

Urban expansion in Campos do Jordão stimulated by tourism

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Abstract

In the State of São Paulo, Brazil, the town of Campos do Jordão is located in the Mantiqueira range, above the Paraíba River Valley, at a height of 1,700 meters. Its unique temperate dry altitude climate, with high solar radiation, makes it an important tourist destination. This paper argues that an economy based on tourism can potentialize the formation of a pole of regional development, particularly with the diversification of tourism and the promotion of ecotourism as a factor for human settlement, generating work in small neighboring towns and preventing urban sprawl.

Methodologically the paper starts with a socioeconomic analysis, considering a set of historical series data, indicating that the migration process toward the towns' surroundings, searching for work and better quality of life, enables the formation of a new urban structure that can offer them these conditions. The townscape pattern is that of a typical winter resort, a sophisticated place served by many hotels. However, the expansion of subnormal settlements and shantytowns shatters that image of picturesque rural life. Nevertheless, recently some economically dormant neighboring towns have begun to be revitalized through ecotourism, generating jobs and allowing for the local population to remain, as they find work and become participant in the region's development. The larger town, Campos do Jordão, now functions as a regional pole, stimulating population mobility searching for goods and services.

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Keywords: Urban development, tourism, local economy, Campos do Jordão, ecotourism

Resumo

No estado de São Paulo, Brasil, a cidade de Campos do Jordão está localizada na Serra da Mantiqueira, sobre o Vale do Paraíba, à altitude de 1.700 metros. A cidade se destacou pelo clima temperado seco de altitude, com altos índices de radiação solar, e hoje é um importante ponto turístico. O objetivo deste artigo é mostrar que uma economia baseada no turismo é um potencial para a formação de centros urbanos como pólos de desenvolvimento regional, particularmente com a diversificação do turismo e a promoção do ecoturismo como fator de assentamento humano, gerando trabalho nas cidades menores das vizinhanças.

O trabalho começa com uma análise socioeconômica, considerando um conjunto de dados históricos. Isto objetiva provar que o processo de migração para as vizinhanças das cidades, em busca de trabalho e melhores condições de vida, permite a formação de uma nova estrutura urbana que possa oferecer-lhes estas condições. O padrão da paisagem da cidade é aquela de uma típica estação de inverno, um lugar sofisticado servido por hotéis. Entretanto, essa imagem de vida rural pitoresca é logo quebrada por muitos assentamentos subnormais e favelas. Este trabalho mostra que hoje algumas cidades vizinhas antes adormecidas economicamente acabaram sendo revitalizadas devido ao ecoturismo, gerando trabalho e permitindo manter a população local na região. Como cidade maior, Campos do Jordão torna-se o pólo regional que estimula a mobilidade populacional em busca de produtos e serviços.

Palavras-chave: Desenvolvimento urbano, turismo, economia local, Campos do Jordão, ecoturismo

Foreword

Usually a tourist city offers two distinct landscapes: that of work, related to urban everyday activities, considered negative in the eyes of tourists who perceive its poor housing and industries; and the desirable scenery of a pleasant city encompassed by leisure areas, reminiscent of the countryside. The built environment is planned for consumption, where tourist activities and the city itself in a certain way are seen as merchandise (SILVA, 1999).

This scenery, once turned into a product, must have quality, because tourism demands "edenic cities", an image sold by advertising campaigns with strong visual appeal, opposing that of the

urban reality. According to Lefebvre (1991) tourism is one of the deviations of citizens' right to the city, as it denies the real cityscape with its deteriorated, ugly, and segregated areas, hiding the urban daily life.

In Brazilian cities, due to the lack of public funds, urban infrastructure provision is always delayed, arriving after land occupation, and leading to insufficient water and sewer services, causing environmental and social problems. This conflicting situation is opposed to the tourist market demand that deals with "perfect cities", and beautification in terms of urban quality.

In order to solve this conflict between the *real city* and the *city of imagination*, tourist entrepreneurs build resorts, hotels, hostels, inns and commercial centers served by urban infrastructure that the actual city cannot offer, treating thus such *areas of imagination* so that they can be safe and sound for the new visitors. In this way a bubble of quality is created in the middle of the actual city.

Silva (2004) states that the contradictions between work and leisure, holidays and everyday life, production and consumption, city and countryside can many times be overcome by the construction of hotels, parks and amusement complexes that offer the citizens a mix of city and country, urban facilities and contact with nature, leading thus to an actual city's mischaracterization.

