambiguous, and political role that paradise plays throughout. I therefore use it as a space to explore the tension I have thus far hinted to between capitalism and any possibility of politics, arguing that reframing our understanding of what politics *is* through the work of Jacques Rancière enables to view the complex role of paradise and the productive potential it holds. Doing this helps deepen my critique of the undertheorisation of refusal within tourist globalisation/development on affective grounds and point to a way around this.

Chapter 3: Theoretical Framework

Pipa's residents know they live in paradise. They walk its streets daily, passing by signs that proclaim its presence, hearing music that recalls its tropical nature, and listen in quiet moments to the breeze rustling palm fronds. The tropical images that structural accounts tell us limit and oppress real life within the settings of paradise tourism abound through its spaces; they are difficult to escape, deeply embedded reminders of its history and meaning which are known and sensed as they move through the town. Indeed, the colonial histories of these images continue to circulate throughout Pipa, coalescing with and enabling the touristic economy which dominates. However, there is also something more in the town, something which moves those who live there to seek paradise in a wide range of different ways. In this thesis, I argue that these complex and ambiguous relationships with paradise cannot merely be dismissed as false consciousness, but should be explored and followed to provide a more holistic account of how they generate and produce political possibilities in the town. I do this to argue that the lives of those in paradise should be considered as enacting what paradise means within and beyond oppressive and exploitative hierarchies, rather than only as suffering within the unassailable limits paradise provides.

To do this, I therefore require a framework which enables me to explore both how these limits are sensed, felt, and known, and how these knowledges can themselves enact their own rupture. As such, I turn to an aesthetic and affective framework which allows me to consider the way governance is enacted and politics can happen through the ways we sense our social worlds. Doing so will allow me to explore the multiple ways in which paradise is produced through unexpected sensory engagement with the space and others in it, as well as drawing on the inner lives of those who enact this production.

More precisely, I draw on a framing of aesthetics from philosopher Jacques Rancière, whose discussion of *aesthesis* as that which can be sensed and known opens perception of the myriad ways in which paradise is enacted through somatic engagement with its spaces and others within. I argue that the importance of Rancière's framing lies in its capacity to perceive what he terms as *dissensus*, wherein accepted social orders can be ruptured by those written out of their function. I argue that this framing is necessary to avoid the depiction of Pipa's residents as relevant only through their abjection I critique in chapter 2 and instead recast them as political agents. I then draw on literature which deploys

Rancière's work in its discussion of *aesthetic political communities* (Hinderliter et al., 2009), arguing that framing the articulation and rearticulation of social order through the enactment and disruption of modes of community enables me to locate unexpected instances of politics as they are lived out in Pipa in localised and practical ways. Drawing on this work therefore allows me to open my analysis to instances of politics which exceed traditional conceptions of what politics is, demonstrating that the social order enacted by paradise is never totalising and that dismissing ways of being as false consciousness fails to capture its productive potential.

I then draw on work from feminist and queer affect theory which allows me to build on the work of Rancière by bringing the complexity and ambiguity of residents' inner lives into my analysis. I draw particularly here from the work of Lauren Berlant (2010) whose theorisation of fantasy as playing a productive and crucial role in how we make sense of the particular cruelty of unequal structural conditions allows me to consider the hard to reach places of inner lives as contributing to the sense of Rancierean rupture. I argue that this move is crucial as it both expands perception of the complex range of affects and senses which enable governance, and how the conditions of contemporary capitalism are crucial to their functioning.

Finally, I argue that to consider the sense of aesthetic and affective governance and dissensus as found in places like Pipa, the way that emotions and affects are simultaneously publicly and individually felt must be considered. By framing paradisiacal fantasies as public feelings (Cvetkovich, 2012) I therefore consider their role in community formation. By doing this, I am therefore able to consider the affective atmospheres (Anderson, 2009; Brennan, 2004) which constitute Pipa's spaces, and how these fantasies and sensory capacities are found in space. As such, I offer a political account of the distribution of emotion (Bargetz, 2015) through elaborating the concept of the *vibe*, through which I consider the way these sensory and emotional modes of being are unevenly and ambiguously mobilised and circulate through the town.

3.1 Rancière

At best, the hedonism of paradise is read as political through the powerful representation it constructs imposed from outside an authentic locality where those within are left only to be governed by it or fight it. Whether from the perspective that it will not achieve the improvement necessary for a utopian future, or from representations that place it as only part of the saturated power of the social, paradise, despite some attempts to think otherwise (Alexeyeff and McDonnell, 2018; Jolly, 2018; Little, 2020), paradise is largely assumed to be a phenomenon of hegemonic power which only oppresses, perhaps too linked to the past to guarantee a better future. However, what I argue here is that there already lies the potential for political change within things that seem

so far from it, things like paradise itself. To understand how this change emerges from within the forms of power that seem so strong, I argue the necessity of an aesthetic approach which 'recognises that the inevitable difference between the represented and its representation is the very location of politics' (Bleiker, 2001: 510). Rather than only locate ways in which hegemonic structures govern those within, this aesthetic gap enables perception of other modes of political action.

Situating myself within this gap thus allows me to explore the way political relationships between people emerge from within, and oftentimes *because of*, this phenomenon that so many dismiss as only a barrier to politics or as something too easily overcome. What I argue is that to understand the politics therein, we must understand paradise as both a system of representation and as a fantastical desire for something better. I therefore now turn to the work of Jacques Rancière, whose extensive corpus lends itself to this attempt to reformulate the question of what politics in paradise means. I will outline the spatial and pedagogical implications of Rancière's work, arguing that it allows us to bring paradise into political purview as a contingent mode of representation by means of which claims to equality can be made through the possibility of *dissensus,* understood here as 'a dispute over what is given and about the frame within which we sense something is given' (Rancière, 2010: 69).

I will first explain how a focus on spaces such as Pipa which are delimited as ones wherein a particular activity, in this case tourism, requires a way of understanding the way such spaces impart a particular order upon those within them. I will highlight that such spatial orders render seemingly natural the question of who ought to be where, doing what, and when, and argue that Rancière's somatic understanding of the way this governance is imparted is what also offers basis for the enactment of political rupture. As I will show, this account of politics allows perception of the often unexpected modes by which those excluded from dominant ways of representing spaces and the political communities within them can redraw the possible ways of sensing and knowing, and thus trouble the distinctions which render them illegible within those spaces. I will argue that understanding such redrawing through the lens of the formation of 'aesthetic communities of sense' (Hinderliter et al., 2009) enables perception of the role that sociality and community play in the sensory construction of communities of visibility. In highlighting this, I show that rather than in preconceived and static communities, it is through ongoing processes of identification and disidentification that the political order both emerges and provides the basis for dissensus. I demonstrate here that such moments of dissensus point to a possible reconfiguration of the way such order is sensed and known, showing that Rancière's theorisation of radical equality points to the possibility for anyone to disturb existing police orders.

As such, I show that Rancière's framings are important to my conceptualisation of paradise threefold: firstly, his aesthetic approach to politics as a somatic phenomenon which stems from engagement with space allows me to situate my claims in relation to Pipa as a place of paradise; secondly, that they allow me to move beyond binaries of domination/resistance when considering the role of representations of paradise; and finally that they enable me to locate moments of political rupture amid the drawing and redrawing of political communities in ways which instead take the form of unintended sensibilities and thus often do not map easily onto expected modes of political action. I argue here, therefore, that any mode of understanding paradise as political must stem from the recognition of a shared capacity to act politically.

As I show in chapter 2, hegemonic structures of representation are widely discussed as that which delimits acceptable modes of action in places such as paradise. The multiple ways residents are governed by the economies and representations of tourism restrict what is possible in its places. However, for Rancière, this is not politics, but part of what he terms the police order. The police is not the set of institutions we might usually think of, this he thinks of more in the Foucauldian terminology of the petty police, but instead the wholesale articulation of a social logic of inequality. This logic tells us of the way only certain people can be and, importantly, speak in certain places at certain times, and therefore 'simultaneously defines the ways of being, doing, and saying appropriate to these places' (Rancière, 2004b: 8). What this tells us is that it is the way we sense the world around us which imparts our knowledge of how things ought to be. This mode of sensing is termed as the *partage du sensible*, or distribution of the sensible, which is 'the system of self-evident facts of sense perception that simultaneously discloses the existence of something in common and the delimitations that define the respective parts and positions within it' (Rancière, 2004a: 12). What this distribution does is enable us to sense a story of the way things are meant to be. It works to tell us that there is a natural way of relating to one another within a given space or time. As we all have our place within this social order, what emerges is a picture of a society that appears whole. Whilst fundamentally unequal, everyone is given a part to play within the constitution of this commonality. Indeed, 'in this fittingness of functions, places, and ways of being there is no place for a void' (Rancière, 2001: 9). Politics as a rearticulation of who gets to participate in society as found in the dynamics of governance and resistance is not a way of superseding this void, but a renegotiation of the existent police order.

We can therefore usefully think of paradise as a distribution of the sensible in that it articulates that certain places and people can sensibly be called paradisial, rendering ways of relating to one another sensible therein. When we think of paradise as a mode of governance, it tells us that it deploys colonial histories to delimit who gets to act in what way in its places. When we are told of

its exploitative histories within tourism, of its capacity to render lives trapped within paradisial imagery in the service of touristic fantasies of a getaway (Nixon, 2015), we see that paradise is indeed a powerful part of this police order. Everyone within seemingly has a part; some lives exist as an infrastructure to support the fantasies of others and others, such as tourists, exist for pleasure. This recognition is widely found amid the disciplining accounts of the power of paradise tourism I outlined in the previous chapter, however, as I argued recognising such people as relevant to analysis *only* by merit of their oppression risks rendering them as abject, depoliticised beings and thus limits their agency.

Where Rancière differs is through his insistence upon a fundamental and radical equality which such distributions of the sensible obscure. This claim to equality does not rest on the projection of a utopian society which articulates an ideal organisation of relation between all its parts, but instead is a recognition of the capacity of all beings to 'find the right sentences to make themselves understood by others' (Rancière, 1991: 72). What is at stake here, then, is a recognition that although all have the capacity to speak, respective distributions of the sensible render the speech of some merely that of animal noise 'expressing pleasure or pain' (2004a: 22). Thus rendered, such individuals are part of society but cannot be seen to *take part* in any meaningful or intelligible sense in the collective exercise of power. As he has it, they are the part-with-no-part. This distinction is crucially separate from an understanding which presupposes the constitution of which types of people are unintelligible and which have speech by means of the ways they are governed by social practices due to the role he prescribes equality. Under this distinction, and what makes this so useful for my efforts to explore the politics of paradise in a way which does not assume modes of social constitution, the radical presence of this equality means that even those without a part are fundamentally and always able to carve one out for themselves.

I will return presently to the implications of this capacity to Rancière's understanding of politics and what that means for my argument, but for now I will briefly outline the way this approach fits particularly well with questions of touristic paradise due to the way its aesthetic conceptualisation is spatially realised. As I have already outlined, the strength of the police order lies in its innately sensory nature; what it is possible to sense and know in a given space at a given time delimits which activities can happen there and who can partake in them. In paradise, as I have already argued, the way its spaces become known as dedicated to a particular type of touristic activity which offers a particular way of life therefore limits who is able to legibly partake in its constitution. However, the capacity to sense the logics and modes of governance also enables perception of the gaps, inconsistencies, and moments of excess which evade said logics. Such excess is the moment of political emancipation, the moment of what Rancière names *dissensus.* Politics is therefore not a

case of the identification of modes of power, but a 'practical verification of equality' (Deranty and Ross, 2012: 1), a localised and sensory disidentification with a police order. What is important here, and crucially what differs from structural or disciplining accounts of the politics of paradise, is that such sensory disidentification is a fundamental capacity shared by all due to the radical equality Rancière identifies. What this means for my argument is that somatic engagement with logics of police in touristic paradise both account for modes of governance and the potential to disrupt such governance, without presupposing who might do this or how it might happen. It therefore opens space for me to look for unexpected and new sensibilities and subjectivities which exceed paradisiacal space and time.

Having established Rancière's understanding of politics and the police, I will now briefly argue that its grounding in a sensory and aesthetic mode of knowledge implies an understanding of community which enables perception of the drawing and redrawing of what is possible, or makes sense, within paradise. I therefore argue here that it is in the body's capacity to move differently in space *in conjunction with one another* which means that moments of dissensus represent a problematisation of the practices of global capitalism within tourism by means of redrawing possible modes of communality and sociality. Doing so enables me to argue that tracing the emergence and constitution of political community in Pipa in the chapters that come enables perception of the limits of the development discourses of tourism, and thereby points to the enactment and constitution of its possibilities.

As I have so far argued, a rupture to any distribution of the sensible rests as much on what it is possible to sense within a given space as the equality which enables perception of its gaps and excesses. It therefore follows that the body's capacity to enact rupture rests on its capacity to move within and beyond its inscriptions; this is a process thus embedded within a sensory engagement with the other and a perception of how spaces are politically constituted. Indeed, as Laura Quintana argues, Rancière's 'aesthetic-cartographical' reading of what a body can do in its spaces, both in how it senses the limits of the logics of the police order and in how it produces 'disjunctions in existing arrangements' thereby producing 'other arrangements' (2019: 225) through its capacity to move differently from that which the police order dictates. This reading rests not only on a corporeal sense of what an individual body can do, but is deeply embedded within the spaces and logics within which it effects such movement as it requires a space from which to make 'democratic pronouncements' (Dikeç, 2005: 186). Indeed, all movements of the body communicate variously with other bodies, whether through their labour, expressiveness, or verbal communication, the capacity of the body to sense what it can and cannot do is formed in conjunction with the other in a process of making sense. Therefore, police orders are both reinscribed and troubled through

common practices of sensing, moving, and communicating. The practice of politics is thus somatic, embedded within space, and rests on an enactment of common forms of intelligibility.

However, such an aesthetic practice of communality does not imply the enactment of a set of individuals with a common sensibility or social goal. Instead, it suggests 'a certain cutting out of space and time that binds together practices, forms of visibility, and patterns of intelligibility' (Rancière in Hinderliter et al., 2009: 31) in a distribution of the sensible. What differs here from ideas of commonality which pre-determine what is possible in certain settings due to 'collectivism or identity politics' or from a vague pluralism is what Hinderliter et al. describe as the particularisation of notions of community in a contingent and nonessential manner of being together within *aesthetic communities of sense* (2009: 2). Rather than form along clear and rigid lines of social fracture, the formation of such communities happens in a constant mode of negotiation and renegotiation of how being together can make sense or not, asking how such sensory lines can be ambiguously drawn and redrawn to perceive the underlying radical equality which enables them. However, rather than a Habermasian mode of consensus within this understanding of community, it is the emergence of new communities bound together in as yet unseen ways which rupture an established order and thus constitute ground for the establishment of the political. It is therefore through the constant negotiation and renegotiation of community itself that we can understand the enactment of politics as something embedded in sensory and spatial regimes of representation such as paradise.

As such, the question of what it means to *live* in paradise means asking who it is shared with. Rancière's framing benefits me multiply in asking this question. Firstly, it firmly embeds such a question within the sensory order of paradise; within this framing paradise is not incidental to what can go on there but nor is it totalising. Secondly, it enables me to prioritise the question of political agency as something always enacted in concert with others through the renegotiation of community and intelligibility. Thirdly, it enables perception of the shifting and nonessentialist ways in which such divisions are formed and enacted. As such, when held alongside the broader question I ask in this thesis of what looking at life in Pipa *as* paradise can tell us about the practice of tourism and perceptions of its capacity to ensure development we can see that studying the antinomies, fissures, and renegotiation of community and paradise within a town like Pipa represent the formation of development itself, rather than simply failures in its practice. Indeed, drawing again on Victor Coutinho Lage's (2019) framing of the importance of practices of capitalism in Brazil in the constitution of *global* practices of capitalism, rather than as anomalies (see Chapter 1), what using Rancière's approach enables me to argue is that such patterns of community and sociality sustain, trouble, and create contemporary touristic economic development as they are practically found.

3.2 Berlant

However, even within this account of the political necessity of understanding the way living within such powerful modes of representation can be troubled and reformed by the body's capacity to sense and know the presence of others, questions still remains around the problem I raised in the introduction of just whose fantasies constitute these representations. To approach this question I therefore now turn to the work of Lauren Berlant, whose work places fantasies at the interstice of aesthetics and affect theory to argue for a political reading of the power and possibility of what we dream for, and how such sense-making activity binds us to hierarchical social forms as well as offers fertile ground for their disruption. In doing so, I argue that Berlant's framing is of particular use regarding questions of the politics of paradisiacal economies as they embed any such understandings within the embodied demands of labour and the function of contemporary capitalism. Such an approach builds on my use of Rancière's aesthetic theory by enabling me to focus on the otherwise hard to reach complexities and inconsistencies of inner worlds and how they are deeply enmeshed in, and thus productive of, political possibility.

I therefore briefly first outline the importance of affect theory and its understanding of an embodied account of the more-than-verbal way that power circulates within a given aesthetic division, arguing that feminist, subaltern, and queer approaches to affect avoid unnecessary distinctions between concepts of affect and emotion, and more readily lend themselves to perception of the political I have thus far highlighted. I then focus on the work of Lauren Berlant, arguing that their view of affect theory as offering insight into the profoundly ideological way that power and politics occur within contemporary political settings. I highlight the importance of fantasy to Berlant's work, finally arguing that embedding fantasies of living better in touristic paradise within their contemporary historical juncture enables perception of how they function.

Power, Kathleen Stewart writes, is a 'thing of the senses' (2007: 84). Similarly to the somatic conception of how social worlds function I have thus far drawn from aesthetic theory, affective approaches seek to explain the more-than-verbal ways in which we are constituted through our engagement with the world around us. Rather than seek to explain the world through the public, external mode of rationality, affective approaches look for ways to understand the world in ways altogether more imprecise. Thinking instead on the moment of the yet uncaptured present, affect theory therefore looks for ways that energies and intensities flow between people and objects, drawing on vocabularies of moods and atmospheres to try to get at that which cannot be fully described. It firmly situates us in the world around us and moves beyond ideas of sovereign subjects enacting fully-fledged thoughts, instead drawing on the nebulous ways things are drawn together

or rendered apart in the indeterminate moment. Such an approach is crucial to open perception of the myriad ways power functions which cannot be theorised by approaches which focus on fully-formed, rational thought.

Firstly, however, it is important to highlight that whilst a concern to understand how we are moved and move in ways which exceed rational thought unites them, there are nonetheless countless ways to approach affect theory, all of which bear different emphases and aims (Gregg and Seigworth, 2010: 6) and often sit in uneasy tension with one another. I therefore describe the usefulness of feminist affect theory to my work through its insistence on the political nature of such intensities and energies. Whilst some approaches to affect differ on questions such as the mode of cognition (or *not*) upon which they focus, others approach the question of affect from understanding it as embedded within, and highly productive of, the structures wherein 'persistent, repetitious practices of power can simultaneously provide… collectivized bodies… with predicaments and potentials for realizing a world that… exceeds the horizons and boundaries of the norm' (*ibid.*: 7). The contrast between these approaches is thus political. There is a different goal to thinking through how affective states may provide a different way to perceiving how thinking otherwise might happen than to attempting to think through how such states might engender a different way of living or relating to one another. I argue here that to consider the role of affective energies in paradise in a way which considers those within it as political must take affect as something through which given social arrangements, or indeed distributions of the sensible, can be exceeded.

To explore this further I turn to the role of emotion across these differing approaches to affect. For some, it is crucial to draw a distinction between affect, which corresponds to 'broad tendencies and lines of force' (Thrift, 2007; 60) which *always* exceed the human body. In this view, affect is crucially autonomous from emotion (Massumi, 2002), as emotion has already been captured by language; it is possible to put a name to an emotion, to readily describe it. Under this reading, emotion thus belongs to the realm of cognition and has already been captured by ideologies. However, I argue that to follow my overarching goal of theorising political potential within the prominent representative forces of paradise, this reading of affect fails to enable perception of various modes by which the moment of cognition is potentially governed, and also does not offer scope to exceed the ideologies it seeks to avoid. Indeed, the political is frequently absent from such iterations of affect theory, positing as it does a universalisable experience wherein intensity and energy function the same way across crowds. Searching for the pre-cognitive moment which is yet unfettered by ideology risks assuming a world wherein all access ideological claims equally. Indeed, such an understanding risks romanticising the present, which, as William Mazzarella (2004) highlights, is not inherently liberatory. Indeed, in the insistence on locating a 'half second'

wherein all modes of clear cognition are stripped away, such an approach instead *reasserts* the mind/body dualism it purports to avoid by means of privileging the body, thus occluding the mind (Leys, 2011). As various feminist critiques have asserted (Hemmings, 2005; see Åhäll, 2018) this approach thus strips the social from questions of how energies and forces move between people, crucially when thinking of who those people are. That is to say, in seeking to uncover an as-yet-uncaptured moment and posit it as a potentiality of political energy, such approaches end up foreclosing perception of the multiple ways in which politics might happen,[5] and of the way emotion and thought are intimately entangled with such affective energies as they constitute the vague 'gut feelings' through which such engagements happen.

As such, I turn here to the work of Lauren Berlant whose reading of affect situates it within the aestheticopolitical unfolding of ordinary life, turning particularly to the way their work enables me to consider the public and cultural registers of intimate fantasies and thus to question the role such fantasies play. This therefore enables me to return to the question I pose in this chapter of just how I consider the wide range of contributing fantasies of paradise in the construction of touristic space, moving beyond the binary of touristic fantasy and an authentic 'real life' I assert in the previous chapter. Instead, Berlant's approach enables me to consider the way fantasies are affectively produced across multiple intersecting public and private conventions.

Indeed, thinking of fantasy from its affective dimensions points us to the way it intersects with and enables our engagement with the world on multiple registers. Fantasy is an activity we engage in to understand what happens around us, where it combines with memories, associations, and symbols in what Eve Sedgwick terms the 'multiple assemblies' of affect (2003: 100). It is therefore part of the complex processes of worldmaking (Stewart, 2007) by which we enact our lives and dreams. Indeed, as Berlant frames it: 'By 'fantasy' I mean to be pointing both to ideologies that create falsely disinterested representations of the world and also to the simple loose connections that we make among disparate things so that the world does not seem full of psychotic holes, *even if it is'* (in Manning and Berlant, 2018: 114, italics in original). It is not that fantasy obscures truth, but that it tells us that there might be such a thing. Fantasy lets us keep going in a world that does not wish us to by letting us craft the swirling and disparate things we sense happening into some sort of story of who we are.

There are two things that are important here which let us consider paradise in a different light: firstly, that fantasies are things we feel and believe in, things that arouse as Gramsci notes; and

[5] In chapter 6 I discuss some issues around the conflation of this feminist critique with identarian modes of understanding the emergence of the subject.

secondly, that fantasies are inextricable from the material conditions in which they happen, but that through their centrality to modes of desire they are already caught up in its production. What this tells us is that we must understand fantasy as part of making life happen from within the world around us, not simply as guarantors of false consciousness. They are, therefore, 'a social and cognitive practice of scale-making that involves projecting oneself into broader registers of existence' (Fawaz, 2016: 27). Indeed, placing such affective capacities within the structures of feeling (Williams and Orrom, 1954) which characterise the broadly social and historically enabled ways of engaging with the world, as Ben Highmore does (2016) shows the complex relations fantasies enable. As he tells us, 'the felt world is often experienced in something like a synaesthetic mode where feelings of social flourishing and struggling take on particular flavours, sounds, colour-schemes and smells; where hope and nostalgia, melancholy and exuberance have sensual forms that are sometimes durable and sometimes fleeing' (145). What this shows is that fantasy's extremely productive capacities emerge in conjunction with the time in which they happen through what we can sense. Indeed, as Berlant has it, they constitute part of the 'habituated processing of affective responses to what one encounters in the world' (Berlant, 2008: 5). Therefore, fantasies are things produced in conjunction with everything we experience.

However, what Berlant notes is that fantasies are not simply a productive force which emerges from this historical sensorium, but as a means of coping within the conditions of the present which 'are conditions of the attrition or wearing out of the subject' (Berlant, 2011: 28). Rather than the negative associations that come with being ideologically duped, fantasies are necessary for our survival. What Berlant is interested in is understanding how such fantasies, necessary as they are, become what they phrase as a *cruel optimism*, a state that 'exists when something you desire is actually an obstacle to your flourishing' (1). Our attachment to fantasies such as the possibility of a 'good life' have come about through a society which tells us that a steady job and a happy family are what life should be. However, they argue, such utopian visions of who we are become increasingly untenable within a capitalism which no longer even supports the conditions which made them into expectations in the first place. Their work therefore 'turns towards thinking about the ordinary as an impasse shaped by crisis in which people find themselves developing skills for adjusting to newly proliferating pressures to scramble for modes of living on' (8), placing fantasies at the heart of this. Here, the particular objects of desire to which our fantasies are fixed represent 'a cluster of promises we want someone or something to make to us and make possible for us' (23).

Where Berlant is so useful to my purposes is the way they embed this structuration of daily life and the role of fantasy within it into an understanding of both the complexity and heterogeneity of the sensations through which we experience the world, and how we organise such sensation into ways

in which everything retains some semblance of meaning within lives increasingly structured by ongoing crises. For Berlant, such modes of organisation are *genres*; aestheticopolitical narrations which 'organis[e] a relationship between the acting and interpreting subject, their feelings and impressions, their struggles and their historical present' (Duschinksy and Wilson, 2014: 179). They are how we understand ourselves as fitting into the world around us, what our place in it is, and how we should relate to one another within it.

However, as gestured to above, for Berlant, thinking incisively as they do about the Euro-American context amid the dominance of neoliberal capitalism,[6] this world is one wherein multiple, interlocking crises of state, capital, and social organisation cause the promise of supposed 'normality' to become improbable, even aspirational. Life is less and less a case of the seeming boredom and banality of repetitive suburbia, but a mode of hanging on and getting through existences punctuated by constant threats to their continuation. Rather than the exception, the crisis event has thus become the norm or *crisis ordinary*, and daily life for most has become an increasingly taxing mode of searching for anything that gives even the most rudimentary meaning. Indeed, as Elizabeth Povinelli puts it, the lives of most are 'suffering and dying, enduring and expiring [in forms] that are ordinary, chronic, and cruddy, rather than catastrophic, crisis-laden and sublime' (2011: 132). Within such a context, wherein we are often forced to confront 'the unspeakable sadness of being abandoned, in the end, by the world you have made matter in a life achieved' (Stewart in Long and Moore, 2013: 42), people use fantasies and attachments in ways to cope, love, and dream.

Berlant's apprach thus brings fantasy into view as something which structures daily life, broadening the somewhat limited view that the only fantasies which *matter* in a place like Pipa which sells paradise will be those of tourists. However, crucially it also enables me to think about the myriad ways in which the fantasies of others in the town intersect with these dominant fantasies, how their lives are both limited by the multiple inscriptions of touristic fantasy upon the town, but also how they dream of something other within these aestheticopolitical genres of escape and creatively enact such other ways of existing. This approach therefore lets me uncover how the complexity of inner life is inextricable from the political orders in which people function, how they creatively manoeuvre within economic arrangements which serve to exploit (Povinelli, 2011). I have therefore established so far that understanding paradisiacal touristic space in a way which does not foreclose political action for those within requires a focus on the unexpected ways in which they can sense and exceed established social orders. I then turned to feminist and queer framings of

[6] See Chapter 6 for consideration of colonial structures in this theorisation.

affect theory as it pertains to fantasy to point to the role that complex and ambivalent inner lives play in this process, both binding people to existing orders and enabling their rupture. In the next section I will draw on theories of affective atmospheres to consider how Berlant's theorisation of fantasy as both intimate and public affect and Rancière's aestheticopolitical understanding of space taken together enable me to understand how certain public feelings are known, shared, and enacted.

3.3 Public feelings and affective atmospheres

One of the central points which emerges from Berlant's work is that even our most intimate fantasies and dreams are never entirely our own. Instead, they emerge alongside and through the situations in which we find ourselves. In this final section of this theoretical chapter I therefore consider how the at once public and intimate nature of these feelings circulate and move through space and place, drawing on work around the concept of *affective atmospheres* (Anderson, 2009; Brennan, 2004) to conceive of how these fantasies can be felt and known through interpersonal spatiotemporal arrangements. I therefore argue here that grounding such atmospheres in the feminist approach to affect I identify above (Leff, 2021) enables a political conception of how feelings circulate and are known. I finally therefore introduce and develop my concept of the *vibe*, arguing that it presents novel insight into the sensemaking processes through which residents engage with these atmospheres by embedding them within the political distribution of emotion (Bargetz, 2015) within paradise. I argue that such an approach draws from aesthetic and affective framings of interpersonal engagement with space, bringing into purview the complexity and ambiguity of inner lives and their fantasies within such powerful representations as paradise whilst still enabling space for emancipatory politics.

Within the feminist approach to affect theory I have identified above, the complexity of inner lives as embedded within the historical present within which we find ourselves clearly demonstrates that our feelings are always developed within the wider context of community. As already seen in my discussion of aesthetic communities of sense (Hinderliter et al., 2009) above, centering my analysis on how these communities develop, change, and enact rupture demonstrates how unexpected political moments do not emerge individually but always in concert with others. Bringing these approaches together therefore enables me to argue that the feelings which enable the formation and undoing of political orders are always publicly encountered and always generative. Indeed, as Berlant tells us, the specific constellation of fantasy and investments in which we operate support the infrastructures and economies of public life, as well as the individual subject. As such, these feelings, whilst intimate and privately held, are embedded within a 'specific economy and constellation of feeling and sense which organis[e] particular forms of acting and feeling' (Duschinsky and Wilson, 2014: 183). They are political and social, shaped by the textures of the economies and societies of contemporary capitalism (Cvetkovich, 2012). Indeed, there has been a fruitful body of research within IR which considers how such public feelings intersect with and are generative of broader structures through the formation and delinking of such communities

(Callahan, 2020). For example, in considering the way ephemeral communities of sense emerge in the wake of terror attacks, Angharad Closs Stephens et al. point to the 'transient, plural, and everyday ways in which politics' (2021: 22) takes place in ways which transcend security-driven questions of borders and identity. Similarly, Emma Hutchinson's (2016) work on communities which emerge through situations of trauma demonstrates both the hidden ways in which emotions structure mechanisms of international politics, but also how trauma can prompt connections across categories of difference, revealing ways which trouble orthodox assumptions about the function of big political questions. Such work is useful in demonstrating how community and sociality as formative of political orders enables global processes, and thus helps situate my work in seeking to explain the critique from the margins (Lage, 2018) of capitalist development processes via tourism.

Therefore, in this thesis I add to this work on public feelings as enabling identification of the way politics actually happens in situated and practical ways which trouble presumed lines of distinction. I follow the example of work which argues that understanding how affect is never something entirely individually felt, and happens within atmospheres which are 'not reducible to the individual bodies they emerge from' (Anderson, 2009: 80). These affective atmospheres are the sort of nebulous way of describing how somewhere feels by way of acknowledging that such feelings go beyond the field of individuality and force us to recognise that our actions and feelings are produced in space. After all, as Teresa Brennan asks 'is there anyone who has not, at least once, walked into a room and "felt the atmosphere?" (2004: 1) Does such feeling not change how we are likely to act, who we talk to, who we avoid? Recognising therefore the political power that nebulous modes of sensation have on how we act in a given space, the concept of atmosphere provides a compelling account for how the feelings and sensations which enable both the structuring and ruptural elements of how we encounter aesthetic and affective engagement. The importance of considering atmosphere, then, is directly in its nebulous and ambiguous qualities; a cloud of feeling in a space which infects those within and prompts them to feel *something* in ill-defined ways which nonetheless prompts action, sensation, and emotion to coalesce around objects and people. When held alongside the public nature of fantasy and attachment, affective atmospheres allow us to think about how the complexities of inner life, seen here as generative and constitutive of the historical present, are felt and known in interpersonal ways within a given space. As such, when thinking through Pipa's rendering as paradise, and how this dream becomes felt and known through the town's streets, homes, and beaches, considering the presence of the various affective atmospheres allows me to consider the localised and specific ways that the town's sensoria foreclose and open complex and shifting modes of community.

However, whilst for many the way atmospheres reside outside the body awards them the power to structure spatiotemporal arrangements, others have highlighted that any account of this must consider how they are felt fundamentally unevenly (Leff, 2021). Indeed, Sara Ahmed forcefully critiques notions that such atmospheres are 'contagious' phenomena which dwell solely outside the body due to the

universalising assumption that all bodies within this atmosphere will experience such contagion in the same way (2010: 39). As she points out, whilst we may all feel sensations when we walk into a room, we always approach a room from an angle, or from within our histories and experiences. What is a comforting and welcoming atmosphere for some could be felt in the same instance as cold and exclusionary by others. The political project within Ahmed's work is therefore to consider how solidarities and shared experiences can be found from within uneven atmospheric sensation. How can the embodied materiality of sensing what and who a space is for result in communities which transgress the divisions of sensory experience? Within such divisions how can we understand how multiple and contrasting sensations and spaces nonetheless result in moments of unity? How can the complex and intimate fantasies which bind people to certain sensations and separate them from others within the same space circulate and enable new political forms to take place?

In this thesis, I therefore argue that the way in which paradisiacal space is felt as tourist space happens in a way which draws upon the unfolding construction of intimate public feelings of futures, pasts, dreams, and fantasies. To do this I formulate the concept of the *vibe* as a public distribution of intimate sensible affects through which Pipa's residents make sense of and thus enact the world around them. This idea is one which I widely encountered in the field, a vocabulary through which residents would try and formulate their shifting and uncertain feelings to the way it was possible to feel within paradise. Indeed, the frequent use of *vibe* to explain why they disliked a certain part of town at some points in the year whilst enjoyed it greatly at others, or why they avoided some streets to make their way home represents a material, somatic engagement with a knowledge that the capacity for their unfolding fantasies of what makes a life within paradise work rests upon cruel and fragile economies and structures. I specifically place this terminology in reference to Rancière's distribution of the sensible to explain how the atmospheres of Pipa's multiply paradisiacal spaces are both ordered and challenged through the way emotions and intimate affects can circulate and become sticky or slide off in a way that can subdue and limit or enliven and open. I build on Brigitte Bargetz's (2015) framing of the distribution of emotions to argue that the political ambivalence of such aesthetic and affective moments can only be liberatory through a fundamental recognition of equality which avoids reliance upon a 'politics of affect that relies on truth claims' (592). Indeed, understanding, as I have argued, that emotion and affect are structured by and generative of the formation of communities demonstrates the way that inequalities are distributed and felt differently. This approach asks us to consider whose emotions become dominant, how accounts of specific atmospheres are embedded into prevailing political orders, and how the dreams of some can result in the exploitation of others. However, it is through the 'interruption of these conditions' that we find a 'starting point for (collective) politics' (583).

When thinking through the constitution of paradisiacal space, this approach enables me to think beyond the assumption that the tourist is the only group for whom fantasies are mired within modes of governance and domination. Instead, I can consider the complex, overlapping, and, importantly,

changing ways in which the question of which emotions, senses of community come to characterise a place like Pipa. As Bargetz argues, this approach enables me to bypass questions as to whether affect is inherently liberatory or dominating, and whether to offer a paranoid or reparative reading, and instead to offer an always-political reading of the constitution of the way Pipa feels for different people within it. This therefore does not require treating the fantasies of its residents as iterations of false consciousness, but as inherently capable of forming the basis for ruptural moments of politics. Emphasising as I do that this distribution of emotion is known within the public feelings of a historical present therefore enables me to discuss the colonial and structuring practices offered by the accounts of paradise I provide in the previous chapter without resting on the assumptions they invariably result in of abject and silenced sufferers of paradise, or those for whom resistance is their only contribution to the rich political lives they cannot be seen to live.

3.4 Conclusion

In this chapter I have offered an account of a theoretical framework which enables me to centralise the rich political lives of those in Pipa. I have argued that this is a crucial approach on two principal grounds: firstly, it enables me to avoid a mode of analysis which makes the lives of those who suffer relevant only by merit of their suffering and instead cast them as political agents who enact possibilities, and secondly that it enables me to bring modes of rupture which may not appear instantly political into consideration. Doing so has enabled me to widen my understanding of what counts as political action in paradise and to escape conclusions of stultifying false consciousness, or a search for authentic reality which shifts paradise itself from perception.

I have provided an account of an aesthetic understanding of what politics is by building on the work of Jacques Rancière which expands perception of both the ways in which paradise features in residents' lives as a mode of governance and a possible basis for dissensus. I have argued that such a framing is necessary to escape a reductive analysis which casts Pipa's residents as recipients of global politics rather than its agents. I have therefore argued that understanding the diverse and unexpected ways in which political action takes place in practical, localised ways enables perception of the way that grand social orders are enacted and troubled. I have argued that understanding the way that residents' inner lives feed into the negotiation and articulation of political community in paradise enables us to understand how their fantasies are generative and productive, embedding this perception into the production of Pipa as a space. In doing so, I have produced a claim that exploring the multiple and often conflicting ways in which fantasies of paradise play out in its spaces can provide an understanding of what enables and challenges touristic development, and thus the modes of capital it instantiates.

Although I argue for perception of lives in the town as existing beyond abjection I do not seek to provide a gentle account which sidesteps the exploitative realities of tourism, however, nor do I

seek to map out modes of resistance. To do so would not only leave us ill-equipped to recognise the ways paradise in fact contributes to the range of possibilities that life there brings, but reassert assumptions that lives in Pipa are relevant to consideration only by means of the ways they *respond* to capital (Amoore, 2002). By sketching out here how something so embedded in the ideological reproduction of the relations of capital can nonetheless be political, what I have argued is that we need to reformulate the way we look at places like Pipa to enable us to see such possibilities. However, what I am not advocating here is a search for this potential at the expense of recognising the structural violences inherent to the tourist economy. I do not wish to produce an 'ambiguous' account of the ethics of tourism; the way its economies produce and embed structural inequalities will indeed underpin the vast majority of work I present in the coming chapters. Indeed, to ignore these realities would be to both fail to follow Sara Ahmed's feminist killjoy imperative that we must sit uncomfortably with the violences embedded within and reproduced by everyday life (2010, 2017), and also to too eagerly represent the possibility of these political moments. Police orders are powerful because they seem so natural; moments which reveal the underlying logics of inequality they express are rare. Nonetheless, what I have provided here is a way to consider the diverse modes of life which exist within tourist economies and the way they exist in rich, powerful, pulsing energies and intensities which prompt unexpected action, even from within the inequalities tourism necessitates. Therefore, I have argued that we need an understanding of politics which recognises that however rare these moments are, they can still happen.

The way that paradise as a fantasy sits, often uncomfortably, amid the lives of those in Pipa as they negotiate, embrace, reject, and look beyond the demands of its touristic industry and colonial histories will appear as a lively and generative mode of understanding life. Rather than moving beyond such ways paradise appears, in this chapter I have outlined a way I will be able to sit within its often subtle unfolding movements. I will therefore build on this framework in the theoretical chapters which follow by tracing what emerges as important or disposable to Pipa's residents as they enact their own public yet intimate paradises.

Chapter 4: Methods and Methodology

Figure 7 A sales kiosk for tourist daytrips, the sort of place I would often stop and talk to people.

To capture the conflicting, banal, and often confusing ways in which residents of Pipa place paradise at the centre of their understandings of life in a tourist destination, and therefore try to think about what paradise might do, my methodological approach was designed to try and capture the way Ahmed suggests attachments to certain structures are felt as natural (2004: 56). This meant paying attention to the imprecise ways in which residents felt and acted when encountering others, and how they engaged with their environments. I therefore needed a methodological approach which enabled me to remain open to the diverse and often unexpected ways in which such sensations made themselves known. This involved a methodological *antropofagia*,[7] wherein I gathered photos, interviews, observations, paid attention to news reports, visited local archives, recorded sounds, scribbled smells in my field notes, followed Instagram hashtags, listened to rumours, pocketed flyers, and chatted with just about everyone I could. Some of these approaches were planned; I knew that interviews would constitute the backbone of my data collection, and long periods of observation would be necessary to contextualise what I heard. Others, however, came from rounding a corner and happening upon some graffiti that I didn't expect to see, or from realising that a menu in a restaurant I'd sat down in was recalling paradise.

[7] Cannibalism, reflecting the Brazilian cultural description of Darcy Ribeiro (1982).

In this chapter, I explore the approaches which resonated most with my desire to gesture towards the tangled intensities I was trying to make sense of in the town, presenting this exploration as constituted through the challenges I encountered as much as the moments of ease. Firstly, it is important that I outline the theoretical basis of my general disposition to this process research, as this has important implications for how we can view the claims I make throughout the empirical chapters which follow. After introducing some general motivations for the project by means of explaining who I chose to speak to, I therefore argue that an approach which takes its interlocuters seriously as political subjects must enable an openness towards affective phenomena and expressions of desire we might usually dismiss. Having explored this, I then explain the processes of observation (including gathering sensory data) and conducting interviews which constituted the bulk of my process, as well as outlining the approaches I took in handling data. I finish with some reflections on the ethical implications of ethnographic work.

