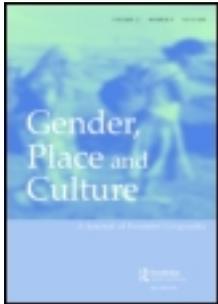


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Sex work and exclusion in the tourist districts of Salvador, Brazil

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Salvador, capital of the state of Bahia, in the Northeastern region of Brazil, is composed of racialized, gendered, and sexualized spaces in which certain people are welcome, while others are marginalized and excluded. Praça da Sé, in the Centro Histórico, is a major site of both the local commercial sex industry and the tourist industry in Salvador. With their public visibility in sites heavily frequented by tourists, sex workers in Salvador reveal how sexuality is public, politically contested, economically charged, and, most significantly, racialized. If, as Tom Boellstorff argues, ‘globalization resignifies the meaning of place rather than making place irrelevant’ (2007, 23), how does one then study racialized sexualities in the context of the globalized tourism industry? How do class, space, and race influence practices of sex work and sex tourism in Salvador? This article offers a critical analysis of racialized sexualities in the study of the sexual economies of tourism in Salvador. I conceptualize Salvador as a ‘site of desire’ (Manderson and Jolly 1997) where issues of socioeconomic inequality, racism, and sexism coexist alongside celebratory affirmations of Afro-Brazilian cultural production in Salvador. This article explores how the touristic cityscape of Salvador is divided into carefully demarcated zones where class and race are crucial factors in determining who ‘belongs’ and who is ‘out of place.’

Keywords: blackness; sex workers; tourism; Brazil; space

‘Racial-sexual domination is an ongoing spatial project.’
(McKittrick 2006, 121)

Mapping Salvador: space, sex work, and exclusion

Salvador is divided into two parts – Cidade Alta (Upper City) and Cidade Baixa (Lower City). Cidade Alta, where the Centro Histórico is located, is considered more privileged, while Cidade Baixa is seen as more impoverished.¹ Even as an early colonial settlement, the Upper City (Cidade Alta) was the ‘administrative and religious centre . . . built on the cliffs overlooking a “lower city” containing financial, port, and market facilities, built along the edge’ of the Bay of All Saints (Hita and Gledhill 2009, 6). The Centro Histórico, which encompasses Pelourinho, Praça da Sé, and Dois de Julho, is the site of hundreds of stores, restaurants, and office buildings; yet, it is also rundown, with old colonial architecture in constant need of updating. On the other hand, the *orla* (coastline) neighborhoods that span from the Southwest to the Northeast of the city feature prime beachfront real estate that many locals and foreigners aspire to own or rent. Tourists are expected to stay in the carefully circumscribed corridor between Pelourinho and Barra, or in other neighborhoods along the *orla* (coastline), where hotels are prevalent, signs in English, Spanish, and Portuguese abound, and bus routes are easy for newcomers to navigate.

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green, as if they were parks, jungles, or otherwise empty spaces. In June 2011, I was codirecting a Spelman College summer study abroad program in Salvador. One day, we visited the Steve Biko Cultural Institute,⁸ where George Oliveira, an Afro-Brazilian economist and activist, gave a presentation on racial inequalities in Salvador, Bahia, and Brazil as a whole. Luciana, a young Afro-Brazilian woman, *Bikuda*,⁹ and a recent college graduate, was translating the presentation from Portuguese to English for the students. When Oliveira showed the tourist map of Salvador in Figure 1, Luciana made it a point to interject that her neighborhood of Paripe was nowhere to be found. Luciana's spontaneous outburst poignantly proved the point that Oliveira was trying to make about the racial and class demographics of Salvador's neighborhoods. This technique of making marginalized populations invisible on maps is not unique to Salvador. In the popular television series, *Cidade dos Homens* (City of Men), a spin-off of the film, *City of God*, there was a scene in which protagonists Laranjinha and Acerola look at a map of Rio de Janeiro in which their neighborhood and other favelas are invisible.

These vignettes speak to the spatial dynamics of race, sex work, and tourism in Salvador. Together, they contribute to a mapping of the geographies of blackness and sex work in Salvador, by situating Praça da Sé, in the Centro Histórico, and Barra, on the *orla* (coastline), as two contrasting racialized spaces in the sexual economies of tourism. The touristscape of Salvador is divided into carefully demarcated zones where class and race are crucial factors in determining who 'belongs' and who is 'out of place.' While Salvador's tourism infrastructure disciplines tourists into staying in their 'place,' the same is not true for economically underprivileged Bahians. As integral members of the service economy, low-income Bahians experience a limited mobility that is predicated on the appropriation of their labor power. Making their daily commutes on crowded buses from peripheral neighborhoods like Cajazeiras, Sussuarana, and Paripe, they are permitted to enter the tourist districts to work as waiters, maids, janitors, street vendors, etc. Or, if they have beaten the odds like Luciana, they may leave their peripheral neighborhoods to go to school or work in the Centro. Luciana's reaction to the absence of Paripe on the tourist map highlights both how Afro-Brazilians who live in *bairros populares* (peripheral/working-class neighborhoods) are excluded from the touristic representation of the city, but also how they are speaking back to this exclusion.

This article explores the racial meanings attached to spaces of tourism and sex work in Salvador. Woods and McKittrick (2007, 7) argue that too often black studies scholars fail to pay attention to 'how human geographies are integral to black ways of life'. Admittedly, as a cultural anthropologist, geographies were not a central area of analysis in my dissertation. Therefore, in order to analyze how class, space, and race influence practices of sex work and sex tourism in Salvador, this article will engage black geographies scholarship, which enables an understanding of the multiple ways that space is socially produced and perceived (Woods and McKittrick 2007; Lipsitz 2007). How do Afro-Brazilians and sex workers (and Afro-Brazilian sex workers) negotiate and produce space? What spatial practices do black women sex workers 'employ across or beyond domination' to assert their sense of place in Salvador (McKittrick 2006, xvii)? Furthermore, how can we study racialized sexualities in the context of the globalized tourism industry, especially if we consider how 'globalization re-signifies the meaning of place rather than making place irrelevant' (Boellstorff 2007, 23)?

