

The influence of contemporary ethnic tourism on identity construction and cultural expressions of Afro-Brazilians in Salvador.



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(The large photo, picture 1, on the front page shows a tourist (me) taking pictures in the costume of a Baiana with typical food items on the table, backpackers in the background and the presence of syncretism between Candomblé and Christianity by the large cross in the background. The smaller picture, picture 2, is a snap-shot of downtown Salvador with the Fort São Marcelo in the background, which is an important location in relation to Salvador's history of slavery).

Abstract

Identity of blacks in relation to cultural expression within ethnic tourism in Salvador are the three main concepts of this research. The inspiration was a general interest in the well-being of black communities and the contribution of ethnic encounters within tourism. The first section provides an overview of the blackness and race relations in Salvador to see how the inhabitants interact within the racial democracy. Section two gives a general context of the situation of the city of Salvador, including its structure and infrastructure but also the growth and execution of tourism. The last section provides an indication of the positive and negative aspects (influences) of ethnic tourism after first describing its characteristics.

The analysis explains how the interaction between locals and tourist in Salvador is troublesome. For ethnic tourism to become a space of cultural education, awareness and pride many things have to change in Salvador and the tourism industry. Difficulties of identity construction of an ethnic group, authenticity of culture and the effect of a racial democracy are added values for theoretical discussions. Special attention has been paid to African and African-American visitors in relation to black culture and the influence of African slaves in Bahia.

Preface

I would like to thank all the wonderful people in *Salvador da Bahia* that have given me such valuable insight into their society and way of life. Everybody has been more than helpful; they have shown me the city they love, they have brought me into their homes and have kept me safe and protected. One woman in particular I would like to thank; my friend Sylvana. She has always supported me and helped me with whatever doubt I had. Through her I have met many other great professionals. This thesis will hopefully contribute, not only to myself but also to the well-being of the people of Bahia and the appreciation of the beautiful 'Cultura Baiana'. When I return to Salvador I hope to encounter and even better Bahia because there are many places I have yet to see.

In Holland I have also had many people to support me. First I would like to show my appreciation to Marike van Gijssel, who has helped me throughout the entire process. She has been very patient with me and has given me nothing but constructive feedback. Many thanks go out to my mother also, Annemieke Bruintjes, who has always inspired me to study and follow my dreams. This last travel was a dream come true, also for her. I would like to thank my sister, Marit de Beer, who has lived with me in Salvador. And I hope everyone will appreciate the result of this research and I hope to be able to write many more in the future.

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Section 1: Introduction

“Nobody is born hating somebody else for the color of their skin, for their origin or even religion. To hate, people need to learn, and if they can learn to hate, they can be taught to love”.

- Nelson Mandela - ¹

1.1 Choice of topic and concepts

Like Nelson Mandela mentions, a lot of hating is going on in this world; weather it's because of skin color, religion, or origin. Black people have often been the victim of many of these (and other) forms of hate and discrimination. This often inferior situation of blacks opposed to non-blacks in this world and suffering involved is what has stimulated me to research the identity of a black Diaspora. Many Africans have been kidnapped from their continent and transported across the globe. Ethnic differences existed amongst Africans and in their 'host country', which has caused race relations in for example the USA to be different from those in the Dominican Republic (Hillman & D'Agostino 2003;212-213). Racial and ethnic cooperation and struggles are very contemporary issues and have worldwide coverage which is why I felt the need to research the ethnic identity of a black population. Identity involves many things of which one is class and citizenship. Like Baronov & Yelvington (In Hillman & D'Agostino 2003) mention; “ethnic-racial identities influence social class by acting as a resource (or liability) in securing social capital and prestige. Social class affects nationalism insofar as the privileged classes define and principally benefit from the dominant ideology of nationalism. Nationalism affects the ethnicity and race in that those who are defined as white, mulatto and so on-and the value accorded to each- in one nationalist context may not be so defined in another” (Hillman & D'Agostino 2003;212). How an ethnic group feels and with what they identify apparently already largely determines their chances in life and color still plays a very important role.

¹ I was made aware of this quote at a speech during 'Semana da Africa' at the Centro de Estudos Afro-Orientais (CEAO).

In 2010 the situation of black Diasporas is a complex and interesting phenomenon and understanding the contemporary issues requires research. An important concept to be able to do this is culture. It became associated with particular ways of life which would express certain meanings and values, not only in art and learning but also in institutions and ordinary behavior but also the way people think, believe, and behave, which includes their system of technologies and materials that allow people to adjust to a society's physical and social environment. Nothing gives meaning to our existence as our culture; it provides a world view, standard of good and bad, motivation, mean of communication, order in society and defining identity (Kendall e.a. 2001:7, Sansone e.a. 2008:128,129). Culture is therefore an extremely important concept to be able to understand the expressions, feelings, behaviors and adaptations of an ethnic group. Of the three central concepts of this research, after identity and culture, ethnic tourism is the last one. Tourism reveals aspects of a local culture through the encounter and interaction, more so than locals do; tourists look for what's authentic and 'pure'. Ethnic tourism is a specific form of tourism, where visitors are specifically searching for an ethnic encounter between locals and tourists through for example cultural performances, celebrations, art and habits (van Egmond 2006:58-153, Yang e.a. 2009:559-561). Nelson Mandela also expressed hope in the way that people learn to hate and are therefore also able to learn to love; tourism can be a base on which people 'learn to love' each other. It means that tourism creates a space for the fulfillment of people's being and that a journey proposes a mission from the side of tourists and a purposeful act on the side of ethnic groups. Cultural performances take a central position in ethnic tourism and the debate on the effects of this interaction is what made me want to test the following statement:

“Tourists are a powerful force legitimizing African heritage, stimulating an increased participation in Carnival by the politically and economically marginalized Afro Brazilian population and undermining the influence of local elites, who are overwhelmingly wealthy and ‘white’.”

- Sanabria, H. -²

² Source: Sanabria 2007:328,329

This statement contains many essential aspects for a research concerning identity and tourism. They can be split up in African heritage, the marginalization of Afro-Brazilians, wealthy white elites and on the other hand the tourists, carnival and the effect on politics and economy. I will now further elaborate on all these aspects to provide a problem statement for this research. Contemporary black identity is a product of history and modification of the present. Repression and inequality persisted through the post-slavery centuries and have shaped the identity of blacks around the world. A personal notion of inferiority within a white hierarchical framework has caused a lack of recognition for blacks (Taylor 1992:25). What is important for this research is that identities are shaped through contact with other ethnic groups or individuals. Self-identification and identification of the (ethnic) 'other' is a non-static and constant process sped up by globalization, of which tourism is one of the outcomes. Colonization was a critical encounter and today tourism provides important opportunities of encounter. A related topic is the Black Atlantic; a contemporary arena that is said to bring together blacks around the world with a shared past and shared African cultural, social and political practices which apparently has created a collective identity for them (Sansone e.a. 2008:327-328). The core of this analysis exists of the link between contemporary black identity and tourism; the effect and influences that this encounter will bring about. Black identity exists of culture, ethnicity and race analyzed by identity politics and the formation and identity construction of an ethnic group. Tourism will be discussed in the contemporary process of globalization and by providing influences of the interaction between (ethnic) tourists and local blacks. Explaining their complicated connection and interaction is the added value of this research to the contemporary information and discussion on the main topics ethnic tourism and identity construction of black Diasporas. A deeper insight into race, identity politics and cultural expression of a minority group in relation to ethnic tourism will be provided. In other words: how does tourism influence the cultural expression and identity of blacks within the framework of local ethnic identities and race relationships. Little anthropological research has been done about tourism and the social and cultural effects of it (Burns 2004:3). Limited research is done on how ethnic tourism shapes racial identities. An increase in contribution is necessary and this will be offered by explaining findings of this research on the influence of ethnic

tourism on black identity and cultural expression of Afro-Brazilians in Salvador da Bahia (from here on simply referred to as *Salvador*).

Race relations in Brazil are complicated. A modern form of breaking down ethnic boundaries and reshaping society is what in Brazil is called a ‘racial democracy’, where racial mixing and equality is the norm. Within this formal system of equality, racism and inequality are informally reinforced without the state or people making an effort to break it down. I decided to call this a *silent repression*. The black population is discriminated and is not motivated to protest because of a lack of recognition as an underprivileged ethnic group. As Sanabria (2007) argued, tourism provides a channel through which Afro-Brazilians can express their culture and resist white domination and repression in this area. The discussion on the ‘racial democracy’ of Brazil is continuing. Some scholars say that a flexible system like a racial democracy has “obscured the endurance of social, economic and political prejudice rooted in racial differences” (Sanabria 2007;114). Other say that “the fluidity of these systems offer marginal Black populations avenues for social inclusion and a language with which to challenge for equal positions in society (Sanabria 2007;114). Salvador is the capital of the state of Bahia which is the most ‘African’ state of the country. Bahia received most of the five million slaves that were transported to Brazil in the 16th century which has made it the so called ‘Roma Negra’; most Africans and African cultural traditions outside of Africa. Northeast of Bahia lies the Gold coast and the Slave Coast of Africa; home of parents and grandparents of Bahians. Directly to the east lies Angola; another source of population (Pierce 1967:4,6; Sansone 2004:93). It is known for its tourism and strong culture which makes it a valuable location to research the identity of a black Diaspora in relation to cultural expression within ethnic tourism.