4.1 Feeling something; belonging?

In this section, I outline the way that motivations for my research and observations from my ethnographic practice regarding the fluidity of modes of relation influenced the way I decided to approach the selection of participants. However, what I also explore is that this process highlighted the necessity of a methodological stance which resists the temptation to impose the closure of what is seen as analytically relevant through a presumptive demonstration of what we might think of as 'high politics'. I therefore use this space to explore my methodological stance, which, as Ackerly Stern, and True tells us is not simply a selection of methods, but an 'intellectual process' which guides 'self-conscious reflections on epistemological assumptions, ontological perspective, ethical responsibilities, and method choices' (2006: 6). By centralising the fluidity of how residents understood their relation to one another, I therefore outline how these observations led me to a methodology of *relationality* which 'conveys an articulation of heterogeneous elements – the discursive and the material – bound to each other in a particular arrangement constitutive of meaning' (Aradau et al in Aradau et al. (eds.) 2014: 63). Having established this, I turn to a brief outline of the way that this approach called for what Eve Sedgwick refers to as 'weak theory' (1997), and how such an approach can be *disruptive* to the aesthetic assumptions I have argued divide residents of Pipa from political perception. This provides an understanding which underpins the aesthetic, and therefore political, potential of ethnography to outline how my methodology was a *relational aesthetic ethnography*.

This was not my first visit to Pipa. In 2009 I spent six months working at the Santuário Ecológico de Pipa, a conservationist NGO which owns a large tract of land on the northern limits of the town.[8] I very much valued my time there and retained contact with people from both within the Sanctuary and the town throughout the years. Whilst the knowledge I gained in this time of the tensions between tourism and conservation was invaluable for situating many broader problems with the tourist industry in general, what really stuck with me throughout the years was the frequency with which people would tell me that Pipa was a special place. Throughout trips to the surrounding area, it was clear that Pipa possessed a degree of wealth that most other places did not. After discovering ways of researching the relationship between aesthetic politics and urban space throughout an MA thesis on the role of *baile funk* music in Rio, I realised that this framing could help explain the ways that material conditions, fears, and feelings of exception jostled up against one another in Pipa.

Coming back to Pipa was a shock. In the intervening decade, the town had grown immeasurably, both in terms of the amount and type of tourism found there and in a very literal sense. Huge swathes of what had been *mata* had been deforested. A building I'd previously thought of as the edge of the town was now nestled halfway down a busy residential street. Small settlements had appeared amid the trees a few kilometres out which had simply never been there before. And yet, quite quickly, from chatting to people around the town, I saw that the sense that Pipa offered something else, that it was paradise even as it was losing its mimetic resemblance to Eden, had not abated. Indeed, the tensions I'd thought about across the years between tourism and this sense of difference had become more pronounced if anything.

When I returned to the town, the contacts I had retained were immediately useful in providing me with an anchor and pointing me towards interesting people in a way we might usually frame as 'snowball sampling' (see Parker et al, 2019). However, as I explore below, to get at the nebulous sense that there's simply something different about life here, it was important that I didn't just limit my search to people that I was pointed towards. These were generally more engaged, more communitarian, more actively *pipense*.[9] I was also interested in the way that other people, who were simply trying to get on with life amid the rapidly changing pressures of this ever-growing tourism felt, and what those different perspectives might draw us towards. What acted as a guide to my finding interested/interesting people was therefore quite simply my own affective orientation. This took many forms; when I passed a sort of workplace I thought might be of interest such as the

[8] Whilst I am aware of the ethical issues surrounding volunteer tourism (Vrasti, 2013), the links I made from the sanctuary were valuable to me across the years and greatly aided my return.
[9] Someone from Pipa.

tourist information office which opened during my fieldwork I popped in to see whether the staff would be willing to talk. Similarly, when I found out someone at my gym worked as a builder around town constructing the new hotels and houses that were springing up around the place, I sought him out for an interview. When I saw groups of friends laughing, playing drums, and practicing the acrobatics they would busk with the following night I wanted to know what they thought of the place so I stopped for an informal chat. The way I felt around the town was inextricable from how I built my picture, trying to capture as many of the unexpected and unforeseen strands of feeling I encountered.

There is an ongoing disciplinary debate in anthropology as to the epistemological implications and merits of belonging to the community one is researching (Acker, 2000; Adler and Adler, 1987; Angrosino in Denzin and Lincoln, 2005; Dwyer and Buckle, 2009; Kanuha, 2000; Mullings, 1999), and an even further stickiness of researching tourism locations due to the ethnographer's overlapping subjectivities of researcher/tourist (Crick, 1995; Michel, 1998) which, as Simoni and McCabe (2008) note create particular implications for meaningful data collection.[10] However, what I wish to draw attention to here is the way this impacts the *mode* of data collection in a way which illuminated important information about the town and demanded a fluid approach to who I observed and interviewed. I will expand on the way this mode changed in section 4.3.1, however, for now all I wish to draw attention to is that the information people thought I would be interested in developed from broad explanatory descriptions of what life in Pipa or Brazil is like to more detailed and contextually embedded information as my time went on. This change seemed to stem from what my interlocuters perceived *my* relationship to the town to be. As such, my position as a relative insider/outsider changed as the research went on as others understood in different ways the nature of what Pipa meant to me.

4.1.1 The informed interlocutor

What I traversed in this journey were the different groupings within which residents situate themselves and others. This showed me that in Pipa, it was important to consider the interlocuters of my research therefore not from the perspective of broad structural signifiers in the aim of gathering some sort of representative sample[11] but from the way their understandings of such questions of belonging situated them within what Ritu Vij (2012) calls a fluid field of social

[10] I will discuss the ethical implications shortly.

[11] Such an aim is further rendered unnecessary when considering ethnography as a more interpretive approach (Denzin, 1997) designed to elicit contextual depth.

relationality, in ways that were nonetheless inflected by questions of race, gender, and class. I argue here that an approach which centralises the fluidity of these groupings within the busy contact zone (Pratt, 1991) of a touristic town can tell us more about how people understand the way they can live than one which insists on abandoning these categories in favour of predetermined or assumed ways of dividing people. Indeed, Matthew Desmond suggests that such an approach should be termed *relational ethnography* in that it places as its object of study 'processes involving configurations of relations among different actors' (2014: 547). To understand how people view their lives in the town as imbuing them with a particular subjectivity distinct to the context of tourism and all its movements and dislocations therefore, as Heather Johnson notes, means that a 'different picture emerges of the local and global not as separate, but as entangled and mutually constitutive' (2017: 384). Such an approach enabled me to search for ways in which feelings emerged amid these broader forces in a way that produces politics rather than lies in opposition to it.

What emerged instead of fixed categories were broad groupings expressed by the nature of people's belonging to Pipa, of how they and others viewed their mode of relation. The principle groupings were of: *nativos,* or natives, those who were really *from* Pipa;[12] *moradores,* or 'dwellers', those who were not from the town but really *lived* there; and *residentes,* or residents, who were more than tourists in that they worked in the town but whose relationship was only intended to be temporary.[13] Whilst someone who lived, and always had done, in a town 40km away might consider themselves *nativo,* someone else who was born in Pipa would explain to me that because his parents had moved to the town only forty years ago, he wasn't really a *nativo*. Someone who arrived after I did was already proudly declaring themself a *morador,* telling me he planned to never leave and that he'd dodge whatever passport authorities told him he must and that, besides, they'd never find him there.[14] These modes of belonging therefore changed through personal feelings of belonging, but also from presumed relationships with and perceptions of others. As I received different information from my interlocuters as my perceived relationship to the town changed (including, of course, a thrill at being called a *morador* with frequency towards the end of my stay), it was clear that rather than dismiss these evidently fragile ways of relating to one another, viewing these modes as *productive* would reveal far more. By following a methodological approach which prioritised relationality (Aradau et al., 2015) I was therefore able to follow the diverse ways in which understandings of community were produced through the intersections of affective fantasies, social

[12] Whilst *pipense* usually meant *nativo* this was in no way definite; the terms were not synonymous.
[13] This is resolutely *not* a typology and should not be read as such, instead it should be considered a highly flexible sketch of ways in which belonging was articulated.
[14] From what I can tell at the time of writing they still haven't.

relations, and broader structural concerns. This meant I could 'consider space and place beyond their material properties' not just as 'imaginary places, ideals, and real but intangible objects which underpin and produce material places and social spaces' (Davidson et al. 2011: 6).

That I was only able to understand the importance of this category through what people were telling me also points to certain political effects. A crucial point here is that 'a society not only collaborates in the production of a particular type of ethnographic writing, it also shapes the possible movements through fieldwork which, at best, can only be negotiated by the fieldworker' (Parkin in Dresch et al. 2000: 267). Therefore, prioritising relations meant I had to listen to what people were telling me. Indeed, through ethnography's privileging of 'rich description and detail, messiness and the ordinary' (Montoya, 2018: 13), such complexity became the source of rich insight. Spending time amid such complexity demanded I consider the relations formed between the way residents understood both their and others' roles in the town as important ways through which residents articulated their relationship to the fantasy of paradise and what it meant to their lives. However, beyond the undoubtedly crucial recognition that the ordinary messiness of life is a rich source of knowledge, researching in Pipa demanded that I also maintained an openness to precisely what I considered political knowledge.

Critical thought requires placing oneself as an arbiter of what is *really* going on in a scene. However, the question remains how I drew together the disparate objects I saw as connected. As I argued in the previous chapter, such a tendency means we have not taken the productivity of fantasy seriously as a source of political action, and in the introduction that when we do it is along the spatiotemporal lines of colonising affect. To consider what role fantasy might be playing in Pipa beyond that of false consciousness therefore demanded a methodological approach which resonated with what Eve Sedgwick (1997) refers to as a reparative reading. Reparative reading, Sedgwick tells us, means not always situating ourselves amid a hermeneutic of suspicion (cf Ricoeur, 1970), or what she terms as paranoia, but also from approaching what we see with love. This love is a 'use [of] one's own resources to assemble or "repair"' an object into one which can 'offer one nourishment and comfort in turn' (1997: 128). This way of reading a text, or in the context of ethnography, a scene or encounter, demands not instantly assuming the knowledge therein is only available through peeling back what appears there to reveal the obvious modes of oppression written throughout. It means asking what joy might mean *as joy* rather than only what joy might be hiding, and to therefore consider whether joy can be 'a guarantor of truth' (138). What this enables is a sort of 'weak theory', which does not seek to foreclose what might be happening by

assuming that I know better,[15] but takes these moments as potential sites of the political. However, as Heather Love argues, we must approach our work from the perspective of both the reparative and paranoid modes of thought, as to '[fracture] the rigid temporality of paranoia' (2010: 239) also means attending to its presence *within* this joy. This does not mean abandoning any attempt to identify attendant power structures or modes of inequality which constitute a situation, but considering the 'other ways of knowing, less oriented around suspicion, that are actually being practiced' (Sedgwick, 1997: 144) both by Pipa's residents and by my understanding of the scenes I witness. It is thinking through how these paranoid and reparative modes exist together in an 'ecology of knowing' (145).

What does taking paranoia and reparation together mean for ethnographic practice? The final point of this methodological discussion I wish to make is that viewing these modes together calls for an *aesthetic* approach to ethnography which considers what these jostling affective modes taken together show us. Both in the question of what we consider as worthy observation in the field and in the selection of what we write in afterwards, ethnography is an authored process which, as Hirschauer notes, means 'putting something into words' which previously 'did not exist in language' (2007: 414).[16] What this tells us is that ethnographic practice is itself part of the production of a particular distribution of the sensible in that it:

> 'performatively divides up the world into people who speak and people who merely ventriloquize, people who can think the social order and people who can only obey its logic, people who can contribute to discussions about how society should be organized and people who are too caught up in their own economic occupation/culture to apply themselves… to the affairs of society' (Pelletier, 2009: 272).

Such a process 'dramatizes the world in a particular way' (273) by setting out the knowledge and assumptions of the researcher in terms of the modes of power and dominance at work in a given

[15] This discussion must be situated within broader debates over the political nature of ethnographic knowledge production. Loic Wacquant (2002) dismisses ethnography which does not seek to uncover the *reasons* for e.g. poverty and instead seeks to explore how people cope as neoliberal in that it banishes the state and only deploys theory sparsely. However, as Katz (2004) highlights, such assumptions replicate privileged academic knowledge as the only valuable source. He compares 'worker' ethnographies which investigate new lifeworlds with 'aristocratic' ethnographies which verify master theories and corroborate the false consciousness of their subjects. Needless to say, here I take a 'worker' position which considers how Pipa's residents undermine the neatness of master theories, and note that this does not undermine perception of structural violences but situates lives within them.

[16] This is a somewhat different observation from the well-trodden ground of the nature of authorship of ethnographic *text* (see Clifford and Marcus, 1986) which is more concerned with deconstruction of modes of language. Instead it speaks to the way authorship happens throughout the process.

context as the only valuable contribution to be made. However, rather than question this from the perspective of researcher positionality, this is aesthetic in that, following Rancière, it instead prompts us to do is set out from a position of 'verifying' equality. This requires becoming 'ignorant of domination' (ibid.), not in the sense of ignoring it, but in denying that it is a relevant consideration in terms of who can produce knowledge. We should therefore not presume that witnessing powerful actors enacting structures of domination upon powerless people (a knowledge imparted by the researcher) is our task, but instead undo the partitions which assert that being dominated is the only relevant knowledge we can seek from the person who is. This is not a case of unquestioningly accepting the statements of others and faithfully representing them,[17] but of refusing to accept that the location of the speaker in the social order is what gives their words meaning.[18] An *aesthetic* ethnography therefore incorporates the sort of knowledge offered through a reparative reading into an assumption that this could be the source of acts by which interlocuters enact ruptures in the global entanglements Johnson (2017) tells us of. What this means in practice is listening to what people say and seeing what they do *assuming* that they are political actors (see Simpson, 2007), and that therefore that what enables rupture might not be what we expect. I have outlined the methodological approach which underpins an ethnographic practice which is *relational,* referring to the object of study, and *aesthetic* in that focusing on these relations means taking on board how they offer new sorts of knowledge as constitutive of the political. In doing so, I follow the example of work such as Kenneth Little's (2020) exploration of Belize's '*impossible paradise*', or the way Noam Leshem (2016) unpacks and understands processes of identity formation in Israel through an engagement with the ordinary spaces and places of a single neighbourhood. I engage these works to demonstrate the way such quotidian processes can shed light on the unfolding and constant rearticulation of global processes.

In the remainder of this chapter I explore the methods I employed to do this.

4.2 Methods

My ethnographic data was gathered across 11 months of fieldwork; the principal stretch was from early October 2017 to late July 2018. I arrived during the build-up to the *alta,* which tends to run from November to March. As it took time for me to develop contacts and context, most of my

[17] In this sense it is a profoundly different approach from the descriptive/representational view of research advocated by e.g. Latour (2005) or Best and Marcus (2009). The question is not merely of recounting information but considering how we can incorporate unexpected information into our consideration of what enables rupture.

[18] See again Wacquant's (2002) argument that the function of power upon people should be the principal aim of ethnography.

interviews were carried out after the *baixa* began, when people had more time to speak. I was somewhat unsatisfied with this, as I was aware that considering the fluidity of relationships meant that speaking to people during the *alta* was likely to offer a different perspective. I therefore returned to the town for a further month and a half during December 2018 – January 2019 when I had a developed base of contacts. Before arriving in Pipa I spent 3 months in Olinda, Pernambuco for language training to improve my Portuguese. This had the dual function of providing an adjustment period to broader Brazilian society and getting my levels of fluency up to scratch.

4.2.1 Observation/hanging out

Much of the time I spent in Pipa consisted of sitting, watching, and chatting to people to get a sense of the dynamics of the town. Such waiting was not a byproduct, but a feature of what I was doing there. Indeed, following Tim Ingold, 'as every anthropologist knows, there is a great deal of waiting in participant observation. Launched in the current of real time, participant observation couples the forward movement of one's own perception and action with the movements of others, much as melodic lines are coupled in musical counterpoint' (2014: 389). The method of participant observation, which seeks to reveal the meanings people use to make sense of their everyday lives through extended periods of spending time with them (Jorgensen, 1999) therefore offers the opportunity to craft your own knowledge through immersive contact in the knowledge of others in a way which gets into the 'messy divergences of actual practice' (Gusterson in Klotz and Prakash (Eds.), 2008: 100). So to find this knowledge in Pipa I waited. I waited with different people in different settings; my aim was to get a sense of what it felt like in the town, which sensory experiences became apparent at different points, what the atmospheres of different areas were. I followed discussions on a lively Facebook group, *Classi Pipa Novo*, where notices of events, rental opportunities, sales pitches, and heated political discussions happened side by side. As for other residents of the town, this group was indispensable to my understanding of what was going on. The way questions of public space, of belonging, of 'too many *argentinos*', were hashed out here gave great insight to the conflicts over what was important in the town.

The earlier months of my time in Pipa were spent mostly doing this, taking field notes, sound recordings, photos, making sketches, and above all, trying to get a sense of what different places felt like. Somewhere which became important to me early on was the town square. This is a small, not very noteworthy, paved bit of land bordered by palm trees and benches which overlooks the sea. It is not used for official functions too often, although if the council does do anything here is where it will be. However, there is always someone sat there. In the day, there might be a few

tourists dotted around, or someone taking a break from work, but the sun hits the square heavily and there is no shade, so mostly people stayed away. I'd sit in a spot of shade across the road and watch people stop and talk, overhearing conversations and writing down everything I saw. At night the space transformed, packed full of groups of friends playing music, laughing, drinking. Other times I would watch people work on the beach, learning from the weary faces of hippies selling jewellery snap into smiles as they reached potential new customers, or from the groups of staff from various restaurants along the main strip that would stand together and hurriedly smoke before rushing back. I went and sat at the busy bus stops at the end of work and waited for buses with people as they set the world to rights with their friends. I found myself taking notes again with renewed vigour following the arrival of the *baixa* in April, when the whole way the town felt changed as the streets emptied. It was clear that particular atmospheres and moods heralded this arrival, I took notes on these as well, perhaps on the worried shopkeepers standing eagerly outside souvenir shops as they hoped to catch passing tourists, or the boarded up shops giving an eerie sense to certain areas.

What became clear to me from the chats I had with people in these diverse situations that the sense of how things felt there was important to what they were doing; they couldn't stay in the square long as it was too hot, or they would wait at the bus stop for the next van to fill up as that one would be too busy. I therefore endeavoured to capture as much of the sensory modes of these experiences as I could. I kept extensive fieldwork notes which have frequently found their way into the finished text as instances of thick description (Geertz, 1973), took photos of everything I could, recorded soundscapes on my phone to try and capture the shift of a restaurant into lunchtime, noting how that changed the way staff acted alongside. I wrote down smells and bodily sensations, the welcome arrival of a breeze as someone opened a window on a bus spreading across everyone's faces. As Laplatine puts it 'The experience of fieldwork is an experience of sharing in the sensible… We observe, we listen, we speak with others, we partake of their cuisine, we try to feel along with them what they experience' (2015 [2005]: 2). What is important to note here is that these periods of watching and sensing were peppered with conversation; I'd ask people what they were feeling on a busy bus or on their break, or overhear snippets of conversation talking about it. Here, people made links to their lives, saying they couldn't handle the sun after work, or that they hate the smell from the bins in the place we were stood but that it was the only spot quiet enough to get a break from work away from tourists.[19] The process of sensing along with other people in Pipa therefore acted as a crucial mode of knowledge production. Indeed, Shah argues that these extended periods

[19] Not away from passing ethnographers, apparently.

of immersion are a form of praxis in that 'theory is dialectically produced and realised in action' (2017: 48) in a way that forces us to take seriously the worlds of others.

As such, just as the mode of 'deep hanging out' Renato Rosaldo (1994) speaks of specifically aims to gain knowledge from these mundane iterations of how people experience the world around them, it was clear that they gained much of this knowledge from how they could sense it. Such observations were therefore crucial to constructing an understanding of how people's experience of Pipa as a space depended on how they sensed their role and that of others within it.

4.2.2 Interviews

As well as data gathered from my own observation, I also conducted a total of 34 semi-structured interviews with residents or workers of the town (see appendix A). 25 of these interviews were conducted during the initial period of fieldwork, and the remaining 10 during my second visit. These interviews were intended to provide the contextual depth I had obtained from the processes of observation and hanging out with additional, more focused knowledge. In particular, the interviews enabled me to specifically gain information on what living in paradise meant to them in ways that prompted reflection on the matter. The interviews ranged from 10 minutes[20] in length to just under three hours, with the vast majority falling around the hour mark. 31 interviews were conducted in Portuguese and 3 in English. I conducted them with a wide range of participants; the only limitation I had to inclusion was whether they considered themselves in some way a resident of the town. This meant that many of my participants *lived* in other nearby cities, but worked in Pipa, whilst many others lived in the centre of town but were only doing so for a few months. Conducting interviews enabled me to contextualise these different understandings of what it meant to participate in life in the town.

In an ethnography, interviews do not happen in isolation. Instead, they are 'embedded in the kind of context that makes… culture observable and interpretable' (Rinaldo and Guhin, 2019: 15). They therefore carry a particular function as complementary to the sorts of insights gained through observation and the aleatory chats and remarks such a process brings. As I sought to understand people's understandings of their own lives as produced through but also productive of their built environments, interviews were therefore more than simply an additional piece of information. Instead, interviews, viewed in conjunction with these insights, ask for more depth, prompting

[20] In the case of two which were interrupted but nonetheless presented valuable insight. Many of the informal chats I had throughout the process were of a similar length; here I refer to recorded interviews.

considered reflection on 'what people articulate as their own understanding of how social processes work and how they as individuals might negotiate the complex social terrain rather than simply looking at their actions' (Young, 2006: 10). These understandings and negotiations therefore revealed the knowing, subtle, and often ironic ways in which people articulated and enacted their relationships with the town, providing unexpected connections and knowledge which would otherwise have remained hidden to me. Interviews therefore enabled me to take seriously people's 'own mappings of [their] worlds' (Crehan, 2002: 7) in the fluid context in which they operate in a way which demonstrated the complexity, oppositionality, and creativity of social understandings.

Despite being someone who, I was often told, looks foreign, the particularity of researching in a busy tourist town like Pipa is that nonetheless *I wasn't interesting*. This presented challenges in that the time it took for people to realise I was sticking around for longer than normal was perhaps extended. When this intersected with the fact that I arrived at the start of the touristic *alta*, or high season, many people brushed me off instantly. None of the stories of 'sit there, people will come to you as you're something different' I was promised during a university-led ethnographic training session materialised. Instead, for some time, I had to follow a particularly dogged approach of trying to pin down people for interviews. This, brought advantages in that people explained more or less everything to me when we did talk, assuming that I knew nothing due to my obvious 'outsider' status, therefore offering rich contextual information by which they explained their views on life in the town. Over time, however, the fact that I had stayed there longer than even most of the groups of young people who populate the town to provide labour for the busy months meant that whilst people were suddenly more willing, and indeed, as the *baixa* (low season) arrived, had more time to talk,[21] this also meant that suddenly explanations were not forthcoming. However, these later interviews were often packed full of different contexts, situated within broader Brazilian society with an ease that assumed that I knew what they were talking about, or within sides of life in Pipa that weren't immediately touristic. Indeed, the access to parts of life that would not have been immediately observable from inhabiting public spaces lent these interviews a particularly useful role. These later interviews therefore enabled me to make connections I would not have otherwise been able to between notions of 'daily life' and the context of tourism. As I explained above, the changing process of collecting interviews therefore provided the basis for much of my methodological understanding of the necessity of understanding Pipa relationally (Desmond, 2014).

[21] This shows that the relationship of an ethnographer to a community is constantly being renegotiated and that 'these interactions are themselves located in shifting relationships among community residents' (Naples, 1996: 140). It also suggests we require a deeper understanding of the ethnographic process as it intersects with the demands of labour.

The way I conducted the interviews varied. As discussed, I approached potential interlocuters on varied bases, whether to do with their job, a chance encounter that interested me, or as a referral as someone active in the community who has lived in Pipa their whole life. The picture I tried to build was merely of as many different perspectives as I could, given my constraints.[22] Accordingly, the process was frequently very different. I broadly followed a semi-structured interview approach which 'is sufficiently structured to address specific dimensions of your research question while also leaving space for study participants to offer new meanings to the topic of study' (Galletta, 2013: 1-2). I had a script which covered basic topics; however, my questions were purposively broad. For example, I began each interview with *how would you describe Pipa to someone who had never visited?* More often than not, this question already touched upon paradise, as most people I spoke to answered in reference to the idea, whether positively, negatively, or ironically. When paradise did not emerge in this way, I directly asked about it. As I grew more confident in my ability to carry out interviews I relied much less on the script, aiming for fluidity in conversation. However, when faced with a non-talkative interlocuter it was a useful tool to fall back upon. I began by seeking written consent from my interlocuters but found that the prospect of signing something made people wary. Instead I produced a document in Portuguese (and English, when necessary) which outlined the nature of the research which I went through at the start of the interview, obtaining verbal consent. I followed the code of ethics of the American Anthropology Association, and ensured that I made it clear that interviews could be stopped at any time, and that if necessary they could ask that I not use any data produced through the interview. I made it clear that I would be publishing this information and provided my email address to maintain contact after. I recorded all interviews as no objections were made.

4.2.3 Translation and analysis

I used the initial period on my return to the UK to reflect upon my data whilst I transcribed, translating all the interviews into English. Translating, of course, is an act saturated with power (Gent in Lunn (ed.), 2014), and I decided to keep as faithfully to the sense of what was being said as possible rather than opt for literal translation. My Portuguese is certainly not perfect, and I must recognise that despite my best efforts I will have failed to notice some of the meanings a native speaker would have included. However, the process of translation was particularly useful as it gave me a sense of being immersed in my data.

I attempted to use coding software to identify themes, however I sensed as I progressed that I was losing some of the closeness to the data that I'd obtained during translation. I therefore decided to

[22] Any project is of course covered by constraints; my principal issues were budget/time.

print out my interviews, field notes, and photographs and sit on my bedroom floor with highlighters and post-it notes. I also frequently returned to the audio files of my interviews and soundscapes to ascertain tones of voices, inflections, and general sensoria. I was therefore able to build a rich, complex, multilayered understanding of the way that my observations of spatial and sensory data intersected with the more discursive information from my interviews. This meant I was able to proceed from an assumption that the objects and people I recorded were entangled in complex, overlapping sensory and affective dynamics (Bens, 2018: 344; Navaro-Yashin, 2009). Indeed, given that '[r]esearch, perhaps particularly ethnographic research, is a messy process' (Plows, 2018: xii), the messiness of analysis enabled me to consider together the way that the *way* something was said (interview) referred to a sense of rhythm, or smell (fieldnotes) that corresponded with the way something looked (photographs). Nonetheless, the presentation of academic research demands a story is crafted from this complexity. I therefore identified a range of broad themes and colour-coded data along these lines before distilling them into chapters.

4.3 Ethics

Judith Butler tells us that 'the theories of feminist identity that elaborate predicates of colour, sexuality, ethnicity, class, and able-bodiedness invariably close with an embarrassed etc. at the end of the list. Through this horizontal trajectory of adjectives, these positions strive to encompass a situated subject, but invariably fail to complete' (Butler 1999: 182). Despite not wanting to reproduce this embarrassed etc., it must be noted that the research process is one laden with ethical concerns which stem not only from what I was doing but from who I, as a researcher, am and who my interlocuters are. Not only is the research process, as already discussed, an act of partitioning the sensible, but in the case of in-person fieldwork meant that I was materially imbricated in many of the economies and politics I wished to critique. When I ate at the sort of restaurant that most residents of Pipa could not dream of affording,[23] I was upholding the exploitative practices I observed. The complexity of the overlapping subjectivities of researcher and tourist in a destination such as Pipa is thus wrought with issues (Becklake, 2016). As Angharad Closs Stephens asks, 'how do we disentangle ideas about education, leisure, time, consumerism, violence, global travel, and war as we visit different attractions and destinations?' (in Coward et al, 2018: 212). Accordingly, I was aware that I left a trace as I moved throughout the town (Scheper-Hughes, 1993) and acted with this in mind. Whilst I am aware of the many critiques of ethnographic practice as enacting

[23] This was not overly frequent; whilst certainly more available to me than on those working for a monthly minimum wage of what was R$995 (about £200) when I conducted my fieldwork, Pipa's restaurants are prohibitively priced.

privilege in many ways, not least through its connection to institutional power (Petras and Porpora, 1993), I nonetheless approached my fieldwork in Pipa as a continuation of my longstanding relationship with the town and deep affective attachment to it.

4.4 Conclusion

A relational aesthetic ethnography requires an understanding of the way the object of research is constituted by the political position we award it. For this project, I have drawn on a range of modes of data gathering under the umbrella of ethnographic methods. In the above, I detail what was most important to the project and how the methodological stance underpinned the way I gathered this data, drawing from the previous chapters' discussions on the pedagogical implications of political action and affect to outline what sort of knowledge we should look for and how. In the remainder of this thesis, I think through the ways in which the arguments I have made stemmed from what I saw in Pipa. I now begin the ethnographic section of this thesis where I firstly explore the way residents' perceptions of paradise produce both modes of governance and material separation by embedding spatial and social separation through their everyday enactment of Pipa as an enclave of consumption.

Chapter 5: El Dorado: Paradisiacal aesthetics of luxury

Pipa, Armando explains to me, used to be much more '*backpack-y*'. Now, when you walk down the main street that snakes its way through the town centre, you're likely to find another 'boutiquey-chicy-chicy' shop opening up alongside another expensive Italian restaurant. 'It's changed', he states, matter-of-factly. 'It's changed a lot. I mostly get families now.' [Pipa, 21/06/2018]. His *pousada,* a rambling space which used to be an 'arty' backpacker's hostel, is now an establishment with luxurious rooms and and in-house restaurant and bar arranged around a sparkling, aquamarine, swimming pool with a fountain in the middle.

In a similar vein, the Lonely Planet entry on Pipa expresses the hope that it will maintain its 'laid back, ecological, and independent traveller vibe… despite the ranks of umbrella'ed tables along the main beaches catering to van loads of day-trippers from Natal' (Lonely Planet, 2019). Who and what, then, is Pipa for?

Both Armando and the Lonely Planet express their feelings about Pipa by linking the way that it feels to be there with the type of tourist such sensations are likely to bring. Armando has even taken the measure of changing his establishment to ensure this. Following the potential loss of its artistic vibe, it seems the town is opening itself up now to a different type of tourism that might be threatening the very sensation of being in paradise. The hope, here, is that this change will not continue, and that Pipa can continue being the paradise removed from reality that tourists, residents, and travel writers have come to enjoy. Paradise necessarily has to limit who can enjoy it or it simply becomes like everywhere else. As such, which bodies are seen as acceptable in Pipa's spaces seems to be a major concern in the town. How, though, should we consider these disagreements over what the town should be like in a way that enables perception of their underlying politics? Moreover, what are the processes by which paradise prevents Pipa's residents from noticing its political effects? How, indeed, do they produce and reproduce such effects through their everyday lives?

In this chapter, I argue that considering the way that the aesthetics of paradise serve to obscure, produce, and limit the range of acceptable ways of being and knowing within the town points allows us to critique the changing role tourism plays there. Keeping with the idea that paradise plays a central role in Pipa's image, I argue that its apparent apoliticality in fact obscures the workings of a politics of exclusion at play there, an order embedded by Brazilian social and racial hierarchies which posit exclusivity as a social good. By arguing that paradise itself enables a particular form of hedonic consumption, I suggest that its aesthetics have become those of a type of embodied

luxury that depends on satisfying the desires of those who visit, so long as they can afford to access them. Rancière offers a perspective on aesthetics that is particularly useful here, referring to that which in a 'sensible system of self-evident facts of sense perception' (2004a: 12) is visible within the particular political configurations in which we find ourselves. That which cannot be sensed cannot be acted upon, foreclosing certain forms of politics. In Pipa, I show that this takes the form of disabling a critique of both the totalising penetration of tourism in the town, and the way it serves to limit who can partake in its riches. As such, I will consider how Pipa's self-produced conflagration with paradise serves to limit such facts of perception and disables opportunity for political critique.

Therefore, I argue that in Pipa, forms of governance seem to focus around facilitating the general sense of an untroubling and untroubled paradise. Taking the example of a proliferation in the town of licensing policies in the town focussed on limiting the practice of street vendors and other informal businesses, I argue that the sense of luxury in the town serves to embed a particular neoliberal mode of subjectification in the town which aims to delimit the range of practices there. However, I will also show that paradise does not just limit the possibilities of what can happen in its spaces, but that through its promise for something better, residents engage with these limitations in complex and often ambivalent ways which enable questioning of its totalising potential. I point to the way that due to their wish to partake in the life of abundance, ease, and bliss that paradise promises, many of Pipa's residents frame their understandings of who they should be through a particularly neoliberal, self-disciplining framework, but question whether this is all they enact. Paradise, through its conflation with abundance, encourages one to be the kind of person who both wishes to access this abundance, and to satisfy the hedonic urges that it inspires. However, by framing these processes of accumulation and consumption as easy, I argue that paradise also serves to obscure the labour (Davies, 2012; Kincaid, 1985) that enables its production. By separating matters of work from the ease it promises, it disables perception of the relational nature of the material and subjective processes it requires. Here, I highlight the connectedness of constituent actors of the production of paradise for tourism to emphasise the interdependent (Benson and Fischer, 2007) nature of the development of subjectivities that Pipa enables. By exploring the embodied demands of this interconnected labour, I aim to problematise the idea that tourism produces the conditions of ease that it promises, and ask how residents' attachments (Berlant, 2010) sit within this. I argue that such ambivalence highlights the problems of approaching Pipa only through such modes of governance, and point to the complex range of affective engagements with the town which point to the way residents neither suffer false consciousness, but nor do they reject

neoliberal directives outright. Focusing on this ambivalence therefore enables me to problematise assumptions of straightforward governance.

Therefore, in this chapter, I first explore the convergence of discourses of paradise with a neoliberal ethics of consumption and accumulation; then, I look at the way this consumption underwrites the aesthetic sense of who and what is acceptable in a paradisiacal place; thirdly, I consider the emergence of subjective understandings of work that enable this view of paradise; before finally arguing that the sociospatial effects of these particular paradisiacal aesthetics are to obscure the work required to maintain them. In doing this, I posit paradise as a discourse that serves to obscure the unequal and exclusionary politics of place that tourism enables in Pipa.

5.1 Paradisial aesthetics of pleasure

There is, Waade (2010) details, a visual matrix associated with paradise. Its exotic palm trees and beaches create an instantly recognisable vision of paradise which is used throughout tourism advertising. But more than a set of images, paradise sells us an affective aesthetic experience, it is a feeling of tranquillity and a suspension of the cares of the outside world. It is bliss.
The aesthetics of paradise are therefore those of pleasure: being in paradise makes you feel good by fulfilling whichever sensorial pleasures you wish. More than simply a landscape or place, it is a state of being (ibid.) which has grown beyond the avoidance of scarcity to speak to the fulfilment of desire. As Susan Buck-Morss (1992) suggests that the aesthetic experience is in itself a bodily one, paradise here is felt as much as, if not more than, it is intellectually known. The imagery of advertising capitalises on this and is shot through with visions of paradise, aiming to capture this feeling to promise that a certain product or experience can provide such sensations (Waade, 2010). The aesthetics of tranquillity, therefore, provide ample ground from which to capitalise on the sensations it provides.

Moreover, as Brown and Patterson note, paradise acts as a mirror to the society that expresses it, thus transforming through history from a paradise of religious connotation to one of consumerism: ‘in our consumption-saturated, post-industrial, image-obsessed society we… see Paradise in predominantly commercialised – well-nigh commodified - terms. (2000: 317).’ Paradise, in this rubric, is something we equate with a state of bliss, and in a ‘consumer society’ this bliss is best achieved through the satisfaction of hedonic desire through the things and experiences we buy. Best understood therefore in a sort of hermeneutic circle, paradise’s aesthetic totality of the fulfilment of hedonic pleasures is made possible by one’s capacity to consume, whilst consumption

is sold to us on its capacity to take us to paradise. However, the shifting association of paradise from its Edenic past to its contemporary form of luxury has led some critics (see Delumeau, 1994) to claim that it has simply become an advertising slogan, void of any of its original religious and spiritual significance, almost 'dirtying' itself with its imbrication with global capital. However, as Deckard suggests, rather than a 'corruption of a formerly pristine idea', paradise has 'always been linked to the material exploitation of resources and the unequal division of labour' (2010: 14). That is to say, paradise's aesthetic of abundance and ease does not apply to everyone; those outside of paradise are not to be allowed access to its riches, although they are expected to desire them. As such, paradise already carries an implication and aesthetically normative justification of exclusion. Contributing to the idea that paradise is the ability to fulfil all our desires, the label is often applied to places which enable limitless consumption or accumulation of the capital necessary to consume. Brazil's particular association with paradise has similarly been understood in some ways through its seemingly endless capacity to provide potential riches. El Dorado, after all, may have been hiding on the northern banks of the Amazon. This as well as the fabled gold, silver, and gemstones of Minas Gerais, and potential other hidden treasures of the forest (Boxer, 1964). Myths of the chance to find an 'opulent El Dorado' have caused population shifts, such as northeastern migrant workers heading deep into the jungle in search of the valuable rubber simply seeping out of the trees themselves (Acker, 2017: 25). As well as providing totalising hedonic pleasure, paradise's place in Brazil is the promise of a life of riches more or less laying on the ground. Paradise, therefore, is not just a pretty place, but an aesthetic of labour-free indulgence. It is extravagant, abundant, and easy.

Indeed, the deep association between Brazilian territory and potential riches to be found without effort has characterised many of its spaces since the colonial Portuguese exaltation of its verdant fertility (Dodman in Mendes and Viera, 2019). Indeed, such characterisation was not only deeply embedded within a Brazilian national imaginary of ease afforded by nature, but also materially enacted through the transformation of Brazil into colonial export economy through the implementation of slavery and plantations (Prado Jr., 1981). These relations 'characterized the organization of the country since colonial times, such as the inequalities between city and countryside, the hierarchical and centralized society, and the territorial expansion of the economy continuously engulfing the perceived abundance of natural resources' (Ioris and Ioris, 2013: 422). Indeed, despite large shifts in the social constitution of Brazil's economic base in recent decades from traditional elites to new business classes (Saad Filho and Morais, 2018), natural abundance has remained the prominent source of wealth. The dominance of agribusiness has meant the maintenance of colonial plantation structures and their accompanying export economies despite

these shifts (Albuquerque, 2011). The constant presence of natural plenitude has underpinned the maintenance of colonial inequalities in varying forms which persist today.

This expectation therefore underpins any emergent sense of inequality in a place such as Pipa in Brazil; to maintain any sense of paradise, a social order which continues to produce the centuries-old accumulation of wealth must be upheld in its places. Indeed, this sense of the justness of stratification coalesces in places like Pipa with touristic economies' modes of accumulation by dispossession (Harvey, 2003; Marx, 1976; Schmid, 2015). The process of enclave production which upholds these somewhat pristine spaces rests on the forced displacement of those already there. This, David Harvey points out, is not incidental to the production of wealth through tourism, but places its economies at the heart of one of capital's great crises: those of production and accumulation. Tourism's spatial fix secures new lands and ways of life for transnational capitalist processes (Harvey, 2003: 137- 144). Harvey's spatialisation of Marxist understandings of capital are crucial in understanding not merely the processes which underpin these processes of accumulation, thus describing the proliferation of inequality within these economies, but also, as Karl Schmid highlights, in explaining the rise of entrepreneurial modes of being in such places as it offers 'at least the potential of a more substantial living' (2015: 120). However, Harvey's conceptualisation of this process has been widely critiqued as totalising. Those whom capital leaves poor are only that, and their desires to pursue and experience bliss, contentment, freedom, and indeed paradise under conditions of exploitation are absent. As Cindy Katz puts it, Harvey's position amounts to a 'refusal of certain kinds of mess: the mess of difference, the mess of scale and the mess of indeterminacy' (in Castree and Gregory (eds., 2006: 241). Indeed, by understanding how the mess and ambivalences of people's lives play out amid such settings, we can understand more about the localised and practical ways in which social class and colonial structures feature in and trouble their own distinctions.

In the rest of this chapter, I explore the way these forms of social hierarchy are embedded in Pipa's social space through spatial conflicts which mobilise persistent national imaginaries of Brazil's paradisial space as somewhere which ought to provide through an aesthetic association of paradisiacal bliss with capital. I explore the way such luxury underpins the formation of touristic space as an enclave of consumption (Sidaway, 2007) in a process predicated upon social exclusion and the obfuscation of the labour necessary to uphold it. I explore the way such enclaves serve to delimit appropriate social behaviour in their spaces (Minca, 2009), arguing that in Pipa this process forecloses perception of both the asymmetric effects it enables, and the labour-laden production of paradisial imageries.

