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SEX TOURISM AND THE IMPORTANCE OF IMAGES

Swedes in Natal

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This article discusses the responsibility of travel agents and governmental tourism agencies for the increase in male sex tourism in Natal, in Northeast Brazil. It examines the work of the NGO Ecpat in Sweden and their Code of Conduct for the Protection of Children from Sexual Exploitation in Travel and Tourism, which calls for travel agents to provide information to travellers.

“Each time that I return from a trip to Brazil, I am filled with the same feeling, most closely reminding of passion. It is as though had I been the guest of a wonderful woman who was not completely conscious of her beauty. Who dances and smiles, full of life and possibilities, but who for ever keeps a bit of homelessness and melancholy in the bottom of her dark eyes”

(Fritidsresor Vinter 2003-04).

The quote is taken from one of the Swedish travel agent *Fritidsresor*’s catalogue texts on Brazil. It might be considered harmless, but looking at decades of image making on Brazil (connoting to words like exotic, women, sex, samba and beaches) as well as last decade’s increased sex tourism, the quote becomes more disturbing. When you buy your holiday trip to foreign countries, you cannot touch upon it and see for yourself, experience the product before you buy it. What you buy is primarily an image. Moreover, the image created around a certain country or tourist destination has everything to do with how many tourists are attracted, but also with what kind of tourism is attracted.

Sex tourism is about power and gender structures. The average sex tourist is white, male and with more money in his pocket than the average citizen in the country that he visits. Many studies show that men who travel to the South with the aim to buy sex, do so in search for something that is not readily available for them in their home countries. It can simply be the search for a woman who seems to find pleasure in his company or who behaves “as women should”, i.e. takes the position of the subordinate in the relationship; or for a specific physical appearance, maybe that of tanned skin (but generally not too black), black hair or a big (although not

too big) bottom. Women from the South, often categorised by their physical appearance or their subordinate position in relation to the white male, is seen as “the exotic”; the mysterious Other.

The quote above is, as I see it, a clear sign that travel agencies need to become aware of the consequences of creating and/or sustaining an image of Brazil that can be suspected of attracting sex tourists. The travel agencies need to take their responsibilities with greater seriousness and commitment than what in this study is shown to be the case.

NATAL: THE CITY OF PLEASURE

Most countries are attached to an image, not least so in the tourism business. Brazil perhaps more so than many others: Violence, shanty towns and a wild and wet Amazon jungle, street children being shot in hundreds by policemen; and bare breasted samba-dancing dark-skinned women. Between 2000 and 2003, I lived in North-east Brazil, and during this time, I visited the coastal town of Natal a few times. This was in the early days of Swedish package tourism with destination Natal (in the first years of the 21st century). By the time of this study, Swedes make one of the largest tourist groups visiting Natal during high season. Back in Natal in 2007 for field studies, the beautiful tourist beaches and the obvious sex trade going again struck me, especially on the beach of Ponta Negra, with its white male tourists and young Brazilian women.

Natal is the capital of the state Rio Grande do Norte (RN), situated by the Atlantic sea, close to the equator line. It has almost 780,000 inhabitants (IBGE, 2007)¹ and was colonised both by the Portuguese and by the Dutch.

Although situated in the drought-ridden and poor Northeast parts of Brazil, for some decades Natal has been known as a modern and open city. In his doctoral thesis, social scientist Edmilson Lopes Júnior has analysed the historical process that created Natal as a “city of pleasure”. He highlights the fact that during the Second World War, Natal hosted a military base for the North American forces. The military served as a libertine force in Natal when it came to costumes and values. During this time, nightclubs are started and the beaches are constructed as “places of controlled chaos” (Lopes Júnior, 2000). It is interesting in this context to remember how sex tourism once began, during the Vietnam War, when American soldiers were given “rest and recreation” trips (including sex) to Thailand.

Natal is known not only for its nightlife. Among Brazilians it is famous for its beautiful beaches and white sand dunes. However, it is only since the late 90s that international tourism has become significant, starting with the Portuguese and now including primarily Portuguese, Italians, Spanish, Swedes (14.810 tourists in 2006), Dutch and Norwegians². According to figures from the State Secretary of Tourism, the number of international tourists increased from not quite 17 thousand per year in 1996 to more than 282 thousand in 2004 -an increase of almost 1,500% during these nine years. Social scientist Ursula Moura concludes in a study that tourism is the single most important economic activity that “made possible the intense development of Natal during the last decade [...] and contributed [...] to the improvement of life quality of the local population” (Moura, 2003).