1.2 Problem Statement and Destination

To be able to research the concepts identity, culture and ethnic tourism in Salvador the following problem statement has been chosen:

‘How does contemporary ethnic tourism influence identity construction and cultural expressions of Afro-Brazilians in Salvador?’

The theoretical issues that this research will provide more clarity about concern the now following. First it explains the race relations within a racial democracy and what influence this has on the status of Blacks in Salvador's society. The matter of ethnic identity, citizenship and the battle that people fight against discrimination is included. Then the organization of the city is explored along with the design of ethnic tourism. Cultural presence and forms of expression are mentioned and all this will provide a context for the last issue, namely the effects of interaction between local blacks and (ethnic) tourists in Salvador through ethnic encounters. It will answer the question what the influence of ethnic tourism is on the identity construction and possibilities Afro-Brazilians have to express their culture while daily being confronted with the restrictions of what I called the *silent repression* in Salvador.

1.2.1 Brazil

Since the extension of international mass tourism (1950's-1960's), Latin American governments have focused on incoming tourism as an important contributor to the nation's economy. Theory shows it can provide foreign exchange and thereby reduce unemployment, increase living standards of certain sectors of the population and encourage inward investments. The exploitation of 'public goods' (e.g. beaches) by governments and the private sector remains a key issue of sustainability (Lumsdon e.a. 2001:30,31). The practice shows that Brazil has a political history of highly concentrated elite governance. The economy is rooted in African enslavement and European settlement. Brazil was the last country to abolish slavery in 1888. Notions of race and boundaries were absent. Today, Brazil's economy is the world's eighth largest, but income distribution is among the most unequal in the world. Poverty is crushing, public education is difficult and land reform is necessary (Nobles 2000:6-7).

After the 1970's, Brazil has known a big increase in tourism consumption. Between 1990 and 1999 the growth has been up to 468,1 % (Soares 2004:1). According to the latest numbers of the OMT (Organização Mundial do Turismo) and Embratur, Brazil is in 34^o place in the ranking of the countries that most receive visitors. But this position is declining; figures show a number of 5,3 million visitors to Brazil in 2000 and this went down to 4,7 million in 2001. The year 2003 only brought 3,8 million visitors to

the country. To give an idea of the impact; Brazil fell behind Poland, Belgium and Holland³. Motives for this decline are the crisis in Argentina, which is considered the principal issuer of tourists for Brazil, and a decrease of international journeys after September 11 in 2001 in the United States (Soares 2004:53). Harrison (2001) explains that ‘tourism relies on many services provided by the public sector like public utilities, transport and financial services. Information gathered by Brazil regularly confirms a wide range of inadequacies that compromise tourist satisfaction and spending in the region’ (Harrison 2001:83). This means that the coming together of tourism and development is one of the interesting topics of this research. Because of the national politics of tourism and use of land for tourism purposes, the poorest regions of the country remain in disadvantage. Regional socio-economic inequality remains; it’s the result of regional work-division existing in Brazil today (Soares 2004:53). The before-mentioned ‘Racial Democracy’ has created a difficult situation for blacks in Brazil, even when coming into contact with foreigners. These complicated race relation in Brazil and difficulties in tourism and global developments are the reason that a research on the contribution of ethnic tourism in Brazil is at place.

1.2.2 Salvador da Bahia

Salvador is the capital of Bahia, which is named ‘land of blackness’. The sensual and cultural characteristics of blackness like Capoeira, black bodies, and local cuisine are today displayed to tourists. Salvador is the third-largest city of Brazil; it counts over three million inhabitants. Tourism started to be developed in the 1930’s. Because of a very decadent economy and politics, the conditions for tourism were not favorable. In the 1940’s Bahia started to wake up to new possibilities and in the 1950’s tourism tax was introduced. From 1959 onwards, these new possibilities for tourism were explored and in the 1960’s the government started investing in for example the ‘Rodoviaria’ (Bus terminal) to improve the integration of holiday destinies within Brazil. In 1995 the new Secretary of Culture and Tourism started to renovate cultural assets like the Museum of Modern Arts, the historical centre and also the international airport was extended. In 2000 Salvador received 11,4% of the visitors compared to 28,7% for Rio de Janeiro.

³ Brazil earned US\$ 3,7 billion with foreign tourists in 2001, while South Korea for example made US\$ 6,3 billion (Soares 2004:53).

Salvador functions as a door to the North and North-East of Brazil (Soares 2004:54,57,61). Tourism in Salvador is mainly concentrated in the historical centre ‘Pelourinho’ for its history and concentration of culture. The next most important area is the beach neighborhood ‘Barra’ where one finds the lighthouse of Barra and a touristic beach and boardwalk. All are displayed on the map below⁴.



Picture 3: Map of Salvador da Bahia which shows the Historic Centre (Pelourinho) in the middle-left, Barra in the south, Bomfim church in the far north, the airport in the north-east and Dique do Tororó in the middle-south.

⁴ Source: www.packtours.com.br

The research on cultural expression in relation to (ethnic) identity construction of blacks in Salvador is necessary because tourism is globally still increasing and the opinions are shattered as to whether the impact is positive or negative and on which fronts. Not much research has been done on the specific situation of Salvador and because this is a perfect location to research the situation of a black Diaspora, this research will be very beneficial. It will shed light on the impact of ethnic tourism on the local race relations, social constructions, cultural expression, concerning the identity of black people in Salvador. Important is the recognition of this ethnic group by politics, within tourism and possible prejudices and discrimination. The formation of ethnic identities in relation to the colonial past will be used as a basis to do this. The other side is the technical and business side of tourism, meaning it will provide details on economic changes, government functioning in relation to ethnic tourism and functioning in general. The mapping of the overall situation of tourism in Salvador is critical since very few data about this are available. The changes over time will also be kept in focus, because this way one can take notice if the population or the government have successfully made changes for a better future and how.

1.3 Methodology

For this research I mainly used participant observation, interviews and a questionnaire. From participant observation I have gained knowledge about how people approach each other, choice of language and whether what they say and do are coherent. Interviews I have had were mainly informally organized because main informants within Salvador were blacks and non-blacks (locals), often regular people and settings were not very formal. I also spoke with national and international tourists, tourism organizations and individuals employed in tourism. I will make a slight comparison with Cachoeira to be able to sketch a context for the specific case of Salvador. A special focus lies on Africans and African-Americans living or visiting Salvador because of the link with black culture and tourism and the interaction between black Diasporas today. The empirical data are combined with the findings of contemporary literature to directly show the link and interrelatedness or miss-match in opinions and literature and the added value of this research. .

1.4 Informants

In the sub-section the main informants of this research will be shortly introduced. They are people that have been able to guide me in the right direction for this research. They gave me a lot of help and information on many issues regarding the identity of the local Afro-Brazilians and the situation of tourism, foreigners and the contemporary culture of Salvador. In general, the group of informants existed of blacks and non-blacks, tourists, locals employed in tourism (like guides, salespeople and shop-owners), musicians, Baianas do Acarajé, Capoeira Mestres⁵, researchers, teachers, students and hairdressers. The balance between men and women might seem uneven, and yes the main informants have generally been men, but in the rest of the examples and explanations, many women will also give their opinion. Now the main informants will be introduced.

Rico is a middle-aged man, of mixed descent who has been working in tourism for years but is also a museologist and nowadays a university professor. He used to be married to a French lady, he lived in France a long time, speaks various languages and has traveled extensively. He is now trying to publish an educational book on tourism that he is composing from all the experiences that he has gained over the years. His view on blackness, history, tourism and education has become a basis for my fieldwork.

Bobby is a Brazilian man, 34 years old, also of mixed descent. He is nowadays living in Germany. He is a Capoeira professor and a percussion artist. He says white women appreciate him more than black women do, that is why he usually dates white women. He has four ethnically mixed children. He knows every corner of the city and understands the positive and negative influences of tourism. I am grateful for his efforts to help me see the real Salvador, get to know its people and culture. He has become my guide in Salvador.