The case of Campos do Jordão

Nevertheless, tourism, although creating special areas in the city, continues to be an important economic activity for both local and regional populations, as it also attracts workers from other surrounding towns. This happens in the Paraíba Valley region of São Paulo state in Brazil, where the mountain resort of Campos do Jordão is the main tourist attraction. Its work generation stimulates two types of urban mobility: that of people looking for job positions and better life conditions, and that of visitors that aspire for mountain climate and scenery, sometimes in order to establish a second residence in the country and enjoy the natural resources they cannot find in metropolises.

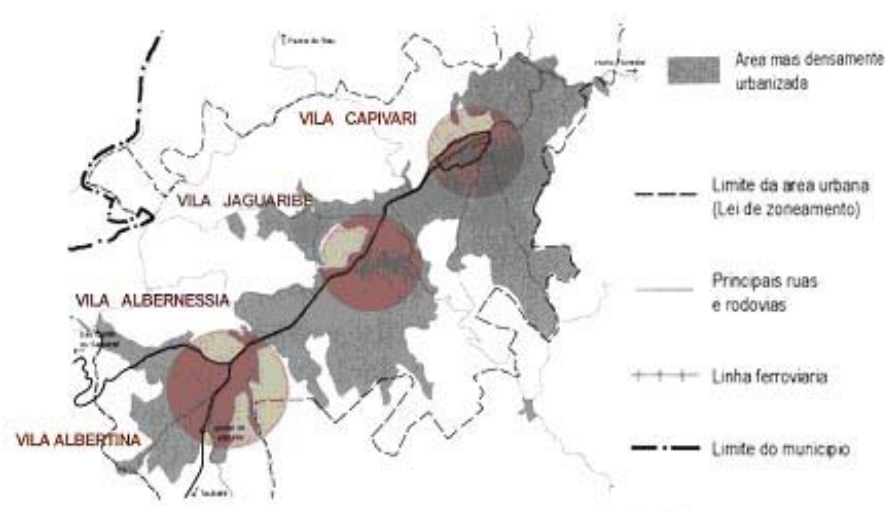
Local climate is dry and cold in Brazilian terms, as the city is located 1,700 meters above the sea level, receiving high amounts of solar radiation (GASQUEZ, 1992). Differences in relation to other cities in the Paraíba Valley are stressed by altitude and the healthy cold and dry climate. Historically occupation dates back to the 17th century, when this part of the Mantiqueira Range was known to be a passage for gold searchers heading for Minas Gerais.

These first settlers experienced socio-economic cycles going through periods of prosperity and decay,³ typically constituting an ethnical mixture of inhabitants, basically formed by indigenous people (LEVY, 2002).

In the 19th century, coffee producers from Rio de Janeiro migrated to Paraíba Valley. Rural population represented about 60% to 90% of the total. There were also small craftsmen and some large property owners (PIZA FILHO, 2002).

From a small village Campos do Jordão only started to take part in the urban regional system in the 1920s, as it was administratively classified as a health resort. During the 1920s, 30s and 40s, Campos do Jordão was known for its sanatoriums for patients with tuberculosis (TB). For this reason, it started stimulating the mobility of people looking for health improvement through climatotherapy. There were thus many sanatoriums in Vila Abernèssia until the 1950s, when a vaccine against TB was discovered. Since then it continued to attract visitors due to its scenery and healthy climate, including many wealthy families from São Paulo that came to build their country homes.

More recently, the number of visitors, hotels and second homes has boomed, and the increment in tourism-related activities has been causing significant transformations in the urban area, leading to the expansion of poor neighborhoods and to population mobility mainly to and from neighboring towns such as Santo Antônio do Pinhal and São Bento do Sapucaí, as people look for jobs and other opportunities in the tourist market.



³ Paraíba Valley's native population arose from the ethnical mixture that happened in the first centuries of Portuguese colonization. Between the XVI and the XVII centuries about 100,000 Portuguese and

Map 1: Drawn considering the satellite image, INPE 2001, plus the 2003 Master Plan.

The low-income population urban mobility, as well as that of median and high-income families generates two types of landscapes. The *real city* in Campos do Jordão is found between Albertina and Abernécia neighborhoods, structured by the resident population. The *city of imagination* is found in Capivari and Vila Inglesa neighborhoods, composed by a seasonal population with a second residence for leisure purposes.