5.1.1 Hippies on (fake) beaches

Aesthetic conflicts between the laid-back surfing and upscale boutique vibes of Pipa are played out in a spatialised and embodied struggle over how the town should appear in order to attract different sorts of tourist. I argue that disagreements over how the town ought to feel, its *vibe*, lie at the heart of a set of policies and practices of governance that discourage the presence of 'non-desirable' forms of life in a way that (re)territorialises the town's spaces in order to assist the penetration of capital into all forms of life. Throughout Brazil's tourist spots there is an economy of individuals selling crafts, formalised to differing degrees. In Pipa, artisanal salespeople such as these are at the centre of an aesthetically framed discussion which, in its questioning of the town's future, illustrates the way that paradise tourism enables an aesthetic of luxury in its places, but that their own attachments to it are ambiguous and often trouble these distinctions. Building on the argument that such an aesthetic promotes consumption, I claim that the town's council are implementing aestheticised spatial policies towards that end. In doing so, I will paint a picture of both Pipa and paradise itself as fundamentally exclusionary concepts and places which rest on the exclusion of 'non-desirable' elements.

Daiane (34) makes and sells clothes. From São Paulo, she's lived in Pipa for ten years, and in that time has had her capacity to trade threatened in various ways. She describes the different ways she's had to adapt to a changing attitude that places bodies such as hers at the centre of conflicts over how the town represents itself. She used to be able to sell her wares in the centre of town, catching passing tourists in the evening as they meander between restaurants and bars, however, the council introduced policies prohibiting this. She has eventually been issued a hard-won permit that allows her only to sell on the beach in the punishing heat of the daytime, a less lucrative and more physically demanding patch. '*But I respect their laws*' [Pipa, 04/01/19], she explains to me, somewhat wistfully. Her description of the motives behind the proliferation of these policies is illuminating:

> 'I was in the street… actually, I was exhibiting [my things] in the street in front of a hotel… and the manager of the hotel didn't like to see us exhibiting there and she went and started a movement here in Pipa to take the people off the streets, the artisans of the street, because… she thought it was ugly, she didn't like it, thought that the artisan was making Pipa ugly, and she even said this to my face… I didn't like her! [Laughs] But it's… then there began a movement in the council that they didn't want anyone working in the street any more, anyone that worked with art in the street. And then I

> moved to a pavement, I managed… a *nativo* helped me, and I stayed on a pavement… tiny, because this was the law they made, only on the pavement… but Pipa doesn't have pavements! They're…. tiny little pavements, but I left it, and stayed on the pavement, but then the people in the shops, in the big shops, saw that I was managing to sell, because thank god my clothes do well... and the people in the shops began to complain because I don't pay taxes or something, and the licensing people came and pushed me out of there too!'

Restaurateur Luís (51), conversely, advocates for more licensing control in the town. He fears Pipa has succumbed to a '*predatory tourism*' from visitors who don't contribute to the town's economy, caused in part by the proliferation of unlicensed businesses and street vendors attracted by the vision of cheap and easy tourist money. Expressing his distaste through aesthetically expressed fears that these tourists are littering (making a mess), he wants a return to the '*exclusivity*' that Pipa used to have and claims:

'The council don't… don't… have control of this, because most places work without licence, and the council don't care much about this, so I mean that this is taking the city into a… decline' However, he doesn't wish to go too far in the other direction. Pipa has until now been a town that escaped the resortification of other similar tourist destinations. The construction-in-progress of a resort with a fake beach inside ('ridiculous when there's beaches like that down there*!*') prompts his fears of a type of tourist that 'doesn't even show their face in the street!' [Pipa, 17/06/18], a type that will also not benefit the town.

Questions over who has easy access to the financially lucrative trading spots in the middle of the town's nocturnal bustle are here saturated with aestheticised expressions of power that seem to be intended to limit which representations of Pipa make sense. Is paradise the free and easy artistic endeavour that Daiane seems to think it is, or is it the node of upscale chicness the business owners such as Luís want? Daiane and Luís both show concern for the way that Pipa feels, Luís through his fear that a loss of the sort of exclusivity we might associate with paradise is approaching, and Daiane through her fear that in its quest for such exclusivity, Pipa is losing its potential to provide the sort of life where concepts like chicness are unnecessary.[24] They both view Pipa's paradisiacal vibe in terms of a symbolic and material conflict over the nature of space in the middle of the town. As I will now argue, the presence of competing and conflicting interpretations of what both paradise

[24] I expand upon this in chapter 7.

and Pipa are and should be points to differing, aesthetically mediated, normative sensibilities. As we will see, the interaction of such sensibilities is a highly productive source of politics.

That the hotel manager expressed this to Daiane in terms of 'making Pipa ugly' points to a general appreciation that the way tourists interact with Pipa is embodied. Anything that could challenge the ease of these interactions provides grounds to object. In a conception that seems to be in conversation with Rancière's politicised view of aesthetics (2010), Edensor (2001, 2018) makes the case that the aesthetics of tourist places rest on, and are productive of, a set of multi-sensory embodied experiences and performances. These experiences combine to create the sense of what the place in question is like and are frequently curated in order to 'reproduce a normative aesthetic order' (Edensor, 2018: 914), which limits not just what happens in these places but outlines what is comprehensible and socially acceptable within them. The normativity of these aesthetics serves to (re)produce spaces wherein certain types of being are encouraged through a sensorial 'knowledge' of spatial comprehensibility, or simply whether they 'fit' in the place in question.

In Pipa, constant visual cues exist to remind the tourist (equally, any resident) that they are in paradise. These range from signs that outright state this, to business including the word in their names, to advertising that uses paradisiacal imagery to sell property. The town is clean, well kept, and exceptionally beautiful, with the natural features that provide the basis for its paradisiacal claims a constant focus. Little in the experience of wandering around problematises the constant references to paradise. As such, the bodily experiences of those within Pipa refer to the sort of visual (and, I argue, sensorial) matrix of paradise Waade (2010) explores. Returning to its intimate association with extravagance and exclusivity, Pipa *as* paradise therefore constantly encourages those within it to satisfy their desires, whilst issues that suggest poverty are kept at bay. This can be seen by measures such as the state of Rio Grande do Norte's prioritisation of Pipa in its programme of sewage system installation (Lopes and Alves, 2015), and, crucially here, through the programme of licensing of informal businesses and vendors described by Daiane and Luís.

The presence of informal, often artisanal, vendors such as Daiane is common in many of Brazil's beach-front areas. Describing the increasing spatialised formalisation of Ipanema's 'Hippie Fair', Seale (2016) notes its continued importance in the 'construction, communication, and regulation of Rio de Janeiro's place myth as a laid-back, yet dynamic pleasure ground' (29). In regulating which bodies contribute to the image that Rio wishes to present via the aesthetic experience of visiting a fair, its council presents a bohemian image. However, for many in Pipa the presence of a visible informal economy seems to bear different contextual implications. Daiane's hotel manager suggests she is making Pipa ugly, and Luís directly claims that informality brings 'mess' to Pipa.

His understanding seems to directly suggest a process much like this: 1) ensuring that everybody has a license means the cheaper restaurants are unable to function, 2) if they close, fewer lower class tourists will come as they will be unable to afford being there, 3) therefore they are less likely to mess up the beaches, 4) which in turn serves to increase the impression of luxury in Pipa, making it 5) even less likely that lower class tourists will come. As such, the suggestion is not just a limiting of resident bodies, but of what type of person in general seems to make sense in light of the aesthetics of the town.

The fear here is a contradiction of the aesthetic of luxury I have suggested paradise enables. Artisanal street vendors such as Daiane prompt aesthetic associations of a hippie counterculture, which as Dunn (2014) argues in Brazil, much as in the United States, present an anti-consumption visual.[25] Although Daiane is not committing any act that challenges the presence of consumption as she is in fact trying to sell things herself, her very presence seems to enable a disturbance in the overall aesthetic presentation of abundance. Luís conjures up similar implications when he laments the presence of unlicensed businesses; their very presence threatens the image of upscale, confined luxury he believes necessary to keep Pipa as paradise. The council's programme of licensing, therefore, in an effort to limit the disturbance of Pipa's upscale vibe, is a moment of Rancierean policing which seeks to establish who is able to be where and when guides spatialised policies that limit activity in the name of how Pipa will 'feel'. In order for imaginaries of paradise to continue making sense in Pipa, the total sensorial experience of being there must not conflict with this vision of plenty and luxury, calling for spatial policies which limit bodies, exchanges, and experiences in a way that remains comprehensible in paradise.

Increased formalisation here does not necessarily seem to be a way of increasing sovereign state power over the street vendors. Although their spatialised capacities are reduced, the council does not seem to be bringing in efforts to tax or otherwise monitor them, but simply limit where they are allowed to be in order to not pose a problem to the lavish spending upscale businesses hope for (Huang et al., 2019). The vendors are presented as bodies which present a problem, the easy solution to which is spatially limiting them (Huxley, 2006, 2008), a measure Rose and Miller (2010) suggest is the object and aim of governance. Rather than focus on exerting control over subjects, the state here exists to respatialise the town to facilitate the circulation of capital (Larner and Walters, 2004), or to support a distribution of the sensible (Rancière, 2004) which suggests that the

[25] Although, as Dunn (2014) suggests, the hippie countercultural movement in Brazil actually facilitated 'youth consumption, professional development, and capitalist growth' (p.456), its association with weed, backpacking, and anti-authoritarian sentiment nonetheless seems to be enough in Pipa to depart from the aesthetic of indulgence and exclusivity business owners hope for.

presence of such people will threaten the continuation of tourism there through their problematisation of paradise. As Bailey suggests, this sort of reformulation of the role of the state is produced through the 'utopian dimensions' of neoliberalism, wherein wellbeing (viewed as the extension of market rationality) is ensured by market-based transaction contexts which define urban space through exclusion (2019: 40).Touristic development as a mode of improving Pipa therefore rests on the implementation of these measures.

Figure 8 Advertising for one of the soon-to-be-opened resorts, which invites viewers to imagine '[Their] paradise in accelerated works.'

However, although supportive of increased licensing measures to facilitate this process, Luís appears to oppose the totalising extent of such utopian neoliberalism as a guarantor of paradise through his dismissal of the town's new exclusive resorts. His problem here seems to be similarly aesthetic and framed in opposition to the phantasmagoric beaches inside the resort, rendered ridiculous by their close proximity to the real beaches that he views as the source of Pipa's beauty. The creation of fake spaces such as this mirrors the increasing seclusion of Brazilian urban space found in the world outside, wherein 'authentic streets are replaced with spaces that seek to invent a sense of leisure, safety, comfort, privacy, and exclusivity' (Herzog, 2014: 132). The state, again, is facilitating this process by awarding the necessary planning permission. Here, the conflict I identify in the previous chapter of the separation from 'reality' outside comes back into circulation: a central tenet of Pipa's paradisiacal status is its ability to create a real-not-real space that is exclusive and yet still natural. Indeed, the abandonment of nature in the quest for luxury is rendered

aesthetically illegible in the context of the town, as the fake, postmodern beaches of the resort are not only deemed pointless but draw attention to the enclosed status of the tourism that goes on there. The material and symbolic fence that surrounds the resort forms a barrier that discourages tourists from contributing to the local economy, enabled by the same aesthetic of abundance many in the town wish to profit from. This is an exclusive tourism that even a business-owning restaurateur like Luís opposes. The anaesthetised (Buck-Morss, 1992), sanitised tourism it produces is seen through the asymmetric social effects it has: when tourism is as enclosed as this, in an enclavic, totally curated space (Edensor, 2018), the chances for the capital it produces to circulate among other parts of the population (in the street) are close to nil. This prompts opposition and resistance even from sectors of the population that support measures that increase the impression of exclusivity. The logic of the neoliberal rationality of excess that paradise enables is thrown into sharp relief through, ironically, its own excesses.

Therefore, although paradise itself enables its own (re)territorialisation through its aesthetics of luxury, in doing so it is also confronted with the boundaries it creates. The town's authorities are enacting a set of policies which aim to limit certain 'non-desirable' bodies and material elements, whilst simultaneously using the same, spatially limiting logic to promote a form of tourism which prompts discomfort and anger amongst many residents. The vendors find themselves in the centre of an aestheticised spatial conflict which conflicts with many visions of paradise. Even residents who welcome the increased governance of the transgressive bodies of street vendors are prompted to question what the purpose of paradise is through its aesthetics. As such, this paradise of accumulation is shown to contain many asymmetries and dysfunctions. However, as I now argue, although this illegibility prompts some residents to question the rationality of neoliberal excess in tourist development, it enables the reformulation of subjectivities in order to access it, and thus its tensions are a site of its productivity.

5.2 'Pipa. Tem. Trabalho.'

I have outlined above the way that bodies and material relations which do not fit the aesthetic of exclusive abundance are spatially delimited through their redefinition as 'problems' for the town in its paradisiacal distribution of the sensible. Such representations are rendered immediately problematic when considering certain material realities of the town; the small but ever-present homeless population, and the constant employment turnover of local and visiting casual workers make it clear that this abundance is not for everyone.

However, I argue in this section that the aesthetic of paradise enables the reformulation of residents' subjectivities to make them think that it could still be for them. Indeed, '[it] is not simply that aesthetic regimes interpellate subjects, beguiling them with object arrangements that channel their desires, but that individuals use aesthetics as technologies of the self' (Belfrage and Gammon, 2017: 227). Through looking at the way that paradise ethicises the issue of economic precarity in tourism into one of individual choice, I argue that the paradisiacal distribution of the sensible 'the system of self-evident facts of sense perception that simultaneously discloses the existence of something in common and the delimitations that define the respective parts and positions within it' (Rancière, 2004a: 12) that makes sense within Pipa depoliticises through an aesthetics of abundance. I show that the way residents frame this ethical understanding through a localised context of 'creative' solutions to problems, as part of their understanding of the actions necessary to sustain their fantasies of paradise. Such a vision strengthens and embeds these subjectivities in a way that makes the power dynamics that enable them invisible.

Aurélio (34), originally from Rio de Janeiro, arrived in Pipa over twenty years ago before it was the nationally prominent tourist destination it now is. He knows the area well and considers himself more or less *Pipense*. His employment history has been fractured and piecemeal, as is typical for many of the town's residents. He's just started a job as a tour guide, having recently tried (and not succeeded) in opening up a small greengrocer's shop in a village down the road, soon after having to quit his job as a mechanic after an accident impacted his manual dexterity. Despite this patchy employment history, and his personal experience with a lack of social security resulting in precarious conditions, he assures me that unemployment in Pipa is a personal issue.

> 'Pipa is a place where there's people that look for work, and people that look for fun, you know? It's a place very… uh… eclectic, eclectic, various things, various things to think or do. There's lots of choices. There's people that work in Pipa on a schedule, but there's people that don't work, and prefer parties… and don't look for work.. But Pipa. Has. Work. If you make a bag of ice pops and go down to the beach, they sell. If you want work, you make pfft… anything in Pipa and it sells! You have work. But there's people… that prefer Pipa for fun.' – [10/12/2018, Pipa]

In Aurélio's Pipa the streets (or beaches) are paved with gold. He seems to frame any incidence of unemployment as a rational and moral choice: if someone in Pipa does not have work it is because they are the type of person who would rather party. As Rose (1999) suggests, the individual self in contemporary societies is continually produced and reproduced through neoliberal ideas of choice

and responsibility, and here Aurélio demonstrates his attachment to a belief that acting in accord with these neoliberal aesthetic formations sustains his understanding of who he is and how he feels he fits in the town. In short, his attachment to the *cruel optimisms* (Berlant, 2010) of this belief that he can work his way out of an exploitative and dangerous economy bind him to it. I argue here that Pipa's aesthetic of paradisiacal abundance enables such conceptions through the sensation that the seemingly evident economic plenty of the town renders the availability of work an issue of individual responsibility (Ferge, 1997). Indeed, it appears that for Aurélio the question is not whether work is there (it is), but that given the unquestionable presence of riches, what sort of person would one have to be to choose not to take it? If Pipa is a place where work is plentiful then the issue must be with the person who chooses not to take it rather than any sort of problem inherent to the nature of informalised labour upon which the touristic economy depends. His fantasy of paradise as a place where wealth exists therefore sustains him through his successive economic problems through creating Pipa as an object of happiness. He tells me that 'this job will be different… I'm working for one of Pipa's biggest companies now! Lots of tourists go to them. If you just keep looking in Pipa you can find a job like this.' It is Pipa which provides the jobs in this understanding, a naturalised locus of wealth. Indeed, Sara Ahmed argues that expectations of happiness such as Aurélio attaches to Pipa carry a directional function: 'When we follow things, we aim for happiness, as if happiness is what you get when you reach certain points' (2010: 26). By avoiding what he sees as Pipa's hedonistic side, Aurélio's own fantasies suggest that if he acts in a way which treats Pipa as an object capable of providing the wealth he sees it promises then that wealth will materialise. The reward for not treating Pipa as a place of fun but as a place which can imbue wealth therefore sits *ahead* of Aurélio. As he tells me 'I'll be able to spend the *baixa* not worrying about money now!'

Indeed, Aurélio's vision of Pipa precludes the possibility of questioning the seasonal nature of tourism as an industry. In practice, Pipa is a town where during the *baixa* [low season], scarcity is the norm: some bars and restaurants close for months on end, the *barracas* [huts] on the beach struggle between one another to attract clients, and prices are slashed throughout the town to attract the little business that comes through. One of my respondents, Felipe, explains that he 'feels like he lives in two Pipas' [02/01/2019 – Pipa], such is the starkness of the divide. Issues with seasonality and employment have been frequently noted in tourism studies (Ball, 1989; Krakover, 2000), with Ioannides and Zampoukos (2018) noting the way this manifests differently in across varying tourist locations. Although there is frequent recognition of this divide in the town, with a frantic production of capital encouraged in the *alta* in order to ride out the *baixa*, the perception that Pipa can always provide is one that remains persistent. Questions are reframed as technical

problems of how to ensure that businesses remain open and framed as an issue of individual responsibility. Indeed, although wealth and investment are certainly concentrated in Pipa through state initiatives and private investment (Lopes and Alves, 2015), Aurélio's experiences suggest that the promise of touristic development have done little to disrupt the dominance of informal and precarious labour patterns common to the rest of Brazil (Saad-Filho and Morais, 2018). As such, the aesthetics of luxury in paradise effectively prevent discussion of tourism as a means of ensuring well-being in the town. It is instead framed as the end in and of itself.

Accordingly, residents often seem to envision 'creative' solutions to problems of precarity, such as the ice pops that Aurélio advocates selling. Indeed, he even seems to understand that tourism's abundance will not always be able to provide for everyone that wishes to be part of it. However, he also seems sure that a deserving, rational, moral agent *should* nonetheless be able to find a way to access its riches. Making a bag of ice pops, as Aurélio suggests, and taking them to the beach to sell demonstrates expectations of entrepreneurial creativity (Motta and Alcadipani, 1999) that can be seen as a particular, localised expression of the subjectification of neoliberalism: the Brazilian cultural myth of '*o jeitinho brasileiro*' [the Brazilian way]. *O jeitinho* can be understood in this way as a means of achieving something despite significant boundaries (legal, formal etc); it occupies a sort of culturally accepted, liminal space between outright law-breaking and twisting the rules a little. This art of being more equal than everyone else (Barbosa, 1992) dovetails with the self-disciplined subject already described in an instance of what Brenner and Theodore (2002) refer to as 'actually existing neoliberalism'. In '[emphasising] the contextual *embeddedness*' (351) of neoliberal restructuring projects, Brenner and Theodore call for a heterogeneous theorisation of neoliberalism which highlights its different permutations according to local context. The 'complex, contested' (361) interaction of neoliberal ideology with the pre-existing cultural pathways of its places results in specific spatial logics that serve to obfuscate many of the hegemonic pathways and geometries (Massey, 2004) of power that constitute their 'placeness'. In Pipa, the aesthetics of both paradise and this societal expectation of creativity serve to enable the sort of ethicised framing of the self we see through Aurélio's normative understanding of the moral imperative to create work even when it is not readily available.

Such understandings, then, foreclose the possibility of political critique of the neoliberal logics of tourism as a guarantor of development. Through an aestheticised spatial understanding of what it means to live in paradise, and a normative moral directive imbricated in his understanding of what someone who has the opportunity to live in such abundance *should* do, Aurélio illustrates the way that neoliberalism works in its diverse places. Indeed, the way that paradise serves to enable the

aesthetic conditions of luxury relies on such normative distinctions that, I now argue, deepen the unevenness it implies.

5.3 Consuming brown bread

Paradise, I argue, is a fundamentally exclusionary discourse, in that only those within its boundaries can get access to the milk and honey it has on offer. Indeed, this exclusion can be best seen by exploring paradise's capacity to prompt desire in those that encounter it but may never be 'let in'. De Biestegui (2016) suggests that under neoliberal forms of governmentality, desire fulfilled through market choices is reframed as a central hallmark of humanity. Paradise, a place in which desire is fulfilled, therefore prompts understandings of fundamental wellbeing analogous with the exercise of choice. That these choices are not available to all who wish to make them points to the functioning of a *paradisiacal* aesthetic economy that relies on subjective desires which obscure the labour relations upon which it depends.

Aline (36) is a *nordestina* from Ceará who has spent much of her life outside of Brazil. She's someone I've known since my first trip to Pipa in 2009, when she was also a relatively recent arrival. She's the owner of a bar in the middle of the city, a spot around which Pipa's nightlife seems to circle. We are talking about how much the town has changed in that time, a point she demonstrates through food. You couldn't, she reminds me, '*find brown bread*' back then. Now it's an everyday product:

> 'But… there's also the people that came here many years ago, opened their businesses and… and… didn't progress together with the town. So… for example, the bakery… there's the bakery, there's a bakery here that's the oldest of them all, the Casa de Farinha, that I like lots! I still like it there loads! But… then came an Italian that opened a bakery, the Padaria Central that has a higher quality. And now you've also got Sr. Croissant, that is still a bakery, but works with croissants, baguettes, more… like, in the French style… So you have… for the population it's great because you've got this quality, right?' - [21/12/2018, Pipa]

Offering this example to me as a metaphor for how life in Pipa is improving due to tourism, Aline seems to frame her own capacity for well-being through the lens of market logic. Her life has directly improved now that she can exercise her consumer choice and buy more types of bread. Her understanding seems to directly echo Harvey's characterisation of neoliberalism as 'utopian project' which sees 'human well-being [as] best advanced by liberating individual entrepreneurial

freedoms within an institutional framework characterized by strong private property rights, free markets, and free trade' (2005: 2). Naturally, paradise as a space which satisfies every whim should have the capacity to attend to the hedonic sensation of consuming whichever type of luxurious food one so wishes. Pipa is a place which enables such an understanding; it seems likely that it might have a restaurant from any corner of the world nestled somewhere in its side streets. That restaurants are one of the primary guarantors of this sensation of choice is not accidental. Food, Belk et al. (2003) argue, is no longer a matter of need but constitutive of the self as one of the most prominent and base ways we exercise choice through our desires. Consuming food is an act of fulfilling the sort of hedonic pleasures paradise seeks to provide through its feelings, tastes, smells, and sounds. As such, the huge range of food choices on Pipa's streets speak to its capacity to provide hedonic pleasure. They are not only a part of its paradisiacal imaginaries, but essential to its capacity to continue claiming to be paradise. Aline seems to view it as closer to paradise since its capacity to increase food choices has improved, and it is the aesthetic of abundance that enables such associations.

Moreover, the promotion and proliferation of these desires is not only a fundamental hallmark of our humanity, but an ethically prudent position under contemporary neoliberalism (de Biestegui, 2016). When Aline suggests that life has improved for the whole population directly because of increased choice, she seems to be suggesting that it is the very presence of market forces that have made life better. Indeed, her experience points to an ethically normative dimension to her relationship with capital: the only justifiable position is to work so as to not be a burden to others. However, the act of exercising choice is also reframed as an ethical one. Why, when the opportunity is there, would you not choose to be happy? Therefore, as Foucault notes, western civilisation is '*the* civilisation of desire' (2015) wherein processes of subjectification and thus governance are constructed not *despite* individual's desires, but *through* them. The problem of contemporary modes of governmentality, de Biestegui suggests, is 'no longer… to do with the moral quality of the object that one desires, but with the manner in which we make choices in order to maximize individual and collective satisfaction' (2016: 195). The ethical component of what constitutes the good life is thus the capacity to exercise choice. That such choice is to be exercised through the market thus renders the subject of contemporary neoliberalism as governable by means of solutions to problems of desire, as by creating the conditions in which such desires can be satisfied, any opportunity for political critique is disabled. Following Lorenzini, Aline 'is governed in the mere fact of the multiplication of her desires in the sphere of the free market' (2018: 158). This, I argue, is a subjectivity she seems to illustrate by placing her normative and ethical understanding of the 'good life' in the hands of the population of Pipa's capacity to consume.

5.3.1 An Economy of Paradisiacal Work

However, as I have argued paradise cannot be extended to all. Rather, I argue that its very function in Pipa relies on its promotion of an aesthetic of luxury and promise of the fulfilment of desire to those it cannot accommodate. Emanuelly (19) is a resident of the nearby city of Goianinha who works one day a week in Pipa's recently-installed tourist information point. To get to work, much like many of the town's workers that travel in daily from the surrounding towns, Emanuelly sits on one of the overcrowded local buses for about an hour in either direction. Even so, she views Pipa as an opportunity; not only is it where the work is to be found in the region, but somewhere exciting, popular, and 'really buzzing!' [Pipa, 10/02/2018] Her relationship with the town appears to be founded on more than just the provision of her basic needs. However, she is discovering that despite the aesthetic of plenty the town promotes, the reality of finding work can be more challenging than she had hoped.

'Here they look for this a lot, that you already have to be trained in English and Spanish. Because there's lots of tourists, right? And you have to know how to communicate! [Laughs] That's a challenge for the people that want to come and work here.

When I asked whether other jobs bore the same issue:

'Some. Mainly if you work in a restaurant. Because here there's restaurants of every type, right? Thai, Japanese, French… And the people arrive speaking English… '*E ae?*'[26] You can't even [laughs] show them the menu! [Laughs] It's a challenge!'

Working one day a week, Emanuelly seems to feel that she needs to do more if she fully wishes to gain full access to paradise. Animated by the prospect of moving to Pipa one day, she mentions to me that she's working hard on her Spanish, in which she can '*more or less get by*', and then perhaps she will start to learn English in order to hopefully get a full-time job. Her attitude mirrors that of Aurélio: it seems getting a job in Pipa is a matter of self-improvement, a problem to be overcome through self-empowering effort. Indeed, she is somewhat self-effacing, framing the problems that she has in finding work as her own responsibility. She seems to place herself in a position of inferiority to the English-speaking tourists she encounters, laughing at herself as she does. As such,

[26] This is an informal greeting in Brazil, which Emanuelly appeared to be using to emphasise her inability to speak to tourists. I have therefore left her original Portuguese to try and retain the contrast she seemed to be attempting to make

her subjectification relies on her desire to be part of Pipa's riches, and she seems to understand herself currently through her failure to (yet) do so.

However, Emanuelly also uses this recognition to begin questioning some of the things she has, at least in part, accepted as simply being necessary facts of life in such a place. As she puts it to me, still laughing, 'what would these places do if we weren't here trying so hard to learn how to talk to tourists? They need us!' Indeed, most of the town's restaurants seek at least one member of staff who has some grasp of English, ushering them over to tables where often thankful tourists go about ordering their meals. However, what is interesting here is Emanuelly's knowledge of this importance; she does not simply define herself as a failure for her current lack of English, but sees her role, and crucially, those of others like her, clearly in upholding the town's capacity to ensure its cosmopolitan luxury. As such, her relationship to paradise here is not one of actively accepting its directives and her place within. However, nor is it one of anger towards the things she feels she must do to get work in the town through which she seeks to overthrow its situation. Instead, her attachments to what paradise might enable for her life sustain her (Berlant, 2010) in her search for some way of carving out space for the evident humour she displays amid a keen knowledge of her own exploitation.

I argue here that Pipa's aesthetics of paradisiacal luxury serve to obscure the labour relations that are a necessary precondition to its functioning, whilst simultaneously enabling them. Returning to my earlier point that an aesthetics of exclusivity is depoliticising, it also forecloses the possibility of perceiving the labour relations involved in its production. This impossibility occurs through its rendering of political critique of the socioeconomic relations involved in tourism 'non-sensical', firstly, through its framing of paradise as abundance, and secondly through its fulfilment of desire through market choice. Davies argues that a focus on the aesthetics of financialisation enables an understanding of the way it obscures the role of work in its own production. 'Financialization', he claims 'is an economic regime that denies embodiment through the force of abstraction' (2012: 322). Finance is a set of technical problems (the movement of money) which are considered separately from the labour they necessitate, thus removing working bodies from the equation. Although I argue that paradise here is produced *through* embodied sensations in its promotion of total relaxation as consumption, it nonetheless does so in a way that similarly obscures the also embodied labour such luxury demands.

To argue this, I point to the way that desire is shot through Pipa's labour relations at all levels, simultaneously '[sustaining and subverting] the hegemonic constellations' (Benson and Fischer,

2007: 800) that enable its functions. Pipa as a marketable tourist destination is only made possible due to the bodies that work: from Daiane being forced to work in the punishing sun on the beach, to Aurélio's willingness to work in any job amidst financial precarity following his hand injury, to Emanuelly's wish to learn another language. What the aesthetics of paradise do here is problematise the ease with which many of Pipa's residents can view these relations as straightforwardly political. They are instead refocussed as personal problems on the path to accessing paradise's pot of gold. The effect of this depoliticisation is greater still, as the place image of upscale luxury that the town's richer population and the authorities seem to wish to maintain is actually enabled through the embodied labour of subjects of desire.

That is to say, subjectivities such as Aline's (seemingly that of the rational, hedonically motivated, consumer of luxury) are only made possible due to Emanuelly's labour, and, crucially, her apparent desire to partake in Pipa. Emanuelly frequently directs tourists to the more 'upscale' food destinations in which Aline fulfils her hedonic desire, allowing her self-understanding as a rational consumer. This improves the likelihood that these businesses will remain open. However, simultaneously, Emanuelly seems to be only working in her post one day a week as she imposes on herself embodied and subjective demands of learning two more languages due to her desire for Pipa itself. Through the life of luxury and consumption Aline enables by patronising such restaurants, Emanuelly seems to perceive her opportunity to be part of its world of plenty. The actions of each enable the developing subjectivity of the other in relation to their role in Pipa's food industry. As such, they are 'mutually constituted as subjects through the process of desire enacted in material chains of production and consumption' (Benson and Fischer, 2007: 815).[27] Recognition of the town's labour relations thus disables the possibility of viewing paradise as simply *there* in all its abundance. Instead, it is revealed as a concept shot through with the work it needs to function.

A focus on the processes of aesthetic governance that go into the obfuscation of work can shine a light on the struggles over Pipa's 'placeness'. The very fact of an increasingly upscale understanding of what Pipa *is* hints at the further exclusion of the processes of work that are necessary for its functioning. Moreover, this chicness is increasingly synonymous with understandings of Pipa as cosmopolitan 'node' of globalisation (cf. Amin, 2002) through representations such as Aline's view of Pipa as improving due to its capacity to provide global goods. Indeed, she appears to use the symbolic value of food as an indicator of globalised cosmopolitanism (Germann Molz, 2007) in order to separate herself from the idea of a somewhat

[27] Of course, tourism does not only ensure the commodification of material goods, but places and experiences (Young and Markham, 2019) in the same manner.

‘backwards’ town that only provides Brazilian baked goods to its population. Iqani (2019) discusses the way that young South African Instagram influencers use a visual aesthetics of luxury to signify their subjective insertion into global consumer culture in a way that strengthens the association of luxury brands in their localised settings. Aline seems to be enacting a similar process. By saying that the Casa de Farinha has not ‘progressed’ with the town, she implies that its spaces have changed for the better to provide something specifically global; there is no longer room here for an aesthetic that does not avowedly subscribe to this outlook. As such, she *normatively* ‘ontologizes’ (Larner and Walters, 2004: 507) Pipa as a globalised provider of luxury. However, the town’s particular, localised set of labour relations are what enable this vision: desire for access to Pipa’s paradisiacal abundance is the aesthetic condition through which it establishes its difference from the poverty of the surrounding area. Similarly, it is the desire to enact with the global that encourages Emanuelly to learn another language. The function of the exclusionary nature of paradise is therefore seen here twofold: firstly, it enables Pipa to insert itself wholeheartedly into the global in order to emphasise its difference from the world around it, and secondly, to do so, it relies on the relatively invisible labour of those from *just* outside of its boundaries, who, I suggest in Chapter 8, it requires to still live locally.

Therefore, the permutations of place image and articulations of power geometries that characterise Pipa are fundamentally aesthetic. Desire to access the exclusivity that paradise prompts is both enabled by and enabling of the uneven geographic development that characterise labour relations in the town. Indeed, recognising the *relational* nature of the work that such aesthetics obfuscate points to the productive nature of the circulation of power in paradise; the very possibility of seeing tourism as a guarantor of an upscale destination is only there because it is sold in the same way to those who can never wholly access it. It is a discourse that builds on its seemingly vacillating, frivolous, apoliticality to enact concrete exclusionary and asymmetric outcomes.

5.4 Conclusion

It appears, then, that paradise’s mask has slipped somewhat in Pipa; the tranquil, luxurious aesthetics on which it relies obscure a politics based on delimiting the bodies and relations that work hard to produce the little piece of heaven it promises. I have shown here that the mirage of tranquillity it presents is a fundamentally exclusionary production that relies on selling an indulgent life away from the difficulties of labour. Rather, attachments to paradisiacal ease increasingly enables the development of individualised subjects who subscribe further to the hedonic, consumerist vision of happiness that I have suggested paradise enables.

At the start of this chapter, I asked how a vision of Pipa as a paradise removed from reality is maintained through the everyday lives of its residents. Here, I have shown that the answer is through embedding a desire to be part of its riches in the lives of those who might otherwise critique its functions. In an economy characterised by low wages, poor labour protections, and extreme seasonality, many of Pipa's informal workers blame any corresponding problems on their own inability to capitalise on the abundant wealth of paradise, rather than consider the conditions of paradise's economic structures. This is a paradisiacal effect of depoliticisation. I have argued that this effect disables the spaces and perspectives from which these asymmetries and gaps can be questioned, showing how paradise itself obfuscates the need for critique. Such an understanding constructs a community 'apart' from the demands of reality to promise people that they, too, can access it if they just work hard enough. Paradise, and the desire it prompts, stops people from wanting to question anything and obscures the work they are doing to get there.

Moreover, I have made a case here that considering the aesthetics of paradise, or the way it posits a particular way of sensing its places, lets us escape its anaesthetising effects. A focus on the aesthetics of paradise which stop some residents from perceiving its exclusionary effects can also underpin an increasing atomisation which challenges the formation of community. It allows us to dig beyond the surface of this beach town, evidently wealthy in comparison to its surroundings, and think about who makes sense as part of that wealth. As such, the conflict over where Daiane, as an embodied labourer, can be is expressed and felt aesthetically, but her contestation and confusion comes from an affective attachment to what life in paradise can offer her. Luis is concerned that the wrong sort of tourist bodies are changing how the town can be perceived; he seems to fear that it has entered into a decline due to bodies that do not make sense in an upscale, paradisiacal location. The very presence of the 'wrong' sort of body in Pipa thus seems to present a specific sort of aesthetic challenge. The importance of fixing what we can understand as paradise appears to be a place which can best encourage people to spend in it.

So then, we see that as well as providing internal incentives to act and behave a certain way, self-declared spaces of paradise such as Pipa limit what people can do within them. Through spatialised zoning policies that define what is acceptable within this aesthetics of luxury that disables challenges to what the space is for, Pipa's town council is engaging in a clear example of aesthetic policing. Instead of controlling its population through open displays of sovereign power or specific knowledges of what and who they are, governance here depends on what the town *feels* like. This is done through the gradually expanding curation and control of the way that bodies and material

relations are able to exist and manifest in the town's spaces, which are in the process of transforming so as to best assist the permeation of capital within every aspect of its life. Thus, the role of the state is to ensure as best it can that its cosmopolitan spaces of globality continue to appear so. As such, they are encouraging this increasing vision of luxurious, unchallenging paradise amenable to global capital whilst simultaneously discouraging the counter-cultural image that Pipa used to have.

In this chapter, I have suggested that Pipa's changing place image is still building on the ideas of paradise these residents display. However, I have also shown how the exclusionary element inherent even in this hippie ideal laid the ground for this upscale space of accumulation, as paradise itself insists upon exclusion. Moreover, in highlighting the difference between the utopian critique Edenic paradise enables and the depoliticising nature of this luxurious economy *of* paradise, we can see the way that multiple paradisiacal distributions of the sensible work alongside one another. Colonial ways of thinking intersect with ever more neoliberal ways of thinking, self-disciplining subjectivities proliferate, and in doing so further enable an asymmetric economy that obfuscates the work it takes to function. Moreover, through the rejection of certain elements of paradise, we can see how the concurrence of these ambivalent distributions of atmosphere and emotion is the very moment of their functioning. Here, it is the very desire to participate in paradise which underpins, perhaps, why often those who do not reap the most overt benefit from Pipa's tourist riches are the most passionate about its paradisiacal status, but also enables perception of the way these directives sit uncomfortably with others. Additionally, residents' multiple understandings of paradise itself facilitate both ways of thinking. Its apparent frivolity obscures its evident adaptivity and productive capacity.

The role of this chapter in my overall argument is to show the way that residents' conflicting understandings of what paradise means underpin the production of material inequalities through embedding and internalising modes of governance. It therefore allows me to embed an understanding of the rearticulation of social relations engendered through touristic development *as* embodied enactment of capital through the production of enclaves. This shows the role that multiple visions of what it means to live in paradise and the dreams and understandings of the future such visions entail have in the production of Pipa as a paradisial space and therefore places such visions in the function of touristic development in Brazil. It was important at this stage to provide a vision of the way such visions of development embed modes of governance via the conflicts and tensions which emerge from living together to enable me to then go on to consider how such expectations and functions are challenged through the quotidian enactment of multiple

paradises in the town. Whilst I have shown here the way that multiple understandings of paradise can underpin the function of capital, in the remaining chapters I point to ways such a production of paradise provides basis for a critique of the logics of development in the town. The next chapter begins this analysis with an exploration of the way residents understand their lives in paradise within the temporalities of touristic economies and colonial imaginaries.

Chapter 6: The promise of paradise

I am stood on some wooden stairs which snake down a cliff face, looking out through where there is a gap in the greenery giving way to the white sands down below. Ferdinanda, who works in a chemist's nestled amid tour vendors and restaurants on the town's main street had insisted on showing me around after she got off work. 'You see down there?' she asks me. 'When I first came to Pipa none of that existed. It didn't have any of this!' She points to the *barracas*[28] and parasols lining the Praia do Madeiro down below. 'Still… so long as they keep it clean! It doesn't stop it being incredible here! Isn't it amazing?' She beams with pride as she gestures to the beach below, voted the sixth most beautiful in Brazil (*Tripadvisor*, 2016) by tourists.[29] It is not hard to agree; the views are stunning, the town is charming, and I find the air of something special everywhere difficult to avoid. However, Ferdinanda is still worried that if the beaches are not kept clean and the *barracas* continue to multiply, the town may lose the paradisiacal qualities it has that keep it so attractive. For Ferdinanda, then, that the town continues to *be* paradise is essential to sustain the qualities it has. However, such an understanding begs a question: is it *paradise* she sees as important here? Is that not simply an advertising slogan deployed to bring tourists to a very pretty place?

Indeed, the way that discourses of paradise function in tourism to not only cover up ills in its places, but also actively create them by contributing to crystallised visions of the lives of those who live there has been well documented (Kothari and Wilkinson, 2010; Power, 2003; Nixon, 2016; Salazar, 2010; Strachan, 2002). Paradise, it is assumed, is a shallow imported hangover from colonial imaginaries, and tourism an industry which continues to deploy and repurposes these imported discursive and imaginary traps in a way that bears no relation to the reality of its places. Paradise is even deployed as shorthand for an experience of space as one of touristic leisure, diametrically opposed to embodied places of labour: 'This isn't paradise – I work here!' (Vandegrift, 2006: 785). However, in this chapter I will argue that this framing fails to capture the productive potential of both tourism and paradise itself. Indeed, paradise it seems is caught up amid a disciplinary concern with debunking authenticity which I argue haunts critical studies of tourism (for whom it is a primary concern). Not only does this aim render an opposition between a 'real' place and a 'false' touristic paradise, but also limits perception of the varied meanings residents give the idea. Such approaches, I claim here, are often predicated on identarian modes of critique which foreclose perception of the fluid relationality (Vij, 2012) of the social. Therefore, in viewing it as a barrier to

[28] Beach shacks
[29] Pipa's Baía dos Golfinhos is currently ranked here as the second most beautiful in South America.

authenticity and *only* seeking to uncover its role within modes of domination, we fail both to perceive the role of paradise in the continued and productive emergence of its places and its role in the shifting, incomplete, and ongoing formation of political communities within tourism.

Rather than understanding the idea of paradise as an imposed illusion which vanishes upon closer engagement, I instead consider what happens when we place its role within touristic industries and their capacity as 'a productive system that fuses discourse, materiality and practice' (Franklin and Crang, 2001: 17) beyond its modes of attracting tourists. I ask here not only what it means to live in paradise, but in a fragile paradise under threat of vanishing due to the very economies and imaginaries which enabled it in the first place. In doing so, I argue that rather than pursue an analysis which *assumes* the impossibility of paradise, by engaging in what Eve Sedgwick (1997) refers to as 'weak theory' we can follow the way that paradise emerges as a locus of affective attachment by which residents understand life in a rapidly changing tourist destination. Seeking this sort of understanding will show us how fantasies of paradise alternately foreclose, create, and enable varied ways of being which exceed the expectations and categories which analyses of identity impose.