Frederico is a middle-aged man whose mother was black. He is also a university professor, has traveled a lot and speaks a large amount of languages. He has written a master dissertation on sustainability of tourism in Salvador. The title can be found in the

⁵ Leader and instructor of a Capoeira group.

bibliography under Soares 2004. He has helped me create a view on how history and culture functions in Salvador and was willing to share his dissertation with me, which has been very helpful.

Justine is Ghanaian, but he has lived in Brazil for over ten years now. He is actually a professional in beauty but in Brazil became a DJ and later opened his own disco and Ghanaian-Bahian restaurant. Justine has made his money in tourism and is now focusing on educating, especially locals, about their background and really puts an effort into schools and interviews. He is not thinking of going back because he is happy to be in Salvador. His view on Africa and African aspects in Salvador has been essential.

Steve is Justine's partner in business and is a business man in England. He has been to Salvador four times now and has bought an apartment there. His girlfriend is black-Brazilian and he himself has Jamaican parents but grew up in London. He is fascinated by Salvador and will continue to come back. His view on blackness and development coming from his as a tourist and as a black man in Salvador has been very valuable.

Oliver is a black style icon in Salvador and a hair professional. He has studied hair and has given much training in prisons and universities. He is very proud of his culture and is looking for more ways to be able to transfer his knowledge and education on culture, love and life in Salvador and with tourists. He is very passionate about his work and opinion and never too tired to talk. His passion he has transferred to me and his enthusiasms and efforts have given new impulses in my research.

Macambira is a percussion teacher who has as his goal to tell tourists about the history and culture of Salvador and warn tourists of the dangers of the city which he calls a 'concrete jungle' because of the many slums that the city owns. He has traveled in Europe while playing music. He has a lot of knowledge and skills about Afro-Brazilian music, travelled to Nigeria and he works with a German producer for his music CD's and DVD's. His view of travelling, Africa and Pelourinho have really tied loose ends together for me.

Elisa is the daughter of a famous Baiana who sells Acarajé. She is 17 years old and very involved in black culture. This interest and pride has been transmitted from her mother to her and her brother; their whole family has been in the food and tourist business for years. Her mother is very well known in Salvador and travels the world to show and teach about their culture. She was a young professional with a very warm and welcoming attitude who helped me see many aspects of black society.

Tatur-Turismo is a tour-operator run by *Connor*. I interviewed him and talked to one of his employees *Nelman*. Connor studied but 1972 was a bad time to find a job in Ireland. The depression was high, he had lots of jobs but really liked to play drums and make music. He went to London where he worked in a vegetarian restaurant but the UK was also very depressing in the 80's. *Nelman* also studied and both men know the tourism industry well for some years now. They have informed me on some business, environmental and developmental factors of it. Their mission is to leave the destination better than they found it. Connor wants every employee to be paid properly and they do research and promote development.

1.5 Research Structure

The basis of this research is the contemporary identity politics of race and color and blackness in the racial democracy of a post-colonial black Diaspora. Section two will therefore first give a full elaboration on the African heritage, the issue of skin color, the racial democracy and citizenship in Salvador followed by a sub-section on black movements. After that an understanding of the impact of colonization and slavery and the contemporary state of the city of Salvador is necessary. It will describe the well-being of its people, the link with ethnic tourism and cultural expression and organization. Section three will therefore display the organization and execution of ethnic, the ethnic representation of the population of Salvador by its government, as well as identity politics and authenticity in tourism. The fourth section will go deeper into the interaction between locals and tourists and what joys and difficulties this brings about. This will elaborate on the effects and influences of ethnic tourism. Section five will conclude on the problem

statement and before mentioned debates in literature. It will explain what the effect and influence of ethnic tourism is on the identity construction and cultural expression of Afro-Brazilians in Salvador.

Section 2: Identity and status of blacks in Salvador

A person of color

“When I was born, I was black...When I grew-up, I was black... When I am cold, I am black... When I die, I will be black...

And you white person?

When you were born, you were pink...When you grew up, you were white... When you are cold, you become purple... When you die, you're ash-grey...

And you still want to call *me* a person of color?”⁶

The purpose of this chapter is to show the way people in Salvador see the variety of color in their society and how identity is created. The effect this has on the position of blacks in society, advantages and disadvantages, and struggles related to this are explained within the framework of the racial democracy.

2.1 African heritage

Salvador has a long history of colonization and slavery; it's considered the birthplace of Brazil and it was the first capital of the country until 1763⁷. Manifestations of black culture are everywhere; Capoeira in the street, music performances, the Carnival, and Baianas with remarkable costumes that sell Acarajé. For some locals, African culture has a strong link to Africa and his or her heritage and roots, to another it is more about being a proud black person and being able to express yourself in a self-righteous and distinctive manner from a white person. Sansone (2003) argues that Africa has become a symbol of a shared past from which cultural objects and traits are drawn (Sansone

⁶ Oliver the hair specialist uses this poem to reinforce his black students and audience of his workshops, speeches and other teachings. The complete version can be found in Appendix 2.

⁷ Porto Seguro was where the Portuguese first stepped foot on Brazilian soil but Salvador was where Brazil 'grew' from.

2003:11-13). Alberto who works for UNEGRO (União de Negros Pela Igualdade) feels African in the first place, Brazilian in the second: he is Afro-Brazilian. He explained that Bahia is the first black state out of Africa and he was wearing an African outfit and an Angola necklace. But some people, like Barbara who makes a living braiding hair (Afro-style) and cooking Acarajé in Pelourinho, do not even want to be associated with Africa. About being black she literally said: “I am Brazilian not African because I don’t like the poverty and suffering in Africa”. Her roots are Congolese and Angolan but she has no desire to go to Africa. They consider Brazil a second-world country and not third-world like Africa. I talked to two sisters, Monique and Sandra, whom also braid hair in Pelourinho. Their friend Roberto was also there. Monique told me that her grandmother used to tell her a lot about her African heritage, culture, tradition and stories that she lived. Her mother is much more closed and doesn’t speak much about that at all. Monique actually had a hard time talking about this but she did say she feels African. Sansone (2008) explained that manifestations of black culture were considered shameful for civilized Brazilian (Sansone e.a. 2008:322-323). A local musician named Marcia said that her mother used to be a singer and that this profession was considered prostitution as well. According to Sansone e.a. (2008), African purity and pride of Africanness is in literature sometimes considered the core of black resistance against the ideology of whites but Castro (*In* Sansone e.a. 2008) mentions that the core of the Bahian black identity today is absolute refusal of recognition of the cultural heritage of slavery (Sansone e.a. 2008:323). People like Bobby and Oliver fully promote black culture and blackness in speech and action and by fighting against the suffering of blacks. Other Baianos refuse to acknowledge their blackness or link with Africa and prefer straightening their hair then wearing an Afro.

Angela, who is a German teacher of music and director of the Pierre Verger foundation, explained that it is very complicated to take something today and use it to show and explain something that happened many years ago. It all depends on the material available to explain and understand your own or someone else’s past. Elsass (1992) explains that the loss of history is a great threat to any civilization because identity is no longer taken over from family. He argues that people/groups that *have* been able to survive colonization are those whose identity is based on a culture made up of more than

struggle and resistance. It is based on a historical consciousness (Elsass 1992: 107-109,116,117). Wolf (*In* Taylor e.a.1992) describes that the harm that unrecognized cultures cause is deracination which results in emptiness or, in the worst case, cultural annihilation (Taylor 1992:75-76). In Salvador, people that provided a context of history, consciousness and knowledge of culture have been foreigners. Pierre Verger⁸ was French and traveled extensively to Nigeria and Benin, countries of the Orixás. He took many pictures, compared Africa to Bahia and found many similarities. He was a homosexual and very active in Candomblé. Locals and foreigners know about him, even more than in France itself. A friend of him was Caribé; an Argentinean who made woodcarvings, painted, did research and was a historian and journalist. His permanent exhibitions of wood carved principal Orixás at the Afro-Brazilian museum in Pelourinho is impressive. Roger Bastide was a sociologist, anthropologist and specialist in Brazilian literature. If it was not for these three men there would be no documentation, knowledge, respect and attention for black culture as there is in Salvador today, Luis (a tour-guide) explained. Locals have little interest in exposing their culture and learning about it. Today there are more Afro-Brazilians that study their heritage and culture but Livio Sansone explained to me⁹ that it is done through the focus of those foreigners that have started this research. Today Baianos realize that even Africa has lost a lot of its original culture¹⁰ and some people in Salvador believe that black culture today is not just made up of (ex-)slavery and that tourists have to see the complete picture (including the outback of Bahia). But the forefathers of Bahia have fought hard to preserve their culture, Luis explained. Bahia has been quite successful in its preservation, which is why Salvador is still fairly authentic. Despite this, the *reconstruction* of the African mind is the biggest challenge of blacks today, Uroh argues, because the world is confusing and many identities are fragmented (*In* Sansone e.a. 2008:127-130,157). Probably the most problematic is the loss of the African language as a means of (cultural) communication. It is a base of common identity and “without language to communicate it, a culture dies” Uroh said (*In* Sansone e.a. 2008:138). ‘Yoruba’ (an influential native African language) classes are given at the

⁸ Pierre Verger was a French photographer who died at the age of 93 in 1996 after living 50 years in Bahia.