SEX TOURISM: CAUSES

Sex tourism is a consequence of the increasing physical mobility that comes with new techniques and with globalisation. Today, travelling is cheap and easy and keeping in contact with home even more so, with Internet readily available in almost every corner of the world. This means that more people can and do travel and (since increased information from all parts of the world has made the world more understandable) have the courage to travel further a field. It also means that the information exchanged between people who travel in the search for sex, has been facilitated. The Internet is full of information on where and how you can get sex with adults or children.

Tourism scholars Pritchard and Morgan have given a simple and clear explanation of the factors often seen as the foundation of sex tourism:

1. poverty, which makes women (and sometimes men), voluntarily or not, seek income through prostitution;
2. male tourists (although women can without doubt also be sex tourists), who have learned to look upon women of colour/from certain countries as more willing and more sexually active than women of their home countries; and
3. political and economic interests that encourage and make money from men who travel to certain countries with the intent of having sex with the women of that country (Pritchard & Morgan, 2000).

SEX TOURISM IN BRAZIL

In Brazil, although sex tourism became an issue in the 90s, it first started to appear already in the 70s. According to feminist activist Jaqueline de Souza Leite, this was partly due to the saturation of the sex tourism industry in Asia, which meant that parts of the practice moved to Latin America, primarily Brazil and the Dominican Republic. This coincided with the awakening of the Brazilian government for the benefits of tourism and a major propaganda machine started to promote Brazil abroad, many times through the use of the product of national exploitation, the Brazilian mulata (de Souza Leite, 2003)³. Although the Brazilian government has radically changed its advertisement strategies, sex tourism is still a problem on many tourist locations in Brazil.

Brazilians, men and women, commonly describe themselves and are described by foreign observers as people fond of sex. When male tourists describe Brazilian women in studies, they repeatedly comment on and praise them for their strong sexual urge (see for example the work of Brazilian feminist scholar Adriana Piscitelli). Where women from countries like Sweden are seen as cold, independent and too occupied with jobs and careers, Brazilian women are pictured as happy, patient, simple and sensual. Those are positive adjectives but, as Piscitelli shows, they also have a negative side to them – happiness connotes irresponsibility, simplicity lack of reason and patience passivity and indolence. Contrary, the coldness and individualism of Europeans have positive connotations such as rationality, legal organisation and planning for the future (Piscitelli, 2004a).

There is extensive work available internationally on sex tourism and child sex tourism, mostly carried out at the beginning of the 90s and onwards. The pioneer is professor in gender and development studies Thanh-Dam Truong, who in 1990 published *Sex, Money and Morality: Prostitution and Tourism in South East Asia*. In Brazil, the topic of sex tourism has attracted attention from public opinion, researchers and policy makers from the early 1990s, when international tourism increased in the Northeast regions and prostitution aimed at international visitors became more obvious (Piscitelli, 2004a).

Although there is an immense amount of articles, books and academic studies on the subject internationally, there is almost no work on the subject of sex tourism carried out in Sweden.

CREATING THE BRAZIL BRAND USING THE MULATA

When the Military Government created *Embratur* (the governmental institution for tourism advertisement) in 1966, one of its main purposes

was to reshape the somewhat tarnished image of the country, caused by reports of torture and abuse by the Dictatorship, and instead show a liberal and democratic country. To do this, Embratur used the carnival and the Brazilian woman –known for her physical assets such as a rather big bottom, her tanned skin and for being easily seduced (Filho, 2005). During the 70s, the images used to market the country were those of the Brazilian woman, football, the carnival and Rio de Janeiro. Women were used not only directly by Embratur, but also in the tourism magazine *Rio, Samba e Carnaval* which was distributed in various languages in Brazil and abroad with support of *Embratur*, and which for many years used and abused the image of women as s main tourist attraction of Rio de Janeiro (Prado, 2006).

In the late 80s, the Brazilian government wanted to construct an image of a “New Brazil”, young, modern, and open for investments, and *Embratur* would play its part showing attractions from each region of the country. According to the description of *Embratur* from that time, “the idea was to show a country of colours, tastes and landscapes, a continental, tropical, exotic, welcoming, united country formed out of various races and cultures and full of sensual women” (quoted in Prado, 2006). It was common for hotels in Rio de Janeiro to show a picture of a woman instead of the inside of the rooms in their marketing material. During this time, the development of the Northeast region as a sun-tourism resort began (Prado, 2006).