This article draws upon 16 months of ethnographic research conducted between June 2005 and February 2008 on the cultural and sexual politics of the transnational tourism industry in Salvador. My broader research project explores 'sex tourism' from the perspective of various social actors: I conducted interviews with tourists, tour guides,

tourism and culture industry workers, sex workers, members of civil society organizations, and Afro-Brazilian women and men who must contend with foreigners' stereotypical assumptions about their licentiousness.¹⁰ In order to meet sex workers, I volunteered to teach English as a Foreign Language class for members of Aprosba, an organization founded in 1996 by and for sex workers. My involvement with the sex workers' association offered access to a range of women's experiences and stories about their encounters with foreign tourists.

The organization of the article is as follows. I begin by situating the Bahian sex tourism industry more broadly in the context of the scholarship on transnational sex tourism. Then, I provide background on the history, political economy, and development of the tourism industry in Bahia, in order to further articulate what sets Bahia apart as a site of both sexual and cultural tourism. I also explore the racial hierarchies of desire in Bahia, and highlight the unique experiences of black women sex workers and non-sex workers alike who are implicated in the sexual economies of tourism due to the legibility of their racialized and sexualized bodies. This is followed by a discussion of how class and race are used as signifiers to delineate spaces of sex work. The article concludes with a case study of the exclusion of both marginalized black Bahians and sex workers in the neighborhood of Pelourinho. I argue that Pelourinho provides a compelling example of the explosive consequences of the convergence of the tourism industry, sex work, and black cultural production. Ultimately, my argument is that black women and sex workers (and black women sex workers) in Salvador have a *queer* relationship with the touristic landscape due to the fact that they are always already seen as sexually deviant or somehow out of place. In making this argument, I draw upon Cathy Cohen's provocative claim that some heterosexuals are on the outside of heterosexual privilege because their sexual choices are deemed abnormal or immoral, thus making them a threat to white supremacy, male domination, and capitalism (2005, 39).

Situating Bahian sex tourism in a national and transnational context

When Frantz Fanon referred to the Caribbean as the 'brothel of Europe' (Kempadoo 2004, 115), he may not have had Bahia in mind, even though Northeast Brazil has been considered a part of the Caribbean Basin.¹¹ Sex tourism occurs in various parts of the world, from Thailand and the Philippines to the Dominican Republic, Cuba, Colombia, and Brazil (Williams 2012). In 2004, Brazil surpassed Thailand as the world's premier sex tourism destination in the aftermath of the devastating Indian Ocean tsunami (Rogers 2010). Sex tourism has been defined in various ways in scholarship – from travel exclusively in search of sex to more ambiguous liaisons that occur almost unexpectedly (Opperman 1998; Williams 2012). The World Tourism Organization defines sexual tourism as 'organized travel using the structures of the tourism industry for the principal purpose of facilitating sexual conduct between tourists and natives' (Viera de Carvalho 2005 quoted in Blanchette and da Silva 2011, 145).

Tourism can be considered 'one of the most important aspects of the globalization of sexuality and sexual identities' (Puar 2002a, 935). Rather than seeing sex tourism as an anomaly, scholars are increasingly understanding it as 'one strand of the gendered tourism industry' in which sexual services are but one of many informal services offered to tourists (Enloe 1990, 36). Scholars such as Kempadoo and Doezema (1999) and Kempadoo (2004) have developed a transnational approach to sex tourism, especially with regard to the Caribbean and Latin America, which have shared legacies of racism, slavery, and colonialism. As Padilla (2007) astutely points out in his work on gay sex tourism in the

Dominican Republic, sex tourism in different sites is distinguished by different histories of sexuality in each locale. This is not only true for Brazil in comparison with other countries, but also for Bahia in relation to other Brazilian tourist destinations.

Sex tourism in the Northeast is characterized as something that occupies the space between prostitution and a 'summer fling' (Piscitelli 1996, 19). In Piscitelli's (2001) work on sex tourism in the Northeastern city of Fortaleza, Brazil, she found that sex tourism circuits were wrought with ambiguity and uncertainty. Local women who had sex with foreign tourists could be divided into three categories: (1) those who demanded money in exchange for sex; (2) those who had stable, low-paying jobs and therefore accepted gifts from foreign men instead; (3) and finally, those who 'dated' foreigners exclusively and harbored no expectations of cash or presents. This latter group of women simply wanted access to the tourist experience – leisure, dining in nice restaurants, and shopping.

The sexual economies of tourism in Salvador are a diverse, complicated, and complex social scene that consists of various types of interactions, liaisons, and relationships with various types of people. When I first embarked on this research in 2005, the only published work on sex tourism in Salvador was a Master's Thesis from the Federal University of Bahia by Filho (1998). Filho's work astutely highlights the racialized ways in which the tourism industry uses the bodies of *negras* and *morenas* (black and brown) women to sell Bahia as a tourist destination. He distinguishes three categories of women who are involved in commercial sexual exchanges with foreign tourists: (1) prostitutes; (2) *garotas de programa* (*GPs*) (call girls), women who have agents and a structure to enter into contact with tourists in hotels, bars, restaurants, etc.; and (3) *gringólogas* (gringologists/gringo specialists), mostly black and brown women who do not have an agent, who generally travel from their homes in peripheral neighborhoods to meet foreign tourists in the Centro Histórico or Barra (Filho 1998, 9). The *gringólogas* are often domestic workers, waitresses, or students, and seek a relationship with a *gringo* that may become serious (Filho 1998, 89).