To do so, I therefore turn to the somewhat unexpected source of a seminal theory of tourism management studies: R.W. Butler's Tourism Area Lifecyle (TALC) (1980) which has been used to assume the dynamic of the rise and fall in popularity of tourist locations.[30] I argue that the importance of Butler's theory lies not in its capacity to accurately predict the future of a destination, but to speak to the open-ended and anxiety inducing nature of *thinking* about that future for those who depend upon tourism. By recognising that the potential fragility and change of tourist economies results in an affective mode of anxiety surrounding perception of the future in its places, I therefore explore how residents' fantasies of paradise coalesce around hierarchical, normative (Berlant, 2011) modes of power which enable continuity and survival.

Therefore, following the framing of paradise as a *desire for difference* I present in Chapter two, I trace the material, embodied engagements of residents with Pipa as a place which may or may not offer the escape paradise promises. I argue that the seductive nature of paradisiacal fantasies provides both the aesthetic limits and symbolic social ordering (Rancière, 2004) through which residents can sense and make sense of the economic and social change instantiated by the tourist industry. To make this argument, I therefore firstly present the context of touristic change within

[30] A theory whose simplistic descriptors are the object of some derision within critical tourism studies (see Franklin and Crang, 2001).

Pipa by means of contextualising the theoretical arguments I explore here around affect, aesthetics, capital, and the varied, hierarchical modes of political community they enable. I follow this discussion with an exploration of the way that three different residents place paradise at the heart of their engagement with Pipa's future within the vagaries of touristic economies, drawing on the perspectives of a self-defined *nativo, morador,* and *residente* to explore the relational nature of these modes of power. I show that their differing fantasies of life in paradise draw upon: colonial understandings of the Edenic *past*; hierarchical visions of the utopianist *future* of development; and indifferent, individualising attachment to the *immediacy* of capital exchange. By presenting the way residents' fantasies coalesce with the aesthetic limits of paradise in ways which emerge as temporally different, I show an understanding of the embodied nature of our 'generative' (Stewart, 2010) engagement with capital flux and the places in which we live which cannot be captured by a recourse to the bounded categories of spatialised identity.

6.1 Post-2008

Figure 9 An unfinished tourist resort.

This is a place where the *Lonely Planet* declares a 'laid-back, ecological and independent-traveler vibe still reigns', adding the hope that 'with luck, Pipa may be just too small for that to change, despite the ranks of umbrella'ed tables along the main beaches catering to van loads of day-trippers from Natal.' (*Lonely Planet*, 2021). Leaving behind the politics of such a guidebook,[31] the authors capture a dynamic apparent in certain changes to Pipa's tourist population. The effects of the 2008 financial crash were deeply felt in this small tourist town, amid a backdrop of the cessation of Dutch charter flights and the evaporation of other European tourists filling both the luxury hotels and backpacker hostels. In 2018/19, European tourists had declined to just 1.6% of visitors to the state of Rio Grande do Norte (Fecomércio RN, 2019), compared to roughly 30% estimated in 2006 (in Cantalice, 2010). As Nunes (2014) notes, whilst previously the presence of Europeans

[31] See Lisle (2006; 2008).

characterised the town through the 'dynamics of employment, income, [and] lifestyle'[32] (16) that such tourism encouraged, now

the municipality was left without the income stream to which it had orientated itself. In the early 2000s, foreign investment in the construction of tourist condominiums intended for these European tourists had exploded, left now with up to 3,000 units standing empty (Demajorovic et al., 2010). The town still bears these scars, with more than one ghostly unfinished complex still hidden among the palms. The ruins (Benjamin, 1969) of tourism as something capable of ensuring economic development through a connection with Europe are therefore materially inscribed on the landscape. Simultaneously, throughout the 2000s and early 2010s, a wave of 'pro-poor' policies from the governments of Lula and Dilma kicked off a consumption boom emanating from the new middle class that was being created in Brazil (Almeida and Guarnieri in Kingstone and Power eds., 2015). As well as governmental minimum wage policies, market initiatives such as the expansion of credit began to open the possibility of travel to those who had previously been unable to afford it. Indeed, from this new group came a sudden glut of tourists, whose participation in domestic travel grew dramatically, rising 247% between the years 2000 and 2010 (Cury, 2011). Alongside this new group of tourists, who tend to come for weekends, arrived another. Drawn by an increase in flight numbers and a reduction in price, new groups of tourists arrived from around the rest of the continent, primarily from Argentina, adding to the changing face of the town's tourist population and prompting a nervous reaction across many in the town that Pipa will 'fall out of style' [Thaís, Pipa: 11/11/2018]. Regardless of the 'hopes' of the few backpackers still drawn in by the *Lonely Planet's* descriptions of the town and the colonial relationships such hopes express, tourism here is undergoing the changes required by the redrawing of these interactions between global and local changing patterns of capital.

6.1.1 Feeling Out the Tourist Area Life Cycle

As the guidebook suggests, then, both these patterns of finance and questions of style characterise the nature of tourist destinations. Certain places attract certain types of people. New places are discovered, old ones wane, and others founder. These recognitions have proven foundational in studies of tourism, stemming from Butler's (1980) Tourist Area Lifecycle (TALC). In short Butler's theory states that tourist destinations bear a life cycle of consumer attractiveness much like any other commodity. They are discovered and increase in popularity, whereupon processes of touristification threaten that which made them attractive in the first place, leading to eventual

[32] Original text: '*dinâmicas de emprego, renda, modo de vida*'

decline or, *if they are effectively managed*, potential continued growth. In Pipa, as the *Lonely Planet* highlights, many fear losing the 'laid back' paradisial charm to the fleets of local, working class day-trippers from the local area, fearing that the town turning overly touristic will make it lose what it once had.

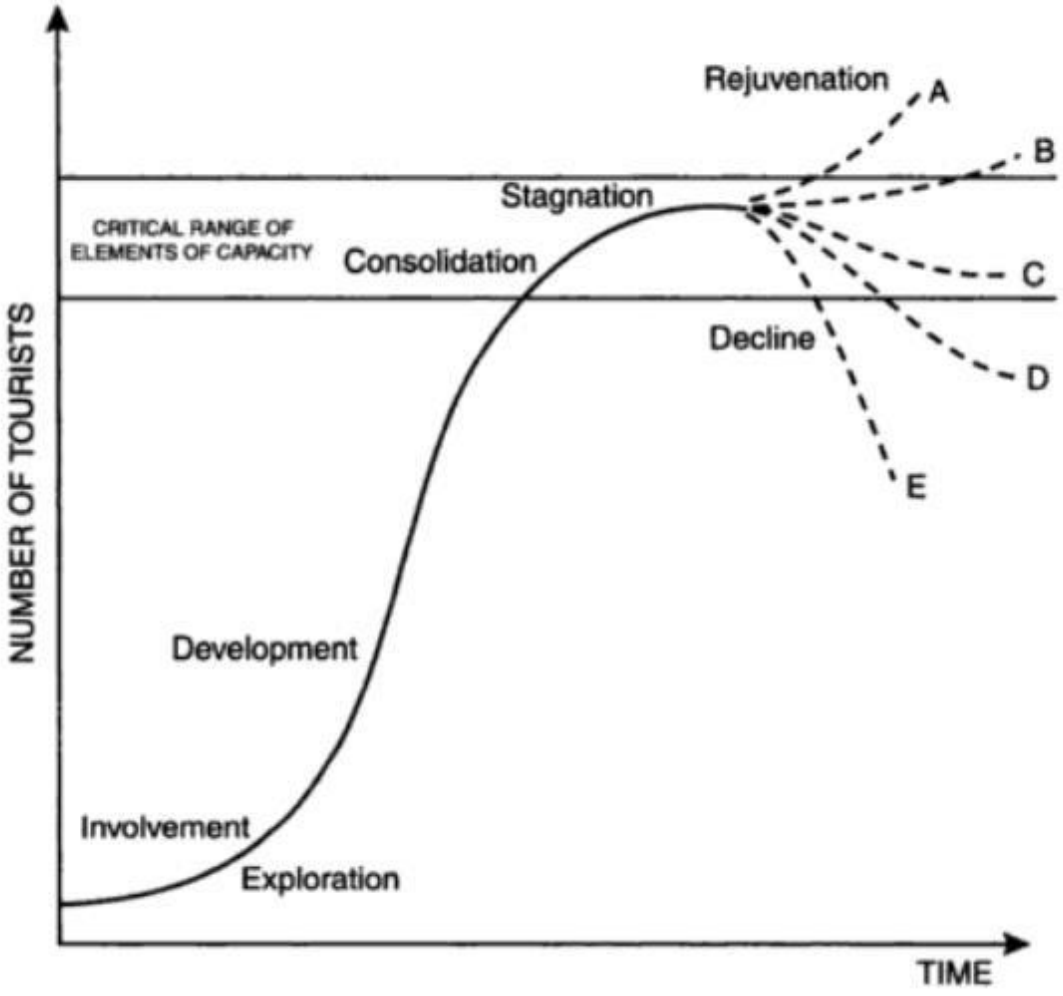

Figure 10 Butler's (1980) model of TALC (p.9).

Butler's theory has been thoroughly picked apart, challenged at once for being too deterministic and 'coercive' (Picard, 1996: 104) and for only acting as a descriptive heuristic device (Agarwal, 1997). However, such questions miss the potency of this framing. Whether a place will fall out of style or not, what Butler's theory tells us is that within tourist economies there is an ever-present risk that these changes will come, wreaking potential havoc on the lives of those who depend upon a steady arrival of tourists for their income. Indeed, as Wilkinson notes, since 'many tourist destinations are extremely… dependent economically on the tourist industry, these patterns have very serious implications for economic stability' (1987: 141-142). The thick, black, dependable

line on Butler's graph could turn into any one of the *potential* futures of the dotted lines snaking out of it, and the lives of those who live within it are therefore necessarily and always uncertain. Indeed, many have highlighted the nature of the exclusionary links between capital, power, and the nature of living in a rapidly changing place (Morell, 2018; Ojeda in Cupples et al., 2018). However, whilst such analysis deftly explores the way such relations form, it tells us little of this uncertainty itself. What does it mean to live a life waiting to see which direction the dotted line will take?

6.1.2 Paradisial Potentialities

Therefore, we must consider the very *awareness* that the industry which currently sustains the lives of those within it may or may not be able to provide them with any sort of future. Clearly, looking at something so vague and intangible as awareness, uncertainty, or anxiety is a difficult thing, and the affect theorists who do so note its challenges. Nonetheless, with the recognition that how our immediate felt engagement with the world not only prefigures our awareness of it, but in doing so is 'generative' of it (Stewart in Gregg and Seigworth (Eds.), 2010: 4; see also Anderson and Harrison, 2006, 2010; Clough and Halley, 2007; Connolly, 2002; Gregg and Seigworth, 2010; Grossberg, 1997; Thrift, 2007), affect gives us a way to think about the power contained within this indeterminate future. Indeed, as Anderson states: 'the emergence of affect from the relations between bodies, and from the encounters that those relations are entangled within, make the materialities of space-time always-already affective' (Anderson, 2006: 736). Therefore, as Sianne Ngai (2005) tells us, anxiety has a spatial form as much as a temporal (it is thrown out to somewhere as much as to when), and as such characterises the places in which it is found. When economies of tourism, by the time they are established, hold this latent potential that something might just go *wrong*, the way affects 'stretch across scenes, fields and sediments, attaching to the very sense that something is happening' (Stewart, 2011: 7) points us towards how to consider this.

However, many have noted that affect theory often suffers a universalising tendency which effaces difference in a way that risks a failure to capture its political potential. Critics have noted that some strands of this thinking assert a shared, embodied capacity which does not consider how such capacity is limited (Åhäll, 2018; see also Hsieh, 2008; Pile, 2010; Thien, 2005; Tolia-Kelly, 2006; Wetherell, 2012). Indeed, divorcing the nature of anxiety in a tourist destination from its social context might tell us a lot about how such sensations spread, but do little to tell us why, taking us somewhat too far from the sort of knowledge gained from a structural critique. As Sara Ahmed argues, not all bodies have equal capacity to affect and be affected, and within the way the productive and generative forces of affect function 'the immediacy of bodily reactions are

mediated' (2014: 212). To think about affect *politically* we must think about how, and along which lines these mediations happen. Whilst many have effectively highlighted this problem along the lines of race (Tolia-Kelly, 2006) and gender (Åhäll, 2018), the already known and embodied economic fragility of tourist destinations must also take into account the way such borders and distinctions (Walker, 1992) proceed along the lines of social class. As Ritu Vij argues, the 'varied interpellations of the other' as raced/sexed/gendered bodies are embedded (and we might add: affectively) within the 'contingencies of global capital' (Vij, 2012: 6). As such, we must consider how affect functions hierarchically by foregrounding the way such divisions emerge from their material contexts (Hall in UNESCO, 1980).

To think through how we sense the location of the other within these contingencies, we must therefore consider how we sense the community as a whole and the social relations contained therein. Rancière's concept of the *distribution of the sensible*, or 'the system of self-evident facts of sense perception that simultaneously discloses the existence of something in common and the delimitations that define the respective parts and positions within it' (2004: 12) speaks to this tension. For Rancière, the moment of aesthetic perception that occurs upon an encounter with the other in place tells us not only of who they are, but of their role within society and relation to its other parts. This knowledge is somatic in that it is obtained from our embodied engagement with our built environment and others who share these spaces (Kester, 1997), and crucially structures what we know at the moment of perception. Therefore, amid the indeterminacies of affect, our capacity to perceive is already ordered in a socially contextualised way which enables us to consider the shifting and fluid nature of capital. Within this framing, therefore, how do what William Callahan calls 'affective communities of sense' (2020; see also Closs Stephens et al., 2020; Hinderliter et al., 2009; Hutchison, 2016) emerge?

To answer this, we must consider how we sense this social order as an affective, indeterminate thing which works on the level of the intensities we feel in spaces as well as the dreams we have for the future. Within the economies of tourism how can we think of uncertainty as having an embodied, material impact? A concept which helps here is that of the *impasse* (Berlant, 2011; Povinelli, 2011). Berlant asks 'what it feels like to be in the middle of a shift' (198) within which operate 'an intimate public of subjects who circulate scenarios of economic and intimate contingency and trade paradigms for how best to live on, considering' (3). The coping strategies, or *cruel optimisms*, that Berlant highlights point to the way thatcertain normative attachments form in the face of a life 'disorganized' by capitalism (4) as a means of attenuating the sensations of this unrest. What is of interest to my analysis is Berlant's emphasis on the tempo of these lives, at once

marked by disjuncture and repetitive boredom. The way that work, rest, the family etc. provide the temporal demands which unsettle *how* we are able to engage with the world lead to the conditions by which these normative attachments to any sort of stability form. As such, the very experience of negotiating life is a process 'attach[ing] us to the very conditions of our subordination' (Ahmed, 2004: 12). By tracing the uncertain and contingent attachments which form amid the destabilising affective and material experience of tourism's particularly fragile capitalist product, I ask instead 'how do people make sense of a place that is undergoing a shift, especially when the future feels so uncertain?' (Marotta and Cummings, 2019: 198).

Therefore, within the specific context of tourism and the spatialised context of uncertainty it provides, I ask the question within this chapter of what the political effects might be within an aesthetic context of a touristic paradise and the affective sense of an indeterminate future it provides. As such, differently from analyses which claim that somewhere 'can't be paradise because I work here' (Vandegrift, 2006), or place its promises *solely* in dominating opposition to the 'real' experience of place (Nixon: 2015), here I consider what happens when we think of paradise as a generative, productive force because *on some level many residents believe that Pipa might offer it*. I therefore think about how the fantasies of escape the tourist economy promises manifest in relation to the changes the town is undergoing. Indeed, following Strachan's (2000) framing of paradise as a 'myth-reality', or Little's (2020) exploration into what paradise enables in 'make-Belize', I ask here what paradise as a story represents politically. As Little argues, by considering how 'tourism activates potentialities in bodies to be otherwise, to generate certain kinds of Paradise natures, mutations, and affects' (14) we can instead explore how the indeterminate energies and forces of the fragility of living under a tourist economy have their own generative potential.

Therefore, in the remainder of this chapter I explore paradise within how residents make sense of the changes and sense of anxiety in the town. I look at the way three different residents project varied and mutable dreams of paradise onto the possibilities of living offered by tourism. To do this, I explore the way colonial spatial imaginaries and their presence in the built environment intersect with questions of political community to produce varied and challenging understandings of what paradise could mean.

6.2 Seeking paradise/fleeing the inferno

'But what I *really* love, what really makes a difference is the little things. Here, I can ride my bike to work! I've never been able to do that before, never in my whole life' Débora, tells me

[29/05/2018, Pipa]. A 28-year-old hostel receptionist originally from São Paulo, her story with Pipa is typical of many young workers in the town. A few years ago, a friend of hers had come to Pipa on holiday and spent weeks after his return talking about the town: ‘’You have to visit’, he’d tell me ‘the place is paradise, I’ve never seen anywhere like it’’. Débora explains that she’d looked at his pictures, heard his stories, even searched for information about Pipa online, and resolved to one day holiday there. However, her life in São Paulo drove her to a different form of arrival; upon being mugged[33] five times within the space of three months she decided she couldn’t take living there anymore. Rather than a vague plan to see somewhere nice for a brief period, Débora began to think more frequently about this paradise of which she’d heard, about what it might be like to leave all the difficulty and danger of the city behind and actually live there. She tells me that relatively impulsively she ‘just did it’. Deciding two years ago to move thousands of kilometres up the country, she found a job in a hostel where she still works to this day. Her life in Pipa outshines her previous experience in São Paulo, and she’s confident she made the right choice in coming. However, happy in her decision though she may be, even in her short time in the town she’s noticed it changing and is worried that it may soon no longer be the Pipa she loves.

Immediately, Débora’s story points to the way that the fecund tropes of paradise spread through the images and imaginaries of the tourist industry (Urry, 2002b) reproduce certain places; it was paradise she saw in photos and online. However, the importance she attaches to this move to give her a different quality of life, and to the perpetuation of the paradisiacal qualities of the town in ensuring this life continues should give us pause to consider the way paradise acts as more than simply a set of circulating images, but a set of hopes and attachments to this other life. By unpacking the colonially informed national imaginaries of paradise which shape Débora’s dreams, I explore the way her engagement with paradise does not require the mimetic reproduction of pristine paradisial imagery, but an affective attachment to the idea that paradise might just be different. I point to the way she turns to the structures of power by which she understands the urbanised materiality of violence in Brazil to uphold a space free from violence to explore the way questions of how she senses the capacity for community within a place called paradise.

For Débora, Pipa represented a place where she might be able to live differently, a tangible spatialisation of the possibility of a life not beset by the violence, stress, and expense of city living. That it lay within the borders of Brazil made this dream an achievable one; a simple, alternative way of being she could realise without much effort. That space outside the city would be

[33] A*ssaltado* specifically means being robbed at gunpoint.

constructed by urban dwellers as a foil to the problems it provides is not unusual. Indeed, this construction in Brazil mirrors the process Raymond Williams (1973) describes of the English countryside, wherein such understandings of the rural idyll formed part of colonial modes of territorial signification. The rural became a sanitised space which exists in moral opposition to the failures of urban modernity, stripped of its history, production, and the people therein. In short, an empty place onto which dreams can be projected. However, Pipa was not described as just any rural zone, but paradise itself. Indeed, what entrenches Débora's vision of paradise so firmly is the way her daily life supports both the tourist images reported by her friend and the Edenic tropes which lie at the heart of Brazilian national imaginaries (Holanda, 2000 [1959]). She explains that being able to sense these tropes is indeed what enamours her of the place:

> 'What makes Pipa paradise are the small symbols, you know? Here I can ride my bike to work, I talk to my neighbours…. if I don't even have one *real* I can walk along the beach alone… all that incredible nature…. in the city it was just consumption… the mall, right? In Pipa, the symbolism of paradise is in the little things…'

Débora's engagement with the 'symbolism of paradise' is something more than simply a regurgitation of the postcards of palm trees and beaches found in any tropical place. She has been in the town for two years now, and lives, rests, and indeed labours there. Instead, the embodied, rhythmic elements of slowness which constitute her day to day life in Pipa show her that her dreams of finding a different way of living were achievable. This is not a thought-out, rationalised attempt to search for paradise, but a somatic (Buck-Morss, 1992) confirmation that the distinct pace of life in Pipa affords the possibility to live differently for which she had previously hoped. Paradise, for Débora, is a slow life in all-but solitary commune with nature and a small group of neighbours, reduced here to symbols in themselves. It is an immersion into everything the city, teeming as it is with anonymous people, cannot offer.

Indeed, the idea that paradise must be empty to continue being paradise is one which lies at the heart of the way in which it is conceived in Brazil. From the outset of Portuguese colonisation, the exceptional fertility and beauty of the land was seen to be offset by the nature of its people. Whether regarding its indigenous population, slaves, or invaders,[34] Brazil, notes Paulo Prado, is a 'radiant

[34] For example, in the *Diálogos das Grandezas do Brasil*, a collection of colonial Portuguese discussions on the territory, settlers are characterised as lazy and negligent (1977 [1618]: 33). However, although within this imaginary all these populations are inadequate, their experience of Brazil differs immensely. As Lilia Schwarz (2003: 1) argues via a sixteenth century maxim she notes still resonates: 'Brazil is hell for negroes, purgatory for whites, and paradise for *mulattos*'.

land' populated by a 'sad people' filled with covetousness and lust (1962 [1928]: 1).[35] The radiance of Brazilian nature, however, is not simply a relic of this colonial period. Conversely, as Sérgio Buarque de Holanda argues, it constitutes an axis upon which Brazilian social thought repeatedly orientates itself, and, he claims, will continue to do so (2000[1959]: 161). Instead, he argues, descriptions of the Edenic landscape have repeatedly fascinated new generations and will continue to do so in what he calls a 'psychosis of the marvellous' (178). Here, the mythical and fantastical engagement with nature which constituted colonial exuberance over Brazil's land underpins a pessimism of the present (181) through the contrast it provides. Indeed, Ulpiano Bezerra de Meneses argues that there is an 'extraordinary' continual 'galvanisation' of the landscape through tourism as a means of settling national identity specifically positioned to counter the systemic devaluation of human society in the country (in Yázigi, 2002: 41). Therefore, the tension between the glory of nature and this historically inherited sense of the 'inadequacy' of the population is what Carvalho credits with the 'surprising vitality' (2000: 1) of Edenic motifs within the Brazilian national imaginary in a dynamic which is repeatedly played out in social understandings resting on the existence of places such as Pipa. Within such visions, the glory of the land is rendered even more so in contrast with the inferno of its human inhabitants in a process which both constitutes and compensates for the urbanised violence common to much of Brazil. With Brazilians therefore constituting only a negative mark upon pristine nature, it follows that those places valued as paradise within such an Eden must be relatively free from others.

Therefore, the rhythms and sensations of life in Pipa only make sense to Débora as paradise when other people do not feature within them beyond the symbolism she identifies. She feels she is achieving the dream of a different life she pursued, dependent upon finding paradise as it was, when her interaction with Edenic nature is not interrupted by the other. It is in these moments she feels paradise appears, the moments when her life bears some resemblance to the glorious, empty idyll of national and touristic imaginaries. Indeed, that these sensory knowledges of what paradise truly means have such a grip on Débora points to their strength in delineating what Rancière terms as the police order. This 'natural order of things where a society is represented as being divided into functions, into places where these functions are exercised, into groups which are, by virtue of their places, bound for exercising this or that function' (Rancière, 2000: 215) fixes the nature of common space, and the roles of those within them. It ensures that everybody plays their role and renders an 'organic vision of the society' (*ibid.*) wherein structures of domination seem unquestionable.

[35] Original text: *Numa terra radiosa vive um povo triste.*

Within Pipa, Débora's encounters with her vision of a deserted Eden confirm what is paradisiacal about the place. This embodied process rests on 'a correspondence between perception and meaning that dictates the terms of what will count as commonly sensible and what is, otherwise, mere noise, babble or insensible' (Panagia in Deranty, 2010: 97). As such, the vibrancy of nature is not only a constitutive element of Brazil's *national* imaginary, but by underpinning the character, spaces, and functions of its 'inadequate' (Carvalho, 2000: 120) *social* imaginary it also provides the aesthetic limits for what, and crucially who, makes sense within paradise. When Débora walks along the pristine beach, quiet and alone[36], Pipa really feels like the paradise for which she'd left São Paulo.

6.2.1 Picking up good vibrations

However, Débora's understanding of what makes Pipa paradise rests on a tension. Whilst she draws from the sublime, solipsistic exoticism of national paradisiacal imaginaries which contrast the violence of life with the possibilities of nature, in Pipa what she notes as paradise is the establishment of a community. Pipa is, after all, not a deserted island, but a town, a settlement wherein she can work and support herself alongside a select group of others with whom she lives in harmony. What matters is that this community offers a somatic everyday experience *not* punctuated by the constant threat of violent crime she experienced in urban settings. In this section I explore how the bodily sensation of an ill-defined and flexible sense of 'difference' works beyond and through touristic paradisial imaginaries. I argue that Débora entrenches her understandings within the material capacity of Pipa to prompt the affective sensations she aligns with paradise, and point to the way that when paradise feels weak she turns to deeply embedded, powerful structures she does understand to seek the continuation of this potential difference.

> 'But it's going to... right, going to fall… it's not going to be able to keep that vibe, right. But it's like this, this thing of security, that it's very safe here, right, this comes from tourism. I've already heard that the police, that they have… have an agreement, I don't know what, but it's the way the world works right?... they have an agreement with the *traficantes,* so that they can't… you know, there's no violence, because lots of… lots of money flows through here, it's a really international place, and they want

[36] Of course, the idea that one should immerse oneself in the pristine nature Brazil is seen to provide is, as I explore throughout this thesis, by no means the only possible reaction to its plentitude. Questions of exploitation of nature constitute a central question in many ongoing political discussions in Brazil. Nonetheless, it is important to establish the Edenic natural world seen to provide the historic conditions of possibility for the contemporary nation.

> to keep it that way… so if it wasn't for tourism it would be different, but on the bad side… tourism, it's brought lots of… I don't know, lots of things, there's loads of things one on top of the other, it's going to get overpopulated, it's just going to become a beach town…'

The town, for Débora, has thus far been kept as something approaching paradise by limiting those who can partake in its joys. Whilst her neighbours represent part of the paradisial symbolics, images of the slowness she sought, most other indicators of people represent an encroachment upon her empty vision, an overwhelming sensory experience within a place whose aesthetic limits are so defined. The sensation of paradise thus does not rest on pure emptiness, but on being the sort of place which calls upon these understandings of emptiness in its promise of something different. Indeed, Débora does not phrase this possibility of difference in absolute terms, but in the rather more elastic language of a *vibe*. I found this concept interesting, and later, upon hearing a friend use the idea, I asked him to expand on it:

'A *vibe* is astral energy, it's waves, it's how something feels. A person can have a *vibe*, a place can have a *vibe*, a party can have one… For example, you have an incredible *vibe*, but that restaurant doesn't…' [Valentino, Pipa, 12/06/2018]

Pipa's *vibe* is a way that Débora understands whether the town feels like it ought to, an 'energy' possessed by the town, simultaneously comprised of and challenged by the people and objects within it. It is not something she directly articulates or gives form to, but a jumbled picture she constructs by simply knowing that some things challenge its being there, without knowing what 'it' is. Certain people and structures (her neighbours, international tourists, the police, and interestingly, the traffickers) contribute to the paradisial *vibe*, whilst others (the buildings by the square, the growing population) threaten it such that it might become 'just another beach town'. However, when considering the *vibe* of Pipa it is immediately clear that there is not one singular atmosphere that dominates the town. Instead, the way social class figures into who uses particular spaces for what and when points to the multiple and competing *vibes* and the contesting understandings of paradise they represent. For example, at various points of the year, particularly around New Years' Eve (see Chapter 7), large, expensive, and very noisy sports cars speed down the coastal road to the town, attending the large, prohibitively priced festival on its outskirts. At this time of year the party *vibe* is so dominant it is difficult to experience anything else in the town. The hordes of people who flow through every available street in the centre also rent houses throughout every part of the town's usually quiet neighbourhoods. The whole place transforms. Many residents refuse to leave their houses for these days

except for work. However, at other points of the year, the very same space sits quietly and residents take long strolls through the streets, squares, and beaches, sitting where they might not otherwise. The *vibe* of the town can change through what people feel they are able to do and feel there; there are multiple possible distribution of emotions (Bargetz, 2015) within the same place.

What she fears is the town losing a certain feeling, a sense that the safety and way of life which differentiate it from the city that make it special may no longer apply: 'I'm worried that I'll have the same problems here as I did there… I moved here to get away from that! It's a problem.' What she fears is the loss of the paradisial sensation of the place through which she felt her life changed. As such, rather than simply reducing her engagement with Pipa to one of a detached observer reifying the town as a landscape, the question instead becomes one of how her innermost, subjective fears are intimately charged through with an attunement to how the town *feels.* As Ben Anderson argues, the way collective spatial sensations are felt so deeply as intimate facets of our own lives points to the way such atmospheres are 'spatially discharged affective qualities that are autonomous from the bodies that they emerge from, enable and perish with' (2009: 80). The town itself carries a complex, contradictory, enrolment and exclusion of disparate events, people, and objects through which she imagines her capacity to realise her own dreams and fantasies. Whether or not the town holds precisely to the imaginaries of paradise, what matters is that she feels safe within it.

Such feelings, then, are constituted by the world in which we live, as 'public feelings that begin and end in broad circulation', but where they take on particular importance and meanings are the way they resonate as 'the stuff that seemingly intimate lives are made of' which feel 'like something' (Stewart, 2010: 2). For Débora, Pipa is currently paradise, different from other places along the beach; it allowed her to feel like her life is different. The publicly circulating tourist images and histories of paradise are things she feels and knows on the streets there, through their rhythms, sounds, and smells. They are not just broad backdrops, but deeply personal parts of her life history through which she senses the possibility of realising her fantasy.

Therefore, it is through the town's *vibe* that Débora senses whether she should continue believing in the possibilities of paradise, not as something that strictly exists as a perfect representation of the landscape she'd been sold, but as a tangible opportunity to escape the impersonal, violent iteration of urbanised capital she'd felt in the city. Indeed, rather than all representing deviations from idyll, certain other people constitute the conditions of possibility required for her to achieve this dream. She not only attests her interactions with her neighbours as part of the 'symbolism' of paradise, reducing them somewhat to representations of the very personalised communitarian life

she feels constitutes the way out of violent depersonalisation, but also attests parts to others in the very production of this Elysian space. Indeed, although the presence of crime in her life caused her to leave the city, Débora understands the *traficantes* as a necessary component of keeping Pipa free from violence through their accord with the police. Similarly, faceless foreign tourists are a necessary element in keeping the 'money flowing through' the town. Débora accepts the necessity of others when she views them as representing necessary elements of maintaining her life in Pipa, entrenching this knowledge in her understanding of 'the way the world works'.

Therefore, rather than the state she has always lived within and that has thus far let her down, she holds the *traficantes* over the police as being responsible for controlling visible crime within the town and ensuring the sensation of safety that she seeks. Whilst the capacity to find the good life within a Brazil that does not have the money 'flowing' from international tourism has eluded her, here she feels that it is present, here it might ensure the different life of her fantasy. However, what is notable is that the foundation of this difference is not found in a monumental shift in the constitution of society in paradise. Structures of power after all remain the same; she still works in a low-paid and difficult job and the *traficantes* hold sway in the region. Rather, Débora places her faith in achieving this paradisial place in the things she sees as shaping the world: the organised crime she senses as dominating everywhere else she's known. As Lauren Berlant tells us, such adherence to 'architectures of trust that are built from within in the process of being in life' (2011: 687) is seductive and potent. Débora trusts the institution which ruined her life in the city with having the capacity to ensure that here it will be different, as shown by her direct understanding that the accord between the police and *traficantes* is a key element in what keeps Pipa different. The *vibe* she feels thus corresponds to the broad, affective quality and energy instigated by the presence of others, but it takes on a qualitative element (of paradise or not) depending upon the society it upholds.

As such, what Débora turns to as a marker of difference is neither achieving the pristine vision of paradisial tourist tropes, nor a radical shift in social organisation, but the very *vibe* itself. Indeed, where she locates this sensation is in the near past, in the belief that before she arrived, Pipa was once a place which only provided the paradisiacal sensations she now accredits with constituting the 'symbology' of paradise. Back then, the buildings which crowd the town centre were not present, and crucially, neither were the mass of people who simply should not be in Eden. The location of paradise within the national and social imaginaries she understands therefore provides a shifting, porous aesthetic limit to the way she senses whether her trust in the possibility of this different life is well-placed. Indeed, the embodied sensations of quietude and slowness by which

she confirms the contemporaneous, symbolic feelings of Pipa's past in the form of its paradisial *vibe* constitute the basis of her somatic knowledge of paradise as a gradient of possibility of ensuring her fantasy. However, as her fantasy is so deeply founded on the social order of mistrust of the other (Carvalho, 2000), its realisation is necessarily one of exclusion. Within the small, idealised community of which she had dreamed, the image of paradise as a way of life away from the violent depersonalisation of urbanised capital would have been possible. Therefore, when Débora senses the presence of objects and people which contradict the colonial, paradisial vision of paradise which formed the basis of her fantasies of escape, she senses both the possibility of violence in her life and the broader threat this poses to her capacity to trust in the structures of the world around her. Indeed, the way she moves through certain spaces and feels the *vibe* in relation to the others around her points to the way such atmospheres (Anderson, 2010; Brennan, 2004; Closs Stephens et al., 2021) circulate and move around the town drawing in those who might further enable the realisation of paradise, thus enacting the fragile and temporary aesthetic communities of sense we have thus far seen (Hinderliter et al., 2009).

Paradise, therefore, emerges as far more than simply a set of tropes which prevent Débora from engaging with Pipa as a 'real place' even while she believes in it. The town is indeed alive for her, a place of circulating, vibrant, half-formed energies circulating between people and objects, including some and excluding others. As the mast to which she fixed her dreams of the possibility of a different life, the fantasy of the town and what it offers her does not rest on its strict adherence to the paradisial visions of pristine emptiness Brazil commands. Instead, it suggests simply being able to sense that life there, by merit of drawing on these visions, might be different to the life she experienced before. However, as Débora's dreams are so deeply rooted in the colonial paradisial basis of Brazilian national imaginaries which Meneses (2007) argues are continually galvanised by means of justifying social exclusion, they rely upon Pipa being separate from the outside, and the corresponding 'symbolic constitution of the social' (Rancière, 2010: 499) this supports. As such, Débora's deep investment in Pipa as the possibility of the realisation of her dreams is threatened by the material sensation that the outside might just be there after all, and that urban violence is on the verge of creeping in to this space which has thus far kept it at bay.

Indeed, the powerful combination of these touristic, social, and national imaginaries certainly dominates the ways in which many can view Pipa. Whilst Débora fixes her vision on the past in a way somewhat akin to Benjamin's angel, with paradise acting as a promise of some perhaps lost stillness, for others, it shimmers on the horizon as a goal to work towards.

6.3 Paradise? Not lost, just misplaced

Gazing out to sea from the balcony of his home, Volnir gives a sardonic smile, mulling over the question I'd asked him. 'Paradise?... well, it's hard to think it's anything else when you see it… and it certainly used to be! I think for lots of them it still is… but we have lots of work to do to make sure it comes back… paradise I mean. But it can come back. It can.' [Pipa, 11/12/2018]. Much like Débora, Volnir (57) originally comes from one of the richer regions of Brazil to the south of Pipa. He'd left his home in Belo Horizonte nearly thirty years ago, telling me he had family in the northeast. One day, he decided to extend his visit to set up a restaurant on the town's principal avenue and 'just see what happened'. Laughing, he points out that he's 'still here!' Back then, he explains, Pipa was only just beginning to develop its tourist economy. The town was smaller then, quieter. He's seen the place develop from the small surfing colony it was when he came to live there to the lively resort town it is today. His restaurant has grown along with it, he explains. When he set it up he had 'just a few tables', but he has now moved to a new site, a sprawling place regularly packed to the rafters, bustling with trade as staff flock between tables, deftly handing out *petiscos* [bar snacks] and beers to waiting customers. Although the town has moved away from having the 'sense' of being a 'fishing village' he tells me it once had, his business appears to be flourishing ever more as Pipa grows in popularity. Life, it would seem, is good. However, despite the steady flow of tourists keeping his restaurant busy, Volnir remains keen to find a way to bring Pipa back to what it once was.

Although he does not employ the terminology of the *vibe*, like Débora Volnir seeks a return to a time when Pipa simply *felt* like it offered a potentially different way of being and therefore did. Whilst his life in Belo Horizonte had not been beset by difficulty, he nonetheless saw Pipa as somewhere that might offer him the chance of 'a better quality of life'. However, the way paradise manifests in Volnir's vision does not bear the tension between its pristine imaginaries and affective experience that Débora experiences, instead Volnir understands Pipa's paradisial potential as something he knows exists because he lived it. Indeed, whilst Volnir understands Pipa as paradise, it is a paradise only intelligible when experienced within the social hierarchy of class which ensures the town is populated by elite tourists who can spend money. Whilst Pipa may have lost this social make-up, it is something tangible and possible to regain with a future that can be enacted. Indeed, this loss is something Volnir feels deeply, and frames a period of Pipa's past as genuinely paradisiacal, contrasting it with its present state which he describes as an 'illusion'. However, what he views as artifice is not that the town conjures expectations of some mythical, pre-lapsarian idyll, but to the idea that in its current state it can sustain everyone who comes, as paradise rightly should. He does not hark back, therefore, to some projected trope, but to a lived time in the more recent

past when he tells me tourism had a different character. The tourists were fewer, richer, and largely European. The town would stay relatively busy during the *alta* and then empty during the *baixa* except for a few weeks across July and August which corresponded to European summer holidays. He explains to me that although his restaurant seems busy, 'it's actually harder to make money when it's like this… I know it looks like a lot but… well none of them buy anything!'. He expands:

> 'The way it used to work, right, is that we would be really busy, I mean… less busy than we are now! But still busy… really busy for the *alta*, and then there would be quiet months… we used to close, you know, and go on holiday? But then, you would have to be back for July and August, I mean that's summer in Europe of course… there were direct flights from the Netherlands. But…. They don't come any more. The *baixa* really is the *baixa*.'

Instead, his restaurant is filled with 'CVC[37] tourists… young people from the region' who come for the weekend on package holidays paid for on credit. 'They don't buy anything because they still haven't paid for their holiday!' he tells me, 'so they just sit there… I don't make anything.' For Volnir, the idea of paradise is a shallow illusion while it does not provide the economic conditions to live as well as he is accustomed; Pipa was *really* paradise when he worked less and still reaped the rewards of its steadily growing tourism industry. Instead, now the tourism has grown and changed in type, the low season really lives up to its name. What is interesting here, then, is not just that Volnir knows paradise as something real because he lived it, but that the material, tangible things he senses *now* are the illusion. The way he distances himself from his material conditions bears a certain logic: as the recent past was paradise and Pipa *is* paradise, therefore now cannot be Pipa. At least not really, and not how it ought to be. Indeed, the utopian elements of paradise as a chance to live differently (Levitas, 1990) are what differentiate Pipa of the past and Pipa of the present for Volnir. Instead, Pipa was paradise for Volnir when the type of tourism it attracted was the sort that would keep the town quiet, his restaurant bringing in enough money, and his life relaxed. He tells me he used to get families 'from all over the continent and even Europe' in the restaurant all week long throughout the high season, spending much more and sitting for longer. Life was quieter then and Pipa 'really felt like somewhere special.' Indeed, for Volnir the town represented a special community of like-minded people from all over the world coming together to enjoy the fruits of paradise, in the form of a quiet, laid-back life by the sea. Whether it conformed to symbols of pristine Brazilian paradise or not, the position of its tourist industry within global patterns of capital meant that it attracted a certain type of tourist who enabled him to sustain a

[37] A prominent package holiday company in Brazil.

certain type of life. The presence of these tourists eating in his relatively expensive restaurant, alongside the 'friends from all over' he tells me he's made through his time in Pipa thus points to the particular kind of community he understands as constituting the difference necessary for paradise. His fellow citizens of Eden are international, united in sharing this place. Indeed, such understandings would seem to point to a cosmopolitan potential at the heart of the tourist encounter (see Munar, 2007). Volnir not only enjoys the presence of the other but views them as a necessary element of his life in paradise; in Pipa he is not limited by national boundaries but becomes a 'citizen of the world' who shows a 'certain global belonging' (Salazar, 2010: 178). It is in this latent desire for *difference* he views Pipa as constituting paradise.