⁹ In my second last week I had the chance to talk to him in person.

¹⁰ Many African countries are now Muslim or Christian so this also has a large effect on culture and possibilities of expression.

Nigerian cultural centre with mainly Brazilian students but according to Justine this centre has not much added value. The director of the cultural centre explained to me that many names like Olodum, which means ‘God’, and Ilê Aiyê, which means ‘Universal House’, are Yoruba. Oliver on the other hand was convinced that this is not true. Uroh (*In Sansone e.a. 2008*) said that blacks today are suffering from an identity crisis and problem of self-definition as a result of cultural discontinuity/dislocation through contact with the West. A displacement of socio-cultural values of Black Africa caused blacks today to be positioned as the marginal, underdeveloped and hopeless ‘other’; a people who lost confidence in themselves, gave up their self-esteem and culture to adapt to the course of history (*In Sansone e.a. 2008:127-138*). Baianos often feel no link with Africa, have little knowledge about their roots and are lost in a world where they are not stimulated to find these roots and create a future for themselves, based on their history. They struggle, even amongst themselves, with a fragmented and inferior identity.

2.1.1 Defining blackness

During this report I would prefer to speak of ‘blackness’ instead of ‘Africanness’ and ‘black culture’ in stead of ‘African culture’. The first motivation for this is that ethnic self determination and ‘othering’ by blacks in Salvador is not, as explained, for everyone based on an African heritage of struggle. Carrier (*In Wade 1995*) explains that some blacks generally agree with the notion of racial mixing as being the dissolution of distinctions, not just of maroons¹¹ to be a ‘community of suffering’ (Wade 1995:342-344, Pinho 2008:74). The next motive is that Bahian culture (Capoeira, Samba and Candomblé for example) is based on Africa and African cultures but through adaptation has become authentically Brazilian. It is therefore more correct to speak of black culture or Bahian culture. Besides, one can’t really speak of African culture if the influence of the number of countries is limited. Even though Sansone (2004) explains that the origin of slaves is still controversial, Africa is a continent and the number of countries of origin are most probably only from the Gulf of Guinea and area around the Congo river (Sansone 2004:92). Another motive, which Bobby pointed out to me, is that black people in Salvador are proud of their history and what they have achieved. People don’t want

¹¹ The maroon community in Brazil is called ‘Quilombo’.

their past to be forgotten, they want to express what horrible things happened to them. Since it's the Brazilian story that is being told, it would not be fair to call it 'African'. Finally, Rico made me aware of the fact that the term 'Afro-Brazilian' (like African-American) was created by men and since there is no Euro-Brazilian or Asian-Brazilian, it is not appropriate to only label one specific ethnic group this way.

For the definition of culture I use 'black culture' to link back to blackness and only the *influence* of Africa and African cultures. For a definition of *black culture*, Sansone (2003) offers an example: "the specific subculture of the people of African origin within a social system that stresses color, or descent from color, as an important criterion for differentiating or segregating people". This involves transmission of specific cultural patterns or principles from generation to generation, taking place at home, in groups, with young and elderly people. According to him, blackness (or *negritude*) is a cultural construct that reflects and distorts the position of blacks in a society and local system of race relations (Sansone 2003:10-12). In other words; culture is all about *meaning*. It gives value to our everyday lives and creates our identity. Example are the all-black *blocos* in Salvador like Ilê Aiyê, or a son telling that he wants to be Capoeirista like his father. All this surpasses the term 'Africanness' and better justifies the use of the term 'blackness'. The following sub-sector will explain more about the functioning of blackness in society.

2.2 Color & Identity

In Salvador the identity of a person is tightly connected to the identification through color. Like Jorge Amado, a world-famous Bahian writer, wrote; 'In Brazil race does not exist, only color'. It is a classification on the basis of the color of skin but not like the 'one-drop rule' in the USA. Sanabria (2007) explains that the system is not just based on blood relations (whether your heritage is African, Indian or European) but on appearance: whether you are black, brown, yellow or white in combination with other physical characteristics in addition to ancestry. They are complex classifications and not biological but culturally determined. He claims that it is a social construction of racial differences, that the meanings attached to the categories change over time and in different

social context and that they are as much cultural as they are physical (Sanabria 2007;112-113).

The influence of origins on the discussion of color will be shown with the next example: my friend Bobby auto-classifies as '*mahong*' (brown), where as I would classify him as '*negro*' (black). Bobby's mother is Indigenous and therefore considered 'white' but she looked just as black as him only with different (Indigenous) facial features. Because his mother is 'white' Bobby can classify himself as brown and not black, even though he always said that his father is 'African looking' and that he is proud of that. Nilson (Bobby's friend) is also considered 'whiter' because he has even more Indigenous blood (while looking almost just as brown). What one identifies with and what that person is identified with by other people can be completely different things. The color issue used to be even more present though, Frederico (a tour-guide and professor) told me. His mother had 'of color' written in her documents because she was black. In the past your personal identification document would carry the name of your color; today it is only based on auto-classification. Many tourists have commented in a questionnaire that they believe a racial harmony to exist in Salvador; where everybody gets along with everybody, whatever the descent or color of skin. There are people like Marcus, who owns a souvenir shop in Pelourinho, who told me that today the terms of color are fading because everybody is mixing. Nelman from Tatur-Turismo said that culture has changed a lot; "People these days are proud to be black even though many things should still change for the better. Not just in music but many ideals have changed; there used to be a lot more prejudice amongst black people. Nowadays blacks do not just look for a white person to make to have light-skinned offspring; they are marrying black people to strengthen their race". A contradiction had presented itself; Oliver later on told me that many black men announce that black people should marry black people, while at the same time they only "put white women in their car". Gilberto Freyre once commented: "There are a number of colored men in high public offices though Brazilian courtesy would never describe them as '*negro*'" (Sansone 2004:92). What is thought and done can be two different things and Salvador is not quite at a stage of acceptance and appreciation of its full color.

It's very common for somebody in Salvador to auto-classify in a lighter tint than the 'other' would classify that person. People who have indigenous or European blood have the right to, and will use the opportunity, to lighter auto-classify themselves but completely 'white' is not a wanted classification even though a darker classification is also not given. When someone is considered 'white' it does not stand for Caucasian, but a person of European or Indigenous descent. Larrain (2000) describes that an ethnic identity is one of the collective identities and globalization has created a greater awareness of one's own identity and opportunity for self-definition; identities can be modified within the boundaries of social relationships even though not every identity can be adopted (Larrain 2000:31,42). Everybody that was said to be 'white' reacted negatively, 'black' was also not a popular classification but an ethnic mixture was most certainly appreciated. Monique and Sandra were very dark skinned and Roberto could be considered brown. Monique commented that to her the mixing of colors is very important; her cousin is almost white and has blue eyes. Sandra said that Monique is not mixed at all, but that she herself is Negro and Portuguese. Monique then said that she also has indigenous blood so it was almost like a negotiation of who was the most mixed. Bobby's children seemed white (their mother is German) but he said: nooooo! They're 'caramel'. Baianos are learning to be proud of their heritage but do not seem to have fully processed and internalized this knowledge so they keep hiding behind a color-code.

'Moreno'¹² is an often used classification and often used in music. A girl named Susanna told me she once got very upset with her father when he told someone with a brown skin he 'could pass for Moreno' instead of just black or brown. Butler (2000) claims that the erotic beauty of the *mulata*¹³ is considered evidence of racial harmony, the paradigm that black and white races have distinct inherent qualities (Butler 2000; 49). Sansone e.a. (2008) said that the racial question has been replaced by the contemporary racial democracy and the creation of what he called a 'new race of Morenos' (Sansone e.a. 2008:324,325). Sansone (2004) also argues that today the racial democracy is better referred to as *morenidade*; the absence of clear-cut racial distinctions, a new 'Brazilian race'. African Characteristics had to be eliminated, and cities were supposed to have a

¹² Referring to light brown skin and hair.

¹³ A person of mixed white and black ancestry.