At the end of the 90s, the issue of sex tourism arouse as a problem in Brazil and critiques towards the way *Embratur* marketed Brazil increased. Embratur decided to address the topic and launched the campaign *Beware. Brazil is watching you*. At the same time, *Embratur* abandoned in all its material the use of a woman with connotations to sex (Prado, 2006). In 2003, president Luiz Ignácio Lula da Silva created the Tourism Ministry (which diminishes the role of Embratur) with the explicit goal to “re-position Brazil as a product on the international market” (Felizardo & Andrade, 2005). In 2004, Brazil also abandoned the use of references to the sun and the ocean. Brazilian marketing should now be about valorising its people (Turismo sexual, 2006). It seems, looking at the catalogues of *Fritidsresor*, that this strategy has not found its way to Swedish marketing material of Brazil yet.

The woman used to portray Brazil in marketing material is a black or dark skinned woman, referred to as *mulata* or *morena*. This correlates to studies made of male heterosexual sex tourism in Brazil, which indicate that the Brazilian mulata is the target of interest for the male tourists (Piscitelli, 2004b). This is only one of many examples of the “racialised male gaze” (bell hooks, 1992), and it is a very graphic and cynic one since it involves more than just the gaze –it involves bodies, money, sometimes

even feelings and not least it involves power.

Piscitelli shows in her studies on sex tourists and prostitutes in Fortaleza that the sex tourists have in common an image of the Brazilian woman as being dark-skinned, with a sensual temperament and a readiness for sex. Piscitelli quotes one of her female interviewees: “What is it that they like in me? My colour. Always, all of those who know me always say, they really love my colour, you know? Because I am morena, I have curly hair, and I am friendly, tender, I am very natural, from the earth, that’s what they always say” (Piscitelli, 2004a).

For the foreign tourists, the colour morena is intimately linked to Brazil and to sexually “hot” women, and the Brazilian women who they meet are very aware of this (Piscitelli, 2004b)⁴. It is also a fact that the Brazilian woman usually is portrayed as poor in marketing material. This way of portraying the morena/mulata has created an image of the Brazilian woman as poor, dark-skinned/black, submissive, sweet and easy (Brazão Teixeira & Batista, 2002). Those are the same adjectives that sex tourists use to describe their expectations on women in a specific country.

THE CODE OF CONDUCT

The **Code of Conduct** was elaborated at **Ecpat** Sweden, in co-operation with the travel industry, in 1997-98. It has now spread to some 20 countries. Internationally, 278 companies have signed the Code, of which seven are Swedish. The inspiration for the Code was the work carried out by civil society to encourage the industry to assume their responsibility for their pollution of the environment. The goal is to get the tourism industry to undertake the task of informing its clients. Travel companies and other suppliers of tourism services that decide to adhere to the Code, undertake the responsibility to follow six criteria. In Natal, the Code of Conduct has been adapted to local circumstances by the NGO Resposta, and focuses primarily on the hotels and restaurants at the tourist beaches. Both Resposta and Ecpat point out the importance of the tourism industry as a partner in order to reach the target group –the tourists– with information on child sex tourism.

Two of the largest travel companies for package tours in Sweden are *Ving* and *Fritidsresor*. They have arranged package tours to Natal since it opened to the Swedish market in 2000, although *Fritidsresor* decided not to work with Natal during the season of 07-08 due to a decrease in demand last season. *Ving* continues to travel to Natal. Both have signed the Code.

What the travel companies agree to do when signing the Code is:

- informing their clients about Ecpat and its work;
- including a clause in the contracts prohibiting any connection with child sex tourism on the part of local business partners;
- training their personnel in child sex tourism issues and how to act should they see or hear anything suspicious;
- and elaborating an ethical policy regarding the issue.

This seems to be fulfilled by *Ving* and *Fritidsresor*, with a question mark regarding the ethical policy which none of the travel companies can present regarding sex tourism. The problem is rather the extent of dedication to the Code of Conduct. You could ask yourself how many of the clients actually notice the information on child sex tourism. Both *Ving* and *Fritidsresor* are of course primarily in it to sell holidays, and it is a commercial evaluation of how much they can allow Ecpat to be seen. The information targeted to the tourist-in-spe in brochures and home page is sparse and hard to find (see www.fritidsresor.se and www.ving.se).