In my research, I focused more on prostitutes/sex workers than Filho did, and I also found that *gringólogas* was not a commonly used term. When I began to talk with people in Salvador about sex tourism, I noticed that two terms were often used interchangeably to refer to the women who became sexually and/or romantically involved with *gringos*: *GPs* and *prostituta*. Leaders of Aprosba advocate the use of the term *prostituta* as opposed to 'sex worker,' in an effort to reclaim the term and to remove the stigma associated with it, as well as to refer explicitly to women who do sex work.¹² For them, the question of self-identifying as a *prostituta* is irrevocably tied up with class politics and struggles over inclusion.¹³ They saw the term *GP* as a way for university students, who often worked in the more elite clubs and agencies, to distance themselves from prostitutes, who often worked in the streets, bars, and brothels. According to Bárbara, a member of Aprosba, *GPs* saw themselves as pretty, middle-class *moças simpática* (nice girls) who pretended they were not prostitutes even though they earned money from the *programa* (commercial sexual transaction) in the same way. According to Fabiana, there was no difference between a *prostituta* and a *GP*:

Both take off their clothes and have sex, and both are stigmatized by society ... High-end prostitutes don't come to Aprosba. They don't [even] identify as *garota de programa*, they identify as students. It's difficult to reach them to do our work – they have pimps and madams. They say that Aprosba is *baixo nível* [low-end/low-class]. But it's at the 'low-end' that the movement begins. The girls who come here [to Aprosba] are those who earn less money and suffer more violence. They [high-end girls] don't want to mix with us. I say, 'people, it's all the same whore.'¹⁴

Fabiana's statement reveals the class stratification of the sex industry in Salvador, and how these distinctions are articulated through space, though not always by race.

I conceptualize Salvador as a 'site of desire' (Manderson and Jolly 1997) where eroticized and commodified Afro-Brazilian culture is used to attract tourist dollars. Salvador is a place where issues of socioeconomic inequality, racism, and sexism coexist alongside celebratory affirmations of Afro-Brazilian cultural production. Tourism advertisements represent Salvador as an exotic paradise of parties, pristine beaches, and 'erotic possibilities' (Binnie 2001) by using images that associate black Brazilians with physical prowess and nature (Sansone 2003). These sexualized images are offered to entice the potential tourist, and offer an idea of what she/he can expect to see/hear/taste/touch in Bahia. My work brings together two topics often considered in isolation – 'cultural tourism' and 'sex tourism.' Governmental and civil society campaigns against sex tourism in Brazil tend to define it as something that happens when the state turns away its watchful eye. However, I argue that in Salvador, the eroticization and commodification of black culture result in a situation in which the tourist's desires for 'exotic culture' and erotic, hypersexualized black bodies are often inextricable. The Bahian state strategically appropriates an eroticized blackness and Afro-Brazilian culture to 'sell' Bahia to foreign tourists. In order to situate Bahia as a unique sex tourism destination, it is also necessary to understand its political economic, historical, and racial background, which will be explored in the following section.

Political economy and tourism development in Salvador

Bahia has long been known as the 'Black Rome' (*Roma Negra*) or 'Black Mecca,' due to its large population of African descent, as well as the strong presence of Afro-Brazilian culture (Pinho 2004).¹⁵ An estimated four million enslaved Africans were transported to Brazil from the mid-sixteenth to mid-nineteenth century, two million of which ended up in Bahia (Harding 2000). Established as the first Portuguese colonial capital in 1549, Salvador went from being one of the leading sugar-producing regions in the world to being considered a 'rustic backwater' by the end of the nineteenth century (Butler 1998). Rio de Janeiro replaced Salvador as the colonial capital in 1763, and São Paulo's coffee industry overtook Bahia's sugar and cacao productions by the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries (Hita and Gledhill 2009). Over the course of the twentieth and twenty-first centuries, the major engines of Salvador's economic production ranged from commerce and public administration to oil extraction and refining operations, and finally, to the tourism industry (Hita and Gledhill 2009).

Even as Brazil has become the world's seventh largest economy in 2011,¹⁶ it remains a country of extreme inequality. In 2010, Brazil ranked 73rd on the Human Development Index (HDI), and eighth place in the UNESCO ranking of illiteracy.¹⁷ In Bahia, the situation is even bleaker. Although black Brazilians comprise nearly 80% of the population of Bahia, they suffer from appalling conditions of inequality. Cecilia McCallum asserted that nearly '80% of Salvador's 2.5 million residents are black or brown and low-income' (McCallum 2007, 61). Salvador is currently plagued with one of the highest unemployment rates in the nation. A 2010 study revealed that while the national unemployment rate in Brazil is 7%, the rate for the Salvador metropolitan region is 12%.¹⁸ While Bahia has the sixth largest gross domestic product of the country, it has the sixth worst HDI of all 27 states and federal units in Brazil. Income disparities are greater within the Metropolitan Region of Salvador than in Brazil as a whole, according to the Atlas of Human Development of the Metropolitan Region of Salvador. A resident in the richest

area of Salvador earns 25 times what a resident in the poorest area earns. In Brazil as a whole, a resident in the richest area (the Federal District) earns five times what a resident in the poorest area (Maranhão state) earns. Itaigara, the richest neighborhood in Salvador by the coastline, has a HDI equivalent to Norway, while the poorest neighborhood, Areia Branco in Lauro de Freitas, has an HDI equivalent to South Africa.¹⁹

Ironically, while the Northeast is considered the most underdeveloped region of Brazil, it is currently leading the nation in tourism development (Diegues 2001). In fact, in 2007, 74% of all of the tourism investments in Brazil were located in the Northeastern region (Exame 2007). Salvador is the largest tourism destination in the Northeast, and the third largest in Brazil. In 2007, six out of the top 10 new tourism investment projects were located in Bahia, all of which were financed by foreign capital. Bahia's earliest state-sponsored tourism initiatives emerged in the late 1930s (Romo 2010).²⁰ From the 1930s to the early 1960s, the incipient tourism industry in Bahia was represented by different organs of the municipal government of Salvador (Queiroz 2002, 185). In the 1950s, the government of Salvador created a Tourism Tax, a tax exemption for hotels, and become the first city in all of Brazil to formulate a Tourism Plan (Queiroz 2002, 186). Despite these efforts, tourism was not yet understood as a 'profitable economic activity' at this time (Queiroz 2002, 186). However, this changed during the military regime (1964–1985), when the Brazilian government saw tourism, not only as a cost-effective way to generate employment opportunities and stimulate the economy, but also as a way to preserve culture and patrimony (Santos 2005, 79).