European appearance (Sansone 2004:95). When I talked to a lady called Gil, who lives in one of the peripheries, she said that she doesn't like the term '*morena*' because she believes she's black. This is more in line with Selka's (2007) view on one's auto-identification as black. He claims it to be essential for the development of the black community: "The construction of one's identity is not just a personal matter, it is most often a collective undertaken. Especially for members of marginalized groups, questions of identity are closely related to questions of power. The very act of calling oneself black in Brazil can be seen as a political statement" (Selka 2007:126). Nowadays individuals attempt to manipulate black appearance (e.g. straightening hair) based on the assumption of incompatibility between being black and social advantage (Sansone 2003:2). Many black women indeed straighten their hair because curls "give an impoverished look", a young woman told me, and on TV fair skinned people dominate news, reports and tele-novelas. In the magazine *Raça* a black woman explained that people still are ashamed and scared to say they're black because of these social disadvantages, so they call themselves *moreno* or use another lighter term¹⁴.

The first thing Rico explained to me, with a slight anger in his voice, was that '*Preto*' nowadays is a color and '*Negro*' is a person; therefore to call a person *preto* will be very offending and derogative. Elisa has a cousin that is light-skinned and has blue eyes but he is considered black because the whole family is black. A Brazilian from the south (of Spanish descent) did say that all people in north-east are ugly and lazy, while pointing at his skin. The south is by many considered the 'real' Brazil and the 'real' culture. He finds it a shame that tourists do not find the south interesting; Brazil is more than Capoeira and Samba he says because he does not like it. Butler (2000) also mentions that there is a notion of 'true' Brazilians being those with European 'civilized' practices. Negro had become associated with a shameful heritage of slavery (Butler 2000:47,51). Many people in high positions in Salvador indeed have difficulty accepting their black blood, Jorge Amado explained. But today the law states that for a commercial, out of every five people it contains, at least one needs to be dark skinned. Taylor (1992) claims that *recognition* of a particular ethnic or cultural group has to be obtained in intimate

¹⁴ The term '*sarara*' is also used for people of light skin and light eyes but with what they call '*cabelo duro*' or frizzy hair.

spheres through a dialogue or struggle with a significant ‘other’ and on a public level where politics of equal recognition have come to play a bigger role (Taylor e.a. 1992:37). The above mentioned proves that in Salvador one cannot speak of full recognition of the black population and its culture on any of these two levels; few Brazilians openly express to be proud to be black, little effort is being put into the preservation of black culture and being black is still associated with (socio-economic) disadvantages. On the other hand, the word ‘*Negão*’ (big Negro) is a very common word to express affinity and *nego* or *nega* are also not swearwords, but mostly pet names. I was called ‘*negona branca*¹⁵’ by a Baiana one day when she tried to sell me something. This means there is indeed fluidity of terms and identities can be modified when desired. The value of a light skin being a sign of social status and national destiny still exist even though blackness is part of the national representation. More about this interrelatedness is explained in the next sub-sections.

2.3 Racial Democracy and inequality

This sub-sector is written to further explain how color influences the relations and positions of blacks and whites in the society of Salvador are. First it’s done through the concept of racial democracy, prejudice and discrimination within this system and later by the impact this has on the citizenship of the black people in Salvador.

In 2010 Salvador still has not overcome color differences. A black lady at Olodum explained to me that the racial democracy is non-existent; racism is hidden, it’s not declared but it’s everywhere, the *silent repression* continues. The population is divided, even though it is a subtle division. The Brazilian Anthropologist Gilberto Freyre called Brazil a ‘racial democracy’ and outsiders describe Brazil as a mainly ‘black’ nation with the largest black or ‘African origin’ population outside of Nigeria (Nobles 2000:8-9). Nobles (2000) explains that Brazil claims to live with harmonious social relationships because racial mixture was used by the white elite to disguise and ignore the disadvantages accorded to color but according to Marx, A. (1998), “the Afro-Brazilians

¹⁵ *Negona Branca* stands for ‘White black-woman’.

have long accepted notions of their own inferiority reflected in this established white value-based hierarchy”, seeking incorporation and advancement within that hierarchical order more than they have challenged it (Nobles 2000: 85-86,92, Marx 1998:252). Brazilians have indeed avoided a collective Afro-Brazilian identity and sought incorporation as individuals to avoid constraints by racial identification. Afro-Brazilians tend to see other Afro-Brazilians as competitors, poverty as a result of class status or low education, personal failure, rather than race or color. Baianos discriminate on the basis of color, power and money. There is a lot of competition amongst blacks and Rico confessed that many people in Salvador will say that there is no difference between black and white but that there are very few white people living in slums. About these *favelas*¹⁶, Telles (2004) explains that residential segregation is both cause and result of a strong sense of ethnic identification among non-white Salvadorians (Telles 2004:213). Critical is that nobody in Salvador admits to be a racist or a sexist which makes it extremely hard to fight. Officially anyone can go into any shop or restaurant but Elisa explained that there are places a black person is not supposed to go and you will feel strongly if you are welcome or not. Through this silent repression and ‘racial democracy’, racism and inequality is quietly reinforced without the state or people making an effort to break it down. It is by law prohibited to openly discriminate so it occurs in a very closed and hidden fashion. The result is that black people are very rarely seen in public functions, they are kept dumb because they receive little and poor education to remain cheap labor and easy to be manipulated, Dirk (a Belgian tour-guide) explained to me. Marx (1998) explained that this has ‘numbed’ the Afro-Brazilians on the inside and robbed them of a possibility of self-affirmation and identity which maintains socio-economic inequality (Marx 1998:250-252,256). ‘Racism is a failure of *civilization*’¹⁷, not so much of a government or society. Christopher told me that he believes Salvador to be the most racist city in the world, but indeed not only because of governance. There are separate beaches for black and white, not by law but socially created this way. A white person has preference for a job over a black person and might even earn more for the same work.

¹⁶ *Favela* is the Brazilian word for ‘slum’.

¹⁷ Quote from the movie ‘Ori’, directed by Raquel Gerber in 1988.

There are still strong prejudices about blacks, which will be explained by the following three examples of the types of discrimination that black people face until today. These examples express very well the role of blacks in society and the prejudice they face on the basis of color. There generally is a notion that all 'negras' are 'putas' (prostitutes) and that all 'negros' are thieves. Black people are still seen as the very bottom of society and only good for manual labor. One example is that Rico was waiting for his French wife outside a shop, reading a newspaper. On her way out, the shop attendant said to his wife: "be careful when you leave the shop because I believe that man wants to rob you, he has been looking at you the whole time". Example two is that Rico was working as a translator for a French group in a very chic restaurant in Salvador, wearing a nice suit and bow tie. A good friend of his walked in with her husband. He walked over to her to chat and she introduced him to her husband, who didn't even pay attention to what she said but only told Rico 'Yes, well could you get a nice table for two please?' The last example is Christopher. He saw a situation where a high-ranked police officer called a black female on the beach a whore, but she turned out to be a highly ranked police officer in bikini. Blacks are mostly considered thieves and prostitutes, incapable of learning, drug dealers, alcoholics and lazy. They are not supposed to live in nice neighborhoods and dine in nice restaurants; they can only work there. Another issue of discrimination concerns mixed couples and marriages. Christopher said that his best friend and wife are considered 'white' and they said that if they would receive a black daughter in law they would hug her, talk to her, but then lock themselves up in their bedroom to cry. Mixed couples and mixed marriages are rarely seen, only when concerning tourists. A friend of Christopher has a well paid job and he is the only black man in his apartment building; in a city where 80% is black, in an all-white living environment a black person can still feel out of place. Rico explained that white people generally have something against blacks but he doesn't know any blacks that have openly expressed a disliking for whites. Negra Jôh, who is an Afro-hair icon in Salvador, treated the hair of the Bobby's children. When she was done she said she didn't want to 'see no more white' because she had had enough of it. Bobby is also always discriminated for dating white women. There is a constant battle between black and white and every color in between.

Blacks are not considered worthy of first-class citizenship rights. The statement of a young lawyer will illustrate this. She told me that at her faculty of law they learn about the *three P's*. These are the people that have little chance to get out of jail once accused of a crime because they will have no lawyer or fair trial; 'Pobre, Preto, Prostituta'. In other words; being black and poor (or a prostitute) can be very difficult in Salvador. The philosopher Goldberg (*In Nobles* 2000) argues that race is a political category which specifies disadvantages and privileges in society (Nobles 2000:11,13). Alberto explained that the worst discrimination is on the basis of skin color; "all Negros outside of Africa suffer". Indeed in Salvador the classification of color has everything to do with membership of class and opportunities in life; one of the most obvious symbols of blackness in Salvador are the many and enormous favelas that surround the city. There is almost no white person living in *favelas* and blacks are excluded from opportunities and social life.



Picture 4; Large favelas in the background and luxury yachts in the forefront represent the contrast between rich and poor in Salvador.