However, as Debbie Lisle (in Best and Paterson ed., 2010; also 2006) highlights, any assumptions surrounding the possibility of ethical cosmopolitanism in tourism must surpass the normative claim that cosmopolitanism is in and of itself an ethical end, and instead be considered in light of what it renders silent or invisible. Volnir's acceptance of others within his personal paradise does not extend to the working-class CVC tourists he sees as ruining the place. Indeed, their very presence means Pipa loses the capacity to sustain the difference to which he is attached, and stops being the paradise he knows. As such, rather than a broad cosmopolitanism aimed at all, overcoming identarian modes of difference, for Volnir, *only* those he sees as worthy of membership of this explicitly global community are intelligible as members of paradise. Whilst Pipa as a tourist town is necessarily produced via those who come from outside, for Volnir there is a difference between the immediate and undesirable outside of working class Brazil, and the upscale European tourists that enable the production of a touristic enclave. His vision of Pipa as a place that should be peopled by those rich enough to provide him with the lifestyle he wishes prompts an exclusionary understanding rendered not through nationality, but the interlocking iterations of class and racialised understandings of just who can be a member of elite spaces and communities of cultural exchange. As Ritu Vij asks us to consider: 'Cultural distinctions between peoples from nation-states on the developed end of the continuum may well be set aside in a moment of transcultural indifference in locales of high-end urban consumption… but that the claim operates equally with reference to those at opposite ends of the development story is open to question' (2012: 20). Therefore, when Volnir senses those who ought not have the capacity to buy their way into this space populated by those at the upper end of the development scale as he has, rather than change his vision of what paradise means, he falters on whether it any longer applies to Pipa.

6.4 Restoring an illusion

Volnir, however, is adamant that the Pipa he used to know could still return. There are a set of straightforward and simple steps that could be taken for the town to regain its *vibe,* and he is not only clear on what they are, but on the necessity of taking them. To get back to the quiet, wealthy town he loved, which appeared that way for him at his end of the social scale, he argues for a crackdown on the proliferation of informal *pousadas,* hostels, and restaurants he thinks attract the wrong sort of people. What the town needs, he feels, is strict licencing which will limit the amount of businesses that can trade to only those who can afford to pay these fees and stay afloat. Besides, he adds, 'there isn't really enough money to go round anyway, there only *looks* like there is.' He contrasts the direction Pipa is taking, which he characterises as a sort of wild west that draws in visitors with the illusion of wealth it provides, with a recent holiday he'd had to another tropical, paradisial locale which he thinks has its approach right:

> 'I was on holiday in Mexico, right, Puerta Vallarta… oh it was perfect. They had the right idea there, there wasn't one blade of grass out of place. It felt like if a leaf were to fall to the ground someone would come and pick it back up. And on the beach! It's the law there, the law of the city.. if you want to consume on the beach it has to be in one of the *barracas*, so all the litter is their responsibility… so it stays clean! And all this means they still have tourism that works, and they attract people from all over Europe. Sometimes I think I don't know why you would come here when you can go there…'

In contrast, he glumly notes, Pipa's nearest airport in Natal is still losing flights from Europe, 'two more gone just last week!'. Clearly for Volnir, for Pipa to compete with somewhere like Puerta Vallarta it also needs to ensure a manicured, sanitised sense of cleanliness. Doing so will not only ensure that it feels somewhat paradisial and ensure continued tourism, but also that it is clearly thus too expensive for just anyone to access: to get to paradise you must pay. As such, the economic requirements which go into making paradise feasible mean that only members of certain paying communities can participate. For things to seem right, for paradise to feel *real,* his affective understanding of what life in an idyll means must match up to what he senses. The changes in the town and the way he is 'moved by the proximity of others' (Ahmed, 2004: 11) further render his memory as an object to which he attaches the possibility of this paradisial life once more, threatened by the material reality of the sensation of being in the town and surrounded by others within it.

As such, what Volnir proposes is a change to material possibility within the town to ensure that the symbolic social order is maintained, and paradise continues being more than an illusion. However,

part of what differentiates Pipa from the rest of Brazil for him is the presence of tourists from the world over, but *especially* from Europe. Through them, the lifestyle he knew was made possible. They are what Puerta Vallarta still manages to attract by maintaining the cleanliness of its built environment. Therefore, for Pipa to retain its paradisial charms, it must draw Europeans in once more. It is not simply the presence of a social hierarchy which Volnir views as essential, but one enthusiastically inserted into a global order 'punctuated by modernization theory's location of a people(or state) as developed or underdeveloped' (Vij, 2012: 20). For tourism to be working in the town, it must attract the Brazilian elite[38] and Europeans broadly rendered. The demands of the touristic economy therefore provide the limits through which Volnir understands the presence of paradise, but these mandates are themselves limited. For paradise to be *real* and no longer an illusion, tourism must satisfy not only the requirements of capital exchange writ large, but also reaffirm global understandings of the hierarchy of states understood here as something to be transcended only through social class. For paradise to be viable it must be neatly packaged, its informal elements stripped away, and its environments strictly managed. The tropes and symbols of paradise found within the town in the form of its charming, cobbled streets and pristine beaches are therefore important to Volnir, not because they themselves represent the paradise he knew, but because they are the foundation of the touristic economy via which he grew so comfortable.[39]

Volnir clearly sees the necessary steps to get back to this future, such as introducing licencing laws and limiting consumption on the beach. That they are so linear, straightforward, and fundamentally enactable means he knows exactly how to ensure their implementation. The state, in the form of local government, has the capability of pursuing the juridical and administrative means necessary to achieve this pristine vision. However, the municipality, he explains, is marred by a venal sort of corruption wherein 'the politicians are only interested in getting elected! After that they don't do anything…' They do not implement the necessary schemes and plans required to maintain Pipa's paradisial *vibe,* but merely campaign with them. As such, Volnir and some other local businessmen are looking for ways to influence the town's political course beyond the avenues currently open to them, perhaps through new campaigning groups and alliances or even through getting a candidate at state level who will 'represent the business community in Pipa'. Volnir still understands the state as responsible for ensuring the functional circulation and promotion of touristic capital, but simply

[38] The 'families' who can afford to eat full meals in his restaurant.

[39] As I explore further in chapters 5, 7, and 8, the relative wealth of business owners such as Volnir is possible only through the labour of the exploited workforce upon which the town depends. As I argue in the next chapter, a particular function of paradise is to obfuscate perception of these labour relations. Restaurants being forced to stay open over summer actually benefits many of the town's workers, who in the past were expected to save enough all year to cope with the months of closure during the *baixa.* Volnir makes no note of this.

does not think it is executed well in Pipa, situating the town within the imaginaries of corruption which characterise social framings of Brazilian politics (Teixeira et al., 2021). He contrasts this with Mexico where the state is fulfilling its role,[40] creating a *vibe* amenable to the continuation of (European) paradisial tourism. Therefore, whilst still displaying faith in the institutions responsible for maintaining paradise, he shows yet more faith in the very idea of a world he can create by means of envisaging it. What paradise enables him to believe is that the world acts as he expects it to in the service of the hierarchies which have thus far served him so well.

As such, Volnir is as much attached to paradise as anyone drawn to it by means of its Edenic promise. Rather than necessarily believing in the possibility of the dreams and fantasies paradise inspires so many, Volnir instead believes in the possibility of the life that living in a place *called* paradise can bring. Accordingly, the power of such visions of paradise within the town is keenly felt on a somatic level, only intelligible within the structures he knows ensure his necessary level of comfort.

So far, Débora and Volnir have shown differing engagements with a return to paradise. Whilst Débora places the responsibility of this future in the hands of the structures which have thus far dominated her life, Volnir's sense of a tangible, enactable paradise is perhaps less helpless. To contextualise this understanding further, we must also consider the way the violence of the colonial imaginaries of paradise is manifest through its continued enactment. However, what I argue in the next section is that residents also place paradise at the heart of coping strategies against the way their production of paradise requires a re-enactment of colonial displacement and suffering through its aestheticised representations of dispossessed communities. This coping is a mode of survival which channels paradisial affective energy in unexpected ways which obscure both the past and future and here render new hierarchies and subjectivities more amenable to capital.

6.5 'Well, first Pipa was a fishing village…'

There are a set of stairs leading up to the centre of town from Pipa's principal beach, the Praia do Centro. Nestled among the greenery surrounding them are colourful sculptures, past which streams of tourists traipse up and down throughout the day. Atop the stairs is a paved area bordered by trees and restaurants, from where gentle music wafts through the air, mingling with the sea breeze and dappled light to provide a pocket of calm, cooling respite from the otherwise punishing heat of the

[40] The point here doesn't seem to be regarding Mexico's corruption in comparison to Brazil but to find a justification over what becomes more important in funding priorities.

day. The sensation is such that passers-by often speak at a hushed volume, pausing to take a breath and feel the air on their faces. Although this area is enjoyed by tourists, there seems to be a sensation, perhaps not wishing to disturb the peace, that they should pass through here after lingering to take some photos with the view. However, sat along the kerb facing the sea, a group of older men often sit for longer periods, smoking and laughing with one another at points throughout the day. I get speaking to João, one of this group, who explains that he cannot talk for long. Here is where he takes his breaks from his job providing boat tours to tourists to see the dolphins which populate Pipa's waters. He's happy to sit and chat until his colleague has gathered enough tourists passing along the main avenue nearby for a tour, although he points out that three have just passed so he doesn't think he'll have long.

João is 67 and has lived in Pipa all his life. He grew up, he says, assuming he would be a fisherman like his father until tourism grew and displaced the fishing industry, meaning his assumed path didn't materialise. The village had been very different then, he tells me, with unpaved streets of sand and simple houses making up the bulk of the small settlement. Something he describes to me in great detail is the way the town square used to be very different, set up in a way, he says 'like it was meant to be used' [Pipa, 09/01/2019]. There were benches arranged in ways that encouraged groups of people to 'sit and talk' to one another and plants all around. Now, with benches arranged around the edges and only an empty, paved space in the centre which only 'gathers rain' he finds little there to draw him in. However, he mentions a group of *nativos* who do make use of the space; those he describes as the 'town drunks'. They, he feels, were not as 'lucky' as him with the changes wrought by tourism and have been left without anything to do but drink all day, congregating alongside a large statue of a fisherman which dominates the square, a large and colourful reminder of the town's past.

Figure 11 Fisherman's Square', a focal point of Pipa.

João explains to me that these people go to the same public space they've always known. With little else to do in their lives, they simply 'pass the time'. That this statue looms over them could perhaps seem a cruel reminder of the life they were to have; a symbolic, slightly shabby representation of their role in the town. At the very least it fills the dubious position of a distillation of a lived past into a kitsch element of the tourist industry itself, obscuring any violence suffered through the arrival of tourism through commodifying its history. It is tempting to leave the role of this reminder here, and indeed many have drawn on such processes as being central to the touristic encounter, such as Urry's dismissal of the transformation of 'indigenous art forms into tourist kitsch' (2002b: 8). However, as Potts (2012) argues, this temptation rests on too simplistic a binary which poses the role of some imagined 'authentic' history against this representation, reduced and simplified into a sentimental reproduction which bears no truth to some supposed historic reality. Instead, what we must consider is the processes of dispossession through which Pipa's fishing communities were removed from their land and livelihoods, and how these processes have been distilled by the council into this statue which commemorates the past as a means of consolidating the presence of capital exchange in the present, without acknowledging the violence contained

therein. It is this distillation which means that, the centrality of kitsch to the reproduction and commodification of Pipa's past through this statue deals with a more complex history still lived, felt, and embodied by many who remain in the town.

Indeed, engaging with this history points to a different understanding of the aesthetic role that such reminders may play among those whose histories have been commodified, one which points to the necessity of a more ambiguous understanding of the role of both tourism and its images. The statue appears to be intended to recall the town's bucolic history, a reminder of the story that it was a fishing village before its touristic expansion. If kitsch, as Clement Greenberg argues, is art which only offers 'vicarious experience and faked sensations' (1939: 102), the towering reminder of this history serves to neatly package up the past and bring its memories into the present. Look around, Pipa still offers so much of this idyllic past: remember, you are in paradise! If works of kitsch ignite only the realm of the conscious (*ibid.*), this statue serves to recall and confirm these stories of the town's 'discovery' and 'development' by means of tourism. The viewer, in this understanding, sees a work like this, recalls the story, and confirms elements of paradise. The commodification and fetishisation of traditional cultures in this way is seen as a tool of political repression, a 'prostitution' (Desmond, 1988) of ways of living for the service of the tourist industry. Thus, Pipa's statue sells its rustic past as a constituent element of its touristic present.

However, by centring these modes of touristic oppression as the *only* way of knowing the places in which they occur, we come to an understanding which truly establishes the past *as* paradise. For paradise to be obliterated and rendered instead as a sanitised aesthetic expression upon which the tourist industry trades it must once have existed. Indeed, for most of its existence life in Pipa really did mean living off the land and sea, surrounded by palm trees. However, as to whether this can be considered any sort of paradise that the tourist industry is destroying is another question.

As João explains to me, life in his childhood was instead frequently a gruelling struggle against hunger:

> 'The past is what causes depression. What is good is to live in the present, today. And the future, if you keep thinking only on the future, is going to give you anxiety… So we have to live in the present, right? And prepare ourselves for the future, and the present. Prepare the present for the future. The present is what we are living today, the past is already gone! If I… it's what I say, what I'm saying to you, in the past here I already passed through… not starvation, but I passed through a lot of need, and if I

> think about when I was a boy, I'm going to get depressed, you know? So you have to think on what is… on today.. and that God… today, for tomorrow to be better. But don't stay in that anxiety, I don't know, that anxiety that you find in any lottery… in any lottery!'

That the statue would act as a reminder to João of better times seems a shallow and essentialising assumption when contrasted with the experience of life in a region writer Eduardo Galeano characterised at the time of João's youth as 'a concentration camp for 30 million people', adding 'where opulence is most opulent, there… misery is most miserable; the region nature chose to produce all foods denies all' (1997 [1973]: 63 - 64) due to inequalities perpetuated by colonial land ownership relations. Therefore, a more *authentic* view of what it really means to live in a place called paradise than experienced by someone like Débora, influenced as she is by tourist imaginaries, would appear to suggest that viewing tourist locations as real places means abandoning the idea of Eden entirely. As João's memories of his childhood show, The role of the statue as a kitsch, touristic reminder and aesthetic mode of commodification simply sits there for João, a symbol of the difficult past neither affirming nor challenging ideas of paradise but simply something removed and distant. It reminds tourists of their (only temporary) experience of idyll, whilst not bearing any relation to those who live in the town. Paradise, it seems, vanishes from view when too much time is spent within it or looked at too closely.

6.5.1 Invisible pasts and unknowable futures

However, as I have argued throughout, simply resting on the knowledge that paradise does not appear as it seems does not bring us further to understanding what it does. Even João, for whom bucolic images of paradise are those of a painful past, deploys it as a material reality through which he understands the structures which can maintain the difference he knows:

> 'Look… paradise… definitely… definitely this place is paradise. Can I go and sit on the beach like I used to? No… Can I go take a swim? Sometimes in the *baixa*… but can I have a life here supporting my family? Are the people I love happy? Yes… they are. And is there any other form of paradise that matters?'

João's perspective points to the way the functions of the material and aesthetic constitutions of touristic places are found in multiple locations, enabling multiple meanings which contribute to their overall production of inequalities. He lives in paradise because its economies enable those close to him to thrive. Although he does not feel able to enjoy the spaces of the town (the square,

the beach, the sea) like he used to, tourism has improved his life and lives of those close to him. As such, when considering the aesthetic role of the statue, rather than proscribe a particular set of power relations to it, we should instead consider the complexity of its role as an ordering device. As Potts argues, Rancière's understanding of the role of an aesthetic object illuminates these difficulties:

> 'there are no appearances as such, that is, aesthetic essences that produce determinable responses, only histories of appearances that generate unpredictable aesthetic experiences. Aesthetics are hitched to and detached from political arrangements in complex ways. The idea that kitsch aesthetics guarantee any politics, or can secure any permanent contract between particular forms of visibility and political outcome, hence, is an illusion.' (2012: 236).

Whilst for some *nativo* residents of Pipa the statue does perhaps speak to a painful reminder of what was lost, thus constituting a symbolic reminder of the distillation of their culture into a fetishised touristic phenomenon of domination, for yet others such as João it constitutes a reminder that neither the agrarian past nor the unknown future are likely to bring comfort and certainty. He avoids the square and statue and refuses to think of the past in general. However, life has not taught him that the future is guaranteed to be kind, and as such it neither is where he locates the possibility of paradise. Instead, paradise for João lies neither in the painful reminder of the colonial past, nor in the future he cannot envisage, but in the possibilities offered by living within an economy that ensures his material conditions in the immediate present. Pipa is paradise because it says it is, and enough other people believe this such that they travel there and contribute to the economy which supports him and his family. Much like for Débora and Volnir, here paradise does not depend on any direct correlation with tropical imagery, but on whether it can support a way of being that seems different enough to either the world outside, memories of suffering, or dreams of a future, to be worth its position as a fantasy.

As such, rather than dictating a single relationship of domination over the land, the statue draws into focus the question of public space and community at the centre of a touristic economy. Whilst João does not feel he can access spaces across the town, whether those especially felt as paradisial or those within which he feels the maelstrom of touristic activity is concentrated, others cling to them. In João's mind they display their dispossession in a thoroughly public fashion. Indeed, as Rancière has it, the production and legitimation of the symbolic community rests on ordering devices such as this, which contribute to the distribution of the sensible. For João, the statue reminds

him to be grateful for the economy which sustains him. It is this he feels in the town square, and this he knows to accept. Power, then, is a 'thing of the senses' (Stewart, 2007: 17); through the aesthetic ordering and constitution of the symbolic community of the town that happens in its square and on its beaches, João does not only *accept* where he fits into the town, but cherishes it as having provided him happiness. Although he is aware that tourism has not been quite so kind to many others, whilst it provides him and his family with the life he wishes it is nonetheless through its presence that he still believes in the possibility of paradise.

João, therefore, does not locate paradise in the past, nor in the future, but as a mode of existence that allows him to survive in the here and now. He does not seek this solace in the surety of the powerful presence of the state, as the tourism it has encouraged has destroyed the livelihoods of many around him. However, nor does his comfort stem from the domination of national imaginaries as the painful conditions of his childhood in a region where colonial patterns of land ownership still ensure poverty for the majority have taught him not to. Indeed, as Dia da Costa notes: 'for the most marginalized citizens among colonized and development subjects, investment in attachment to normative ideals and expectations of fruition have not been conjoined for a long time prior to the neoliberal present' (2016: 12). João expected a life of difficult subsistence living in a small settlement clinging to the coast, but gradually began to experience the possibility of something else as tourism increased its presence in the town. Since this happened, his life has become relatively comfortable and an unexpected paradise has materialised before him.

Indeed, what he knows as paradise is the dominance of capital exchange itself; whilst the money keeps flowing his life will be ok. However, clearly this comfort has not been extended to all. Those that congregate in the town square should provide a visible reminder that while tourism has concentrated great amounts of wealth in the town, a vast proportion of its *nativo* population have been forced out of their homes and livelihoods. Although João is aware of this pattern, by avoiding the square he simply does not look at it and focuses instead on his immediate family via the exigencies of capital. The very concept of a community within paradise is almost a contradiction within an aesthetic order which dictates that only a few will be able to partake in its riches, and so the symbolic whole depends upon the majority being excluded from this space. Not only does João sense that he does not really have a right to the town square as it has been reformulated in service of capital and the tourist industry, but that he is fortunate to have the little that he does, and to simply trust that it will last as long as it lasts. Indeed, that this is what João seeks from paradise tells us a great deal about what it is he can seek within the economies of abandonment (Povinelli, 2011) through which the northeast of Brazil is constructed by its elites, and positions tourism within

such a history rather than as salvation from it. The supremacy of tourism as an economic form, with all its accompanying cruelties and exclusions, is something he cannot question. Instead, what keeps João going is the hope that at least he's been lucky enough that tourism will continue to sustain *him.*

Figure 12 Billboard announcing the decking project with graffiti accusing corruption.

Indeed, João materially inscribes this very understanding into the place itself. There has been discussion from the local municipality for many years surrounding the construction of a decking[41] from where tourists could more simply embark from boats such as João's from where they see dolphins. Whilst this decking has proven very unpopular among many in the town who see it as challenging much of the Edenic essence of nature itself,[42] João understandably prioritises how much it would improve tourist access to his boat. However, he is almost dismissive when I raise the question of the future to him, even in the context of his job. I ask whether the increase in boat

[41] Construction of this decking was abandoned in late 2019 due to increasing resistance from much of the population and concerns from construction workers over the safety of the cliffs nearby (Gama, 2020). In November 2020, the cliffs collapsed, killing a local family in a protracted and tragic incident which made national headlines

[42] See chapter 5.

traffic wouldn't drive the dolphins away, thus meaning he had no job at all.[43] 'The dolphins aren't going anywhere!' he laughs, adding 'besides, even if they do… the tourists will come, at least for a long time yet'. To João, the future is not something to be unduly concerned by. After all, doing so will only bring anxiety. Instead, that tourism materially brings paradise to his life means that taking measures to ensure tourism continues constitutes the only sensible course of action, with the more tourists the better.

Once more, paradise emerges as a vague and shifting hope for something different. Whilst João does not seek access to the touristic or mythical paradises of luxury and ease, and does not expect he will ever access them, the construction of Pipa as paradise nonetheless provides a minimal, limited hope for escape. When situated within colonial histories of dispossession within a region still dominated by landowning structures that demand extreme poverty, the chance of attaining paradise emerges as a powerful force which obscures the possibility of community. Attachments to the possibility of living in paradise come with the unfortunate penalty that this luck will not be extended to all. João's engagement with the town's public space show a commitment to that which might offer the chance for happiness in the face of the knowledge of deep and continued poverty, allowing the tourist industry to function at the expense of all else.

6.6 Conclusion

So, what do we see when we stop assuming paradise is a shallow lie? What knowledge becomes available when we explore the hopes and dreams that people attach to it, not as evidence that people are duped in a way that only the critical eye can reveal, but as a way of exploring the role of such fantasies? In Pipa, the idea of paradise cannot be easily discarded. Amid the changes and anxieties instantiated by a fragile tourist economy caught amid the maelstrom of global financial patterns and issues of fashion, the promise of paradise is, however, threatened. In this chapter I have argued that to understand the way life unfolds amid the uncertainties of living within such a volatile industry, we must understand the role of the fantasies and attachments (Berlant, 2011) that keep people clinging on, surviving, and striving for something.

I have shown that by framing paradise as one such fantasy, its potent promise of escape and difference serves as a locus of affective attachment which contributes to the aesthetic limits through which Pipa's residents make sense of the change which surrounds them. Paradise therefore emerges

[43] Santos Jr. et al., (2006) highlight this as a very real possibility in Pipa. that tourism has provided for him at the expense of the other renders him a subject more amenable to its individualising and erratic demands.

as a uniquely flexible and powerful phenomenon. The intoxicating strength of the idea that there just might be somewhere tangible and material that offers a different life underpins not only residents' capacities for survival, but also their investments in sustaining the presence of the tourist industry. This flexibility is most apparent in the way that residents situate the possibility of paradise not just within their own pasts, presents, and futures, but projected into multiple temporalities deeply enmeshed within the fortunes of tourism and the town it sustains. The individuals shown here all orientate themselves towards temporalities when they most feel that paradise makes sense as a means of anchoring their own lives amid the unsettling deterritorialisations of the tourist economy and in doing so, enact and generate (Stewart, 2010) their own fragile worlds.

This knowledge of paradise, however, is more than merely symbolic. Through their somatic engagement with the town, residents deeply sense whether it is the paradise promised to them by its reputation as such. Certain elements of the varied lives Pipa's tourist industries sustain speak to the possibility of paradise, whilst others conflict with it, compounding or soothing residents' anxieties. As such, the town's built environment and the presence of others within it act as the material basis for the possibility (or not) of difference and escape; paradise thus constitutes the aesthetic limits of the tourist industry within the town. These aesthetic limits do not correspond neatly to a particular form or iteration of space. Indeed, whilst Débora, Volnir, and João all hold *some* relationship to the degree to which the town bears mimetic similarity to the fishing village of its histories, none of them strictly adhere to it as a necessity. Rather, all of them understand what the town's changes mean to their own lives by means of sensing what goes on there. As Débora told us, the town's *vibe*, its energies, how it *feels*, point her towards this constantly shifting, indeterminate question of whether the relationship between her own life and this space called paradise is can go on the way it has.

What emerges strongly from this transfuse, disparate picture of Pipa's future is that for those within it, the question of who else constitutes part of paradise is essential to their own continuation. The things we see that most trouble the aesthetic limits in the town are not whether tourism contributes to a declining presence of nature or whether the town itself is small enough, but the unavoidable presence of the other in the touristic context. The things that give these residents pause to consider whether paradise is possible are the delicate balance between issues such as crime, income, and family in a space which necessitates the arrival and departure of hundreds of thousands of other people every year. Rather than a strict adherence to tropical imageries, paradise is thus located firmly amid a tension within the town's tourist industry of ensuring the continuation of the community's symbolic whole (Rancière, 2004) whilst also responding to the changing demands of

capital. In short, Pipa is paradise whilst its *vibe* still feels different enough from everywhere else, but its tourism provides enough income to sustain.

What we see, then, through the desire to maintain this capacity for difference is a turn to forms of power residents deem necessary to sustain it. Paradise acts as both an affective locus of attachment in the face of change, but also as an element of the aesthetic order through which differing forms of political community are made intelligible within the town. However, what we have seen is that these different communities are difficult to ascertain, and the forms of power to which residents turn to maintain them are varied. Whilst for some the surety of paradise is to be found in the comfort of maintaining the exclusionary elements of Brazilian national imaginaries, for others (racialised) colonial structures of transnational hierarchies of social class yield the same results. For yet others paradise is found within the individualising and indifferent realm of capital exchange. In Pipa, the 'fluid and shifting terrain of social relationality' Vij (2012: 10) therefore points to how we can understand the way attachments to hierarchical social relationships or individualising modes of being emerge from anxiety surrounding change, whilst simultaneously pointing to the way such anxiety is a productive force in its own right, which exceeds the capacity for critique enabled by identarian or solely structural modes of understanding.

By believing in paradise not as a mythical force, whilst also not foreclosing expectations as to the forms and modalities of power it draws upon and enables, residents of Pipa draw upon its promises as a way of anchoring themselves through the changes in the town. Due to the way Pipa's touristic imaginaries draw so publicly upon paradise, it acts as a personal *and* impersonal locus of affective attachment, situated within broader social imaginaries, forms of power, and crucially, relations of class. What we see by following this more fluid and relational approach is a way of beginning to approach the question of what all this affective energy and anxiety does in the town, whilst resisting some of the more universalising tendencies of theories of affect.

As such, rather than try and immediately move paradise aside and approach the town with the keen eye of the critic trying to find what is *really* happening, shitting, as Berlant so deftly notes (2011: 123) on the dreams of those who stake their dreams to a life in paradise, what this chapter has shown is that these dreams form the basis for the formations of multiple paradises through which Pipa is formed. This chapter contributes to the overall claim I make in this thesis that residents' multiple understandings of paradise underpin the formation of both their modes of living together and the production of the inequalities which challenge this. It has drawn on the way that these fantasies emerge from the conditions in which residents live. In doing so, it has shown that rather

than only being impacted by a singular, touristic construct of what paradise means, they hold conflicting and multiple ideas of what paradise means which feature in their production of Pipa as a place. This therefore demonstrates the centrality of these multiple modes of being and knowing both paradise and one another in the entangled production of global/local capital and social interactions in a way which enacts the limits of these modes of power. It has therefore moved the analysis away from the central focus on modes of governance in the previous chapter towards highlighting the divergences and fissures in the way capital and colonial power converge, positioning residents' experiences of negotiating these structures as a key element of their production.

These constructions of paradise therefore appear in Pipa a thread which enables and prohibits ways of being, knowing, and relating to one another within and in excess of the limits the touristic industry and broader political settings provide. Whilst in this chapter these ways of being have been firmly entrenched in hierarchy, at other places it is paradise itself which enables these hierarchies to be overcome. Having therefore established its importance as a productive form of desire and fantasy which sets the aesthetic limits by which affect circulates in the town, I now go on to consider some of the more material ways in which these relations are limited. In the next chapter, I consider the question of such affective attachments in light of tensions over commodification of land.

Chapter 7: Living in Eden

'*The Garden of Eden was a boggy swamp just south of Croydon. You can see it over there*' – Peter Cook in Bedazzled (1967).

Without wishing to cause offence to Croydon: no, Peter, it wasn't.

Pipa, however, is somewhere that prompts many who know it to agree that maybe this is where it could have been. The white sands, warm waters, and palm trees that line its shores give way to a town filled with boutiques and bars, out of which a mix of samba and reggae float through the streets. This, it seems, could be paradise. But why not Croydon?

Throughout this thesis, I explore the idea that some representations make sense in a given place, while others do not. Edenic visions of paradise, like any symbolic representation, are informed by various cultural contexts and meanings (Elliott and Wattanasuwan. 2015). A boggy swamp is not paradise but lying on a perfect beach with dolphins cavorting in the aquamarine sea, as one can in Pipa, seems much closer. The ideas and expectations upon which we base these understandings of tourist destinations have what Kathleen Stewart (2007) calls 'worldmaking' capacities; images such as these create range of understandings we attach to places. These images are produced over a long time, and for many parts of the world, such as the northeast of Brazil, rest on colonial understandings that continue to have productive capacities (Lisle, 2006). These productive capacities render certain areas of the world, such as the tropics, paradisiacal (Power, 2003). Ideas of a tranquil life in nature make more sense as Eden than does Croydon.

As these understandings serve to fix their locations, the people that live in such places must live within them. However, by centralising the productive role of fantasy (Stewart, 2007) the spatial understandings and meanings residents attach to these places co-constitutively produce what is seen as possible. Drawing a useful distinction between tourist spaces as landscapes and places, McWatters (2008) explores how residents experience paradise as a place, with all the messiness that everyday life brings. In this chapter, I engage with the processes of emplacement by which residents engage with paradise and negotiate, resist, and use the subjective and spatial understandings it permits. I explore the productive nature of this process, suggesting that such processes of negotiation enable residents to create new spatial understandings, through which they contribute to what Pipa can possibly mean.

Firstly, I suggest that residents use understandings of paradise to construct a space of 'neoliberal exception' (Ong, 2006), by which I mean they view life in Pipa as fundamentally different from the outside world. I then explore the ways that this difference is affectively mediated and produced through various practices and performances. In doing so, I suggest that Pipa is a space which residents produce as paradise, based on colonially informed understandings of the role of nature. Thirdly, I claim that residents develop certain expectations, due to the utopian desires (Levitas, 1990) with which they imbue paradise, which it is often unable to fulfil. The gap between the paradise that Pipa provides, and residents' expectations underpins my fourth section, in which I explore residents' fears that the reality against which they understand their lives in Pipa may make its way in. Finally, I consider how residents' resistances to the environmental degradation engendered by tourist activity (Kousis, 2000) are constitutive of Pipa's space.

As such, I draw attention to the complex ways in which residents sense and know the paradisiacal affective atmospheres of the town and ask how they sense and know the 'real conditions of emergence for particular neoliberalisms' (Anderson, 2016: 735) in ways which enable neoliberal logics to take hold in localised, yet still recognisable ways. By focusing on the way these logics compel Pipa's residents to attach themselves (Berlant, 2010 to the increasing contradictions of touristic development in ways which contextualise and provide sense to their hierarchies and exclusions, this chapter therefore focuses on the processes through which the town's residents negotiate neoliberal logics. As such, it sheds light not only on the ways in which such logics take hold in the town, but the complex and often contradictory ways in which residents make sense of the structural reasons for their precarity as part of their engagements with neoliberal modes of development, as well as their coping strategies and challenges to these modes of policing in doing so. Therefore, it points to the way that such populations persevere in increasingly chaotic neoliberal worlds (Povinelli, 2011).

To do this, I ask to what extent Pipa's residents happily enrol themselves into the particularly neoliberal demands of dominant developmental settings of paradise and their places within the tourist industry. I consider the ways residents sense and know their experiences of living in paradise and how they reconcile them with the exploitative conditions of its economies, demonstrating that their fantasies and hopes keep them going amid increasingly difficult conditions. However, in doing this I argue that rather than understand these ways of coping as straightforward emergences of neoliberal subjectivities and modes of false consciousness, the heterogeneous and contingent ways they make sense of the town point instead to potential openings and fissures in paradisiacal modes of governance.

7.1 The colonial discovery of Piparadise

Fodor's Travel tells us that 'Praia da Pipa was a small fishing village until it was 'discovered' by surfers in the 1970s. Word of its beauty spread, and it's now one of the most famous and fashionable beach towns in the Northeast' (Fodor's, 2021). This narrative of discovery was repeated to me often, underwriting an understanding of the town that seemed common to tourists and residents. Here, I expand on the idea that Pipa is a special place with 'built-in' qualities of paradise that explain why anyone who experiences it would want to settle there. Throughout this chapter I suggest that tourism's aestheticisation of paradise rests on conflicting views of the continued role of nature, both requiring its presence and commodification. I suggest that these views of nature are foundational to residents' views of Pipa, outlining their colonial origins in the Brazilian context. Finally, I introduce the idea that this natural paradise is seen to give Pipa a mythical status, placing it outside of reality. By exploring the temporal implications of such an understanding, I establish the importance of the 'unreal' to the town.

Seu Barroso, 71, and Benedita, 67, are both long-term residents of Pipa. Native to the area, they have seen Pipa change from the bucolic fishing village of the guide books to the tourist destination it is today, and as such both enjoy explaining the story of Pipa's 'becoming'. Benedita is particularly firm in her conception that 'whoever lives in Pipa can say that they're in paradise!' [19/05/2018, Pipa]. Seu Barroso is a little more circumspect throughout our interview in his assessment of what Pipa has become, but still agrees that 'in reality, Pipa *is* paradise' [10/06/2018]. Both present a view of Pipa as a place so beautiful it has inspired centuries of people to settle the land, forming the underlying basis for the paradise they describe.

> '[Why is Pipa famous?] Oh… it's… to tell the truth I don't know, not… it's Pipa because Pipa was actually discovered by the Portuguese, ok? And… the Portuguese came, they got to know it, they liked it, they thought it was beautiful, they baptised it… after pipa, after a stone that we have on the Praia do Amor… that represents a pipa [a type of barrel]… and that's where it started. From there came tourism, Pipa became… it's like Coca-Cola, just as much as it's got a brand, so does Pipa. It's like we say here… just the same….'

And tells me it is mostly the beauty which brings people to the town:

> ‘Yeah, it is. All this beauty, over here the dunes, over there the Praia do Amor, those cliffs, [the Praia do] Madeiro… here we’ve got the Praia do Centro too, and there’s still jungle too, here inside of Pipa… the trees, so much green… it’s gorgeous, the beauty of Pipa… a wonderful place.’

After the colonialism of the Portuguese, Seu Barroso describes the next significant discovery of the land, that of tourism via the surfers:

> ‘It was tourism. It was… from… it was the surfers who discovered Pipa, more or less in ’72, yep, from ’72 onwards. Then the… the first surfers began to arrive, here… and they went here, there, spreading the word, publicising…. and the people came, the surfers publicising, the international surfers… they were spreading the word, until here we are today in the principal tourist attraction of Rio Grande do Norte, maybe one of the main ones in the…. in the country, right?

And that this tourism was:

> Based on the waves, right? … Because the surfers come because there’s good waves, right? And then following on from there… people began to buy, buy native lands. Yeah… it was just like that…’

Benedita and Seu Barroso both discuss the role of nature in Pipa as that which not only sets the space apart, but which motivates incoming colonialists and tourists to settle there. Their varied understandings of paradise show its malleability and its productivity as a discourse. They present the story of Pipa’s discovery in way that connects what Benedita terms its ‘brand’ to natural qualities that it possesses, specifically its beauty and its waves. This beauty is found in their understandings of colonial and tourist discovery as motivated by rational and obvious desires to be somewhere beautiful. For both residents, Pipa was ‘discovered’ in colonial times, which is when its history seemingly starts, and it seems nobody lived there beforehand. The treatment of tourism and colonialism by these residents progresses from the same logic: they are not fundamentally different processes. Instead, they are both processes that rest on an idea of discovering this beauty and presenting it as paradise. They understand Pipa’s history as one of discovery of certain intrinsic, paradisiacal, qualities.

However, although both frame their understanding of Pipa as paradise through its abundant natural beauty, there is an acceptance that Pipa's continual paradisiacal status is not solely due to its capacity for an Arcadian life of harmony with nature. Indeed, both Benedita and Seu Barroso present a Pipa that is changing, seemingly framing this through the role of capital. Benedita draws comparison between Pipa and Coca-Cola, a 'brand' that has its own symbolic meanings, while Seu Barroso understands the value of Pipa through its commodified capacity to attract tourists. I will return later to the implications of this association of Pipa with the capacity for accumulation, but for now what I illustrate is the way that both of my respondents view paradise as a shifting symbolic entity. Although nature is important, Pipa has taken on a meaning of its own that goes beyond a pastoral view of paradise. Although both Benedita and Seu Barroso still suggest they do reside in paradise, this is not an unoccupied Eden, nor does it need to be. What it has become, however, through its branded identity, is separate from the outside world.

As discussed in Chapter 2, there is a particular association of tropical locations with paradise due to their relationship with nature, and that these imaginaries are colonially informed. Returning to the view I take in this thesis that tourism is a worldmaking device, building on colonial imaginaries such as these to enable the production of neoliberal governmental rationalities, I will briefly now locate these understandings in the Brazilian context. A full exploration of the importance of nature in the history of Brazil's self-image is outside the bounds of this thesis, so for now I will focus on two facets that are particularly relevant to this framing of tourism in Pipa. Firstly, there is the strand of 'tropical pride' (Oliveira, 1990) wherein an understanding of Brazil's greatness comes to be through its verdant nature built on the themes of colonial 'discovery' which lie at the heart of national myths. This can be seen in Benedita's poetic description of Pipa's appeal, dwelling as she does on the persisting presence of jungle within its bounds. In emphasising this, Benedita understands the wildness of the jungle as playing an integral part of what makes Pipa attractive, mirroring visions of Brazil's wildness as part of its status as Edenic paradise (Slater, 2001). Secondly, the presence of a modernist positivism, which understands Brazil's relationship with nature differently. In this conception, Brazil is in possession of a unique gift of natural resources, which should be used to further the condition of its people (Adler, 1987). Whilst Seu Barroso does not advocate the destruction of Pipa's natural resources, he understands the town's importance in the context of the consumption of its natural resources. Although both of these conceptions of the role of nature can be found in residents' perceptions of paradise, this is not a necessarily comfortable relationship. After all, building Pipa's appeal on possessing great natural beauty does not allow space for finite natural resources to be consumed. I return to this problem shortly, suggesting that it underpins many of the conflicts, tensions, and practices found in residents'

relationships with paradise. For now, I simply express that to many residents, Pipa is special because of its nature; whether nature is to be used up or retained, Pipa's relationship with nature renders it a space apart.

In addition, many places around the world are beautiful. Rather, understandings of time, as well as beauty, contained in paradise discourses take residents' understandings of Pipa from the realm of just special to the sphere of the unreal. This marks Pipa as a space truly removed from the concerns of the outside. Paradise is not generally thought of as a space down the road, but as 'inaccessible to living people, and… outside ordinary human time' (Scafi, 2013: 13). Indeed, much of the touristic appeal of paradisiacal locales rests on this assumption. Strachan's (2000) description of paradise as a 'myth-reality' is a useful way of framing this understanding. The myth of paradise and everyday lived experiences coalesce. There is a temporal implication here: the mythic aspects of paradise render it eternal, and outside of human experience, but exogenous development (or reality) has nonetheless contributed to what Pipa is today.

When Benedita suggests that Pipa 'became' its 'brand', therefore, there are understandings of how simultaneous times work in paradise: its eternal, natural, mythic appeal, and the arrival of outsiders have both contributed to what Pipa is today. Paradise, after all, is both in the past and in the hope of the future (Wood, 1997). The importance of both of these forms of time to what paradise currently is suggests a coevalness (Fabian, 2002 [1983]) in the way residents frame Pipa's temporalities. When Benedita suggests that Pipa 'became' what it is today, she seems to view its intrinsic beauty as important to its 'brand' as any contribution from colonialists or tourists. Both its paradisiacal status, which renders it outside of 'ordinary time' and its exogenously prompted changes have contributed to make it what it is today. Seu Barroso's recognition that 'native lands' were bought up in this process shows a subjective, lived understanding of this history. He does not merely subsume the role of locals but describes a process of displacement that he understands as central to Pipa's brand identity. The centrality of this lived history to Pipa's current status prevents him from viewing Pipa through a narrative of linear progress, problematising the straightforward history of capital. To be paradise, it is required to be situated at least partially outside of this time, its continued mythic status depends on it.

Therefore, we see that residents understand Pipa as paradise based on its being outside of reality. The role of nature is intrinsic to its existence as paradise, and its continued paradisiacal status rests on its continued natural abundance. This is different to the world outside; Pipa is, therefore, a social geography that delineates a spatialised and temporalised understanding of Pipa as unreal. In this

chapter I will use the distinctions I have drawn here, between the role of nature as eternal or commodified, and the way that time is seen differently to underpin what I suggest are residents' understandings of Pipa as outside of reality. I will now explore how this understanding of the unreal permeates and is constructed through residents' everyday performances and practices to orientate their understandings of life in a space apart.