In the 1970s, when the Bahian state was focused almost exclusively on building its petrochemical industry, the tourism industry took a backseat to industrial expansion (Queiroz 2002, 115). Tourism development in Bahia gained momentum and support in the 1980s and 1990s, as Bahiatursa, the state tourism agency, began to participate in fairs and expositions around the world with the goal of transforming Bahia into one of the major entry points in Brazil (Bahiatursa 1998). The agency marketed Bahia to the world as the *Terra da Felicidade* ('Land of Happiness'). In the 1990s tourist development in the Northeast became a federal priority and attracted international support with the launching of the Program for the Development of Tourism (Prodetur) (Wilson 2008).²¹ Seen as the most ambitious tourism development proposal for the Northeast, Prodetur-NE was designed to integrate the Northeast into the promising global market of tourism (Soares do Bem 2005) by increasing tourist demand and generating employment and income through tourism sector activities.

Salvador is a unique tourism destination in Brazil because it is the only one that is situated unequivocally as a site of Afro-Brazilian cultural tourism. As Joceval, an Afro-Brazilian tour guide put it: 'Black culture is the great attraction that makes Bahia third in the national tourism ranking. If you take away African culture, Bahia has nothing.'²² In 2002, Paulo Gaudenzi, former head of the Secretariat of Culture and Tourism of Bahia, claimed that the 'cultural uniqueness' of Bahia was its biggest claim to fame as a tourist destination (Queiroz 2002, 10). The emphasis on Afro-Brazilian culture in marketing Bahia as a tourist destination takes on a distinctive form compared to other Brazilian destinations. Salvador is known as the site of blackness and cultural purity, while Rio de Janeiro, on the other hand, is known for its racial mixture and cultural manipulation (Sansone 2003). For example, while the commodification of black culture in Rio de Janeiro revolved around samba and Carnival, two phenomena that celebrate mixture, borrowing, and cultural patchwork, representations of Afro-Bahian culture emphasize its loyalty to African traditions (Sansone 2003).²³

Racial hierarchies of desire

These differences in how tourism destinations are constructed and marketed can also be seen in sex tourism. Recent attention has been paid to African American male sex tourism in Brazil (Cobb 2006; Woods and Hunter 2008; Sharpley-Whiting 2007), yet, it is important to note that Rio de Janeiro is a more popular destination for African American male sex tourism than Salvador. The music video, 'Beautiful' (2003), by Snoop Dogg and Pharrell filmed in Rio de Janeiro is a case in point of a particular racialized erotics, whereby African Americans extol a woman with 'hair long and black and curly like you're Cuban.' Joceval, the Afro-Brazilian tour guide, claimed that Italians were the 'principle clients of sex tourism in Bahia,' and that they generally prefer '*negras* and *morenas*.'²⁴

In talking with people in Salvador, I noticed a pervasive consciousness on the part of white Brazilian women that they were not the preferred objects of desire of foreign tourists. Much like the 'mulata' dance shows of decades past, sex tourism represents one of the few social spaces where black women are 'preferred' over white (Caldwell 2007). For instance, one white Brazilian woman commented, 'gringos don't even look at me. They look at any black woman.' Fabiana, a white Brazilian woman who was a cofounder and lead organizer of Aprosba recounted:

Now I don't do *programas* with tourists anymore . . . I'm 40 years old. They prefer younger women . . . They prefer black and *mestiça* [mixed] women. When we used to go to the ships, there were around twenty *mestiças* and five white women.

Stereotypes of black licentiousness and hypersexuality have circulated within the African Diaspora at least as far back as European colonial conquest of Africa. Now these notions circulate within the Bahian tourist imaginary and create a racial hierarchy of desire in Salvador. While the standard of beauty still privileges whiteness, the standard of *sensuality* privileges women of African descent (Williams 2010).

Just as stereotypes of black women in the United States have historically been constructed along the lines of the Mammy, Jezebel, and Sapphire caricatures (Collins 1990), in Brazil the three notions of black women are the 'mulata, the domestic worker, and the *mãe preta* (black mother)' (Gonzalez 1983, 224 quoted in Bairros 2000, 12). Historically, the *mulata* has been figured as the national erotic icon in Brazil. She is seen as one who possesses beauty, voluptuousness, contagious energy, sensuality, and an inherent mastery of samba that is 'in the blood' (Giacomini 1991).²⁵ Rather than being opposed or mutually exclusive, I argue that *mulata* and *negra* are actually situated on a continuum of color categories that are shifting, overlapping, and flexible. It is necessary to understand blackness within the specific racial order in which it is located, as blackness is socially produced and shifting, rather than essentialized or frozen in time or space (Wade 1997; Woods and McKittrick 2007; Rahier 1998). These three caricatures of black Brazilian women – the mulata, the domestic worker, and the *mãe preta* – are felt not only symbolically and materially, in terms of life chances and economic opportunities, but they are also mapped onto the geography of Salvador, in terms of places associated with black women.

Black women's place

Black women were subjects of surveillance and criminalization, and their mobility through certain spaces was limited in ways with which white Brazilian women were not forced to contend. Even as a white Brazilian woman, Fabiana was aware of racial disparities that affected sex workers in Bahia: 'I've seen that black prostitutes suffer more – they were arrested and detained while I was able to leave the police station.'²⁶ This highlights the fact

that while adult prostitution is not illegal, 'sex workers are under constant threat of arrest for vagrancy or obscene behavior' (Chacham et al. 2007, 109).²⁷ White prostitutes were able to come and go freely in expensive luxury hotels, while black women – even those who were *not* prostitutes – were routinely stopped and viewed as suspect. This comment speaks volumes about the racialized politics of sex workers moving through spaces in the tourist district.

Additionally, the fact that black women were naturalized with domestic labor and sexuality made it possible for tourists/clients to ask black women to combine their sexual labor with domestic labor.²⁸ For instance, Valquíria, an Afro-Brazilian sex worker/ballroom dancer from Fortaleza, Ceará who actively participated in Aprosba, had several experiences with Italian tourists who invited her to their rented apartments not only to have sex, but also to work as an *empregada doméstica* (housekeeper; domestic worker). Katrina, a tall, slim, strikingly beautiful, 21-year-old black Brazilian woman who I met while she was 'on point' working in Praça da Sé, met Mario, a 72-year-old doctor from Argentina, at the age of 16. The first time she went home with him, he asked her to cook and clean in addition to having sex. A few years later after several return visits, Mario paid for Katrina to visit Argentina for three months – her first trip out of the country. Katrina told me that the majority of her clients were older foreign men from places like Argentina, France, and Italy. She preferred *gringos* because they paid more, and gave her presents such as necklaces, earrings, a television, DVD player, perfume, and even a bed.