Fig. 1: Vila Albertina houses, Campos do Jordão, São Paulo. Photo by Adriana Silva Barbosa, April 2005



Fig. 2: Capivari houses, Campos do Jordão, São Paulo. Photo by Adriana Silva Barbosa, April 2005

more than 4 million Africans came to Brazil.

Social and economic indicators

In an evaluation of Brazilian cities considering income, longevity and education between 1992 and 1997 (SEADE 2002, APUD CARMO, 2003, pp. 127-129), they were classified in 5 groups: Group 1: cities as economic poles; group 2: economically dynamic cities with low social development; group 3: healthy cities with low economic development; group 4: cities with low economic development, although in social transition; and group 5: cities with low social and economic development.

Since the survey considered only the resident population, Campos do Jordão was initially classified in group 5 according to the *Índice Paulista de Responsabilidade Social*. (Social Responsibility Indicator of the State of São Paulo). Urban centers in this group are usually in poor locations, with low rates of education, income and longevity. Therefore Campos do Jordão doesn't take part in the industrial economy as it is located in an environmental protection area known as the Mantiqueira Range, with numerous natural resources, appropriate for tourism.

Analyzing the indicators of wealth, longevity and education between 1992 and 1997, the city, that began as part of group 5, ascended to group 2, due to an increase in local income (above the region's average⁴) related to the rising number of commercial and services establishments aimed at tourist demand.

Focusing Campos do Jordão, the major ethnical mixture is located in the *real city* of Vila Albertina and Abernêssia neighborhoods, a region considered by the Municipal Strategic Master Plan as Low Income Population Residential Zoning. This type of zoning is soon noticed through its peculiar settlements located near the city entrance, where there is a portal.

Population growth rates have been increasing since the 1940's, with higher rates in the last decade reaching 1.88% per year – above 1.78% per year, the State average. Tourist activities are the major cause of this growth, creating jobs in the service sector and attracting migrants (SOUZA & BRUNA, 2004-2005).

Table 1: Campos do Jordão's population evolution in relation to other major cities in Paraíba Valley

⁴ The state is divided into Systems of Regional and Urban Planning, according to Complementary Law 760/1994, which regulates the 1989 State Constitution's dispositions, in relation to regional organization.

	1940	1950	1960	1970	1980	1991	2000
São José dos Campos	36.279	44.804	76.994	156.612	285.587	439.231	537.899
Taubaté	40.970	52.997	77.307	168.722	168.722	205.840	243.725
Campos do Jordão	11.716	13.040	16.450	18.592	25.964	35.762	44.164

Source: SEADE, Data Analysis System of the State of São Paulo, 2001.

Population growth varied according to the different periods, during the last 70 years. In 1920 the city was beginning to be built, becoming a municipality between the years of 1938 and 1940. During the 1940s large hotels were built to replace the city's initial function as a sanitarium hub. In the 1950s migration decreased due to outlawing of gambling and closure of the casinos, and also as other localities in the state started to become attractive for tourism. During the 1960s and 1970s tourism grew again as the state government started to promote it by means of winter music festivals. In the 1980s there was a real estate boom when thousands of houses and residential buildings were built, attracting not only tourists but also entrepreneurs, mainly from São Paulo and Rio de Janeiro (OLIVEIRA, pp. 99-100).

Table 2: Number of establishments in industry, commerce and services, 1995 and 2000.

	Campos do Jordão		São Bento do Sapucaí		Santo Antônio do Pinhal	
	1995	2000	1995	2000	1995	2000
Transformation industry	210	149	8	4	10	10
Commerce	419	498	16	16	20	27
Services	383	470	28	28	13	30

Source: SEADE, 2002.

Besides construction, the real estate market stimulated commerce and services, and the consolidation of the existing economic cluster revolving around the production of wool garments 2000 (SOUZA & BRUNA, 2004-2005), that, along with the building industry, is also a mobility factor, attracting low-income population as a labor force.

For the civil construction sector the city Master Plan approved in 2003 established special zones of tourist interest for residences near the Campos do Jordão State Park, making these areas very valuable, thus increasing the offer of jobs. Also the commercial and services sector is one that offers the great majority of unskilled jobs, for the most part limited to the winter season. Many specialized hotel employees come from other regions of the state.