7.2 Everyday practice of paradise

The idea that living in paradise is a qualitatively different experience is summed up by the responses I received when asking respondents why they had moved to Pipa. José Fernando is a chef who had lived in Pipa for a year when I spoke to him, having moved from Aracaju, a Northeastern state capital about ten hours' drive away. He explained to me simply that he had wanted to 'live more', as in the city you can't' [13/04/2018, Pipa]. This attitude was common in the town, begging the question of what is meant by 'more' in terms of life.

Having explored residents' understandings of Pipa as a space of exception based in nature, I will now consider what this means to the everyday life of residents, and the idea that they are able to access 'more' of it than those outside. The form of everyday life in Pipa is seen as markedly different. Living in paradise is known to be different from the real world due to the way leisure permeates every aspect; paradise is affective. However, this is not a passive process, paradise is in fact a practice of the everyday, a reordering of the demands of life. Pipa, due to its paradisiacal natural abundance, is seen to provide a space for this to happen. I expand on my claim above that such understandings are rooted in colonial and neoliberal technologies of government, suggesting that residents enact their understandings of paradise as a space apart to create a space of 'neoliberal exception' (Ong, 2006) wherein they understand their lives as special. These claims are rooted in the capacity for paradise to provide a life that eschews the structures of the world outside.

Encapsulating what many residents seem to be in search of when they plan to move to paradise is Ryan, 18, a *nativo* surf teacher who describes life in Pipa thus:

'It's amazing, for me it's everything, Pipa is life. It's a style of life, it's a style of everything… nature, the sea… a style of life, a really cool style Pipa, it's cool, it's vibes… it's a privilege, it's really paradise. You can be sure of that' [17/05/2018, Pipa]

When I ask him what he does with his time in Pipa:

> ‘Ah.. yeah… my free time is all the time because my work is what I do for fun. It’s surfing, I work with surfing, but when I’m not giving a lesson I’m surfing anyway. And yeah… I stay, even at the school I’m surfing, if I see a person hanging around and they look at the school I’ll go there and teach them, we have a chat… it’s like that’

Ryan’s ‘style of life’ in Pipa is therefore one he views as far removed from the reality of life outside. He is aware that the joy he experiences every day at work is not the norm and feels privileged to live this way. He views Pipa as a paradisiacal space apart, which is responsible for his capacity to enjoy himself so much each day. As such, he presents Pipa as a space where making a distinction between labour and leisure is unnecessary. In doing so, and demarcating this space as one of privilege, he further cements the idea of paradise as a fantastical space apart, not subject to the ordinary forces of the world outside. Pipa is distinctly not part of the everyday as normally understood. As such, Ryan cements the idea that paradise, situated outside of normal space/time, disrupts the distinction between Lefebvre’s spaces of labour and spaces of leisure (1991). Paradise provides a space of well-being, removed from the alienating processes of labour and consumption found in the world outside. Ryan seems to echo Lefebvre’s understanding of the way the beach can lead to happiness, as when the body’s enjoyment of the beach happens through the senses it behaves ‘as a *total* body, breaking out of the temporal and spatial shell’ (Lefebvre, 1991: 385 [italics in original]). In this sense, paradise offers a space where one’s labour and leisure are not experienced in differently demarcated spaces and times. Pipa is seen to provide the possibility of ‘the creation of new situations from desire and enjoyment’ (Simonsen, 2005: 11) via the body as a site of difference. Such a space would offer a counter to reality, ‘formulated against forces of homogenization, fragmentation, and the hierarchical organized power’ (Ibid.). As such, Ryan proposes an understanding of Pipa as a place which does not demand the alienation that such divisions of space produce. That somewhere paradisiacal, outside the normal understanding of space and time, is required to live in such totality, suggests this is seen as the domain of the unreal. As such, Pipa represents a spatial division from the outside due to the quality of life it enables.[44]

This attitude is even paralleled by residents who have a job which does not happen to be their hobby. Armando, 47, is a pousada (guesthouse) owner. An American, he’s lived in Pipa for over ten years. Whilst he is reticent to agree that Pipa is paradise due to issues with crime and

[44] I do not claim that Pipa is, in fact, such a space. As seen in chapter 7 the commodification of this enjoyment is evident. Indeed, as Simonsen suggests, ‘continuous dis-alienation would be an impossible, utopian condition’ (2005: 3). I am instead using Ryan’s example as an ideal type to show what living in paradise is seen to make possible.

infrastructure he identifies, he subscribes to this notion of the unreal and describes his life in Pipa as 'not a real life' [21/06/2018]:

> 'It's not, because I live here [gesture to indicate the pousada], so I just… I don't have to deal with a lot of pain in the ass things that people have to deal with, like paying… I have to pay a lot of bills, but I pay through the company, but…'

I ask if anything compensates for problems he faces:

> 'Sure! I mean like I said going down to the beach and taking a left and being in the Baia dos Golfinhos… the weather, obviously, I mean, no, there's plenty of good, that's why I live here, because the good outweighs the bad, sure, no I'm not saying that I'd rather go back to London… or Chicago, and try to make a living. Um… so, uh… yeah. The good outweighs the bad. Yeah.'

In highlighting the way that being in Pipa feels, Armando's understanding of what living in paradise means rests on its affective qualities. The hot weather and the perceived therapeutic effects of living by the sea (Bell et al., 2015) suggest a space where even the alienating effects of labour, expressed here as the stress of paying bills for his pousada, are minimised. Living among nature, and the particular way this feels, seems to negate these stresses, and Pipa's qualities, identified above, underwrite this understanding. The way that Pipa feels is what makes life here preferable to '[making] a living' in cities of the global north. He makes a comparison between the role of his labour in his life in the global north and in paradise. Armando's understanding of the preferability of everyday life in the midst of this tropical abundance of nature thus rests on a view of the ease of life in the tropics. Life here, as I have suggested, is not real, and even when the trappings of modernity do make their way in to this space, the affective and aesthetic materiality of tropical nature oppose their effects.

Moreover, this enjoyment of paradise is not simply understood as a passive process but contains both performative and practice-based elements. At various points through my time in Pipa, the way life feels 'freer' there was framed to me through clothing. Indeed, this was something I felt the effect of myself, noting a marked difference in the way I dressed through my time there. In much of Brazil there is a gendered and racialised expectation of a specific performance of beauty. Indeed, Jarrín uses the phrase 'cosmetic citizenship' to describe the way colonial understandings of 'miscgenation' as a eugenicist and classist practice are repeatedly inscribed upon the body through

the expectation of cosmetic beauty (2010: 4; Edmonson, 2007). However, in Pipa, this understanding is actively challenged as part of the marker of what makes life different. Instead there is a demand for the natural. Experiencing this, I gradually abandoned the makeup and special 'going out' clothing I otherwise use in such situations. Instead I found myself using the same battered shorts, vest tops, and sandals for everything I was doing. What I was finding was explained thus: 'The girls like it, right? They can just go to work in the same sandals and shorts they wore to the beach. It's easier, more relaxed. There's a bit more freedom.' [Marissa, 21/12/2018].[45]

I noticed this most keenly on New Year's Eve. This is one of the most important nights of the year in Pipa's touristic calendar, with tens of thousands of visitors congregating there. A Brazilian tradition for this night is to wear white, the effect of which is striking on the hordes of people threading their way through the streets to watch the fireworks on the beach.[46] However, the tendency of Pipa's residents to wear the same 'relaxed' clothing for everything seemed to largely override this tradition. Whilst making our way through the crowd, Valentino pointed out: 'You can really tell who are the *moradores* [residents], can't you? Just wearing sandals and shorts like normal'. I looked around and realised he was right. Amongst the almost ethereal sea of white, only faces I recognised were wandering around in their normal clothing.

It is clear that this clothing has almost taken on the status of a uniform in the town as shown by its acceptability in places of work. It has an aesthetic and affective impact; affective from the feeling that life is more relaxed, creating an aesthetic impression that one has subscribed to the life of ease a paradisiacal space can bring. Residents are embodying the choice of a life which does not require alienation from their labour in a way life outside would suggest, with requirements for smart clothing for work, or makeup for going out. Lucia Ruggerone (2017) ascribes an affective dimension to clothing choice:

> 'something that will open up or close down for me possibilities of becoming, of immersing in the flow of worldly practices more or less easily…depending on a series of affects that I cannot anticipate, but might come to consciously perceive in the form of positive or negative emotions' (585).

That residents of Pipa feel more ease in their clothing choice therefore illustrates an affective dimension that I argue contributes to their understanding of the town as paradise. They simply feel,

[45] Although Marissa's phrasing suggests this performativity is gendered, the underlying basis of relaxed clothing does not rest solely on women.

[46] These traditions, especially characteristic of Rio de Janeiro's New Year's Eve, come from the Afrobrazilian religion, Candomblé (Melo et al., 2019). This is widely unacknowledged throughout most of the country.

as Marissa suggests, more relaxed. Pipa is a space that calls for relaxed clothing, there is almost a negative emotional outcome from wearing clothes deemed too 'fancy' for the town's residents, which, as Ruggerone suggests may happen through the 'wrong' clothing choice. I certainly felt out of place when I used clothes that did not fit this remit; they demarcate a tourist rather than someone who has elected to live in paradise, a distinction I return to shortly. It is seen as important to indicate a wholesale rejection of the outside world through your embodied choices, to position yourself firmly among the unreal. The aesthetic embodied effect of a life in paradise is therefore one informed by the materiality of Pipa's intrinsic natural qualities, but also one that has social implications.

I suggest these implications are as follows: by centralising the capacity of paradise to allow physical space for a life not ordered by market demands, residents create a community of exception. Their subjective understandings of their lives as different from outside, as residents of paradise, lead them to interact with the space in a way that physically marks them as different. As such, they are staking their claim to paradise and strengthening aesthetic and spatial understandings of its inherent difference from the world outside.

Overall, life in paradise is felt by the residents. The understandings of Pipa as a space apart outlined above are reflected through, and created by, embodied practices which reject the restrictions of life in the outside world. Pipa is so attractive as a space not just because it is extremely pretty, but because it allows one to escape the demands of real life. Therefore, residents demonstrate the meaning of living in paradise as a rejection of the everyday through the creation of a new everyday, one understood through affective elements. This is why Ryan suggests living in Pipa is a privilege, it is not necessarily through the relative wealth of tourism, but through the creation of a space where a rejection of these matters is able to occur. However, as I will now explore, whilst the idea of paradise is reinforced and created as an everyday practice, able to allow for this life of tranquility, the concept of the 'good life' that paradise instills generates tensions which threaten its mythic status.

7.2.1 Modernising drives in paradise

Despite the performative aspects of paradise as an everyday practice I have outlined above, the idea of whether the lifestyle Pipa promises truly has the capacity to create happiness is continually challenged. In this section, I suggest that understanding their lives as paradisiacal can lead residents to a politics of hope. Building on conceptions of difference between paradise and utopia, I suggest

that the spatialised aesthetics of paradise explored above promise a limited capacity for well-being that frustrates many residents. Psychological research identifies two broader conceptions in lay understandings of well-being, namely the 'hedonic (e.g. the experience of pleasure) and eudaimonic (e.g. the experience of meaning)' (McMahan and Estes, 2011: 93). Exploring residents' idea of well-being helps us understand their subjective encounters with Pipa, framed through utopian understandings of what the space should provide. In doing so, their understandings of the town problematise the promises of the good life that the fixed, aesthetic nature of paradise provides. Therefore, I suggest that although paradise and utopia are both in the territory of the unreal, Pipa's focus on hedonic pleasure frustrates its utopian potential, thus bringing paradise closer to the territory of the real.

Igor, 34, works in a hostel in town, having moved to Pipa two years ago to try and sell his art. At first, he was a holidaymaker, but ended up staying on after his friends left, a decision he explains like so: 'with my work I realised that I could just stay… so I chose this… pleasant life, lots of surfing, which is my sport, with lots of work.' [31/05/2018, Pipa]. When he left his city in Alagoas, a nearby state, to pursue this 'pleasant life' he had been completing a law degree. After some time in Pipa he realised he would like to take this up again, but due to a lack of educational facilities in the area he was unable to. This has left him somewhat negative about the possibility of genuine happiness derived solely from a life spent at leisure in contact with nature, despite the motives for his move.

> 'I don't think anything compensates for a lack of education. Nothing, not the natural beauty, not even that compensates a lack of education. But I think that the people have this false illusion of happiness… hmmm, not to say that they can't be happy, to live in contact with nature **is** happiness… it's.. lots of happiness, and, and brings health as well, and brings a sort of truth to people's lives. But I don't think anything really compensates for a lack of education.' [31/05/2018, Pipa]

And

> 'they're really… the people… to live in a tropical place, I think there could be a false…. compensation, or that there really exists happiness… but it's not clear. I think there's definitely ways to improve.'

The tensions Igor highlight can be framed twofold: firstly, on a subjective level, he thinks that true happiness requires more than nature, and secondly, a place which does not provide for this happiness, whilst potentially paradisiacal, is not a utopia. Having discussed earlier the idea of colonially informed, Edenic ideas of natural abundance, I suggest a difference to utopia, which carries implications of human planning. Therefore, firstly, although Igor moved to Pipa to experience a life in which he could combine his leisure and his labour, as Ryan extolls the virtues of above, he soon found that simply this did not bring the happiness he was expecting. Simply existing in nature, for Igor, does not bring happiness, but is rather a 'false illusion'. Instead, it is necessary to have access to the sort of pleasure gained from education. Igor suggests that the Aristotelean eudaimonic capacity for flourishing engendered by education is necessary to achieve well-being. However, provision of education, and its importance to the ability to live the good life, does not play a central role in the idea of paradise as an affectively experienced space of beauty we see above. Therefore, Igor questions whether this idea of paradise alone can fulfil the expectations he had when moving to Pipa, undermining his previously held view of paradise as entirely positive. Secondly, by questioning the capacity for such a paradisiacal 'tropical place' to provide happiness, he questions the truth of the idea of Pipa's capacity to provide happiness through its beauty.

As I show above, this understanding of Pipa is created and reinforced by residents' creation of a new aesthetic of the everyday, one they view as removed from the embodied demands of capital. However, although Pipa represents a space in which it is possible to unite one's labour with one's leisure, Igor does not view it as capable of doing more than this, thus limiting its capacity to provide space for eudaimonic well-being. To understand Igor's perspective, I draw on this division between ideas of paradise and ideas of utopia; his dissatisfaction with Pipa rests on his desire for education, a factor that ultimately relies on human planning. Therefore, Igor's view of paradise rests on his wish to see a better society, one built not only on the tranquility of tropical nature, but that has an element of human involvement. As Levitas suggests, desire is the central element of utopian thinking (1990: 151), and Igor passionately expresses his desire to better the conditions of Pipa's residents through education. When he moved to Pipa, he had hoped for a life in paradise, but that the everyday reality of the town is not able to fulfil this utopian desire problematised his hope. This shows a social will, which, as Celso Furtado suggests (2004) is the realm of development thinking: a political will to ensure sure that growth progresses in a way that benefits society, or perhaps, in a way that provides space for eudaimonic well-being. Igor's understanding here could be seen as a wish to abandon paradise and introduce a planned utopia.

However, Igor's rapid about-turn to consider the necessity of hedonic pleasure in his conception of happiness shows a temporal understanding that negates these ideas as illustrating a desire for linear progress. Although his impression of Pipa's capacity to provide well-being includes this political will, it does not rest on this alone. Despite a degree of frustration with Pipa, he comes back to the idea of it being a space that provides happiness due to its relationship with nature. Indeed, paradise encapsulates these functions. Levitas argues that many paradise myths close such 'scarcity [gaps] through the assertion that true needs are limited' (1990: 223). Igor goes further in his revision, claiming that nature 'brings a sort of truth to people's lives' [31/05/2018, Pipa]. In doing so, he elevates his understanding of well-being and happiness from nature to the same level as that of education, both, after all, provide meaning. The role he assigns to nature is not one of 'resources' out of which we 'make the most' (Escobar, 1996: 329), but of a crucial source of happiness. Therefore, although he views the aesthetic paradise I outline above as limiting and incomplete, he views the vision it offers as part of the utopia he desires. Indeed, his understanding is instead that the existence of paradisial and utopian modes are necessary to ensure the quality of life promised by development. As such, he does not view the provision of education as complicating Pipa's brand, or status as natural paradise, but a co-constitutive element which it requires to truly achieve the status it suggests.

His view is supported by Seu Barroso, who despite viewing Pipa's capacity to provide well-being as closer to its eudaimonic conception since the arrival of tourism, displays a hybrid understanding of time. In doing so, he supports the view that material improvements do not unequivocally lead to advocating for 'progress'. He suggests that in terms of 'tranquillity? [He] would prefer the Pipa of [his] childhood', but that he is able to 'live fifty times more' [10/06/2018, Pipa] since the economic situation has improved. Although this suggests more sympathy for Pipa's utopian potential since the arrival of tourism-based development, he does not view this as uncritically positive. Instead, his understanding of Pipa illustrates simultaneous regret and satisfaction. Moving towards the functioning society that development seems to promise has already resulted in the loss of tranquillity and thus cannot be viewed as straightforward progress. Moreover, as both paradise and utopia exist outside of space/time, this does not necessarily challenge his view of Pipa as a space apart. As is widely quoted, More's neologism 'Utopia' is polysemic, with implications of both u-topos 'no place' and eu-topos 'happy place' (Kumar, 1987). As such, relying on the understandings we have seen so far of Pipa as a special place, with paradisiacal and utopian elements as both conflicting and co-constitutive, Seu Barroso's understanding of temporality is hybrid. As we have seen above, these understandings of Pipa as conceived of multiple and dynamic temporalities do not complicate nor refute the idea of Pipa as paradise. Instead, I wish to highlight the simultaneous

desire and valorisation of both utopia and paradise. That both of these ideas refer to a space/time outside of normal human grasp does not complicate the idea of Pipa occupying such a space, or the idea that it should do. Instead, I suggest that residents construct their space of exceptionalism on a politics of hope through which they frame their subjective understandings of life in paradise. There is a dialogical process implied here, through which residents constantly negotiate and problematise their understandings of paradise and the world outside.

Therefore, we see that although Pipa's status as paradise is primarily understood as affective, the utopian desires of its residents illustrate that this aesthetic construction is not sufficient for well-being. However, by rooting their understanding of Pipa's capacity for 'specialness' simultaneously in its embeddedness in nature and its ability to provide a better quality of life, residents challenge temporal understandings of progress. Pipa's status as a space apart which occupies the unreal therefore rests on a hybrid, and often conflicting, understanding of a productive tension between paradise and utopia. Instead, I suggest that these simultaneous desires, not contradictory in the minds of residents, begin to show a slippage in the mask of paradise. As I explore in the next section, the inability of paradise to guarantee the good life begins to bring it back towards the real, resulting in fear and doubt for many residents.

7.3 Back to paradise

As residents' understanding of life in the unreal is predicated largely on the affective difference to quality of life that a life based in nature is able to give, this section explores the fear that I propose is both an outcome and constitutive of this view. Residents experience fear of the loss of Pipa as a paradisiacal space of the unreal, and furthermore construct their views of Pipa as opposing reality on the basis of its ability to assuage such fears. In this section, I explore the way the temporal implications of encroaching reality are spatialised through residents' subjective knowledges and embodied experiences, (re)producing their ideas of Pipa as a space of exception.

One such fear is that of the rapid erosion of Pipa's greenery, which underpins much concern for the future of the town. Joamir, 55, is the manager of the town's wildlife sanctuary. The sanctuary is a privately-owned space situated on the cliffs north of Pipa. Its greenery runs along the top of some of its beaches and lines the road in to the town. He dwells somewhat sardonically and wistfully on the idea of paradise: 'Paradise? It's done… it's over…' He's lived in Pipa for nearly thirty years, working hard to establish the sanctuary in the form of 'young jungle, a little more than thirty years' in area that was 'cattle ranching, everything was cut, there were crops of corn, of cassava, potato…' [20/06/2018, Pipa]. He's keen to note that it was not the sanctuary that brought

this idea of preservation to the town, identifying an area of the jungle that was already given over to community wood supplies. The sanctuary was supposed to add to this existing method of preservation, but now he suggests:

> 'No, the beauty… the part above the Baia dos Golfinhos, and the Praia do Madeiro, that we have here, the sanctuary, will stay for all the generations, it's a work that… breathes, yes… but the whole region? No. Here's going to be an island in a few years, an island of jungle, all buildings…'
> 'It is [protected], but the majority isn't. Right? Here is going to end up an island… on the other side there's Pipa Natureza which is a condominium, all over there's going to have construction, all condominium, all buildings…'

Joamir's metaphor of an island shows a fear based on a spatial understanding of the erosion of the lived experience of tranquillity in nature that Pipa promises. He already lives in the sanctuary and thus 'stays a bit more outside, a refugee'. Joamir's paradise has already gone, now he views the sanctuary as a refuge to which he has fled. Although he claims his refugee status ironically, this subjective fear of displacement can be viewed as the way he frames his relationship with Pipa. He, like Ryan and Armando above, seems to root the capacity for an affectively experienced 'life' I have identified above in the presence of nature; to Joamir the trees 'breathe' life, and their presence is what meant that Pipa used to be paradise. Living 'in' life in this way is what made Pipa paradise, keeping it, as I suggest, outside of reality, and he's had to retreat to the sanctuary to continue the lifestyle he enjoyed.[47] Although the sanctuary, a green space, offers him the same closeness with nature he used to enjoy in the town, he understands that he is only able to enjoy this due to the existence of protected, physically bounded space that reality, in the form of buildings, is unable to reach.

[47] I relate this idea of movement to the context of mobilities in chapter 8.

Figure 13 An area of recently deforested land cleared to build a shopping centre.

Although Joamir appears to believe that reality has already arrived in Pipa, he still frames his understanding through the fear that it will keep coming. Taking Pipa from a total space, a paradise that lies in opposition to reality, to a fragmented space which still has elements of the nature on which its paradisiacal status rests, will cause it to 'fall'. Reality will come flooding in in the form of the segregated spaces found in the rest of Brazil. Teresa Caldeira explores the growing incidence of fortified enclaves in São Paulo. Fears surrounding securitisation drive the construction of physically bounded spaces which serve to keep social classes physically close but experientially separate (1996: 286). That such spaces can be found throughout most of urban Brazil can be seen as a defining hallmark of the organisation of contemporary public life. Pipa, he fears, is heading in this direction, moving from somewhere that provides the capacity to exist in nature, to somewhere where nature is kept in a limited place. As Young and Markham suggest, the delineation of areas such as the sanctuary can be seen as an individuating effort to 'control access and movement through privatisation, [and] that these rights are enforceable through physical separation, surveillance, and policing' (2020: 11). Joamir, however, seems to view such individuation as necessary in this instance. In doing so, he stakes it as a space wherein he is able to resist the proliferating privatisation of the rest of the town through the buildings springing up all around. Although he has already retreated to his literal sanctuary, he still fears this total segregation through the possibility it could take Pipa fully away from the space I describe above. Instead of being this 'unreal' space in which the life that paradise promises can be realised, Pipa will become a space of the 'real', into which the demands and challenges of modernity will make their way.

Indeed, underpinning many understandings of what makes Pipa different is the current lack of fear found in daily life there, and the corresponding lack of segregation this allows. Although Joamir has already consigned Pipa to part of reality, many residents still consider it paradise due to their capacity to exist freely in its spaces. Micaela, 34, sells coconuts by the road outside her house, and is effusive in her understanding of Pipa's capacity to provide 'life' to her, in both the metaphorical sense I already explore, and also with a more literal understanding:

> 'You can walk in the street, pass by whatever time you like, midnight, one, like lots of people pass here, passing here at two in the morning, nothing happens. You don't have this business of rape, you don't have this business of death, there's nothing… Despite them saying: 'Pipa is a place', like I've already heard, 'Pipa is a place that has lots of drugs, lots of thugs…' No man! Everywhere has thugs, everywhere has drugs! Right? Here you can live outside of this! If it happens, it happens between them, they kill themselves. Like already happened with the deaths here, people that were involved in drugs, people that drank… it never happens here in the northeast with good people, family people, never! Just them.' [14/12/2018, Pipa]

Micaela's gendered and embodied understanding of Pipa's spatiality is interesting from two perspectives: firstly, her affectively experienced understanding of total use of the space appears to be her basis for her understanding of its difference, and secondly, the way she constructs her view of the place excludes the danger she admits is present. As such, although she frames her subjective experience of Pipa through fear, Micaela focusses on the lack thereof. Moreover, she uses this lack to construct an understanding of her surroundings that makes her different from those that live outside; here she does not live in fear of rape or death. Her suggestion that this is different from the outside thus takes Pipa away from everyday life in the rest of Brazil, where gendered violence is a common occurrence (Meneghel and Hirakata, 2011). As such, she uses Pipa's status as an 'unreal', i.e. not real, paradise to explain her personal feelings of security. However, she acknowledges that such occurrences do happen within Pipa's boundaries, and as such she has constructed an understanding of this affective dimension of paradise that rests on the creation of a community that does not include such elements. This understanding can be contextualised by the larger, spatialised Brazilian 'construction of an imaginary in which the delinquent is always an 'other'… that obstructs the good progress of society' (Cioccari and Persichetti, 2018: 62).[48] Much like in this

[48] Imaginaries such as this played a large role in the 2018 election of Jair Bolsonaro, whose constant referral to the '*cidadão de bem'* helped emphasise subjective, self-referential divisions in Brazilian society between 'upstanding citizens' and the bandidos Micaela describes. See Mellis (2019).

view, Micaela's thugs do not form part of society, however, her understanding of the outside world is of one in which they inescapably do. As such, her experience of being able to use the space in its entirety, without the fear that public space gives in the world outside, allows her to believe she lives a different life in a differentiated, not entirely real, place.[77]

Whilst Micaela's gendered view of her ability to use the space takes her to a different conclusion to Joamir, both are motivated by an understanding of the role of full access to public space, and both frame these experiences through an affective relationship to fear. If, as Anderson suggests 'once paradise is inhabited it ceases to be paradise and enters history' (in Kane, 2010: 212), residents construct a view of paradise that is not seen to be inhabited, at least not in the way that the world outside is. That is, a place that allows for a total enjoyment of its space in a way that one cannot experience in normal life, due to the spatial segregation which takes us away from nature, and the violence that this modern reality brings. As such, paradise here is an affectively experienced and constructed space that can only exist when it occupies somewhere in Santos' non-hegemonic representation of time. Entering into the hegemonic time of reality can be considered the basis both of Joamir's fear of displacement, and the fear that underpins Micaela's community of 'good'.

In the next section I return to the role that tourism occupies in this formulation. I suggest that such fears belie a tension in paradise which emerges from these attachments to life outside of reality as something realised through the way Pipa is realised through the touristic space of capital. Joamir's understanding of who is to blame for this destruction of nature will help here: 'The problems come from the capitalist impresarios, that come and work five, ten years… and come and ruin another beach' [20/06/2018, Pipa].

7.4 Placing Pipa

How, then, to make sense of the tensions and conflicts produced by the arrival of the 'real' into residents' paradisiacal place? The tensions produced by the seeming paradox of tourism's supposed capacity to ensure a globalised development based, in this instance, on the tourist commodification of nature (Devine and Ojeda, 2017), and the simultaneous continuation of paradise act as a productive site of politics. In emplacing paradise this way, we can see how it acts as a locus around which residents enact, negotiate, and resist the ideal life it promises. As such, examining the way in which tensions emerge through their views of Pipa's 'placeness', and the micro-practices such views enable and are enabled by, reveals the slippages and gaps inherent in the development of paradise. To explore this, I look at two different spatially mediated protests in Pipa.

One of Pipa's principal tourist attractions is a clifftop called Chapadão. As I will explore, Chapadão is a site in which the different logics underpinning the aestheticized commodification of paradise conflict, and as such has been the site of political conflict in Pipa. As one of Pipa's principal beauty spots, and an area of environmental protection, it is a space enjoyed by residents and tourists alike. This can be seen by the near constant stream of both tourist and resident vehicles in the daytime, to the groups of young people who group there and drink beers at the full moon. However, such high levels of traffic have resulted in a serious threat to its structural integrity. The local authority, with this concern as their principal justification, elected to build a wall along a stretch at its southern end in January 2018.

The response has been fierce. Micaela explains her opposition:

> 'It's outrageous! Because there is nature, it's everyone's, it's the people's. It belongs to everyone! There isn't an owner … it won't close, it can't be closed, the people won't let it. It's outrageous, paying admission for Chapadão. Now… they want to shut it to heavy cars, to the little tractors, to buses, to not mess with the structure of Chapadão there… that's all fine! But they want… so the people can't look at Pipa's beauty? Can't go there and drink a coconut? Outrageous.'

Although many residents support the idea of limiting traffic to the site for the reasons cited above, there was no real public consultation as to the form this should take. Subsequently, protests were organised to prevent the authority's diggers from working, with residents forming physical barriers in the form of human chains. As such, the project seems to have been put on hold, with the large piles of stone intended for construction still laying there, over a year on at the time of writing. Large stones have been taken out of the pile by protestors and used to spell 'NO WALL' [*MURO NÃO*] on the floor in front of its intended site. On a nearby fence someone has spray-painted anti-capitalist graffiti.

Figure 14 A tourist jeep stopping to photograph Chapadão's abandoned wall.

However, the protests themselves were somewhat underwhelming, and despite the intense opposition clearly felt by so many residents through the way conversation about this issue spread like wildfire through the town, this energy did not carry itself into the sort of angry mobilisation suggested by the idea of protest. Instead, at the top of the cliffs a group of about fifteen residents, largely *nativo* community organisers and local business owners stood awkwardly around, chanting at points 'no to the wall.' The majority of their concern seemed orientated towards indicating that there was objection to the proposed plans, which as one protestor told me were only to enable the council to sell more of the land to big hotel chains. The quietness and disjointedness which were palpable in the air did not carry any frenzied energy. As such, it is evident that Micaela's attitude towards the protection of Chapadão from encroaching enclosure necessitated by tourism (Young and Markham, 2020) sits in an awkward place of contestation. There is opposition, clearly. However, Micaela told me of stories from the first protest against businesses on Chapadão which she thought were about twenty years ago: 'Someone brought a machete! We've known it's our land forever, it's too far, we're still angry about it…' The contrast between such anger then and the far more subdued opposition now points to the way residents still do not accept wholesale the demand that they submit to the demands of a tourist industry which they remain acutely aware does not distribute profits to the population. They remain attached to an idea of Pipa as a space enjoyed by others but loved and lived in by them.

I return to the fear of spatial fragmentation I outline above, using it to explore the tension between an aesthetically fixed paradise and a space of growth. Similarly, this opposition is felt as an affective fear. Micaela fears not being able to use Chapadão for the recreational purposes she feels, as a resident, she has a right to. She seems to embed this right in her perception of her subjectivity: she is a resident of this unreal place, Pipa, and as such, its spaces form part of how she locates herself, for example, through her choice of a leisure activity rooted in nature. Chapadão here is not a concept designed to ensure tourist enjoyment, but part of Pipa's nature, and therefore part of her life. She distinguishes between Chapadão the tourist attraction and Chapadão as an everyday place. Even though they serve the same purpose, a space from which to view Pipa, by framing her understanding of Chapadão as a lived place through its enabling of certain embodied sensations brings it into everyday life. There is, as I have claimed throughout this chapter, an understanding of paradise as a lived, everyday experience. Returning to the distinction McWatters (2008) draws between paradise as a landscape and paradise as a place, I suggest the landscapes produced by tourism, viewed as a neoliberal dispositif, form the basis of the symbols through which residents frame their everyday experiences. That is to say, the aestheticised tourist location of paradise is negotiated by residents in their spatialised, subjective understandings of the everyday.

However, this results in a somewhat paradoxical situation for residents. If such symbols serve to demarcate certain ways of knowing and therefore being in a tourist place, Pipa's tourist image prompts the paradisiacal subjectivities I outline above. A central element to these understandings, as I claim above, is the performance of an affectively mediated understanding of life as different, happening in a place they have the right to enjoy, or live. Residents therefore emplace paradise, developing an understanding of it that rests on its capacity to provide a life in nature for 'the people'. Chapadão's wall presents a view of Pipa's space in which its residents do not have an inherent right to fully practice the paradisiacal lifestyle they have come to expect. Considering it as an instance of commodification of place (Young and Markham, 2020), the underlying neoliberal logic I suggest in chapter 5 wherein spaces are rendered knowable and governable is at tension with residents' views of their right to Pipa. That this is a view also founded in neoliberal understandings of exceptionalism (Ong, 2006) and colonial imaginaries (Lisle, 2006) illustrates the tensions and productivities happening through the extension and interaction of these logics of government. By fencing off a space, a physical and symbolic challenge to residents' use of Pipa's natural resources, residents' understandings are challenged. This creates a wish to stake a spatialised claim over use of paradise. As such, paradise itself can be seen to create space for resistance through the promise it implies. Moreover, seen through the lens of the micro-practices permitted by their spatial understandings of Chapadão as a location for leisure, such political resistance has direct spatial

implications through material obstruction of strategic attempts to fragment and control. As Cheong and Miller suggest, considering locals as passive recipients of sovereign power in the tourist exchange misrepresents their capacity to guide the spatial understandings attached to a place through local knowledge such as this (2000: 384). Therefore, tourism's creation of governable spaces through the aestheticisation of its locales is problematised and produced by residents' emplaced relationship with Pipa.

However, despite both the residents' understandings and justifications for spatial expansion of governability being embedded in dispositifs of neoliberalism, I suggest that the gaps and slippages in neoliberal logic inherent here instead show the production of spatialised understandings through which power is exercised. Indeed, residents' spatialised and aestheticised production of space is challenged and negotiated in turn through tourist engagement. As an example of this, I turn to the work of a local artist, Rafa Santos, a long-time resident of Pipa with family roots in the area.

Figure 15 A photograph showing two different artworks by Rafa, on the left a cigarette butt bin, on the right a toilet seat fixed to a post.

Santos explains his frustration at the amount of litter he was finding on the beaches, and that this prompted him to start making plaques such as the toilet seat seen in the right-hand photo in Fig. 15 to castigate those that were littering. Using a toilet seat with a phrase asking if the viewer has 'done

shit today?'[49] [Você fez merda hoje?], he explains, is designed to call attention to the situation as he sees it. 'It's the right word!' he explains [03/01/2019, Pipa]. Similarly, the ashtrays he has placed around town, shown in the left-hand photo in Fig. 15 contain a rebuke, reminding the viewer that their 'cigarette is litter' [Seu cigarro é um lixo!]. The inclusion of watching eyes on most of his works imply surveillance, prompting viewers to consider their interactions with Pipa. He explains his distributions of the ashtrays like so:

'I put them in the square. Like, everything that I'm saying to you, I didn't ask anyone's permission. For all of it I just arrived there and put them there. Like… what stood out about my work was the boldness, you know?'

Santos' work can therefore be viewed as an attempt to redefine the aesthetics of Pipa in order to create new spatialised understandings of permissible behaviour. Like Micaela at Chapadão's wall, Santos reacts in response to what he sees as something preventing his capacity to enjoy Pipa in its entirety through degradation of its nature. However, whilst Santos' work is intended, in a Rancierean sense (2000), to prompt a break in the distribution of the sensible, its impact has been different. As Santos describes, once he placed his works, viewers immediately began to say 'Fuck, how awesome!' [03/01/2019, Pipa] and take photos. Indeed, his work has become part of the postcard view of Pipa, with queues of tourists found outside some of his signs waiting to take photos. As such, the way his work is embedded amid nearly every tourist panorama serves to complicate residents' relationships to these places. The crowd of tourists that gather atop the Praia do Amor to photograph his most famous sign, previously above a beach a little removed from town lend a constant, frenzied atmosphere to the spot during high season. A rhythm is established as groups of friends and couples await their turn to get the classic photo with the sign proclaiming that they are looking down at the eponymous beach; every time a group manages to get their photo and turns to head down the cliffs to the beach below another darts in to take their spot. However, at intervals the balance is disturbed by someone running through, carrying a large crate of bottles of beer, or a sack of chipped potatoes ready to be fried. Down below, the growing *barracas* to which these workers run serve these crowds of people as they make their way to the seafront. Music pumps out loudly from one of the bars down the beach. Tables of friends drink a cold beer beneath the parasols in the blistering sun, laughing as they get up to pose with their bottles by the sea. However, at the edges of the beach where the rocks turn to cliffs, groups of young people I recognise from working in restaurants lay on blankets uncomfortably laid out just too near to the

[49] A better translation is 'Have you fucked up today?', but in this context the scatological connotations of the toilet seat would be lost.

barracas' overflowing bins to fully avoid the smell. Moving through the spaces of the beach, from Santos' sign down to the seafront, various atmospheres suddenly make themselves known: the laughter amid the slightly tense buzz of the sign as tourists await their turn, punctuated by the harangued looks of the workers as they weave their way through the crowds; the relaxed sense of laughter which forms a just perceptible hum behind the loud music as you make your way through the tables near the seafront; the calm at the other end of the beach where the music doesn't reach and families play in the pool of shallow, calm water which forms there; the surfers relaxing between sessions next to the loudly crashing waves which begin immediately as you leave the protected shallows; the groups of friends chatting amid the rocks, occasionally sharing glances as the heat of the day and sea breeze send the smell of the litter in their direction, glancing as a packet is picked up by the wind and swept through the air.

What is of interest here, then, is the way these multiple *vibes* inhabit the same space. The sense of what and who Pipa is for is already beginning to form whilst looking at the way these different groups share the beach. The groups of local friends crouching in the rocks and tolerating the smells gives an indication of the way that the proliferation of small businesses along the shore encroach upon the way residents can experience the *vibes* of relaxation they seek as they look wistfully along the shore to the surfers' area, which has no shade bar the lean-tos put up across the years for the various surf schools which operate there. What is of additional interest, however, is the way these *vibes* and atmospheres produce action from others in their absence, and how they jostle up against the modes of belonging to paradise various residents cling to. In the early mornings as the sun is beginning to rise, around 5, at various times of the week groups of residents meet along the beaches of Pipa to litterpick. Perhaps starting with the crisp packet blown from the bins of the *barraca* the day before, or the bottle dropped by the woman getting her photo at the sea edge, they meet there, bleary-eyed but committed to protecting the Edenic nature they understand as constituting Pipa's paradisiacal space. These groups are organised through community initiatives on Facebook, inviting anyone to join to 'keep our Pipa clean' and to protect the beaches from the excesses of tourism. Indeed, Santos himself is deeply embedded in their happening, and tells me he's been running such meetings on and off for the last ten years or so. There is a fragile and disparate sense of community invoked here ('our' Pipa), and a sense that by coming together in a momentary meeting of a group which at once straddles the divides of *nativo, morador, residente* that something might be done to stave off the worst. What is clear, here, is that the various *vibes* which circulate throughout the beach therefore underpin modes of simultaneous inclusion and exclusion. The potentiality of another way of being encountered through rejecting the directives of tourism (Povinelli, 2011) is nonetheless embedded in maintaining its possibilities. Santos' directives not to

litter ironically form part of the draw which enables the discomfort of residents on the crowded beach, and the groups which form to resist its excess maintain the paradisiacal sense of nature which gives the *barracas* their selling points. The modes of negotiating spaces within neoliberal tourist development are both enabled by the nascent communities of sense which appear and demonstrate residents' discomfort with the role tourism plays in their lives.

Santos' work is therefore still productive of Pipa's tourist space, but instead of its intended effect (to stop littering), it has been absorbed into the aestheticised tourist economy and contributed to the complicated tensions surrounding belonging and images of pristine Edenic landscapes.
I point to slippages and resistances such as these to highlight the productive nature of paradisiacal discourses in Pipa's spatial understandings. Residents are not simply situated in the spaces, but their understandings have productive, place-making implications. Pipa's 'development' is therefore a constant process of negotiation; it is reframed and reshaped through the micro-practices of tourists and residents alike. Indeed, I suggest it is in these gaps and slippages that the productive power of tourism is to be understood. Chapadão's protests and Santos' work create new spaces of politics and understandings of place in a productive tension with neoliberal dispositifs via tourism. The productivity of paradise can be seen and felt all around the town, shaped by, and shaping in turn, the demands of everyday life in a tourist location.

7.5 Conclusion

I have argued in this chapter that residents frame Pipa as a paradisiacal space of exception (Ong, 2006) through their everyday understandings, performances, and practices. As such, colonially informed elements of paradise lie at the centre of their production of spatialised meanings, enabling an emplaced and affectively mediated politics of hope. However, that such understandings emerge through a productive tension with tourism, taken in this thesis as a material and imaginary practice which contributes to the commodification of place (Young and Markham, 2020), leads to paradoxical understandings of the politics of living in paradise. Tourism, through the crystallising nature of its representative power, has contributed to residents' understandings of a life in the 'unreal', enclavic, space of paradise. That it also underpins justifications for further fragmentation of space (Lefebvre, 1991) through logics of commodification threatens residents' spatially mediated subjective understandings of paradise. This tension is a productive site of power, whereby residents resist and negotiate the spatial meanings of paradise, thus creating new representations and, as such, enabling or foreclosing certain ways of being and knowing.