Gendered racism relegates black women to a place in which black Brazilian women are expected to be servants, sexual objects, and social subordinates (Caldwell 2007, 57). Black women's symbolic association with the kitchen – read: domestic work – is even represented in the architecture of apartments, which are built with a service area and maid's room (McCallum 2007, 56). Furthermore, as Patrícia Pinho and Elizabeth Silva point out, 'the widespread use of domestic work strengthens the association between whiteness and power and the naturalization of black women's subservient position' (2010, 109). Black women's geographies in Salvador, as in the African Diaspora, have historical roots. As Katherine McKittrick points out, the 'ownership of black women during transatlantic slavery was a spatialized, gendered, often public, violence; the black female body was viewed as a naturally submissive, sexually available, public, reproductive technology' (2006, 44).

In Salvador, domestic work and sex work are seen as two sides of the same coin for poor black women. The structural and political economic conditions of the city and the limited opportunities for women based on their educational level, socioeconomic status, race, and color have a role to play in situating women in a position to engage in sexual labor. However, other conditions such as agency, pleasure, and benefits over other available types of labor must also be considered. Kelsky (2001) makes the important point that 'agency is never pure or unmediated power,' especially under globalization. Furthermore, agency does not necessarily erase oppression, and it is 'mediated through institutions of power' (Ebron 1997; McClintock 1995, 15). In thinking about 'erotic autonomy' (Alexander 2005) as something that, poses a danger to respectability, it is interesting to note that low-income black Bahian women often saw sex work as a more lucrative and autonomous alternative to domestic work. Domestic work was seen as the ultimate form of exploitation, in which black women were poorly paid, subject to harsh working conditions, and often susceptible to sexual assault by their employers.²⁹ These women's stories reveal the need for scholars to move beyond dichotomies that situate sex workers as either victims or agents, as having agency or being oppressed. Despite the fact that black women have been stereotyped and mistreated, it is imperative that scholars

consider their agency, their power for sexual choice, erotic autonomy, and freedom (Miller-Young 2008).

Boca do Luxo and Boca do Lixo: a case study in racial-sexual exclusion

Bahia's tourism industry is built upon black culture and black bodies, yet the majority of black Bahians do not reap the benefits of this lucrative industry. In this section, I will examine the Pelourinho's history of exclusion of both marginalized black Brazilians and sex workers. The creation of Pelourinho as a World Heritage Site was accompanied by the expulsion of poor, marginalized, black Brazilians (Butler 1998; Collins 2008; Perry 2004). In *Demonic Grounds: Black Women and the Cartographies of Struggle*, Katherine McKittrick points out that black spaces in the diaspora are often 'tied to locations that were . . . explicitly produced in conjunction with race, racism, captivity, and economic profit' (2006, 9). This is certainly applicable to the neighborhood of Pelourinho, in the tourist districts of Salvador.

In the early centuries of colonial Brazil, Pelourinho was the center of the elite and the site of a whipping post for enslaved Africans. By the late nineteenth century, the collapse of the sugar market caused Pelourinho to decline as a site of wealth and power, causing it to suffer from decades of degradation, poverty, and social abandonment (Kulick 1998; Butler 1998). As Maria Gabriela Hita and John Gledhill point out:

the first significant transformations of the social geography of Salvador began in the period before military rule, as . . . better-off families began to move out of the decaying centre of the old upper city towards the Atlantic coast (Orla Marítima), originally occupied only by fishing communities, abandoning the historic centre to a growing number of lower class residents (2009, 10).

By the end of the 1960s, Pelourinho was a 'priority in the preservation of historical patrimony and the implementation of tourism in the city of Salvador' (Santos 2005, 85). The neighborhood became best known for gangs, petty crimes, and prostitution in the 1980s before becoming a UNESCO World Heritage Site in 1985.

In 1992, the Bahian Institute of Artistic and Cultural Patrimony began block-by-block evictions that forcibly removed thousands of largely poor, black, working people from the city center to the distant slums in Salvador's peripheral neighborhoods (Collins 2008). Some scholars have referred to Pelourinho's 'revitalization' as 'a euphemism for a state takeover' (Butler 1998, 170) or a 'racist project of whitening the urban landscape in Brazil' (Perry 2004, 819). In this process, black local residents were excluded from Pelourinho for the benefit of tourists, in order to ensure that 'tourists would have unimpeded and untroubled access to places where they might wish to spend their money' (Lipsitz 2007, 11). The making of Pelourinho as a World Heritage Site through the exclusion of marginalized subjects illustrates the 'spatial dimension' of the 'lived experience of race' (Lipsitz 2007, 12). Furthermore, it demonstrates, as Katherine McKittrick argues, that 'traditional geographies did, and arguably still do, *require* black displacement, black placelessness, black labor, and a black population that submissively stays "in place"' (2006, 9).

According to Jorginho, an Afro-Brazilian dance teacher, once Pelourinho became a tourist site, 'it was no longer a place for *baianos* to live – it was a place for tourists to do whatever they wanted.' However, it is also important to point out that the state did not want to *completely* erase the black presence in Pelourinho, as certain Afro-Brazilians were crucial to the marketing of Bahia as a Black Mecca (Butler 1998; Collins 2008). Black Bahians who could be configured as 'exceptional producers of Afro-Brazilianness' such as *capoeiristas*, stylized *baianas*, and musicians were prioritized, while others 'came to be

portrayed as dangerous backdrops to the exhibitions of Bahian folklore' (Collins 2008, 295). In this scenario, Jorginho, as an Afro-Brazilian dance teacher, was safe. Although he was from the Vasco da Gama neighborhood and for a time lived with his girlfriend in Liberdade – both majority black, peripheral neighborhoods off the tourist beaten path – he could frequent Pelourinho to make a living off of his cultural expertise. The social exclusion of marginalized subjects from Pelourinho reveals how 'racism and sexism produce attendant geographies that are bound up in human disempowerment and dispossession' (McKittrick 2006, 3).