Ecpat would obviously like this information to be more visible, and both travel agencies say they have an ongoing dialogue with Ecpat as to how visible the topic should be. It is a general policy that it should not be the first thing a traveller sees when planning a holiday, according to Joakim Eriksson, marketing director at *Ving* in Stockholm. "It will always be a balance between this issue, that is the whole agenda of Ecpat and that they of course want to push hard for, and our day to day that is a mix of many considerations to be handled", he says in an interview. Ann-Louise Gül, responsible for Ecpat issues at *Fritidsresor*, argues that the information towards the costumers should not offend. Talking about an in-flight spot from Ecpat that was turned down by the travel agency, she says in an interview: "When you sit in a plane there is no where for you to go, so you have to show nice messages in order for no one to feel bad".

The need for more information towards Swedish travellers became obvious in a recent market research carried out by the market research company "Temo" at the request of Ecpat Sweden. *Allmänheten om barnsexturism* (The general public on child sex tourism) showed that nine out of ten Swedes who see signs of suspected child sex tourism choose not to report and that 30% of the Swedes do not think it is possible to get Swedish offenders trialled in Sweden⁵.

Eriksson admits that *Ving* is not as aggressive as one might wish in

regards to the topic, but says that one aspect of this is the fear of the media. Ving chooses to keep its work low profile since the company is afraid that should it position itself on the front of the barricades, it would risk being thoroughly examined by the media. “How can we possibly guarantee that none of our 600,000 guests somewhere will use prostitutes? Our experience is that if you distinguish yourself too much in this area, people will start looking for faults and we will end up getting critique for not doing everything right”, she said in an interview.

MARKETING BY SWEDISH TRAVEL AGENTS

Today's society is a consumption society, the same way as it used to be a production society, argues sociologist Zygmunt Bauman. Today's citizens are primarily consumers, and it is not primarily the materialistic need to own that is the goal, but the excitement of possibly finding a new sensation. Movement is expectation, reaching the goal of the travel often means disappointment, as Bauman says (2000). These ideas are also applicable to sex tourism. Many sex tourists seem to be on a constant journey to find the perfect woman and/or perfect sexual experience. They are consumers of feelings, of sex and of possessing women. Like any other society, the consumption society is an unjust one where only a small fraction of the world's inhabitants is able to travel and consume. The more mobile a person is, the higher in the hierarchies of the society he/she is. One big difference between those “on top” and those “at the bottom” is that the first category can leave the second behind (Bauman, 2000). Translated to the sex tourism sphere, this discussion adds another level to the inequality and power structures –the tourists come and go as they please, leaving behind the women, sometimes feelings and many times financial needs.

It is well known that in the colonial times, travellers wrote letters and articles, so called “travelogues”, from the “New World” and that those stories have played a role in the creation of the image of the Orient and the Exotic (see for example Palmer, 1994). In the Brazilian case, communications professor Rosana Bignami shows how many things work together in the creation of the image of her country. Novelists like Jorge Amado, well known abroad, with his dark-skinned and passionate heroines in stories like *O País do Carnaval* and *Tieta*; films like *Bye bye Brazil* and the Cannes winner *Orfeu Negro* show a sensual, liberal and exotic Brazil; and not least music, where the sensual bossa nova and the happy yet melancholy samba has conquered the world. One early and very strong image-maker was of course Carmen Miranda, launched in the first days of radio in Brazil in the 30s and exported to the USA and Hollywood (Bignami, 2002, and Caetano, 2004).

In her analysis on how Brazil is portrayed in Italian media, Bignami manages to distinguish the most common stereotypes of Brazil: as Paradise with untouched nature; as a country where sex is easy; where the people are friendly and welcoming; the country of carnival and party; and the exotic and mystic (Bignami, 2002). However, it is not only amongst westerners that stereotypes of Brazil and Brazilians linger. In addition, amongst Brazilians themselves you can find an auto-image of happy and sensual people, as well as of a poor, corrupt and violent state, as confirmed by amongst others da Silva & Blanchette (2005) and Bignami (2002). "It is enough to look at our televisions and see the content of the programs to perceive that we ourselves idealise a sensual people" (Bignami, 2002). Bignami argues further that it is necessary for the Brazilians to admit that their image is the result of their self-identification and that profound changes will only be possible when this auto-image changes (2002, see also Nova, n.d.).