As part of this process, tourism's tendency to build on a set of colonially informed symbols to produce meaning has been shown to underpin a widespread understanding of Pipa as somewhere 'discovered' by both colonialism and tourism due to its natural qualities. I suggest that residents emplace these crystallised representations, producing a hybrid understanding of temporality that results in an 'unreal' spatiality. Furthermore, that these understandings are built on simultaneous images of the permanence of nature as the reason for Pipa's exceptionalism and justification for its commodification further cements Pipa's paradisiacal status, allowing for various understandings of the 'unreal'. Furthermore, residents experience this difference affectively. Building on such images of paradise, residents perform and practice what they see as a different lifestyle, based on their capacity to both live with more tranquillity in nature, and avoid the alienating fragmentation of space they see as a hallmark of modernity. As such, the idea that Pipa creates the capacity for a new everyday is something actively felt by many residents, further producing the 'unreal' space of difference viewed oppositionally to the world outside.

However, life in such a space apart holds a promise of well-being. That it fails to live up to the expectations of many residents leads to questions of the role of the spatial idea of 'apartness', and what it can actually achieve. The crystallisation of paradise as an image leads to an often-unrealised politics of hope, which, whilst not dragging paradise into reality, problematises the representations of Pipa as paradise mediated through tourism. Emplacing paradise through utopian desires such as these shows a gap in its discursive capacities. As such, residents experience an affectively produced fear that paradise, sold to them as an ideal life, is approaching the 'real'. Tourism's aesthetic construction of an exceptional space, co-constituted by residents' affective performances is threatened when the ideal life, based in nature, is fenced off. Whether through the increased development of Pipa's land or through an increase in crime, threats to residents' total enjoyment of the space problematise their different lives and corresponding subjective experiences. As such, paradise's centrality to everyday life in Pipa is a productive source of tension in the creation of new spatialised meanings. Despite a seeming paradox in tourism's production of governable spaces, through its creation of both the crystallised image of paradise and the commodification of place that threatens this image, I suggest that the way residents emplace paradise imbricates them in the production of new spatial understandings. As such, residents attach new meanings to paradise, those of a productive site of resistance, which enable them to produce new spatial meanings and materialities. However, tourism's capacity to aestheticise and fix such resistance renders paradise a site of productive tension. As such, paradise becomes the site through which the apparent dysfunctions of neoliberal logics can be seen to create new spatial understandings, ways of being, and ways of knowing.

This chapter contributes to my argument by foregrounding the ways in which residents enact a critique of the logics of development through highlighting contradictions contained therein. Through their attachments to the idea of paradise Benedita frames as Pipa's 'brand,' many residents expect a quality of life which they view as realisable through the enclave touristic development has enabled. However, whilst such ideas strengthen residents' understandings of Pipa as a space of accumulation, thus embedding further extractive logics within the production of the space, this chapter has enabled me to expand on my understanding that they also contribute to an expectation that touristic development should be able to ensure the utopian modes of being it promises. Whilst the tourist industry requires enclosure of nature's gifts to generate capital through land rent (Young and Markham, 2020; Castrees, 2003) it cannot provide the closeness with nature its marketing promises. As such, through resisting such logics residents enact a critique of touristic development as something capable of ensuring the better quality of life it promises. In the next chapter, I build on this discussion through the role of mobility in the town, taking forward the argument that residents challenge the primacy of capital exchange through refusing the modes of social relation seen as necessary to uphold it.

Chapter 8: Taking the road to paradise

'*My father in law used to say: "If the world were a human body, Pipa would be the teeth," because of the cliffs, right? Ah… I say to my wife now, "if he was alive, he wouldn't say that anymore.' If Pipa was a human body… Pipa was the force. Today it's the veins. Because here today you have people from every corner of the world, from all nations"' – Seu Barroso,* [Pipa, 10/06/2018]

The road to Pipa, to steal a phrase, is long, with many a winding turn. It has also recently been repaved. At its southernmost point lies Pipa, and, travelling north along a winding route that turns 18km as the crow flies into 26km on the ground, one eventually reaches Goianinha to the north. Here, there are links to BR-101, one of the country's principal thoroughfares, as well as the route to Natal's nearby airport. However, merely describing the road as a link between Pipa and these points of connection would be to miss its capacity as a varied, dynamic, and relational space. Along the route there are farms, villages, palm trees, and the coastal edges of the vast sugar cane plantations that cover Rio Grande do Norte. Farmers sell mangoes, jambú, and jackfruit in huts by the road where goats run by, sent scattering by traffic past the people waiting in the beating sun for the bus to take them to work. The road carries various hopes, dreams, and aspirations as goods, people, and ideas make their way up and down it. The road is a space where life is lived.

This is not, to be clear, one of the grandiose highways that mark Brazilian expansionsm at its Amazonian frontiers (Campbell, 2012; Cleary, 1993), but a smaller, more specific affair. Nonetheless, in common with these highways, this road is a modernising project (Harvey and Knox, 2015). Indeed, as Harvey and Dalakoglou argue, 'roads and the powerful sense of mobility that they promise carry us back and forth between the sweeping narratives of globalisation, and the specific, tangible materialities of particular times and places' (2012: 459). In this chapter, I consider just how the road encourages this sense of mobility in Pipa, arguing that focusing on the way that its users come to feel and know the road, and what it brings to their lives, points to its powerful role as that which connects and enables the movement which Pipa's tourist industry demands. This way, I think through the relationship between the materiality of infrastructure and the general sense of mobility it encourages through its aesthetic perception and the affective attachments people hold to it. I point to a different framing of how we conceive of the relationship between mobility and infrastructure. By considering them together as that which allows capitalist circulation (Aradau and Blanke in Larrinaga and Doucet, 2010) I shift my analysis from considering how they enable their relations of movement, to thinking about why. I therefore focus on the way infrastructures obscure and reveal the relations of domination that mobility entails (Franquesa, 2011), and as such argue

that an aesthetic framing is best placed to uncover the political role of movement. Indeed, by considering the way 'Politics […] revolves around the properties of spaces and the possibilities of time' (Rancière, 2004: 13) and how we sense this, I argue that we can come to a political understanding of the role of mobility.

Therefore, in this chapter, I travel down the road with some of its users, considering the political effects which emerge from their multiple, contradictory, and overlapping understandings of: who is mobile within Pipa, what that might mean, and how their attachments to paradise both serve to bind them to the material construction of the town's spaces and offer the political basis for the perception of such attachments as fragile. I begin by outlining some theoretical pitfalls of the way mobility is frequently framed, before introducing its importance to Brazilian national imaginaries, and how this maps on to the resurfacing of Pipa's road. I then explore my argument from three perspectives: firstly, I argue that by viewing the road as an aesthetic object we are able to understand how engagement with it produce subjectivities of mobility, which establish the sense of mobility as a social good whilst obscuring its hierarchical effects to achieve a particular distribution of bodies. I then consider how these hierarchies employ the already known temporal geographic imaginaries of paradise in the northeast of Brazil (Albuquerque Jr., 1999; Buarque de Holanda, 2010; Oliveira, 1987), rendering Pipa's *nativo*[50] population as fixed and incomers as mobile. In doing this I argue that the relative fixity and movement of different populations are aesthetically known phenomena enabled by affective attachments to the possibility of paradise within the town. These phenomena obscure the corresponding mobilisation/immobilisations that occur to facilitate the flow of capital and render Pipa a space of circulation (Rancière, 2006). Finally, I argue that to understand the political importance of the road, we need to look beyond its functions of governance to consider how the mobility it entrenches enable fleeting and transitory moments of solidarity which bring into stark relief the exclusionary nature of tourism in the area, pointing to the way that aesthetic perception is never fixed, and instead calls multiple infrastructural worlds into being (Harvey and Knox, 2015). I therefore argue that a focus on aesthetic engagement with infrastructure reveals how we sense and know the ways in what capital forms us via movement itself, whilst also pointing to its gaps and fissures. Travelling down the road together will show us how.

[50] As mentioned in Chapter 4, '*nativo*' is a complex and often contradictory construction in Pipa.

8.1 Movements: A question of governance

Mobility-focused approaches tell us that to understand the nature of the contemporary world, we ought to focus on the way that increased connectivity is 'materially transforming' society into 'the social as mobility' (Urry, 2000: 2; see also Cresswell, 2006; Sheller, 2017; Sheller and Urry, 2006; Urry, 2002a, 2002b). The astounding increase in the centrality of movement to the way we live now, they tell us, is such that we need to centre it in our analyses, forgoing previous emphases on fixity to understand how the circulation of capital, people, and goods underpins the changes we see in the world (Appadurai, 1990; Castells, 1996). However, as Anna Tsing (1998: 356) asks us, is this movement really new? What does thinking of it this way stop us from seeing?

Indeed, the active nature of movement makes its analytic importance difficult to bypass. Whilst critiques of this approach have rightly pointed out that this framing has focused mostly on the 'bourgeoise masculine' cosmopolitan elite (Skeggs, 2004: 48; see also Ahmed, 2004; Massey, 1994; Morley, 2000; Pritchard, 2000), they often implicitly accept the notion that circulation begets change, the problem is simply that most are left out of this (now) moving world.[51] Movement here is still the active component of the world and the issue is whether one has access to it or not.

Within this framing of a society on the move, the question of how circulation itself is responsible for myriad deleterious social phenomena has therefore been a natural focal point of much research, alongside extensive considerations of the various ways in which this has come to be. Within modernity, supposedly 'good' movement (such as that of tourists or business-people) and 'bad' movement (such as that of migrants or vagabonds (Negri, 2003)) lie at the heart of various disciplining societal efforts. Indeed, following the centrality of circulation to Foucault's conceptualisation of governmentality, movement itself is often seen as 'a producer of… societies' (Bærenholdt, 2012: 20) and the primary logic of how we are governed within them.

Much skilful work has therefore been done to think about how understandings of when and how we ought to circulate are instilled. Focusing on the production of the physical spaces through which we move (Huxley, 2006; Jensen, 2009; Jensen and Richardson, 2003), and the way they impart sensations of ease (Bigo, 2010), freedom (Sager, 2006), or reinforce borders and state power (Amoore, 2006; de Goede, 2012; Tazzioli, 2019), we are led to consider the various technologies and managerial decisions which produce these directives.

[51] Incorporating 'moorings' (Hannam et al., 2006) or 'dwelling' (Allon, 2004) into this rubric does little to modify the notion that circulation is all that matters. Rather, it reinforces the binary between movement and stasis, rendering the built environment a depoliticised stage across which circulation happens.

Infrastructures, as 'objects that create the grounds on which other objects operate' (Larkin, 2013: 329), provide the pathways and routes by which this circulation happens, and provide a useful way to think about the production of these power relations (Amin, 2014; Amin and Thrift, 2016; Dodson, 2015; Wilson, 2016). They are planned, constructed, and destroyed, enacting the 'reordering of world [economies]' (Wiig and Silver, 2019: 2). They convey senses of progress (Elyachar, 2010), modernity (Edwards, 2002) societal failure (Bliss, 2009; Simone, 2004), connection, and disconnection (Dalakoglou, 2012). Indeed, they are 'analytically useful' as they are both 'embedded into social structures' and are 'structuring mechanism[s]' themselves (Dourish and Bell, 2007: 418). They create the conditions for circulation and its governance and display the logics of domination and governance in the societies in which they are found.

8.1.1 Disrupting circuits

However, viewing infrastructures as the material enactment of managerial logics of circulation tells us how circulation is encouraged (or not), but does not tell us why. To ensure that engagement with infrastructure does not simply recount another, more material, type of circuit, we must consider the questions we ask when we engage with it. To these ends, Jaume Franquesa proposes a reframing of what mobility and its infrastructural production mean:

'Instead of paying attention to things, be they firmly anchored or flowing across space, we must focus our attention on relations, analyzing how these relations produce 'objects' and 'people' as well as the role played by power in this process' (2011: 1019).

Approaching the relationship between mobility and infrastructure by way of the relations they uphold and obscure points us towards how we might think of how spaces are produced through the intersection between mobility and infrastructure by way of the affective attachments they enable. These observations therefore contribute to literature on the construction of the material and the production of space as an important constituent element of global processes. Indeed, as Vicki Squire claims, attending to the 'more-than-human' elements of material geographies enables perception of 'processes of materialisation and dematerialisation' (2015: 141) which produce borders and geopolitical elements without awarding space a determinist quality. Indeed, as Katherine Brickell highlights, such production and division of spatial factors sheds light on the way geopolitical processes emerge from (2012: 575) the material enactment of divisions between assumed categories of public and private. Understanding how these productions and divisions

unfold through an aesthetic engagement with the space and the possibilities surrounding the affective attachment enabled in the co-production of mobility and infrastructure thus reveals how Pipa is produced as a material and conceptual space.

Indeed, the role of circulation itself in the capitalist system is central to revealing this process. Under capitalism, circulation produces crises which challenge the assumed smoothness of the seemingly natural relationship between seller and buyer; sometimes there will be nobody to buy goods produced, and the chain of value no longer operates (Marx, 1993). At these moments, capitalism fails to function as it ought, and its logics and modalities of domination are laid bare. As Aradau and Blanke (in Larrinaga et al.,2010) argue, this means we must therefore not only view circulation from the perspective of how it governs us, but also follow the moments of rupture it enables to be able to think about why it is known as important (cf. Selby, 2007). If the creation of a social understanding of circulation as a good is central to how we are governed, what is it that circulation obscures? Indeed, what kind of politics is produced in this apparent world of movement, and how do we sense, know, and indeed overcome the world it points us towards?

There seems to be an aesthetic logic at the heart of Marx's framing; crisis reveals capitalist domination, we are then able to perceive its effects. Therefore, as infrastructure is the material form by which we engage with this circulation, we must also think about what it uncovers and obscures. Indeed, as Brian Larkin (2013) argues, infrastructures should be considered aesthetically. They impart their logics sensuously, structuring what we can know through our everyday engagements with our built environments. However, I add to Larkin's demonstration of their governing potential to argue they can also provide the path to think about what circulation is for, and what it might be intended to obscure.

For Ranciére, the answer to this is simple. It lies in the 'power of the people with nothing, the speech of those who should not be speaking, those who were not really speaking beings' (2004: 5), or the radical and scandalous existence of a fundamental equality that underpins everyone and everything. Societies, he claims, are differently and contingently ordered in ways that stops perception of this equality by '[counting] all the parts' (2010: 36) of any given order; we are only able to sense, think, and feel in a certain way, one which precludes awareness of this equality by giving everyone a certain role. The uncountable ways in which this 'distribution of the sensible' (2010) is produced are ruled and governed by a 'police order', which tells us what is possible in a certain space at a certain time. The point is that everything, including circulation, must make sense.

Infrastructures, as we have seen, provide the architectures which enable us to sense these directives. Whether this is on the level of ticking along in the background, naturalising their routes, connections, and disconnections (Star, 1999) or in the form of a brash statement of governance (Larkin, 2013), they form the material basis for how we sense where we ought to go, when, and why. Indeed, as Larkin highlights, infrastructures have often been used to impart a sense of modernising awe in their colonial places through the 'visible evidence of progress' (2008: 19), creating sensual, ambient experiences of the rightness of imperial rule. Indeed, we cannot assume that infrastructures impart the same sensuous logics in (post)colonial places (Caldeira, 2017), but should consider the multiple ways they enable efforts towards 'worlding' urban space, thereby privileging the mobilities of some (Graham, 2018). Infrastructures, then, build what we know to be right in the world around us in a localised, historicised way, entrenching and multiplying the directives of capital differently in their places.

Within this, roads, with their capacity to 'manifest the political' (Harvey and Knox, 2015: 7), act as one of the most visible iterations of these managerial decisions. Through their ability to ensure speed (Virilio, 1986), they express these colonial logics (Vicuña Gonzalez, 2013; Mesqualier, 2002), enable development initiatives (Hetherington and Campbell, 2014), and lie at the heart of our understandings of expressions of mobility and modernity (Dalakoglou and Harvey, 2012). They are contested (Harvey, 2016), imbued with promise (Anand et al., 2018), and visibly point us to what we ought to be doing. They are expressions of power, visible on the landscape wherever they are placed.

However, such material constructions of power encounter blockages, resistances, and failures along their routes. As Charmaine Chua et al. (2018) highlight, rather than represent totalising expressions of power, the construction of infrastructure as something which enables logistical flow over landscapes is characterised by power and acts of violence, and troubled by vulnerabilities and failures. Therefore, by considering how infrastructures are sites of contestation and struggle we can introduce a political conception of the construction of infrastructural power (Cowen, 2020; Graham and McFarlane, 2015; Khalili, 2017; Lemanski (ed.), 2019; Stamatopoulou-Robbins, 2016; von Schnitzler, 2016). Such questions have been effectively engaged through considering what the political horizons they represent might be. For example, in his book on *Infrastructural Brutalism,* Michael Truscello (2020) effectively engages with the aesthetic horizons of the road movie as a struggle against the liberal governmentality of circulation. He argues that they 'press at the boundaries of the contemporary political imaginary in a dying world that will not stop driving' (145). However, Truscello's political horizons are embedded within an assumption that the

necropolitical directives of infrastructure are consuming, and do not offer a way to think beyond 'slowing the advance of capitalist suicide' (39). How might we think beyond an assumption that such suicide is *all there is*? How can we think about the divisions of movement and the infrastructures which enable them without wearily accepting their eventual victory?

Indeed, Rancière reminds us that we cannot understand politics (or enable critique) simply by tracing power (2010: 27). Instead, we must think about potential moments of rupture, of a break in the sensuous order which reveals the ultimate contingency of these relationships, and what directives to move or stay may be obscuring. Instead, if we consider how the 'spatial architectures which hold collectivities together' (Closs Stephens, 2015: 100) also provide the basis to sense and know the ways in which we are divided, we can instead consider the reasons to keep us circulating which go beyond 'governance' broadly construed. Therefore, considering the affective attachments which bind us to the multiple ways in which we sense infrastructural space we understand more about that which maintains regimes of mobility through the construction of community, and crucially what lays the ground for the emergence of new communities which challenge existing orders rather than accept their totality.

Therefore, as circulation has the capacity to provoke a crisis in the capitalist exchange it enables, we must also consider how it can enable such ruptures in our sensuously construed societies, and indeed the inherent democratic potential (Aradau and Huysmans, 2009) mobility enables. What we need to consider, therefore, is how infrastructure and mobility together lay the ground for politics, how they enable us to see why we should do as they say. Indeed, as Debbie Lisle reminds us:
'Within that 'tactical domain of everyday life,' architectures of enmity do not simply enrol and exclude particular bodies and populations, they also make themselves felt—and indeed achieve their power—by enrolling and excluding objects, landscapes, infrastructures, atmospheres, and materials' (2016: 22).

The point is to think about why as well as how.

Pipa's road, tracing the path as it does, between the complex phenomena of global tourism and local development therefore forms a starting point on our journey to consider why, and points us to how we might consider the diverse effects of capital, colony, and tarmac in the town.

8.2 Travelling to paradise

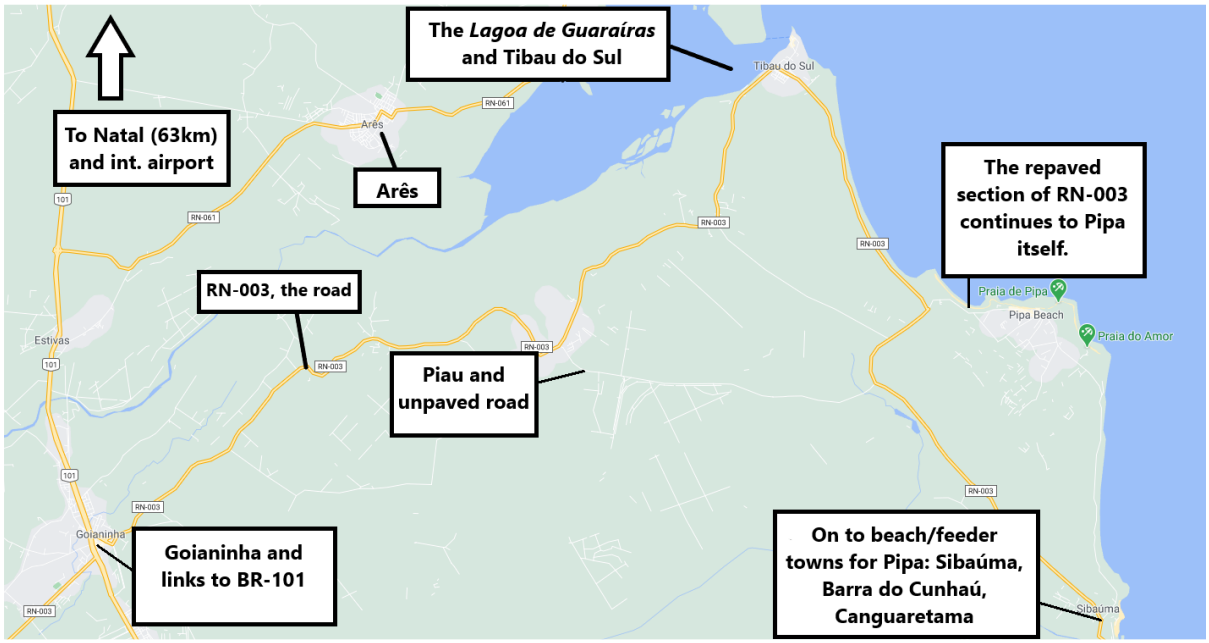

Figure 16 map depicting RN-003 and its surrounds.

With work finishing in October 2018 in time for November's *alta,* the previously disintegrating surface of Pipa's road, pockmarked by potholes and general decay, was destroyed, and covered instead with a dependable, uniform-looking asphalt. In an area which struggles to support the infrastructure tourism requires (Bevins, 2014), State governor of Rio Grande do Norte, Robinson Faria, had announced that the road would pave the way for Pipa to 'receive a higher number of visitors and new investments that [would] drive the economy, generate work and income for all' (Tribuna do Norte, 24/03/2018). A budget of over R$8 million, from a mixture of development bank and federal and state sources, went towards the completion of works, which included 'structural restoration, drainage, and signalling', and meant the state of the road would no longer be a 'problem to either tourists or the population' (AgoraRN, 28/12/2018).

Signposting the perceived importance of Pipa as a generator of global connections, Lopes and Alves (2015: 155) highlight that Pipa's municipal area was one of only nine that received its planned funding under the state tourism plan PRODETUR/RN. Indeed, they point out that such infrastructure projects have been of 'fundamental importance to the tourist flow' (158) in the town. The state clearly prioritises tourist infrastructure, designating it as a worthy object of investment due to its capacity to ensure the continued circulation the tourist economy requires.

Such an emphasis coincides with the unavoidably political nature of roads in Brazil. Their role in original violence and displacement in the Amazon (Campbell, 2012) was catapulted back on to the international stage when President Jair Bolsonaro promised to continue construction of BR-163, a road which would increase the capacity for deforestation and the international circulation of capital. As Araújo (2000) highlights, the exportation of goods and continuation of the exogeneous flow of capital has been at the centre of many of Brazil's road-building efforts, pointing to the inextricability of territory and domination within its borders (Prado Jr., 1981). Thus, the establishment of an infrastructural network spanning the nation has been an ongoing project to ensure the integration of national and regional territories as a space wherein capital is able to move. As part of this, many have pointed out that a sense of automobility and the capacity to cross its vast territory have been at the heart of the sense of modernity such development initiatives seek to impart (Wolfe, 2010). Spanning Brazil's multiple biomes, roads therefore provide the map for how Brazil comes to be known, a form of knowledge entrenched in cultural outputs:

> 'Narratives of journeys and forays into new landscapes and communities have harnessed the construction of a Brazilian national identity: in a country of continental proportions, the allure and trepidation of life on the move has been inscribed into Brazil's cultural output throughout its history, since it emerged as a nation following Portuguese colonisation' (Brandarello: 2013:xxii).

Indeed, of the multiple imagined geographies one is able to see through traversing Brazilian roads, the tantalising promise of paradise at the end of one of them points to the persistent presence (Buarque de Holanda, 2010) of colonial geopolitical imaginaries and how they continue to be sensed. The way that tourist places are 'performed through mobilizations of capital, demobilizations of labor, and remobilizations of colonial narratives, heritage, and built environment' (Sheller in Sheller and Urry, 2004:18; Strachan, 2003; Kothari, 2015) brings us to consider the centrality of roads to understandings of Brazil and the importance of the way paradise is im/mobilised to ensure this.

Pipa's road, therefore, brings tourists from the world over to experience paradise first-hand. It entrenches certain knowledges, lives, and economies within national and global understandings of what Brazil is and where it ought to be going, deploying the discourses of modernity, circulation, and progress familiar to the nation's infrastructural dreams.

8.3 Policing the way to paradise

The neighbouring town of Tibau do Sul sits 7.5km closer to Goianinha along the road than Pipa. Following the repaving of the road in early January 2019, the People's Association of Tibau held an event in celebration, thanking the state governor. Blocking off the town square and erecting a stage for speeches and music, the residents of Tibau also put up banners proclaiming their gratitude.

Figure 17 Governor Robinson Faria and the Deputy Fábio Faria, thank you for the new RN 003 [road], signed, the people of Tibau do Sul' – one of the banners found throughout the town.

Despite complaints from some that the 'people celebrating were paid by the government' [Eduardo, Tibau do Sul, 13/01/2019], the level of public commemoration of the new paving suggests a level of importance of the road to the towns surrounding Pipa, perhaps beyond the immediate fact of the increased connection it provided.

In this section we begin our voyage down the road by considering the ways in which the journeys it encourages work to police its users through the creation of sensations of connectivity. I argue that the road brings visions of paradise into sharper focus for its users, naturalising the distribution of bodies that Pipa's touristic economy demands through rendering movement as straightforward. In this way, I claim that the road is part of a Rancierean police order, which, delimiting what is possible to sense and know, 'says that here, on this street, there's nothing to see and so nothing to

do but to move along. It asserts that the space for circulating is nothing but the space of circulation' (2010:37). Through making movement seem natural, the road enables an unequal distribution of bodies designed to keep the town open for the mobilisation of capital, a process which slides out of view as its users move to and from paradise.

Roads, then, are the material forms by which the state makes clear where and how it intends journeys to be made. They provide a route to the future, suggesting who is included in this future and how by way of what they deem worthy of connection (Harvey and Knox, 2015). In an area where dirt tracks are common, paving this particular road points to a desire to ensure the continued circulation of tourists and goods, entrenching its role as a guarantor of income for the area and a marker of progress (Mattelart, 1996, 2000). The road's repaving has therefore awarded a particular sense of ease to the journeys of many of the town's workers who live outside of its boundaries, which serves to increase their sense of inclusion in the locus of wealth that Pipa represents to the region.

Many of the journeys the workers make are cramped and sweaty, and others take a roundabout route which adds hours onto their travel time. Minibuses shudder up and down the road between Pipa and Goianinha, often without even standing room. Backpackers try to balance their bags on their laps, and workers wearing uniforms for the town's various restaurants, hotels, and pousadas straddle awkwardly atop one another for the forty-minute duration of the ride. It is on one of these minibuses that I get talking to Maristela, 19, a resident of the city of Arês, who is returning to Goianinha to switch buses after a day in the tourist activity centre she has been working in for about a year now. She laughs and tells me that the bus is always like this.

Maristela's journey to Pipa is about 80km there and back. Sometimes she manages to get a lift on her neighbour's motorbike, but on the bus, it takes her about an hour and a half in either direction. She doesn't mind this at all, however, and tells me that 'she thinks the RN [road] is the most beautiful thing', as it makes places as 'incredibly pretty' as Pipa easy to get to. Maristela had 'dreamed' for many years that she might one day work in Pipa; the town is famous throughout the whole country. Nearly everyone she knows works in the town and she is 'proud' to have this 'jewel of Brazil' on her doorstep.

> 'It's a really wicked place, like… I don't even know what to say because… here I feel so good, like, the energy here is different, people treat me in a different way, here I…

> I feel social equality, that it doesn't matter what you have, that it doesn't matter how you dress, you're going to be… you're always going to be you.' [Pipa, 11/12/2018]

When I ask what she can do in Pipa that she can't do at home, Maristela tells me that 'there's nowhere in Rio Grande do Norte with a nightlife like Pipa!' She explains that people come 'from all over the world' to experience Pipa, and that she can just 'catch a lift with her neighbour' to take part in the same thing, laughing at the ease with which she feels she can do this. Maristela therefore feels that she is mobile in much the same way as any tourist. Her journey however is rather simpler than theirs. She spends her day working 'with people from other regions, from other countries', and the ease of her journey enables her to experience the same benefits of Pipa that they can.

However, when I ask Maristela why she does not live in the town, she tells me with a sharp intake of breath that the rent there is 'very expensive' and that although she'd love to she can't afford a house on what she earns. She says that this is fine, however, because she 'really doesn't mind' the journey, and besides, everyone she knows makes it. Indeed, the journey is relatively unproblematic. The buses are cheap and reliable, and as Maristela points out, the route is beautiful. The sticky, difficult sensations she experiences on the overcrowded buses are all worth it for the potential excitement that Pipa offers, and are easily explained away as part of the 'glamour' (Cohen and Gössling, 2015) that the act of travelling to and from Pipa enables. The small inconvenience of the bus pales in comparison to the life Maristela feels she lives due to the ease of her journey.

This ease does not override the fact that the workers of Pipa's surrounding towns cannot afford to live close to their workplace even when, like Maristela, they wish to. Instead of living and working in this place that brings her joy, Maristela is only allowed to access it in a limited way, when she is working or consuming. What matters is that she does not take up valuable rental property. Though the journey itself is often unpleasant, the access to Pipa it brings her prompts these sensations to vanish. She therefore does not question the rental inflation and accepts that to access Pipa she must instead move. The road, and what she feels on it, are only important by merit of what they offer at the end, and much like a tourist, she regularly travels along the road to experience what the town brings her. Crucially, as Maristela can move so easily, the question of why rent is so expensive in the centre of the town does not really matter to her. Her very capacity to feel mobile therefore serves to 'de-mobilize political action by means of implementing a certain kind of movement that prevents any formation and expression of the political' (Lepecki, 2013: 20). The road's sensation of connectivity thus precludes questioning the price of rent and the exclusionary distribution of

bodies it ensures; it is a tool of governance which structures the environment to stop politics even being a possibility.

8.3.1 Aesthetic plans, appropriate pathways

The road does not only tell its users when and how to move, but points to their roles within its destination. As it passes through villages and crosses clifftops it acts not only as a spatial map, but also as a frontier between Pipa's modern space of capital exchange and its surroundings, flattening lived space as part of Pipa's Edenic touristic geographies.

Edilson, a resident of nearby Piau, explained that the road takes a circuitous route. Pointing out a dirt track (fig 16), he complained that this would get traffic to Pipa much faster and be more convenient for everybody. His understanding of why use of this track had not happened was that the road diverts to enable tourists to pass Tibau do Sul's Lagoa das Guaraíras, a large and beautiful lagoon *en route* which forms part of Pipa's paradisiacal imaginaries. This diversion shows that the prioritisation of the act of touristic circulation itself is built on establishing a hierarchy of the quotidian mobilities of the tourists and the workers whose efforts enable continued interest in the town. Although repaving the road was justified via how much it could help workers, their experience of it has not been considered in this instance. Indeed, 'the very practice of small, daily dealienations contributes to the reproduction of the asymmetries of neoliberal globalization embedded in the road project' (Dalakoglou, 2010:133). The logics of these managerial decisions contribute to imparting knowledge of how the road ought to be used.

As such, although the concrete of the road points clearly to routes of modernity (Mrázek, 2002) and exchange at either end, encouraging its users to feel included by merit of the ease of their travel, the distribution of bodies that this map produces is stratified and unequal. For Maristela, who views her chance to be in Pipa as awarding her a certain sense of social equality and inclusion, her connection is crucial to enabling this. However, as Susan Buck-Morss (1989) highlights, the sense of equality that comes from aesthetic architectural and planning decisions designed to imply modernity can often obscure acts of displacement and exclusion. Through their reification of what constitutes the past and what the future, such decisions can create feelings of inclusion in glittering sites of progress, and 'create social utopia by changing the arrangement of buildings and streets – objects in space – while leaving social relationships intact' (89). In Pipa, workers such as Maristela are made to feel included through the paradise they can temporarily glimpse. The sensorial and ambient experience of the road (Larkin, 2013: 336) works alongside the managerial decisions made

in its construction to engender a promise that is ultimately kept out of reach due to the economy these workers enable. Maristela can see and experience these things she wishes to do in Pipa, and is mobile in her pursuit of them, but in an ultimately limited and temporary way.

Here I have shown that the road acts on a spatial level to impart a sense of appropriate maps for appropriate movements. It builds upon the glamour and sense of progress associated with mobility to preclude perception of the displacements the tourist economy has instantiated in its constant augmentation of rent in the town centre, rendering Pipa a space dedicated to circulation and the wealth this implies. I have also hinted at the relationship between modernity and the past which enables this aesthetic perception to happen. In the next section I consider in more detail the temporal distinctions the road deploys to show how the power relations of mobility are produced by and obscure the function of touristic capital.

8.4 Temporal bridges, paved hierarchies

Understandings of Pipa as operating in a different time from its surroundings are built on 'already known' (Campell, 2007) colonial geographic imaginaries of paradise which the tourist economy requires to construct Pipa as a space in which circulation comes to be known as a good. In this section I look at how Pipa's *nativo* population have come to be known as fixed whilst incomers are mobile, ensuring a distribution of bodies which maintains the flow of capital through the town. I argue that these knowledges are formed through overlapping understandings of modernity, capital exchange, and colonial imaginaries which establish an exclusionary, hierarchical, touristic economy. Indeed, the material and aesthetic journeys taken by residents strengthen this stratification.

Pipa's *nativo* population have come to be known as fixed, consigned to a temporality that places them outside of the circulation encouraged within the town. Tourism, it is often repeated, acted as a sort of spatial liberation for the population previously hemmed in by thick *Mata Atlântica* and the ocean. As Alexandre, a Cearense bar owner who has lived in Pipa for fifteen years tells me, *nativos* used to have to 'walk all day to get to Goianinha' [21/03/2018, Pipa] if they needed anything done, with the unpaved road stretching from Pipa onwards. However, now the road is paved you instead see 'however many dozens of motorbikes' heading to and from Pipa throughout the working day, the journey lasting only half an hour. Alexandre credits tourism with this change, and the road has enabled him to notice it. He views his own journeys in and out of the town in a different light to that of the local population. He tells me he only leaves when he needs to go to

Natal to 'get ingredients for the restaurant' or when he wishes to 'go to the cinema'. For Alexandre, the road enables a different relationship with the outside world from that of *nativos* such as Maristela, and he perceives an aesthetically known, colonially situated difference regarding what the road can mean.

Figure 18 The new road surface on the approach to Pipa.

The perception that Pipa was brought into modernity through tourism is often repeated in the town. Local chronicler Ormuz Barbulho Simonetti (2012) tells the story of how the first veranistas[82] needed a new place to spend their January breaks after the sea washed away their beach huts at Tibau, just up the coast. His depiction of the arduous cutting of the mata to carve out a dirt track linking Pipa with the settlements further inland conjures up images of the connection to modernity it creates. Much like for Alexandre, Simonetti's *veranistas*[52] brought modernity to this cut-off paradise through connecting it to the outside, and although their journeys took the best part of a day, they nonetheless laid the groundwork for the town's integration into wider Brazilian territory.

Colonialism holds a foundational role in establishing this temporal split. As Joel Wolfe (2010) highlights, the splitting of imperial Brazil into relatively autonomous captaincies meant the large, nation-spanning highways often thought common to imperial rule[53] did not happen. Cities and populations tended to cling to the coast, and if large infrastructural projects did happen, they were

[52] 'Summerers', local landowners who would spend their summers in Pipa.
[53] See Larkin (2008), Mesqualier (2002); Vicuña Gonzalez, (2013).

to support Brazil's export economy by ensuring that goods made it to one of the country's many ports and outwards (Araújo, 2000). As such, the intense regionalism that characterises the contemporary state was deeply entrenched by the time later governments decided to begin their nation building projects of uniting the seemingly modern cities of the south with the 'backwards' *sertão* of the northeast. These areas are delimited as a still-existing remnant of a colonial past, characterised by vote buying, violence, and marginality (Albuquerque Jr., 1999), situating them in a different temporality from Brazil's modern south.

The roads of Brazilian 1950s positivist efforts of development[54] were therefore tasked with uniting a territory of not only continental proportions, but with deeply entrenched, temporally known, regional differences informed by colonialism, imparting a teleology to their materiality and the mobilities they enable. Roads crossing the northeast represent the veins of modernity of the south, and act as a frontier between times rather than a bridge (de Certeau, 1984: 126-9). The road therefore builds these imaginative and material colonial geographies into being, showing its users the parts of the past that need connection to the global cities of the south.

This fixing therefore means that Alexandre is unable to view the *nativo* population as experiencing the same connection to modernity as him, placing them in the sort of monumental time (Kristeva, 1986) which separates them from the lived time of modernity. Whilst he views himself as exercising the choice constituent of mobility's intersections with agency and freedom (Bergmann and Sager, 2008; Sager, 2006), he characterises the *nativos* as travelling because they are now permitted to. Alexandre, by contrast, seems to view himself as the detached Benjaminian *flâneur*, free to take in the delights of both Pipa's paradisiacal surrounds (to which he gestures grandiosely during our interview), and to choose to make use of what modernity has allowed him through easy travel to Natal, where he can obtain the sort of exotic ingredients he needs for his high-end restaurant and perhaps take in a film.

However, Alexandre's journeys, as well as taking the same route as the *nativos* he views as separated from him by merit of their temporal fixity, shares a motivation with them. This is also a journey of necessity through which he can earn money in Pipa's touristic economy. Indeed, these economically motivated journeys enable Alexandre's proprietorship of one of the 'global restaurants' (Lonely Planet, 2016: 367) that symbolise Pipa's modern status through their

[54] See Oliveira (1987) for a discussion of this in the context of the northeast

gastronomic cosmopolitanism (Bell and Valentine, 1997), contributing to the exclusionary processes that keep residents like Maristela mobile. What we see therefore is a dialectically produced tension between Alexandre and the *nativos* which does not suggest that one group enjoys mobility at the expense of the other, but that one comes to sense one group as immobile and passive. Despite making the same journey for the same motivations, Alexandre is limited to perceiving the local population with the paradisiacal past, and thus as unable to exercise the cosmopolitan mobility of which he thinks himself capable.

8.4.1 Dreaming of the road

Pipa's paradisiacal surroundings therefore doubly construct Pipa as a worthy object of cosmopolitan travel for some and mobilise imaginaries of passive spatiotemporal incarceration for others. However, such a dichotomy also produces relative instances of fixity among those otherwise known as mobile. We see this in the case of Claudia, 40, an Italian pousada owner who moved to Pipa on the recommendation of a friend who knew that she and her husband were looking to move to one of Brazil's beaches. 'She called me and said: 'I've found the place for you, it's paradise!' so we packed our bags and came' [Pipa, 11/01/2019]. Despite agreeing that Pipa in fact is about as close to paradise as one is likely to find, influenced by the mobility of its paradisiacal imaginaries of temporal fixity (Salazar, 2010), Claudia is thinking of leaving. The reasons for this are manifold, but a particular difficulty she experiences is the lack of what she sees as meaningful social relations in the town: 'Because there are so many people that come and go all the time, and they're not constant, and so getting to know someone well? … No…'

Claudia, spurred on by dreams of what living in paradise might feel like, had packed her bags, and moved across continents. She tells me of the excitement she had felt at this prospect, and the way she had found the pousada they now own after a few months of working in a hotel. In the process of getting her permanent residency sorted, setting up her bank accounts, and trying to navigate bureaucratic channels she found herself fixed. Indeed, despite being the sort of mobile individual who was able to choose to cross oceans and purchase property, she has now become part of a capitalistic flow 'immobilised in the built environment' (Franquesa, 2011: 1024). She has, perhaps temporarily, become part of the touristic infrastructure of the town. Claudia, therefore, equates anything associated with the town centre with a certain stasis. Indeed, she tells me that getting around in the middle of the town is one of the worst things about living there. The *Avenida Baía dos Golfinhos* is a single, narrow, one-way street that traces the clifftops, frequently jammed with traffic (fig 19) that represents the only route through the town. The houses in the centre are on a

maze of steep streets feeding off this central strip, and, as Claudia tells me, 'if you forget something in one shop you have to go all the way round to fetch it!'. She seems to sense the centre of town as a place of stillness, whilst outside represents the speed and freedom of mobility. However, what is notable is that this very stillness is itself mobilised as part of the 'enduring imaginative geography' of the tropics (Driver and Yeoh, 2000: 1). The slowness of moving in the centre forms part of the paradisiacal vibe, widely distributed in photos of tourists ambling along its cobbled streets at night.