In terms of sex work, Praça da Sé was configured as a significant site of local commercial sex work, with a multiracial contingent of sex workers, who engaged mostly in unambiguous transactional sex with both foreign and local clients. Barra, on the other hand, was configured as a site that featured black Brazilian women almost exclusively, and that held possibilities for much more ambiguous encounters, including dating and relationships. João, a middle-aged white Bahian man who ran a website that featured high-end *GPs* (call girls)³⁰ who paid a fee of \$R200 per month to have their pictures and contact information displayed to potential clients, highlighted the class stratification of the sex industry in Salvador by referring to the *orla* (coastline) as the *boca do luxo* (lap of luxury) and Praça da Sé and the Centro Histórico as the *boca do lixo* (trash heap).³¹ He stated that tourists seek high-end *GPs* rather than the poor prostitutes of the Centro Histórico. Similarly, when I presented my research agenda to a group of feminist scholars at a university institute in Salvador, they characterized members of Aprosba as poor, low-class, drug-addicted, streetwalkers who sex tourists would not seek out.

However, when I spoke with members of Aprosba, I learned that they had innumerable experiences with European and North American male leisure tourists, as well as *marinheiros* (ship workers) from around the world. Despite the class differences in these different areas of the city, sex work – particularly that which is tourist-oriented – occupies a prominent presence throughout. I encountered black sex workers at both the *boca do lixo* (Centro Histórico) and the *boca do luxo* (Barra). Patricia, a 25-year-old black Brazilian woman who worked in Praça da Sé, enthusiastically told me that she spoke some Spanish and English, and that she had traveled to Italy, Chile, and Argentina with *gringos* 'namorando' (dating). 'I prefer all gringos, they're more caring, and pay well. They need *carinho* (care, affection). I like it, I'm very caring,' she explained. Her clients regularly paid \$R50 for the *programa*, but often gave presents as well.

Josefa, a 39-year-old *morena* (racially mixed and brown skinned) sex worker who I met in August 2007, had spent 17 years 'battling on the ships.'³² Sex workers colloquially referred to their work as 'battling,' a term that implicitly suggests the constant harassment, violence, and persecution that they confront on a daily basis. When the ships docked at the port in Lower City (*Cidade Baixa*), sex workers would take ferries out to meet the *marinheiros* on board. Sometimes they would stay for up to a week, charging \$R50 for 'short time' and \$R150 to spend the night, though they could often demand more money from foreign men.³³

Bárbara, a member of Aprosba, said that 'meninas' (girls) who work the *orla*, which consists of coastline beach neighborhoods such as Patamares, Barra, and Pituba, must contend with constant persecution. They are often beaten by police officers, filmed with hidden cameras, and raped.³⁴ 'They're afraid to be there,' Bárbara said, and pointed out that 'they don't seek out Aprosba because they work at night and sleep during the day.' Pérola was an exception, however, as she was an active participant in Aprosba, sold food and drinks out of her home during the day, and traveled to Barra to procure *gringo* clients at night.

The racialized discourse of sexual tourism, as it is mapped onto the tourist districts of the Centro Histórico and Barra, has a profound impact on the daily lives of women of African descent in Salvador – even those who have nothing to do with the commercial sex industry. Merely moving through sexualized spaces such as Praça da Sé and Barra forced black women to negotiate propositions from foreign tourists who assumed that they were sexually available. The act of a black Brazilian woman walking hand in hand with a foreign tourist is what Christen Smith calls a ‘moment of racialized encounter’ that ‘makes blackness legible’ (2008, 1, 2). How do black Bahian women negotiate these discourses that position them as always/already sexualized? What are the ‘knowledges, experiences, and negotiations’ that comprise their geographies as black women (McKittrick 2006, xi)?

In the interviews and informal conversations I had with black Bahian women, many expressed an overwhelming sense of *anxiety* about distancing themselves from the image of hypersexuality, and attaining a standard of respectability. The representations of women of African descent as hypersexual in popular culture, nationalist discourses, and tourist propaganda have culminated in a situation in which they are ‘mistaken’ for prostitutes on an almost daily basis. Elisete, a middle-aged Afro-Brazilian female tourism professional confessed:

My own color draws attention in Pelourinho. I go to Pelourinho with no makeup, with jeans, tennis shoes and clothes that cover my body . . . Just by being a black woman, you become a tourist attraction, he [the tourist] approaches you thinking you’re a sex worker – even the domestic tourist who comes on a business trip.

Elisete’s experience reveals how black Brazilian women must engage in creative strategies and bodily practices in order to be treated with respect as they navigate through the touristic spaces of their native city. In emphasizing how she is perceived in Pelourinho, in the heart of the Historic Center of Salvador, Elisete’s story speaks to how she experiences racism and sexism, not only based on her identity and body, but also as ‘spatial acts’ (McKittrick 2006, xviii).

Another example can be seen in the story of Kátia, a 35-year-old middle-class black woman educator and state employee in the Secretary of Tourism. She told me that she has had more unpleasant experiences with tourists mistaking her for a prostitute than she can count. ‘The black woman is seen as an extension of the equipment of pleasure in this city,’ she stated. In much the same way as black women in the postcards are represented as extensions of lush, natural landscapes and secluded beaches, Kátia made the case that black women are also an extension of the music, dance, bars, beaches, parties – all the things that give Salvador its reputation as a ‘party capital’ and the Land of Happiness. Kátia discovered that she needed to have a different *postura* (posture) while traversing the streets of the tourist district – she had to be more serious, establish physical distance, and formality around foreign men. Once, when she was working for an internationally renowned band, a tourist asked her what time it was. He then asked her if she was working, and she said ‘Yes’ (she was working for the band that was about to perform). However, when he asked her how much she charged, it became abundantly clear that he was referring to a different kind of work. She was offended, and he apologized profusely, though he admitted that he assumed she was a prostitute. These women’s stories of being ‘mistaken’ for prostitutes shows how black Brazilian women are ‘seemingly in place by being out of place’ in the touristic spaces of Salvador (McKittrick 2006, xv).