Table 3: Economic activity in Campos do Jordão

Sector	Occupied personnel	Local units
Commerce & Services	2.186	868
Inns and Hotels & Food	1.373	288
Public Administration	1.270	8
Real Estate firms	922	170
Health & Social Services	857	32
Transformation Industry (mainly wool and chocolate)	819	184
Civil construction	480	109
Agriculture and extractivism	24	12
Others	936	118
Total	8.843	1.789

Source: IBGE - Brazilian Institute of Geography and Statistics. 2000 Census.

Outside the winter season, jobs are those of maintenance and repair; there are also jobs in housekeeping and sporadic services, or workers can look for opportunities in neighboring industrialized cities, a difficult task for this poorly educated population.

Ecotourism

Due to this need for jobs ecotourism surely should be seen as an alternative, mainly for young people between 18 and 25. Therefore adventure tourism or ecotourism is a way to create jobs outside the winter season with its traditional festivities. There are wide areas of environmental

preservation and the indigenous population can be trained as tourist guides, among other activities.

There are already other places in the State of São Paulo where ecotourism was stimulated in order to become a potential job generator. This is the case of the Paranapiacaba⁵ rail neighborhood, located in the municipality of Santo André at the Serra do Mar Range with its humid tropic climate. In the 19th century the railway was built to transport coffee to Santos harbor. This railway and the train station building were designated as a Historic Preservation Landscape, and now the municipality trains local residents to be ecological guides in partnership with social organizations. They also promote awareness regarding the relevance of environmental preservation.



Fig. 3: Eco-guides in front of the Paranapiacaba Municipal Park Portal in Santo André, São Paulo.
Photo by Adriana Silva Barbosa.



⁵ Paranapiacaba means “place from where one can see the sea” in the tupi-guarani language.

Fig. 4: Paranapiacaba Railway Village view. The Santos-Jundiaí Railway, built in 1867, derived from a concession given to the São Paulo Railway Company, that was later nationalized. Photo by Adriana Silva Barbosa.

Campos do Jordão itself is a Permanent Protection Area, instituted by the State of São Paulo through law nº 4,105 in July 26, 1984. The services that this area can create are an important economic activity for those that live there and thus can be a basis for sustainable development.

According to Marinček⁽²⁰⁰⁵⁾, 40 years ago people were in search of urbanity, because of its comfort and the possibility of professional success. Today it seems that the contrary is happening, due to modern urban problems and poor quality of life in large cities. In this context ecotourism is stimulated by the wish of being in contact with nature, in a return to human origins, the simple joys of crossing a river or climbing a mountain, or simply to walk in the forest.

Campos do Jordão's territory is a haven for ecotourism exploration as a repository of biodiversity. It is located in a drainage area of 642 sq km. Both its rural and urban areas are comprised in a Conservation Unit (PHILIPPI JR, ALVES, ROMÉRO & BRUNA, 2002) in order to protect the wildlife and maintain the genetic banks, as well as the other natural resources, allowing only adequate human activities in the region. To date there is only one local ecotourism agency – in Capivari neighborhood – which serves an average of 150 persons at weekends, taking them rappelling, tree climbing, and trekking. These kinds of activities can be done by anyone from age 15 to 60 in all times of the year; the only precaution to take is to protect the natural resources, using the environment without damaging it.



Fig. 5: Araucária Forest found in higher areas with altitudes between 1.500 to 1650 meters, with moss and other plants. Photo by Adriana Silva Barbosa.



Fig. 6: Carmelo Mountain, with a view of the city of Pindamonhangaba in the valley. Photo by Adriana Silva Barbosa.



Fig. 7: Carmelo Mount Waterfall. Photo by Adriana Silva Barbosa.

Environmental problems in Campos do Jordão can be seen along almost 3.5 km of the Capivari river, which crosses the city and receives about 80% of sewage and urban waste in its waters without treatment, in 15 different points, besides a number of commercial and residential dejects from buildings along the main avenue (PAULO FILHO, 1986).

Tourism has increased. The year 2000 registered a total of 3,437,556 visitors, that is, 77 times the municipality's population of 44,252 inhabitants, according to the Municipal Tourism Agency. Entrepreneurs and investors take care of the main tourist points of interest. Nearby dwellers from São Bento do Sapucaí and Santo Antônio do Pinhal gain with the situation, as they lack jobs and basic services in their own cities. In these small towns, where ecotourism is practiced, environmental preservation has been favored, while Campos do Jordão still remains as the regional economic pole, with more infrastructure, and has higher demographic growth. There is also tourist mobility, since visitors can stay in hotels in one city and pursue their leisure activities in another one.