"The stranger sees Brazil as the Brazilian sees himself and promotes himself. It is not up to the stranger to change this image", states Bignami (2002). She argues that in order to change an image of a people, the change has to start amongst the people concerned. We cannot continue to blame the colonisers forever for creating an image of the exotic Brazil and its women, if the proper Brazilians cherish that same image. However, this does not mean that Swedish travel companies have no responsibilities, or that they can write what they please and use what images they like in the advertising material.

The Code of Conduct states that travel companies cannot market their destinations alluding to children and sex. Both *Ving* and *Fritidsresor* confirm in interviews that there is a consciousness regarding what images to use. However, analysing the *Fritidsresor* catalogues ten years back gives another picture. There are few pictures of children that could be seen as indicating sexuality, but the stereotypes and the sexual connotations are abundant; not so much in pictures and images as in language. Brazilians and the inhabitants of other destinations marketed in similar ways (like Cuba, the Caribbean, and the Dominique Republic) are commonly referred to as "warm hearted", "welcoming", "happy" and "easy going" and when it comes to Brazil also often as "relaxed" and "sensual" (see for example *Fritidsresor*, *Sommar* 1998 and *Vinter* 2000-01, 2001-02 and 2006-07). As Louise Prado shows, this image of happy and welcoming people, "the mark that differentiates Brazilians in relation to the 'others'" can be seen also in Brazilian tourism propaganda since the beginning of the 70s (Prado, 2006).

The people are commonly described as happy and easy going, doing "everything for you to feel welcome" (*Fritidsresor Vinter* 1998-99). This kind of texts, published side by side with smiling young women, brings

along connotations to sex tourism. The women are open and welcoming, but to who and for what? Can we, the Westerners, expect to be served in any way that we please? In the *Fritidsresor* catalogue *Vinter 2000-01*, a picture of a smiling samba-dancing mulata with only a small colourful bikini on is accompanied by the following text: “The spirit of the Brazilians simply is like that. Life is given to us in order for us to play, dance, eat, drink, laugh and love. It is a delight to watch the sensual and playful drama along the long beaches of Rio, where people from morning to evening play football, dance, work out, and proudly exhibits their tanned bodies in a manner that might seem odd (but also liberating) for our Lutheran sense” (*Fritidsresor Vinter 2000-01*).

In *Black skin, white masks* (1952), Martinique-born Frantz Fanon created and discussed the bipolar concepts of the colonising Self and the colonised Other (later on further developed by Edward Said and Homi Bhabha among others), closely linked to racialised stereotypes and also in many ways similar to the power relations described in gender studies. The Other is generally described in terms of nature (as opposed to culture), emotion (as opposed to reason), tradition (as opposed to modern) and wildness (as opposed to civilisation) (Fanon, 1952). Research carried out among male and female Western heterosexual sex tourists in the Caribbean has found that the wishes of sex tourists to engage in sexual relations with Others can be understood as a “desire for an extraordinarily high degree of control over the management of self and others as sexual, racialised and engendered beings. This desire, and the Western sex tourist’s power to satiate it, can only be explained through reference to power relations and popular discourses that are simultaneously gendered, racialised and economic” (O’Connell Davidson & Sanchez Taylor, 1999).

Apart from sensual and welcoming, the destinations are surprisingly often described in *Fritidsresor*’s catalogues with a tone smelling of the colonial era. According to a study of Swedish historian Klas Grinell, it is not the contemporary aspect that is sold to the Swedes by the travel agencies, but rather the timeless and exotic. The tourist destinations should preferably be untouched by Western civilisation –it is not important that preserving cultures and places for the sake of the tourists, might force the inhabitants to continue in poverty (*Svenska Dagbladet*, February 22, 2005). “The Swedish self-image is juxtaposed to the Swedish attitude towards foreigners and it is made clear how Swedish modernity has been created through comparison with people who are not regarded as modern: primitive African, exotic Orientals, mañana Spaniards, peasants in colourful folk costumes and so on” (Grinell, 2004).