Conclusion: reclaiming agency in the globalized tourism industry

The ‘renewal’ of Pelourinho was not only a ‘racist project of “whitening,”’ (Perry 2004), it was also what I will call a *putaphobic* project of policing sexuality. Drawing inspiration from the term, ‘homophobic,’ Fabiana, a leader of the local sex workers’ association, used the term ‘putaphobic’ to signify a fear or hatred of *putas* (whores) or prostitutes.³⁵ Not only did the state attempt to rid the new World Heritage Site of the poor, black presence, but they also focused their attention on sex workers as well. Despite police harassment and persecution, sex workers still solicit local and foreign clients alike in Pelourinho. However, through their spatial practices of refusing to relinquish their rights to public space, black people and sex workers actively reclaim their agency and power.

Questions of globalization have moved to the forefront of anthropological research on sexuality (Boellstorff 2007). This article has interrogated the geographies of blackness and racialized sexualities in Salvador in the context of an increasingly globalized tourism industry. My ethnography has elucidated how notions of blackness, black cultural production, and eroticism converge in touristscapes. With their public visibility in sites heavily frequented by tourists, sex workers in Salvador reveal how sexuality is public, politically contested, economically charged, and racialized. The spatial and racial dynamics of sex work in the tourist districts are bound up with processes of social exclusion. Notions of who belongs and who is seen as ‘out of place’ here are contingent upon race, sexuality, and labor. Foreign leisure tourists and elites are able to move about freely, as the privileged occupants of tourist spaces that have been designed with their exclusive interests in mind. On the other hand, marginalized subjects such as black Brazilians and sex workers (of various races) are excluded and pushed out of these spaces. Nonetheless, these marginalized subjects engage in practices and strategies to resist being ‘exiled.’

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Notes

1. Film *Cidade Baixa* (Lower City) Directed by Sérgio Machada, Palm Pictures, 2005.
2. This, and all other names of my informants, is a pseudonym.
3. At the time of Aprosba’s founding, the sex worker community of Salvador was plagued with discrimination, unwanted pregnancies, sexual and physical assaults by both clients and police officers, and a lack of knowledge about the prevention of HIV/AIDS and other Sexually Transmitted Infections. According to Fabiana, co-founder and lead organizer of Aprosba, ‘we want to show that prostitutes are also dignified people who exercise a profession like any other’ (Francisco 2006). Aprosba fits well in the context of national sex worker organizations in Brazil, which are ‘sustained by a rights-based approach which demands citizenship rights and the right to exercise their profession with dignity’ (Chacham et al. 2007, 110).

4. While it is beyond the scope of this article, Pérola's queer identification raises questions about how sex workers reconcile their sexual orientation with commercial sexual relations and what I call 'ambiguous entanglements.' Likewise, Gregory Mitchell's recent work on gay sex tourism in Brazil focuses on Brazilian male sex workers who engage in commercial sexual relations with gay foreign tourists even though they are straight identified (2010, 93).
5. For instance, Pérola showed me several pictures of a slim, elderly man whom she referred to as 'o holandês' (the Dutchman). They were 'together' for 2 months, in which he treated her and her son to dinners at fancy restaurants, yacht excursions, English as a Foreign Language course, and even bought her a house on Mar Grande island. 'The Dutchman' left Salvador with promises to return, but died of a stroke shortly thereafter.
6. Although prices vary in brothels, it is customary for sex workers to charge clients \$R50, of which \$R15 goes to the house. The owner of the brothel charges a departure fee of \$R45 if a client wants to take the woman outside of the brothel.
7. This discussion occurred at the Projeto Sem Vergonha (Without Shame Project) workshop, which gathered sex workers from the Northeast region, in May 2007, in Salvador, Brazil.
8. The Steve Biko Cultural Institute is a nongovernmental organization that was founded by black movement activists in 1992 to increase college enrollment among underprivileged Afro-Brazilians and to promote public policies to reduce racial inequalities.
9. Bikuda (feminine) and Bikudo (masculine) are the terms for students who have gone through the Steve Biko Institute's educational programs.
10. I conducted interviews, or had informal conversations with a total of 72 people, including 20 sex workers, 20 tourism industry workers, 10 foreign tourists, three NGO employees, one police officer, two *caça-gringas* (male hustlers who 'hunt foreign women'), and 16 Bahian men and women who worked in the Afro-Brazilian cultural arena or who had significant interactions and experiences with foreign tourists.
11. <http://www.caribbeanstudiesassociation.org/en/history.html>
12. The Portuguese translation of sex worker is gender-neutral, and thus also includes men and travestis (male-to-female transgender individuals). Despite feelings of solidarity with male and travesti sex workers, the leaders of Aprosba felt the need to have their own space as women.
13. However, it is important to point out that scholars, including myself, tend to prefer the term, 'sex worker' because it encompasses a notion of sex work as an income-generating form of labor, as well as mobilization for human rights (Kempadoo and Doezema 1998).
14. This interview was conducted on 14 August 2007.
15. These terms also signify the prevalence of enslaved Africans who were Muslim. The term 'Black Mecca' was promoted by black militants from other parts of Brazil who saw Bahia as the principal source of African culture in the country (Pinho 2004).
16. 'Measuring Brazil's Economy: Statistics and Lies.' *The Economist*. 10 March 2011. <http://www.economist.com/node/18333018/print>. Accessed on 26 July 2011.
17. The Human Development measures health, education, and income.
18. <http://noticias.r7.com/economia/noticias/salvador-tem-maior-taxa-de-desemprego-em-junho-20100722.html>
19. http://www.pnud.org/br/publicacoes/atlas_salvador/index.php
20. Furthermore, the municipal government of Salvador passed a tax to support tourism efforts in Salvador in 1951, a council of tourism was created in 1953, and tourism was a part of Governor Juracy Magalhaes economic development plan in the 1960s (Romo 2010, 152).
21. In July 1992, Embratur launched the National Plan for Tourism (Plantur), which sought to promote regional development by focusing on destinations outside of the South and Southeast. The Prodetur project budget was US\$1,670,000, of which approximately US\$800,000 came from the Inter-American Development Bank (Wilson 2008).
22. Jocelio Teles dos Santos points out that between 1971 and 1974 the Bahian state government published a magazine called *Turismo*, in which it was clear that Afro-Bahian elements were being used to define cultural and touristic policies (2005, 86).
23. 'Roots' or heritage tourism by African descendants was also recognized as a target market for the Bahian tourism industry in the 1970s and has been revived in the 1990s (Romo 2010, 153).
24. 'Italian' has become synonymous with 'sex tourist' in Salvador. Over 300,000 Italians visit Brazil each year. Italian tourists were commonly described as men from 'lower class' backgrounds who were able to 'live like kings' in Bahia because of their foreign currency (Exame 2007). Interview 29 January 2007.