Figure 19: Traffic backed up along the Avenida Baía dos Golfinhos

For Claudia, the people she associates with really belonging to the town, the *nativos*, also represent this stasis. Brazil's paradisiacal imaginaries come intertwined with stories of the 'bestial people' (Fonseca, 1996: 114) of the colonial encounter, and in Pipa these imaginaries render its resident population as fixed in that time and space. 'They're dangerous!' Claudia tells me. 'There is a different law for them!' However, it is important to clarify that these populations are not *native*,

and in the sort of original violence common to Brazil's colonisation, the *potiguar* population of the area[55] were forced from the land (made mobile), killed, or intermixed.[56] Therefore, despite the *nativo* residents in the centre being in possession of the very valuable sort of property Claudia has, she is unable to see them as fundamentally sharing the town with her. They are instead something she is only able to sense as part of the stasis that traps her.

Interestingly, Claudia turns back to the road to cope with this perceived estrangement from her paradisiacal dream. Much like Alexandre, Claudia uses the road to 'get out', even if for a short while. She tells me about a spa along the beach that she and her husband go and relax in, leaping on their motorbike to the next-door town where she can simply not be in Pipa anymore. She tells me of a feeling of 'liberty' the minute they roll down the hill that leads out of the town and tells me it keeps her going. By merit of understanding herself as not part of this fixed population,[57] Claudia is able to understand herself as still in possession of a subjectivity of mobility. She simultaneously senses herself as mobile, in that she can exercise a degree of what she perceives as freedom, whilst also sensing that she is fixed in a way that channels the flow of capital through the town. Her brief escapes to the spa therefore represent a further instance of 'choreopolicing' (Lepecki, 2013) in that it is movement itself which she senses as the solution to a somewhat overwhelming sense of fixity. Her journeys down the road's dependable asphalt and engagement with its form seem to enable this. In this way, she enacts her role in the paradisiacal distribution of the sensible in a way that continues to construct certain populations as excluded and fixed in time.

The road, then, acts as temporal frontier (de Certeau, 1984) which serves to ontologise Pipa's *nativo* population as belonging to Kristeva's 'monumental time' (1986). This acts as the foundation for the hierarchical relationships that certain seemingly mobile residents enact through what they see as their privileged, modern, mobility. However, I have also argued that these mobilities are not the result of a fixed dynamic, but are changing, mutable, and fundamentally relational (Franquesa, 2011). As such, I have shown that the sense of which populations are mobile and which are not does not correspond to an identity of mobility but a subjectivity, produced through an aesthetic engagement with the road.

[55] A range of Tupi toponyms exist for what is now Pipa's location, including 'Oratapiry', or 'Village of the White Man' (Marinho, 2007: 11).
[56] Rio Grande do Norte now has one of the lowest indigenous populations in the whole of Brazil, with the 2010 census registering only 2,597 Potiguar inhabitants state-wide (IBGE, 2012).
[57] Many of whom, like Maristela, do not understand themselves as particularly fixed, but as living in the natural end point of a journey.

Therefore, having argued so far that it is not simply a case of who is mobile and who is not which produces Pipa's distribution of bodies via its sense of place, but an understanding of circulation as a good which works to police different people in different ways. In the next section, I build on this understanding of the road as part of a police order of circulation to consider the ways in which such policing actually enables new ground for moments of politics.

8.5 'Beers in the square after work?'

During the *alta* the benches which surround the town square fill up from around 8pm onwards as the young workers from the rest of the continent who man Pipa's restaurants clock off work and go and meet their friends to smoke cannabis and drink a few beers, deciding whether they plan to make a night of it or just chill for a while and go to bed relatively early. A buzz fills the air, and, crowding around every available seat, laughing, dancing, listening to loud music, practicing the acrobatic feats with which they will busk the next night, these workers cannot, and indeed do not, go unnoticed.

Indeed, the square often becomes the focal point through which paradisiacal affects become shared and known, where the town's *vibes* are enacted and challenged, where attachments are acted out. As such, the question of movement does not merely relate to the way people move to and from Pipa but how such movements intersect with their histories and how they enable them to sense the town in multiple and often contradictory ways. Indeed, such a dynamic is deeply embedded within the affective atmospheres within the town. On the days leading up to the 8th of March, International Women's Day, messages began circulating through social media channels that a meeting was to be held in the town square to mark the occasion, asking for participation to help with technical matters and whether anyone had any ideas for how they'd like the meeting to be run. The evening dawned and gradually as night fell the square began filling up; groups of women began filtering into the square from all directions. Initially, the groups began sitting far apart from one another, but as the evening went on and cries regarding issues about being female in the world, in South America, and specifically in Pipa continued they began to converge. These moments of anger were broken up with celebrations of feminist arts and talents: dancing, acrobatics, drums. A growing sense of frustration grew as one woman spoke candidly and passionately about not feeling safe on the streets of Pipa as a lone woman, lamenting her fears over bringing her daughter up in such a space, asking what could be done to make her feel safe on the streets at night.

At this point, a group of men sat along one side of the square on a bench laughed, seemingly in derision. Instantly, the atmosphere changed; the previously diffuse anger became instantly focused on this group, the groups of women who had drawn closer but not yet broken ranks from who they came with began

to talk to one another, asking what had happened. The woman on the microphone yelled at him to leave. After he did, the energy continued to bubble round the crowd a little while longer, gradually peals of laughter began to break out. At this point, one of the organisers suggested the final activity of the evening, a group song written by some Argentine feminists for Women's day. Passing out sheets of paper with the Spanish lyrics for those who did not speak it, the organisers asked everyone to join hands in a circle. After the earlier interjection, the energy in the square translated into a rousing chorus of voices, chanting 'somos feministas anticapitalistas' [we are anticapitalist feminists], holding hands and laughing as they enacted a nascent and temporary community (Closs Stephens et al., 2021) brought together through an act of reclaiming public space and the way such atmospheres brought disparate groups together by questioning how it feels to live in paradise in a way which cannot be fully enjoyed.

In the rest of this section, I consider the way in which the workers who congregate in the square at yet other times, answering the demands of capital by constituting a floating labour force which fills spaces in tourist hotspots around the continent, nonetheless enable a disruption in the paradisiacal distribution of the sensible by doing more than simply being mobile as and when is necessary. In short, through the way they populate Pipa's tourist-facing public spaces to be more than that which their role in upholding the town as a space of circulation demands: by having fun.

Many residents complain about this use of the town square, and of the constant audible presence of Spanish these workers and tourists bring to the town. Indeed, as Liciane, a 46 year old tour vendor who has lived in the town for 'many years' now complains to me 'you can't take your children there at night' [Pipa, 12/07/2019] due to the smell of cannabis wafting through the air. It is, indeed, particularly potent. Liciane tells me that many residents in the town are pushing for the council to 'make better use of the square', to fill it up with more events, and to make sure there's more things going on. She tells me they think it would be better for the town as it would attract more tourists to come to these events, while simultaneously stopping the square from being 'submerged by *argentinos*'. It would also be better for residents, she assures me, with exciting things to see and do, and make the place feel more like the paradise she knows it to be. However, on the nights when the square is made busy, the groups of workers nonetheless find other places to sit, laugh, and smoke. Therefore, whilst there are efforts to maintain the sense of paradisiacal luxury in the middle of town through assigning the square a more formal function, and displacing those who disrupt its paradisiacal *vibe*, these workers use their continued ability to circulate to continue having fun.

Indeed, placing the workers' complex relations of mobility at the centre of my analysis points to a way to understand how these acts lead to the troubling of assumed categories of political

community usually known and sensed in Pipa. Susanita, 23, a young Argentine restaurant worker, seems momentarily confused when I ask her what happens when Pipa's low season hits and its plentiful supply of work dries up. She states, as it is obvious: 'Well… everybody leaves…' [Pipa, 21/12/17]. She has been working in Pipa now for about six months, a relatively extended period for the group of migrant tourist-workers (Bianchi, 2000) from the rest of the continent that constitute a large chunk of Pipa's work force for half of the year. Much like many other ostensibly mobile residents of the town, Susanita was attracted by Pipa's paradisiacal elements and the sort of life it could provide her: 'I just wanted to work in a really chilled-out place, see the world a little bit, get some sun… see the sea… you know?' Encouraged by stories of its crystalline seas, booming nightlife, and bountiful job market she decided to come to the town for a while to relax. Susanita's job does not, however, pay handsomely, and most workers like her have no legal status.[58] To afford Pipa's high rent, she sells empanadas to Argentine tourists on the beach when she is not working and shares a two-person house with six other friends. They share beds, crash on sofas after a night out, and rotate between who sleeps in the hammock ('It's actually nice, it gets really warm').

Mobile, in that she made the cross-continental journey to get to the town in search of leisure, but also temporarily fixed to expedite the continued flow of capital in the town, Susanita represents part of South America's mobile labour force (Schincariol et al., 2017). Her use of the road is thus infrequent. She does not need to leave Pipa for any significant reason as she is in the area for fun; the road instead will facilitate her journey to the next place in which she labours in an underpaid job, thus forming part of the 'migration infrastructure' (Xiang and Lindquist, 2014) upon which places like Pipa depend. Her next encounter with the road will likely be when she decides to leave, a time when she tells me she will anew seek somewhere else to live and work, likely within a touristic setting. After all, as she says, 'if I'm going to have a shitty job, why not have a shitty job at the beach?'

As such, it is Susanita's touristic hypermobility that results in her working in a situation without legal labour protection and with an expectation of exploitative conditions, partially obscured, or at least with reduced importance due to the promise of paradise. Susanita therefore poses a challenge to definitions of mobility as those of choice (Sager, 2006), as she has exercised a touristic degree of freedom to get there, but also to framings of mobility as necessarily indicating possession of

[58] Whilst MERCOSUL made the possibility of labour integration between much of the continent straightforward (Declaração Sociolaboral do MERCOSUL de 2015 [MERCOSUL Socio-occupational Declaration of 2015], Artigo 24) such rules do not apply to tourists. Pipa's labour force is therefore largely undocumented and illegal, with many not staying in the town longer than three months to not exceed visa regulations. Due to family in Brazil, Susanita can. For more on labour migration and mobility see Xiang (2007).

power (Skeggs, 1994). Nonetheless, her relationship with Pipa's infrastructure, and the aesthetic map it provides, has entrenched and naturalised the police order of circulation within the town. Without Susanita and others like her, Pipa's exploitative economy would not function, however she has no claim to challenge her position within it. If she were to leave her job, there are hundreds of others who would willingly take her place. However, all of this policing, and the rejoinders to move and use Pipa's spaces only as they ought to be used in the service of tourism, does not stop her finding somewhere to enjoy herself.

8.5.1 Driving towards democracy

I speak to Leleco, 27, on a rainy night in the *baixa* when he's on a break from work in the phone accessory shop he works in. Much like many of the other young people I encountered in the town Leleco thought Pipa a fantastic place, where, like Maristela, he was able to 'be himself'. He liked that the place was 'avant-garde' with its attitude towards 'other lifestyles' [Pipa, 21/06/2018]. Additionally, to him the town is full of exciting restaurants, and the nightlife is incredible, giving him the chance to meet people from 'every corner' of the world, something he wouldn't be able to do at home in the city of Parnamirim, close to Natal, which he travels to regularly on his 'ancient' motorbike. When I ask him if he ever goes to any of the restaurants in Pipa Leleco pauses: 'Well… no, I don't have enough money for that'. He explains to me that he used to work in another branch of the same shop in Natal and that his wages there had been significantly higher, which he was surprised about when Pipa is such a 'place of wealth'. He sometimes still does shifts there and appreciates the extra money when he does.

'It's worth it to live somewhere like this, but.. I don't, I don't think it's right that they pay so little. It's because there's loads of *argentinos* in town and the bosses know they'll work for well under minimum wage because they're here illegally… So they know they can get away with paying everyone less than they should'.

Crucially, here, Leleco does not place the blame on the shoulder of the Argentine population of workers like Susanita, but on the very structure of the touristic demand for circulation which has temporarily fixed her as a disposable producer of capital. Interestingly, it is his very journeys, and the infrastructures through which they happen (Amin, 2014), which enable him to perceive this unequal societal arrangement. By journeying back to the Natal shop and working for a more appropriate wage he can see Pipa as only appearing wealthy off the back of excluded workers such as Susanita. This, therefore, is what Rancière terms as political rupture, where the contingency of

the social order is laid bare and a subject emerges which cannot make sense within the existing police order. The workers' joyful proclamations of taking part in paradise fill the square with loud, drunken Spanish; rather than simply being in the town to work and prop up its exclusionary circulation, they assert themselves as young people who also deserve to have fun.

Correspondingly, Leleco understands that Pipa's seeming riches are only made possible off the back of the labour of Susanita and others like her. He does not question why she would be there, after all, he understands Pipa's paradisiacal nature justifying anyone's arrival there. Instead, he questions that which keeps them both excluded: the exploitative tourist economy. Susanita, by taking part in the same nightlife, enjoying the same beaches, and being there alongside so many others like her is therefore claiming a political voice by having fun, and moving against that which the order of circulation has assigned her. Leleco can see that the tourist economy, building on paradisiacal tropes to suggest the sort of managerial totality of circulation which I have shown throughout, requires the artificially low wages enabled only through the exploitation of workers like Susanita.

The unavoidable presence of the number of Argentine workers in the town square, whilst instigating the efforts of policing I have outlined above, therefore provokes Leleco to share a moment of 'actually existing solidarity' (Shvartzberg Carrió, 2017: 95; see also Easterling, 2014) with the workers, enabled through the relative mobility of both. The hundreds of young workers who, throughout the *alta* joyfully populate some of the most visible parts of the town, exceed their assigned position within the paradisiacal consensus as floating labourers, and other residents cannot fail to notice them. However, it is through Leleco's journeys back and forth to Natal that he can perceive that the relative poverty he experiences is because of working within the same economic system as the workers he cannot fail to notice. The square, filled with the 'noise' of Spanish, thus opens up 'space' for 'contestatory speech' and enables these workers to draw attention to the 'structures of incommensurability that have denied them speaking parts within the order' (Shapiro, 2001: 93). By having fun, and by continuing to circulate within the town centre to enjoy themselves even when they come up against a police order which suggests they should not, Susanita and her friends become instead articulate subjects (Dikeç 2005) who call into question the supremacy of paradise.

This police order which produces the distribution of bodies within Pipa which demands the seasonal presence (or not) of these workers is therefore that which reveals its own contingency. Mobility, produced as a constitutive part of the sort of circulation tourism feeds upon through the technocratic

improvement of the road, enables the moments of democratic rupture which permit questioning of Pipa as a paradisiacal locus of wealth, and tourism as a justified object of development. The unavoidable spectacle of these workers in the square at night, and their continued exuberant exercise of mobility to have fun renders them visible, and articulate. Their numbers belie their presence and enable a sociality which demonstrates the contingency of the tourist economy (Aradau and Huysmans, 2009). Leleco therefore shows us that the 'space of circulation' that understandings of mobility produce also enables 'space for the appearance of a subject: the people, the workers, the citizens. It consists in re-figuring space, that is in what is to be done, to be seen and to be named in it' (Rancière, 2010: 45). No police order, even one as seductive as the conjoined glamour of paradise and mobility, can fully achieve the consensus it seeks, and gaps in the distribution of the sensible always emerge, rendering movement itself as the domain of the political (Lepecki, 2013). Roads, then, are central to the technocratic order they uphold, but also provide the capacity for its undoing, and Susanita's claim to a voice points Leleco in the direction of how this might be.

8.6 Journey's end

Although the road has been repaved, the constant flow of traffic in and out of the town still sometimes gets stuck behind one of the ancient lorries that transport workers or food to and from Pipa. Sometimes, due in part to the marvels of its technological advancement, a car will career off its side since drivers can now take its many turns at breakneck speed. Such small disruptions to the town's circulatory regime remind those who use it of the essential role the road has in upholding the conditions which bring Pipa's paradisiacal charms into being.

Rather than recount the ways in which mobility constitutes the contemporary world, we instead need to think about why. Considering what our environments point us towards can help uncover the logic of domination central to the exercise of power that mobility and infrastructure together enable. The world is indeed constantly on the move, characterised in untold ways by arrival, leaving, and the (re)inscription and unfolding of varying dynamics of power imbricated in, and productive of, this messy process. However, to understand these dynamics of power, we must instead uncover what is being kept from our view through the constant directives we experience to move or stay in place. Understanding the way that our sensuous experience of infrastructure points us towards certain ends can help us reveal these logics.

The question, therefore, moves away from thinking through who can move (or not), but towards the messy complexity of overlapping and often contradictory requirements of the (im)mobilisations

of capital within the economies in which we work. In doing so, mobility becomes a more complex phenomenon than simply something that one has or does not; more than an identity or flow, mobility instead emerges as a complex element of the production of power and modes of governance within which we operate. We therefore move away from seeing mobility as an inevitable expression of circulation, and instead begin to consider how circulation itself is produced and naturalised as that which drives global economies.

Maristela is not one of the global cosmopolitan elites with the sort of purchasing power that enables transnational mobility, but nonetheless her aesthetic engagement with the infrastructures around her point her to an experience of movement which help constitute her subjectivity of mobility. She shows us that the way we feel we ought to move depends upon an architecture which enrolls understandings of progress and modernity into its register of importance, thus obscuring perception of the exclusionary class-based hierarchical distribution which naturalises circulation and forecloses political solidarity. When considering Maristela alongside the experiences of Alexandre and Claudia, what we see is that this perception cannot simply be reduced to the realms of capital or the material, but that it builds on, over, and through already existing localised geographic imaginaries to naturalise its expediencies. In this way, differentiated positions and understandings show us how mobility must be understood by way of its inherent relationality, and the complexity that perceptions of these relations suggests. One person's movements can simultaneously represent mobility and fixity, and how we sense this sheds light on the differentiated role this contradiction has.

However, it is also important to note that the role of the built environment does not prompt the sort of totalitarian adherence to set pathways that these power differentials may suggest. The ever-changing complexity of mobile relations and the flows of capital they engender instead open gaps in their own naturalisation. The chance encounter of Susanita and Leleco show us how the regime of hypermobility on which touristic economies depend can result in political moments which chip away at the naturalised assumptions touristic circulation is designed to produce. Mobility as a production, therefore, aims to keep us moving when necessary, driving us away from noticing the potential points of solidarity we may otherwise find. However, in doing this, it brings into being meetings which, although fleeting and transitory, also provide the conditions by which we challenge that we think we know. As such, viewing mobility as a relational function of power gives us a reading sensitive to the power geometries and class politics involved in its continuation, whilst also arguing that we need to move beyond this point of critique to avoid simply retracing the fixed flows of circulation that capital pushes us towards.

Indeed, what this shows is that rather than a singular prevailing paradisiacal *vibe* in the town, the sense of what paradise ought to be and how it ought to feel is something felt differently according to how residents feel they can move through its places. The question of how mobility underpins the production of Pipa's spaces is therefore intimately embedded within how people feel they relate to the town, paradise, and one another within those spaces. Mobility is not a singular quality possessed by some and desired by others, it is a complex phenomenon produced by and embedded within how people feel they relate to the town's spaces and how they direct residents to move. However, what is clear is that neither is the *vibe* a singularly experienced phenomenon which conditions movement in the same way in all its places. Instead, the varied and overlapping ways in which people experience the town, and therefore the atmospheres and sensations they feel as they move through it depend on their lives and histories. As Sara Ahmed notes (2010), when sensing an atmosphere the way in which we enter, or move into it changes what we are able to sense. The various affective atmospheres which flow through the town and bring collectives together are seen and felt differently in their spaces according to who is feeling them, however, there are moments when they exceed these divisions and enable perceptions and enactments of solidarity and claiming a political part. The vibe is therefore both the means and site of political contestation through the way Pipa's residents sense new possibilities in the presence of previously unexperienced sensations and how they understand them as enabling their own futures.

What this tells us is that through sensing the *vibes* of Pipa's spaces and how it fits into their lives residents variously accept and contest the neoliberal formations of touristic paradise and instead consider how they are able to carve out their own paradises within. Rather than offer an overarching mode wherein paradise always enables contestation or always enables stultification, it is instead a fantasy *capable* of drawing together communities, temporary though they may be, which do not sit easily amid the neoliberal demands of paradise.

This chapter has therefore pointed towards the ways in which paradise is deployed in Pipa to justify the movement of goods and people necessary for tourism. Paradise again emerges as that which is positioned in multiple overlapping ways to obscure, enable, and produce the exclusionary domination of contingent touristic economies. By bringing in considerations of mobility to my interrogation of what paradise means in practice I have shown the complexity and challenge of perceiving the shifting hierarchies upon which Pipa depends, further entrenching its position in the surrounding area. This chapter has therefore brought together many of the threads running through the preceding chapters regarding the different ways residents enact their overlapping and

conflicting dreams and fantasies of paradise in the production of space. Although the creation of the touristic enclave as a feature of development is something very much enabled by the increased mobility of touristic capital exchange, the social relations which emerge from this are, unexpectedly, the source from which a critique of the very logic of capital transpires. As such, it has brought together arguments regarding the utopian promise of development, aesthetic modes of government through partitions of the sensible, the role of fantasy, and the capacity for political action. In doing so, this chapter unites the overarching themes of my argument to claim that it is through the embodied modes of everyday life which residents of tourist towns produce, reproduce, and, importantly, critique the function of capital.

Chapter 9: Conclusion

Life in paradise emerges as something altogether impossible to fully contain despite the forces of violence, power, and exploitation embedded within touristic space. Although not common, and certainly not easy, when the dreams of living better that paradise promises come up against the limits that capitalist development articulated within colonial space, residents of Pipa act in ways which transgress and refuse the stratifying and individualising ways of relating to one another they simultaneously enact. In doing so, they critique the limitations of tourism as a form of development by highlighting the various inequalities it perpetuates. In this final chapter, I reflect on what bringing paradise into vision of a space of the political as experienced now has enabled us to see, how that changes what we already think, and what it might let us go on to see in a different light.

9.1 Findings

In this thesis I have considered the way residents of a tourist location enact and challenge the logics of colony and capital, thereby authoring possible modes of politics. At the start of this thesis I asked the following questions:

How does the concept of paradise offer an insight into the formation of political communities within tourist locations?

• *How do spatial conflicts over the meaning of paradise underpin modes of governance in Pipa?*

• *How do residents' multiple attachments to different meanings of paradise enable and trouble the formation of different communities?*

• *How do multiple understandings of paradise enable resistance to tourism?*

• *How do reisdents' various mobilities intersect with the redrawing of political communities?*

By considering the way residents sense what is possible within paradisiacal touristic space, I have shown that the way in which they enact social relations is both productive of and produced by material and social asymmetries in Pipa. This thesis has therefore brought together understandings of the formation of communities with the function of both capitalist and colonial social relations using an interdisciplinary approach. In each of the empirical chapters I focus on different but connected ways in which understandings of paradise appear amid the production of these social and material relations to demonstrate the unexpected ways in which embodied experience and

intimate fantasies constitute the function and challenge to such systems as much as they are limited by them. These findings therefore suggest that capacities for political action within touristic spaces of development are embedded within the production of deeply asymmetric social relations. However, these claims merit contextualisation and discussion as they emerge from the specific set of embodied and sensory engagement with the town.

My primary motivations for researching the role residents award to paradise in the town was to uncover the relationship between their intimate and everyday fantasies and the production of material inequalities. This approach therefore followed calls to understand how marginalised communities enact political relations amid changing modes of capital in ways that go beyond a response to globalisation (Amoore, 2002). Therefore, understanding how they oriented themselves in their relations with others in such a space provided valuable insight into what they felt and knew as possible there. In each chapter I engage with the concept of paradise as it appears threaded throughout the lives of residents in surprising ways and in diverse registers Taken together, what I present in each enables us to build a picture of the ways that paradise is a fantasy through which people enact their connection to some and their simultaneous separation from others. The production of this fantasy therefore binds residents to their own conditions of subordination (Ahmed, 2010) in some instances whilst yet others bring these conditions into sharp relief.

What I have not offered here is any clear definition of what paradise *is.* The reason for this is that by exploring these multiple and overlapping modes of connection and separation, I have shown that it is through the often conflicting understandings of paradise and what it means to live in a place that bears such a name that its meanings are produced. By contextualising these meanings amid both their colonial and contemporary backgrounds, I have therefore pointed to the way that colonial hierarchies persist amid changing economic situations. This thesis has shown how the mutual constitution of material inequalities and the formation of community is also situated within the production of political relations engendered by colonial social structures and changing patterns of capitalist exploitation. The ambiguity of what paradise means to Pipa's residents has thus demonstrated such intimate fantasies as deeply embedded within and productive of the continued relations of mutuality between capitalist production and postcolonial space (Coronil, 1996). I have therefore offered an understanding of the role of colonial representations such as paradise which, whilst embedded within highly asymmetric power relations, are constantly being reworked and negotiated through how people relate to them and one another.

These diverse meanings therefore supported theorisations of paradise as ambiguously utopian through the way they represent a desire to live better (Levitas, 1990). By considering how such a desire both shaped and was shaped by the modernising and utopian promise of touristic development, I showed that fantasies of escape present a fruitful site from which to explore the functions and slippages of capital through quotidian challenges to its logics and whether Pipa could help realise those fantasies. This was most evident in the way that residents continually changed their own feelings on whether Pipa could be paradise depending on how they were able to sustain their lives or not within it, as I especially showed in chapter 6's discussion of affective attachments to paradise. Here, I explored the linkages and gaps between the utopian fantasies of living better residents attached to Pipa as a space, its resemblance to colonial and touristic imaginaries. What this discussion enabled me to foreground was the simultaneously productive and indistinct role of fantasies in the production and seduction (Cartier and Lew, 2015; Little, 2020) of touristic place. However, what it also revealed is that touristic economies of abandonment (Povinelli, 2011) and the dispossession and exploitative labour practices therein constitute a form of slow violence (Nixon, 2011) against which residents use their fantasies as coping mechanisms to ensure their survival (Berlant, 2011). What this showed is that the daily experience of living amid these conditions is produced by and productive of the way a place like Pipa continues to be known as paradise. As such, the role of fantasies of the multiple ways that touristic development might ensure the different life many seek means that these fantasies produce the global and local intersections of capital in which they are found.

The dynamics of how residents understand and therefore construct Pipa as paradise, and therefore as a place which represents a way to live differently from the multiple constellations of urban violence, dispossession, and alienation they saw as representing the world outside, had specific spatial effects. Throughout all the chapters, but particularly in 5 and 7 I outlined the role that residents' fantasies had in embedding a vision of Pipa as a space of exception (Ong, 2006) by enacting spatial practices which strengthened its enclavic (Minca, 2009) nature through differentiating it from the world outside. Their understandings that here life should be better because it offers possibilities not available in the world of normality outside therefore sustain both their own attachments to exploitation and the concentration of these spatialities of consumption (Sidaway, 2007) in Pipa as a place. As I argued in chapter 5, these effects therefore underpin the way fantasies of paradise enable modes of governance.

However, in exploring the embodied modes by which residents sense and enact the hedonistic forms of paradisiacal fantasies which sustain these conditions, I have also explored the way such

fantasies are produced through contact with others who share this space. Whilst this often led to the reproduction of inequalities and hierarchies of both capitalist production/exchange and colonial social imaginaries, it also demonstrated that such embodied fantasies can lead to a refusal of these stratifying logics. People in Pipa drew upon the possibility of believing in something better to enact critiques of the functions of capital *as a result of* these logics of separation. In chapter 8, we saw this most clearly through the way mobilities underpinned emergent solidarities, but this possibility was felt throughout in small acts of refusal (Jones, 2012) such as the sharing of pavement space in chapter 5. What this shows is that the stultifying and commodifying capacities of paradise as touristic space which residents enact can also enable political action. The multiple meanings of paradise residents produce disrupt the singular logic (Rancière, 2004a) of colonial imaginaries and touristic development through enacting the possibility of living better they promise.

9.2 Contributions and implications of the research

Paradise sells a promise. Here is a place where the struggles and challenges of daily life *should* fall away, where there *should* be space for relaxation, time for yourself, a way to enjoy things that real life would not let you do. Paradise is somewhere different, it has rules of its own and the outside world does not quite apply. It might appear then that challenges encountered here should merely slip away, but of course, within the exploitative and hierarchical touristic economies which sit in such paradisiacal places as Pipa, residents encounter them daily. Indeed, the struggle and difficulty of the real world constitute a real, material backbone of what enables visions of paradise to flourish. Within lives characterised by such material difficulties, then, perhaps paradise should be instead a cruel joke, or at best a distant and ironic promise. However, what Pipa's residents have shown me is that dreams and fantasies of paradise are not so easily extinguished; they take on forms and patterns that might not be expected, they are challenged, struggled with, and clung to, they vanish and reappear between people and places. However, they remain, a small kernel at the core of the difficulties encountered that somehow life *could* be better, even if it isn't yet. Crucially, these fantasies are generative and alive, binding residents to one another and cleaving them from yet others in the negotiation and rearticulation of the communities in which they live as they seek to make sense of what living in paradise can mean.

Understanding paradise in this way has opened perception to the complex ways in which residents' inner lives are sensed and enacted, drawing attention to their crucial role in the production and rearticulation of paradisiacal space. It has therefore shown that understanding the way people exist and enact their lives within such places is not incidental to such production, but central to its very

functioning. It has therefore highlighted the limitations in approaching such settings with a structural approach which assumes the roles and lives of people within, designating them particular ways of being within these hierarchical situations. Rather than understand the residents of Pipa as relevant to analysis only by means of their suffering, I have therefore argued here that seeking to uncover their relationships with the town, one another, and paradise through their capacity as political beings can tell us more about how life there unfolds. This thesis has therefore contributed to existing knowledge around the conditions in which people live, the way they carve out a space for themselves which makes sense amid the unfolding of the various scenes of their lives in paradise. In doing so, it has clearly demonstrated that the way residents accept, negotiate, and subvert the limits placed upon them is a crucial part of what sustains and troubles what is possible in paradise. I have shown that to access the complex registers upon which residents enact these possibilities requires understanding how they sense and know these limits. In short, I have shown that paradise is inextricable from those who live in it.

Rather than focusing on tourism solely as an externally introduced system of governance, in this thesis I have contributed to understanding it as a fertile and productive ground from which to understand the way its economies and political relations are produced through embodied interactions. Throughout the thesis, I ask what the political implications of understanding tourism in this way are, arguing that residents' everyday experiences of living in paradise enable them to critique the conditions and logics of the touristic economy in Pipa. I therefore contribute to wider conversations about which forms of knowledge constitute the basis for political action.

Firstly, I make the case for the inclusion of a wide range of affective modes in consideration of the constitution of both political action and the function of political systems through their centrality to the processes of production of meanings and material relations. This work therefore contributes to calls to broaden the range of emotional grammar (Lisle, 2016b) within discussions of the role of affect and emotion in IR. As residents redraw and enact the possibilities of life in Pipa through various spatial conflicts which they negotiate and understand through embodied modes of knowledge, they held complex and overlapping emotional states through which they understood their lives (Berlant, 2011; Åhäll, 2018; Ahmed, 2010; Hartman, 2019). The joy Maristela felt at the possibility of participating in Pipa's way of life is what sustained her through her difficult daily journeys to and from the town. The way labour relations intersect with mobility and distance in Pipa therefore cannot be understood without this joy. Throughout the thesis I demonstrate the way residents draw joy and humour from within the slow violence of tourism (Nixon, 2011), therefore enabling the claim that the ways residents sense and relate to one another is mutually constitutive

of these modes of violence. What I have shown, however, is that these affective states should be understood as bearing generative (Stewart, 2007) power and therefore should be understood as equally important in the production and negotiation of tourist space.

This thesis has also raised questions about the role of touristic development in a place like Pipa. It has built on discussions of the commodification of place (Young and Markham, 2020; Castrees, 2003) to explore the complexity of various dynamics of enclosure and dispossession embedded in modes of touristic value production. By viewing tourist development as an ongoing and violent process (Devine and Ojeda, 2017) I have shown that its contexts underpin how residents view their lives in the town. I have used these understandings to explore tensions which residents express in the logic of capital, showing how residents such as Micaela build upon understandings of what paradise means to them to form a basis to challenge the dispossession of paradisial space enacted through touristic development. I have shown how these tensions and conflicts are enacted through the mutual production of such meaning. By exploring how many residents such as João or Luís welcomed increasing commodification as it represented an improvement in their own lives, I have also contributed to ongoing conversations about the forms of enclosure from below (Angosto-Ferrandez, 2020) which characterise tourist space. However, I have shown that these intimate and embedded productions of violence are negotiated within understandings of whether Pipa's touristic industry will sustain their futures, and therefore pointed to the fragility and conditionality of these visions.

In illuminating the way residents continue to enact and sense the material and social colonial relations of Brazil as a way of making sense of life in Pipa as the tourist industry undergoes rapid changes, I have drawn attention to the need to include the colonial within understandings of this mutual production (Coronil, 1996). Therefore, in discussing the different affective states which sustain possible relations in Pipa, I have shown that deeply embedded colonial hierarchies constitute the possibilities of what residents are able to sense (da Costa, 2015). I therefore demonstrate throughout that rather than understand the ongoing violence of colonialism within tourism from the perspective of spatial fetishism (Devine and Ojeda, 2017), understanding how meaning is reproduced and articulated within the dynamics of touristic enclosure shows how colonial relations constitute the material basis for the production of exclusionary spatial practice. This thesis has therefore contributed to ongoing conversations about the production of touristic enclaves (Sidaway, 2007; Ong, 2006; Minca, 2009) by showing that the process which enables this separation is inseparable from performances of colonial hierarchies. A particular theme which emerged throughout was the experience of time in the constitution of these spatial effects as a result

of these colonial material relations. This was through both the embodied experience of multiple lived temporalities and through repeated understandings of modernising and civilisational time. Therefore, this thesis explored the way residents enact colonial relations through multiple chronopolitical modes.

Whilst this perspective contributes to the field of tourism, I also suggest that the analysis of how the politics of enclosure, community, and utopia are produced in interlocking modes 'from below' has the potential to contribute to broader approaches to understanding the production of the limits of the international (Walker, 1990) as a sensory, embodied process of negotiation. By focusing on the way residents somatic engagements with the world prompted them to question what the supremacy of touristic development in Pipa meant, I showed that residents enacted frequent critiques of the interactions of global and local capital in their lives. When Leleco reframed the inequalities inherent to the tourist industry as a result of what he could sense and know about the possibilities of living in paradise, he therefore challenged and reworked the nature of living from touristic capital. Therefore, I have shown that residents' sensory knowledges form the basis for critiques of capital (Davies in de Goede, 2006). As such this work has contributed to understanding the continued politicisation of the limits of capital through the lives of the marginalised (Shapiro, 1996).

Finally, I have also shown throughout the rich potential available to reframing geopolitical knowledge through paradise. Whilst this thesis has shown the way tourists enact certain visions of Pipa as paradisial space, and therefore added to understandings of the power of such representations (Sheller, 2003; Kothari, 2015; Power, 2003; Nixon, 2015) it has also demonstrated its fertility as a point from which to understand the possibility of lives in tropical places. Therefore, it has added to calls to reframe the political nature of paradise as an affective and productive element of daily life (Deckard, 2010; Alexeyeff and McDonnell, 2018). It has done this by arguing that following the way paradise appears as a fantasy means 'an attunement to possibilities opening up and not necessarily good ones. But maybe.' (Stewart, 2011: 449).

9.3 Avenues for further research

This thesis has not only contributed to existing debates over the possibility of resistance and the nature of the political within global politics, both within the context of tourism and in a broader sense about how to think of resistance in postcolonial places, but also pointed to fertile ground in the consideration of how we think of the rich diversity of everyday life as a site where global

politics is crafted. While I have focused here primarily on the way these experiences are felt through modes of class, there is further work to do on considering how the diverse iterations of race and gender contribute to this rethinking of knowledge. For example, Brazilian society is deeply hierarchical and the ways of experiencing space I discuss here have been fruitfully discussed as further stratified along raced and gendered lines by merit of their embodied and aesthetic dimensions (Nascimento, 1984). Pipa is a space embedded within the northeast as a region known as racialised (Albuquerque Jr., 1999), and the capacities for imagination and fantasy I discuss in detail here have also been explored from the way they are differently experienced through race (Gilroy, 1993; Hartman, 2019). It would be extremely interesting to think through what a space like Pipa means for a capacity to dream within a national and local context which forecloses such dreams through race. Similarly, we might consider how the possibility to know otherwise within spaces of capitalism in Latin America are also inflected by gender (Lugones, 2008). Indeed, in recent months a documentary film called *Xerequexê* (Társis Farias, 2021) was made about a friend of mine in Pipa and her experiences as a black woman who lives in paradise; the film was arresting, it juxtaposed shots of Pipa's paradisial landscape with discussion of Andreia's life both leading up to her time in Pipa and during. It showed her setting up her own food business (indeed, I can attest her food is excellent) and the hopes and dreams she attached to a life in paradise, and what she felt it afforded her. This shows the particularly interesting things we might learn by asking the same question from other angles.

As this thesis is so heavily embedded within the context of global capital and tourism a salient question which also emerges is what might happen to places like Pipa in light of the COVID-19 pandemic. Whilst the pandemic has certainly impacted the tourist industry worldwide, prompting fear that its economic shock will be permanent (Behsudi, 2020) it also highlighted the degree to which the industry is imbricated in global economies. Tourists acted as early prolific vectors (Farzanegan et al., 2020) and the halting of the majority of leisure travel laid bare the uneven spread of its industries throughout tourism dependent economies and its role in environmental impact (see discussion from Brouder et al, 2020). However, despite the visibility of tourism's centrality to these processes, as Hall notes, the 'signs are not good' (in Brouder et al, 2020: 739) that the experience will have changed anything. Indeed, in Pipa there was a mandatory state quarantine in place which meant a sudden proliferation of community organising for those for whom the loss of tourist income would be catastrophic. Residents erected a barrier across the road to prevent incoming tourists from trying to sneak off there on holiday. However, in a pattern reflected across much of the world, loss of income meant the pressure to reopen was intense; huge debates were held across public fora such as Facebook groups and the town was reopened. Reflecting the pattern I note in chapter 6, this

tourism was of course mostly Brazilian. This has had a destructive effect on the health of the town, which has no health infrastructure capable of treating serious cases (as far as I am aware the nearest intensive care units are in Natal, nearly 100km away). Indeed, images of the main street packed with maskless tourists made national news more than once (Araújo, 2021) amid a catastrophic national health crisis. Whilst the immediate future of tourism might not be as dramatically changing as many predicted it might, there are nonetheless countless lives in the many places across the world like Pipa which will now have a different relation to the dreams and promises tourism suggests.

Tourism is a phenomenally powerful thing, spanning both the globe and the most intimate parts of peoples lives. Indeed, it is perhaps one of the sites where we can most clearly see the articulation of the multiple relationships which render those two locations of politics inseparable. In Pipa, promises of international development prompt a range of attachments with the potential the town has for futures. However, Pipa's residents also show us that we can never quite know what paradise means to everyone who dreams with it.

For my final words I will leave Pipa with Henri Lefebvre's understanding of the possibilities held within spaces of leisure through the potency of a desire which 'has no particular object, except for a space where it has full play: a beach, a place of festivity, the space of a dream' (1991: 353). In Pipa, residents author multiple possibilities within multiple paradises by holding on to their dreams. Whilst what will come of these dreams is unclear, what is clear is that through them residents open possibilities that just might unsettle the ways they are kept apart.

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Appendix A: List of interviews

Name	Country	Group	Date
Ferdinanda	Brazil	Morador	29/10/2017
Thaís	Brazil	Nativa	11/11/2017
Polly	Argentina	Residente	18/12/2017
Susanita	Argentina	Residente	21/12/2017
Emanuelly	Brazil	Nativa	10/02/2018
Kat	Netherlands	Morador	17/03/2018
Alexandre	Brazil	Morador	21/03/2018
José Fernando	Brazil	Residente	13/04/2018
Ryan	Brazil	Nativo	17/05/2018
Benedita	Brazil	Nativa	19/05/2018
Henrique	Chile	Morador	19/05/2018
Débora	Brazil	Residente	29/05/2018
Igor	Brazil	Residente	31/05/2018
Leonidas	Brazil	Nativo	01/06/2018
Camila	Argentina	Morador	05/06/2018
Seu Barroso	Brazil	Nativo	10/06/2018
Valentino	Brazil	Morador	12/06/2018
Luís	Brazil	Morador	17/06/2018
Joamir	Brazil	Morador	20/06/2018
Armando	USA	Morador	21/06/2018
Leleco	Brazil	Residente	21/06/2018
Liciane	Brazil	Morador	12/07/2018
Aurélio	Brazil	Morador	10/12/2018
Edilson	Brazil	Nativo	10/12/2018
Maristela	Brazil	Nativa	11/12/2018
Volnir	Brazil	Morador	11/12/2018
Micaela	Brazil	Nativa	14/12/2018

Ezequiel	Brazil	Nativo	19/12/2018
Aline	Brazil	Morador	21/12/108
Marissa	Brazil	Residente	21/12/2018
Rafa	Brazil	Morador	03/01/2019
Daiane	Brazil	Morador	04/01/2019
João	Brazil	Nativo	09/01/2019
Claudia	Italy	Morador	11/01/2019
Eduardo	Brazil	Nativo	13/01/2019