Table 4: Urbanization rates in 1980, 1990 and 2000

Municipality	1980	1990	2000
Campos do Jordão	89,47%	98,05%	99,00%
Santo Antônio do Pinhal	24,85%	34,19%	41,90%
Santo Bento do Sapucaí	33,46%	44,07%	47,89%

SOURCE: SEADE, www.seade.gov.br , accessed in 31/03/05

Neighboring municipalities

Since São Bento do Sapucaí and Santo Antônio do Pinhal are located far from the major highways, they were known as economically dead cities, and their only possible option was to develop tourism. Nevertheless, they still lack adequate structure to receive visitors although demand has been on the rise.

AOUN (2003) says that as large cities experience chaotic growth, the wish to simplify urban life and even change it for country life increases. It seems that there is a nostalgic sense for living in places with natural and beautiful landscapes, even without urban comforts. The absence of urban development itself attracts ecotourism. Conscientious visitors also want to patronize local small-scale businesses, and prefer their expenditure to go to local people.



Fig. 8: View from São Bento do Sapucaí with Baú Rock. Photo by Adriana Silva Barbosa.



Fig. 9: Advertisement at Quilombo Inn, São Bento do Sapucaí. Photo by Adriana Silva Barbosa.



Fig. 10: Ana Chata Stone, in São Bento do Sapucaí. Photo by Adriana Silva Barbosa.

Since 1990 development of tourism potential in the area has been supported by the state government through its Department of Development Support for Hydromineral Resorts (like Campos do Jordão) and the Science, Technology, Economic Development and Tourism Agency of the State of São Paulo, promoting the Mountain Circuit that comprises the three cities. As a result of this campaign, between 1995 and 2000 there was an increase in the number of workers employed in the commerce and services sector, making tourism one of the main economic activities, as seen below.

Table 5: Occupied Personnel in industry, commerce and services in the municipalities studied

	Campos do Jordão		São Bento do Sapucaí		Santo Antônio do Pinhal	
	1995	2000	1995	2000	1995	2000
Transformation industry	1014	886	8	108	70	15
Commerce	969	1680	47	61	25	70
Services	3353	4974	170	394	454	403

Source: SEADE, www.seade.gov.br, accessed in 31/03/05.

Table 6: Municipalities' main economic activities

Municipality	Main economic activities
Campos do Jordão	Tourism , commerce, industry
São Bento do Sapucaí	Agriculture, milk cattle breeding, tourism
Santo Antônio do Pinhal	Agriculture, local commerce, tourism

SOURCE: Municipalities Local Governments and “Cone Leste Paulista ONG”, 2003.

Nevertheless these municipalities face a number of problems derived from rapid unplanned development, which are affecting the environment. Sewage, solid waste and other negative impacts can already be seen. Residents are stimulated to sell their properties, and even though they can make a quick profit, they continue as low-income citizens.

Despite these problems tourism continues to be more efficient than other kinds of industries in terms of job and income generation for less developed areas where the majority of the population still depends on agriculture or cattle breeding (see table above). Artisans can also profit from their traditional work and receive other cultural benefits since they are now in contact with other locations. Therefore the tourism industry in poor areas can have a beneficial effect on the community's well-being. Precautions should be taken regarding mass tourism, however, as it can damage the environment.



Fig. 11: Seasoned sauces and grains produced locally in Santana do Parnaíba, a tourist town in São Paulo. Photo by Adriana Silva Barbosa.



Fig. 12: Handmade purses in Embu das Artes, São Paulo. Photo by Adriana Silva Barbosa.



Fig. 13: Sunday street fair goods, produced by the São Bento do Sapucaí dwellers. Photo by Adriana Silva Barbosa.

As a conclusion, it is important to say that ecotourism, when well-planned and managed, can offer a means of sustainable development as well as assure the preservation of local culture and customs. It can also be a way of maintaining the local population in the region, since it ensures jobs and a surplus income. Residents can be motivated to become local leaders, and they can then train the younger generation to work in their natural environment, avoiding the urge to migrate towards metropolitan areas.

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