25. Due to the growth of the Black Movement and the rich legacy of Afro-Brazilian heritage in Salvador, the term 'mulata' is no longer a salient category or popular term of identification.
26. This interview was conducted on 15 May 2007.
27. Since 2002 prostitution has been recognized as a legitimate form of work in the Brazilian Code of Occupations put form by the Ministry of Labor, and the law forbids the exploitation of commercial sex by third parties (Chacham et al. 2007, 110).
28. It is important to note that in Brazil, one in three Afro-Brazilian women works as a domestic worker (Pinho and Silva 2010, 95). Domestic workers are prevalent in Brazil due to a greater availability of cheap domestic labor and the fact that domestic technologies are not widely integrated in homes (Pinho and Silva 2010, 94).
29. Similarly, Gregory (2007) points out that in the Dominican Republic, the low wages, exploitative working conditions, sexual harassment, and abuse that women experience while working in export-processing zones made the autonomy and higher pay of sex work seem more appealing.
30. Programa is the Brazilian Portuguese term for a commercial sexual transaction.
31. This interview was conducted on 14 January 2008. At first, I thought João had coined this phrase. However, I later learned that this phrase referenced an important moment in the history of the sex workers' movement in Brazil. In 1979 in an area of prostitution in the Center of São Paulo known as the Boca do Lixo, police officer Wilson Richetti began indiscriminately arresting and abusing prostitutes, which resulted in the deaths of three sex workers (two travestis and one pregnant woman). People were outraged at these abuses of police power, and Officer Richetti was ultimately removed from his position (Ministério da Saúde 2002).
32. This interview was conducted in August 2007.
33. From an interview with Fabiana in August 2007.
34. For instance, at the Projeto Sem Vergonha workshop, participants become outraged over a televised news report about sex tourism at the Aeroclub Plaza Show shopping center. The workshop participants were concerned that the reporters' use of hidden cameras to capture images of the sex workers would threaten their security and lead to increased persecution and criminalization.
35. Fabiana used the term 'putaphobic' when she told me about an encounter she had with a European tourist on Barra beach. Upon approaching her, he dismissively assumed that the young black women she was with were prostitutes. The irony, of course, was that those women were not prostitutes, and Fabiana, was. Because he had offended her, Fabiana decided to play a game with him. Over the next few days, he took her to expensive restaurants, gave her money, and bought her clothes and shoes. The night before he was leaving, he invited her to his luxury hotel room and wanted to have sex with her, but she refused, saying, 'what do you think I am – a prostitute?!'

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ABSTRACT TRANSLATION

El trabajo sexual y la exclusión en los distritos turísticos de Salvador, Brasil

Salvador, capital del estado de Bahía, en la región noreste de Brasil, está compuesta por espacios racializados, generizados y sexualizados en los cuales ciertas personas son bienvenidas, mientras otras son marginalizadas y excluidas. Praça da Sé, en el Centro Histórico, es un sitio importante tanto para la industria del sexo comercial local como para la del turismo en Salvador. Con su visibilidad pública en lugares muy frecuentados por los turistas, los trabajadores y las trabajadoras del sexo en Salvador revelan cómo la sexualidad es pública, disputada políticamente, cargada económicamente, y, más importantemente, racializada. Si, como argumenta Tom Boellstorff, "la globalización resignifica el significado de lugar en vez de hacer al lugar irrelevante" (2007, 23), ¿cómo se estudian entonces las sexualidades racializadas en el contexto de la industria del turismo sexual globalizada? ¿Cómo influyen la clase, el espacio y la raza en las prácticas del trabajo sexual y del turismo sexual en Salvador? Este artículo ofrece un análisis crítico de sexualidades racializadas en el estudio de las economías sexuales del turismo en Salvador. Conceptualizo a Salvador como un "sitio de deseo" (Manderson y Jolly 1997) donde los temas de la desigualdad socioeconómica, el racismo y el sexismo coexisten junto con las afirmaciones celebratorias de la producción cultural afro-brasileña en Salvador. Este artículo explora cómo el paisaje urbano turístico de Salvador está dividido en zonas cuidadosamente demarcadas donde la clase y la raza son factores cruciales para determinar quién "pertenece" y quién está "fuera de lugar".

Palabras claves: negrura; trabajadores sexuales; turismo; Brasil; espacio

巴西萨尔瓦多旅游区中的性工作与排除

巴伊亚州的首都萨尔瓦多, 位于巴西的东北区域, 由种族化、性别化与性化的空间所组成, 其中某些人受到欢迎, 某些人则被边缘化并遭到排除。历史中心的主教座堂广场, 是萨尔瓦多在地性产业及旅游业的主要营运场所。由于萨尔瓦多的性工作者在游客经常造访的场所中具有公共能见性, 因此揭露了性慾如何是公共的、在政治上是竞争的、带有浓厚的经济色彩, 且最重要的是种族化的。若如同Tom Boellstorff所主张, "全球化再度彰显了地方意涵, 而非消灭地方" (2007, 23), 那我们如何在全球化的旅游产业中研究种族化的性慾呢? 阶级、空间与种族如何影响萨尔瓦多的性工作与性旅游产业? 本文对萨尔瓦多旅游业的性经济中的种族化性慾提供批判性的分析。我将萨尔瓦多概念化为"慾望的场域" (Manderson and Jolly 1997), 其中社会与经济的的不平等、种族主义与性别歧视等议题, 与欣然肯定非裔巴西文化的生产, 共存于萨尔瓦多。本文探索萨尔瓦多的旅游城市地景如何分隔成谨慎划分的区域, 其中阶级与种族是决定谁"属于此地"、谁"不得其所"的关键因素。

关键词: 黑人, 性工作者, 旅游, 巴西, 空间