A Canadian tourist explained that the city looks very tropical from above but when she left the airport the poverty 'hit her'. The picture above shows that wealth and enormous poverty live side by side in Salvador. Nobles (2000) explains that citizenship, which is formal membership of a nation state, entitles a person to a set of rights, obligations and life experiences. It's taken for granted, except by those who are excluded

and can not enjoy full citizenship benefits (Nobles 2000:4-6). Salvador has a first-class and second-class citizenship division and formal membership of a state is already verbally taken from some Brazilians. Pedro, who has a father from Bolivia and a mother from the North of Brazil (Natal) was told by a black Baiano, whom himself lives already 30 years in the USA, that he is not really Bahian because one of his parents is foreign and the other one is from a different state. The oddness is that people tell *me* very quickly: ‘You are Bahian!’ when they like how I speak Portuguese or eat their food. The definition apparently depends on who they are dealing with and why. Another (light-skinned) Brazilian from Sao Paulo, also got told he is less Brazilian because he is no slave-descendent. Other benefits and opportunities denied for blacks in society are for example equal salaries and education: Roberto said that a black person makes a lot less money for the same job as a white person would do. When they complain about it they are fired and black people don’t get the opportunity to study. There are some black people at important positions but there are very few blacks that go to school. Elisa has a few black heroes and one of them is Olivia Santana, who is said to represent the black community in politics. Elisa said that at C&A (which is an upper-scale shop here) only white women with straight hair and a lot of make-up (‘barbies’) were allowed to work, especially close to Pelourinho. Nowadays also black women work there but in earlier days only the cleaning staff was black. There are no products for black hair. According to Oliver this is all related to politics; whites have governed for years and blacks still did not escape this oppression because they have to use products for white hair or other dirty-smelling products that might serve their black hair better. Nilzete Perera confirmed that blacks are the ones that struggle but that black women have an especially underprivileged position. During the parade on International Women’s day the women shouted and cried that it was not really 100 years of remembrance of independence but of suffering because the women here are still suffering domestic violence, murder and inequality at work. It is rare to see a woman over 40 years old, having a good career. There are very few women present in the government and never has Brazil seen a female president. They are still battling to survive in a predominantly white and patriotic (macho) society and blacks and whites still have to learn how to live together in a different way. There is a lot of racism

and sexism and society should be for everybody; poor & rich, black & white, educated & uneducated.

But education is an essential citizenship rights that many blacks in Salvador is denied. Education can be split up in three facets: upbringing, a college or university education and education on the history and culture of Bahia. The first is quite hard to grasp but what can be said is that in Pelourinho many have forgotten their norms and values and have gotten detached from civil society. A difficult upbringing or struggle for survival make street vendors and Baianas sometimes become very rude, out of frustration of not selling their product or service. Drug addicts and homeless people feel no shame to harass anybody and tourists become rude towards locals because of being harassed. The second form of education is the most fundamental for the level of development. From primary school to university, the number of students is low, but especially the amount of black students is limited. Only about 100 out of every 2000 students will have an opportunity to study. Schools are closing because there are apparently not enough students, while children are ‘hanging’ on the streets, putting them at risk for crime and drug addiction. The level of education is too low and language is a mayor issue. In secondary school, students hardly receive English, French or German and therefore a waiter or anybody else rarely speaks any other language then Portuguese. The people that speak the best English are the Jehovah’s witnesses; they even hold English church masses and always invite tourists. That few black people study was confirmed by Steve and Justine: their black (Brazilian) girlfriends were one out of a few, or even the only, black graduate student in their university class. I did find a child’s school book that wrote about the creation of a multicultural society, racism and how people should nowadays deal with that. The exact text can be found in Appendix 1. Also the education in the tourist sector is poor. Tourism education has known a boom because there was a boom predicted in tourism itself. When this didn’t happen, the graduated students were left without employment perspectives. The first course in tourism was a private course, quite expensive so many people decided to start working to gain experience. Nelman, who works for Tatur-Turismo, said the course for being a guide didn’t really exist and was badly organized; a tour-guide involved in incentive groups would learn from his or her peers. Connor did follow a course to become a tour-guide; people from abroad were

perfect for the job once they studied the culture and got to know the place. The course is now quite good; what used to be four months has become six months. History of art, history of architecture and Brazilian history are studied. Nelman also explained that the biggest gap in his education was the shock going from theory to practice. What else was missing was a general planning, the dynamics of tourism, how to get to know the city, in other words more he missed the operational part of tourism, he only knew the business side¹⁸. The course did not prepare them for incoming tourism destinations, they have had no access to any operation system and the focus is on outgoing rather than incoming tourism. The tourism-profession had existed for longer but education had not; few people studied to become a so called 'turismologo' in Bahia. The situation of tourism in Salvador is therefore weak; not even the government employees have studied. The head of the Secretary of Tourism has never studied or been involved in tourism but they are the people that have to plan and put the industry into practice. Without knowledge they will not be properly prepared to do this. People employed in tourism do not speak their languages, especially English is essential and also the level of service and organization is very poor. A common complaint in Salvador, like another Dutch girl explained to me, is that it's normal to receive main courses half an hour apart from each other when you are dining together. Even when I was in Rio de Janeiro a man told me a similar joke. The slow pace is also famous; Baianos are used to long lines and waiting. The last form of education, critical for ethnic tourism, is the preservation and education of history and culture in Salvador. Bahians have shown to have limited to no interest in their past and culture. They put little effort in discovering and preserving it. The government is obliged to play an important role in developing and supporting this process but this role is not fulfilled yet. An example is the fort of São Marcelo¹⁹; it wasn't until a local salesman told me about it that I discovered its existence. The fort had an important role during the years of colonization. It was reformed in 2006 but today it looks like nothing was ever done to it; the paint was gone, it was all rained down and it was covered in moss. Also half of the exposition rooms were empty and the guide only spoke Portuguese. The salesman also

¹⁸ He also missed theory about the services offered in tourism but when he left school a lot more courses were being offered than when he started. There were 22 university faculties which has gone down to only one because these days they are not able to fill a class.

¹⁹ This fort is shown on the smaller picture on the cover.

complained that buildings in Salvador are so badly maintained that tourists do not want to take pictures of it. Another way of noticing that history and culture is not a priority is that while doing research I was generally not taken seriously. The culture and maintenance of the heritage is not something that the masses consider worth worrying about. Many questions I had about places in the city and about culture, most people were unable to answer. Most buildings are known by tourists because of the travel guides available, but locals often don't know what they serve(d) for. I asked the members of my Capoeira group why the Capoeira Angola²⁰ is played on sneakers. Only one man was able to explain that this is not tradition, which is often assumed, but that it is a way of distinguishing themselves from Capoeira Regional. What are missing in Salvador are role models who feel a pride in who they are and what they can be and have a way of transferring knowledge and emotions, Oliver the hairdresser explained. He studies black history and music and part of his work is to inspire and teach people on how to be a proud black person, develop him or her-self individually, and reach your own goals in life within a bigger framework of blackness.

This missing self-esteem amongst blacks is what essentially blocks the creation of pride, dignity and development of black culture and a black identity within society, but also in ethnic tourism. Today one can dress how one feels like (shorts, jeans or an African dress) and people wear an Afro, braids or just frizzy hair but Rico explained the existence of two syndromes called '*Casa-Grande e Senzala*' (Master and the Slaves) which refers to the eponymous book by Gilberto Freyre. Casa-Grande (which was a whole town with sugar mills that was owned by one Portuguese man) stands for the philosophy that Europe and everything that is 'white' is considered better and that blacks with money feel disconnected from their black roots. Senzala (which was the dwelling of the black working class where they worked as slaves and later as servants) stands for the feeling of inferiority that is still deeply embedded in the minds and mentality of blacks in Salvador. Frederico pointed out to me that slavery is only two generations away because unofficially slavery lasted until 1902 in Salvador. He claimed that it is very hard to change the mentality of today in such a relatively short period of time. Sansone e.a.

²⁰ We played Capoeira Regional; this style competes with Capoeira Angola. Angola is played on sneakers and always in black and yellow clothes, opposed to bear feet and other colors (though officially white but often used with blue) in Capoeira Regional.