Fritidsresor not only speaks in terms that seem indicated to attract sex tourists. In its marketing material, the travel agency also tells the story of how Columbus, the man who began the colonising era in South America,

was possibly the first sex tourist. “Christopher Columbus was the first tourist on the Canary Islands, when he made a stopover here (and had an affair with the wife of the governor, Beatriz Bobadilla) on his sailings to America” (Fritidsresor *Vinter* 1998-99). This way of trivialising the issue of colonisation is visible throughout the material analysed.

One of the most striking examples of this and of the tourists’ longing for the uncivilized and original is this description of the Dominique Republic: “This country is already in our blood. [...] Maybe the truth is you have to love a country that seems to have dance and music as its religion. Poor and uncivilised, yes –but miserable? No. A mentality that might be devastating for the development of the country, but extremely liberating for us disciplined Europeans, prevails here. Live for the day, dance, laugh, drink and be happy. [...] The men are men (a true macho culture flourishes here), the women are women who with delight and pride sway their exuberant assets” (Fritidsresor *Vinter* 1998-99).

CONCLUSION

One must bear in mind that focusing on the tourist alone will not stop sex tourism. Other issues involved are poverty and economic interests. In “Sex tourism/Thailand”, a research paper carried out on the commission of Ecpat, sociologists Julia O’Connell Davidson and Jacqueline Sanchez Taylor argue that the ones who benefits from sex tourism are not the tourists, but the governments, international travel companies and hotels and local business people. These institutions have an economic interest in maintaining the flow of sex tourists. So “to engage in direct action against sex tourists [...], satisfying as it may be, will not necessarily improve the lot of the women who sell their sexual labour” (O’Connell Davidson & Sanchez Taylor, 1994). Most campaigns focusing on child sex tourism actually ask very little of the tourist industry, argues further O’Connell Davidson. Showing an in-flight film that it is wrong to have sex with a child is not a risky business. The industry has everything to gain by adhering to the message and wearing the logo “no to child sex tourism!”. However, very few campaigners want tourism industry to ask questions about the salary of the cleaners or the social costs of tourism, and the fact that the income of tourism is largely going back to the sending countries (O’Connell Davidson, 2005). These are of course all important issues to deal with in order to achieve sustainable tourism.

In my view, one of the most important questions to attend to urgently is how the tourism industry describes a certain tourist destination. What kind of tourists does it hope to attract? Much damage has already been done, and the hour has come to radically break with old, colonialist and sexist ways of describing “exotic” tourist destinations and their people.

This regards both tourism agencies like *Fritidsresor* and *Ving* in Sweden and the City of Natal or the Tourism Ministry in Brazil. Only when the tourism industry seriously starts to contemplate concepts like exotism, Self and Other, and gender and power structures, can the business of travel begin to be sustainable. It is the role of states and international bodies but also of NGOs like *Resposta* and *Ecpat* to work for this to happen. It seems that more effort needs to go into convincing the tourism industry of the urgency of this matter. The pressure so far on the industry has been too soft.

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1. Retrieved Oct 19 2007 from www.ibge.gov.br.

2. See www.setur.rn.gov.br

3. Mulata is in Brazil traditionally used as a way of describing a woman who is a mix of black and white (and sometimes Indian) heritage, who has a brown skin and often, curly hair. It also connotes a woman with a nice body, who knows how to dance the samba and who has an air of sensuality to her. Today, the term is mostly used in contexts of carnival, samba or other kinds of cultural expressions with a connection to the black Brazilian heritage. Instead, the term *morena* is more common, bearing less diminutive connotation and only meaning "light dark" (interview with sociologist Alex Franca, Oct 27 2007). When speaking of *morenas*, foreigners in Piscitelli's study describe the term as having a skin that is not white, or black. To be *morena* requires a determined tonality, to be sun tanned is not enough (Piscitelli, 2004a). In studies on sex tourism in Brazil, mulata is also used to indicate the typical Brazilian woman used in propaganda material during the 70s and 80s. 4.

According to the IBGE census of 2006, the state of Rio Grande do Norte has around 3 million inhabitants. Among them, 36,9% are white; 2,4% are black; and 60,6 % are coloured (*mulatas*, *morenas*). In the whole of Brazil, the same figures would be: white 49.9%; black 6,3%; coloured 43,2%. See <http://www.ibge.gov.br>

5. Retrieved Oct 14 2007 from <http://www.ecpat.se/upl/files/995.pdf>

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