(2008) state that the establishment of distinctive identities of ‘others’ was necessary during colonial times to exercise domination without encountering judicial problems. Africans were considered ‘barbaric people’ only to be educated and civilized by force. No rights whatsoever would be given to non-whites (Sansone e.a. 2008:21-22). Rico also explained that after the abolishment, blacks that owned a business were not allowed to hire white people; they only contracted blacks. Blacks are supposed to work and are not supposed to have money: ‘oh is your name Pelé? Ok well only *then* it makes sense!’ White and Negro are indeed not categories of race, but rather physical appearance and social position (Pierson 1967: xxv-xxx). It is a fact that the majority of blacks are poor, but blacks that are not, generally do not associate with other black people because they feel superior. Once they become rich they will move out of their favela, never to return. Yang e.a. (2009) explain that increasing self-awareness of the ethnic group can strengthen their local identity through an increased pride in their culture (Yang e.a. 2009:561). This goal has not been reached in Salvador; many blacks consider themselves inferior and whiteness is still considered more beautiful and beneficial. The lack of possibilities of education has created a mass of black, uneducated, lower-class workers. Taylor e.a (1992) also state that one of the main aspects of oppression is their own low self-esteem. They need to rid themselves of this destructive identity (Taylor e.a. 1992:26,27). This will still take a long time and lot of hard work and the next sub-section will explain why that is the case.

2.4 Black movements and protests

Rico is one of the people that believe black movements are necessary in Salvador because there still is a lot of inequality. His only condition is that it is *not* based on reverse-racism; black and white need to go hand in hand, he also always tells his students this. One organization in Salvador for example demonstrates a picture of a black and a white child that are shaking each others hand. Taylor e.a. (1992) mention that the aim is to create a more equal society without loosing sight of cultural distinctness that constitutes identity. They say that political recognition of *cultural particularity* is necessary in a democratic state, but acknowledge the complication of the state respecting

different cultures and ethnicities and still treating all people as equals. Treating everybody in a difference-blind fashion forces a minority or repressed culture to ally with the broader society which is a form of discrimination (Taylor e.a. 1992:5-7,40-43). Some black movements in Salvador today strive for recognition of a black identity, others strive more towards cultural development and rediscovery of their African roots, like Samba and Capoeira. Olodum for example uses culture as an indirect route to political activity and affirmation.

Frederico explained that black movements in Salvador were executed in an American style. The word 'power' was not to be used and only later the term 'negro' was approved of. Today blacks in Salvador are not aware of their rights and have lost the rebellious spirit that helped their forefathers maintain their culture and dignity. Today there are many small black movement and other organizations that stand up for the rights of women, children, education and equality and they protest against abuse and violence. But they are mainly NGO's, sometimes have few followers and rarely stand up in public. An example is UNEGRO. They fight against racism and for black consciousness, mobilization and equality. Ubinea, a coordinator for UNEGRO, explained that the culture is used for politics but at the same time discriminated by that same politics. Women suffer especially; the Baianas today are hardly respected. Salvador's roots are extremely important but blacks have to fight to gain access to privileged areas. "Even if you identify yourself, you will suffer racism in Salvador, which doesn't let the black population strive forward in the 21st century". UNEGRO has an office in Pelourinho but doesn't expose itself very much and, at least in the historic centre, seems to have little influence. Sansone e.a. (2008) say that for blacks, the removal of the racial question was the biggest obstacle to the creation of a black identity. As a result, black movements remained more or less an international affair (Sansone e.a. 2008:325). People in Salvador indeed generally do not demonstrate or stand up for their rights; in Bahia there was a general lack of racial politics according to Danaher e.a (1995) and Marx (1998), because people did not identify themselves or their interest in racial terms (Danaher e.a. 1995:174, Marx 1998:255-259). People believe protesting to be of no use, organizations do not cooperate much and the link with politics and media is insufficient. People complain but remain passive, demonstrated by the next example. While on our way home from the beach, we

passed by Nilson's house and Bobby noticed he was eating. When he asked if we could come in the house to share some food, Nilson brought a plate of *feijoada*²¹ out to the car. Bobby explained that his parents were probably not open to foreigners or Rasta's or people from another social class. Bobby believes that it is up to Nilson to rebel against this closed minded thinking and break this habit, not to keep them separated. This passive attitude causes Salvador to remain unchanged, or at least that change occurs at a very slow pace. Racism is rough and women are hit the hardest, Nilzète explained. The only examples of real demonstrations were International Women's Day and a demonstration against violence on young adults, women and children but they remain small and hardly noticed by local politics and media. In one of my last weeks in Salvador I ran into an organization called Preto/82. Their symbol is an X in black and yellow with the Ying Yang symbol around it. They fight for equality between black and white; their email address starts with 'we are the solution'. I had seen their symbol before but I had no idea what it meant so it's badly (re)presented. The organization has no website and very little exposure within the city even though it is also located in Pelourinho. The organizations present are also not always appreciated. Elisa entered the school of Steve Biko, an organization that educates black children and shows them how to be proud of their black roots and culture. Elisa is involved in black culture, progress and for example practices Capoeira but she was not satisfied and does not believe in the studies offered by Steve Biko so she dropped out.

The working class is indeed unaware of the movements, not interested in participating and many do not acknowledge their 'blackness'. There is little public support for all those organizations. They would probably be more powerful when joined together to try form a block against racism, inequality and gain government and media attention. But the way they are organized now they will remain a very local, shattered and small community commitment with very little effect on society. Butler's (2000) reasons explain perfectly why history has determined the presence. She says there are three reasons that collective activism didn't gain popularity in Salvador. The first is that the population of color was made up of smaller communities. The second reason is that the types of networks created by Afro-Brazilians in Salvador fitted well within the model of

²¹ *Feijoada* is a bean and meat dish which is served with rice.

patronage (because of the distinction between group members and outsiders). They served to counteract a broader conceptualization of solidarity based on negritude. The third reason is that some of the oldest and most established organizations were simply not engaged in political powers; their activities revolved around securing the future of their individual organizations. They probably had little faith in a political system dominated by patronage and an entrenched group of elites and therefore were pre-occupied with the details of day-to-day existence and not able to be the source of collective activism (Butler 2000; 166). Concluding this subject and section, Connor mentioned that organizations like Ilê Aiyê, Steve Biko and Candomblé temples actively promote pride in African culture and genuinely strive to make people aware of their self esteem, cultural identity and cultural heritage. It is important the people stay close to black culture but they have paid a huge price by maintaining underprivileged people on the margins of society. People have to learn to stand up for their right and learn to effectively organize this and create a group of followers and public support to provide for a better future and change the course of history.

Section 3: Black culture in Salvador

“For Salvador to be a good city for tourists, it first needs to be a good city for its local inhabitants”²²

The aim of this chapter is to explain the context for the cultural expression in Salvador. The influence of the government and organization of Salvador and tourism are central and black culture as the basis of Salvador’s society, also in relation to tourism.

3.1 Authenticity and ethnicity

3.1.1 Authenticity

The definition of ‘authentic’ in this thesis is ‘created in Brazil’ because nothing would be authentic if authentic would be considered ‘African’. Many things can be considered Brazilian because they did not exist in Africa and were created by Brazilian slaves; examples are Candomblé, Samba and Capoeira. They were invented with knowledge slaves had from Africa but with resources available to them in Brazil. Like Elsass (1992) explained, maroons for example are not a primary African culture but a *counterculture*. It was developed in a world that didn’t resemble Africa and in a struggle to survive and is *not* a piece of Africa but an adaptation of African ideas to their ever-changing environment (Elsass 1992:118,122,123).

Frederico, a guide and professor, confronted me with a condition of authenticity in Salvador namely; legislation. There are laws against racism and for the protection of for example Candomblé. He explained that this means it’s actually already (about 300 years) too late to be speaking of ‘authenticity’; if original expressions of culture were possible, laws wouldn’t be necessary. It has taken the government time to realize that these cultures would get lost and therefore one can be sure these cultures have been modified over the years to assure their survival. Candomblé was prohibited so the slaves changed the names of their Orixás (saints) to Christian saints (*Iansã* is called Saint

²² This was explained to me, while drinking a beer in the neighborhood Rio Vermelho, by a young man who has studied tourism.

Barbara). The Candomblé ceremony was first always held outside, later they were allowed into the church. And finally Candomblé became legal. Baiana clothes can also not be considered African, Luis explained, because in Africa people wear fewer clothes and styles of dresses and jewelry are old-European.

What in tourism is portrayed as *real* Candomblé is often staged. Authenticity in tourism can concern the tourist experiences (perception) or the toured objects. *Staged authenticity* occurs when practices are changed to accommodate the needs and time-frame of tourism but can also be used to protect the local culture (Holden 2006:142-143). Artificial spaces are created by and for tourism (Soares 2004:17). Culture expressed in tourism in Salvador is often staged and many aspects are emergent authentic. The reason is that tourists are in search of symbolic authenticity, not the objective type. They want to know about history and culture, even if what they learn isn't entirely true. Frederico told a story about a group of Americans that insisted on seeing a Candomblé which was then *staged* for them. During the session the Candomblecistas actually got possessed (by Orixás) and the Americans got so scared they started screaming and wanted to leave. Even if something is not originally authentic, as time goes by it can become 'emergent authenticity'. Locals are not aware of many aspects of culture and information given in Salvador is sometimes unreliable. Many people for example, tell stories about Mercado Modelo, Josuel (a guide) explained. Some say slaves were hidden in the basement, others say that was not possible and not even necessary in those days because slavery was legal²³. When the mayor of Pelourinho gave me a tour around the city he explained that Pelourinho is not just a torture instrument but that it was also an instrument to impose power and dominance and that it actually only refers to two streets of the whole historical center. Few people know this which is not strange because it is not what is mentioned on the local map that is handed out at the tourist information center. This adds to the fact that tourists creatively formulate a new identity and are satisfied with a romanticized form of 'authentic local culture' (van Egmond 2006:95, Holden 2006:140-142). Tourists look for authenticity "in order to rediscover a true self" and tourism is the hope for *mutual recognition* between peoples (Lanfante e.a.1995:9,31). Souvenirs are an instrument in the

²³ In the Fort of Sao Marcelo our guide explained that the Mercado was even moved and that the basement served a whole different purpose; the tying up of fisher boats.

search of identification. A shop owner on Terreiro de Jesus (Pelourinho) told me that they sell only authentic cultural articles and that art is transferred from generation to generation²⁴. One of the artists has African parents, whose style is more ‘African’ compared to the more ‘modern’ paintings made by other painters who sometimes have a more European style. Weaved articles are all from the state Bahia; they are different artists but all have their own contribution like is the case in the ethnic make-up of Salvador’s society. The meaning created and culture transferred through these art works is essential; people see, learn, and take home knowledge and appreciation. But mass production of these souvenirs makes their value and ‘authenticity’ a little less credible. People used to make Berimbau’s²⁵ on the street; it was a souvenir custom made for the client and he would be able to watch the process. Nowadays the same Berimbau is sold everywhere.

3.1.2 Ethnicity

The discussion on ethnicity and ethnic tourism is still very vivid; therefore it is critical to explain what they mean within the context of this research. According to some of the informants of this research, ethnic tourism does not exist. The explanation for this statement is that everything in Salvador is ethnic because black culture is everywhere. Or; nothing is really considered ethnic because ethnic would be Indian or white culture when blacks dominate society. Before going to Salvador I preferred the term ethnic tourism because I considered it more specific to the characteristics of a certain ethnic group and its boundaries. I observed that in Salvador Bahiatursa published a book called ‘Livro de Turismo Etnico-Afro Na Bahia’ (African Heritage Tourism in Bahia). It suggests that the government is focusing on something they want to call ‘ethnic tourism’ with a focus on African aspects but for the foreign visitor it might simply be referred to as ‘African heritage tourism’. This suggests that they are sometimes considered two different things or at least that the terminology is unclear. Ethnicity is a matter of who is inside and who is outside the ethnic boundary, borders and limits. It is therefore important to discover what can be defined as ‘we’ and as ‘them’. Ethnic boundaries can be spatial, legal, a

²⁴ The souvenirs are made by hand by 42 different painters and 15 other artists (weavers etc), from the state Bahia, that have been working for 60/70 years.

²⁵ Instrument played during a ‘roda’ of Capoeira, made from a wooden stick, calabash and a string.

cultural marker, institutional affiliation, economics, politics, ideational feelings and sexuality (Nagel 2003:43-46). Ethnic tourism can be defined as a first-hand experience, a direct interaction, with the practices of local ethnic culture (van Egmond 2006:153). Speaking of 'African Heritage Tourism' emphasizes the link with Africa and the dominance of black culture but that would not include the present situation, Brazilianness, and cultural additions or changes. According to Lanfant e.a. (1995) a country labels itself with an identity, a trade mark, which draws foreigner's attention. Traditional societies are encouraged to maintain their culture for the sake of tourism. This creates a need for transmission of memory, expression of this collective memory and a transformation into a 'system of tourist attraction' (Lanfant e.a.1995:32,37-39). Ethnic tourism is indeed a first-hand experience with 'Afro-Brazilians' (blacks) in Salvador but the ethnic boundaries mentioned can cause friction. Ethnic experiences are encountered everywhere but not everyone is benefiting, culture is present is not institutionalized politically or economically and people have different ideals and sexualities. Salvador is also not very successful at creating this 'system of tourist attraction' as will be further explained in the next paragraphs. Speaking of ethnic tourism is too unclear and confusing but will be maintained for the sake of consistency.

3.2 Influence of authorities in Salvador

3.2.1 Government

Today Salvador still has a lot of fundamental problems to solve, what the man from the quote above called the five basic pillars; education, infrastructure, health care, safety and organization. These are the basis for a well functioning city. Connor said that the last two Lula administrations have broken a chain of 500 years of western ruling; "Every European country has a child-support system, why should Brazil be any different?" Dirk explained that Lula has started to reform tourism. Tourism never used to have its own ministry; it does now but politics have changed very little. Pinho (2008) and Lumsdon (2001) explain that Brazil is developing and has great potential but meanwhile blackness is celebrated in the centre of Salvador, most of its black population lives in large *favelas* (Pinho 2008:81-82, Lumsdon 2001:131). 'Bahia de todos os Santos' is

indeed better referred to as ‘Bahia de todos os pobres’²⁶. No local inhabitant wants to be in Pelourinho because it’s, by many, considered suffocating and impoverished. Employment in tourism is concentrated in Pelourinho but there are few job opportunities and even less jobs with a possibility of promotion. People in Salvador have no confidence in their government. This lack of trust is almost like a heavy blanket that covers the city; extreme negativity dominates the conversations related to government actions and improvements. Like Taylor (1992) said; people in a nation need a cultural context to give meaning to the decisions they make in daily live. *Recognition* of that particular ethnic group is justified as necessary for a good life (Taylor e.a. 1992:4,5). In Salvador, black people and their necessities and civil rights are not recognized. Salvador has major problems of infrastructure and favelas are everywhere but near the best urban beaches. On the other hand it also has so called ‘First-World’ facilities (Sansone 2003:22). Like Rico explained; people say that “everyone is equal, some are just more equal than others”. Poverty is all around but on the other hand one can live a luxurious life in Salvador with the facilities of homes, beaches, restaurants, hotels and/ spa’s. In other words; Brazil has a diverse offer of resources, services and facilities but few people have access to them.

3.2.2 Representation of blacks by the government

The first issue concerning the representation of the ethnic population by the government is the harvest of ethnic tourism for blacks as the rightful owner of their culture. The government of Salvador uses blackness to draw tourists, nationally as well as internationally, while giving nothing back to them, according to many blacks. The people in Salvador *are* the culture they are selling but are not receiving the credit for it and are not recognized as such by the government, Macambira explained. Greenwood (*In Burns* 2004) argues that tourism has indeed become a cultural commercialization and that the tourist industry uses and abuses the color and culture of the local people, thereby exploiting them (Burns 2004:5-8). Ethnic tourism is said to improve economic and cultural developments and preserve their heritage but blacks in Salvador have expressed feelings of abandonment. Survival is in their own hands which has created a big

²⁶ This is the title of a book written in 1980 by Vianna A & Alves, G

competition amongst them. The government is not effectively organizing the labor market and securing the well-being of black masses in Salvador. Motives for ethnic tourism are therefore mainly economic because little effort is put in actually preserving the heritage, culture and well being of inhabitants. What used to be ‘terra da felicidade’ is now being sold as “terra do Axé” or ‘terra de todos nos’ (Soares 2004:80)²⁷. Connor explained that Axé is a beautiful word but that it has lost its deeper meaning; ‘source of light’ or positivity. It is nowadays only linked to sexist lyrics of popular music. ‘*Terra de todos nos*’ also does not apply if the majority of blacks feel forgotten.

Bahiatursa is operated by white people who have no link with black culture. Money that is generated goes to the already wealthy, generally light skinned, people who are not concerned with preserving culture and well organizing and supporting cultural projects or touristy activities. Cultural organizations are left alone and blacks have remained poor. Ubinea explained that Candomblé, Capoeira, Baianas do Acarajé are widely know but for example Capoeiristas are not protected by the law, only exploited by large companies (generally) owned by white people. Negros have to not only learn to appreciate the beauty of their culture but also how to set up his or her *own* businesses in tourism. These cultural activities can lift the black population out of their impoverished situation but this has to be well organized by economic politics. Tourists can be a powerful force in preserving the identity of ethnic groups by showing culture and at the same time reviving traditions, art, language, festivals, performances and cultural pride but Salvador does not yet possess this power. Politics should work on the number of options within ethnic tourism; only a small part of the city is being used, Connor said. Cohen’s (*In Burns 2004*) mentions that tourism is important for the economy of developing countries but also creates a form of dependency and insecurity (Burns 2004:5-8). Some people in Salvador only search for their salvation in tourism which indeed causes dependence and insecurity: people have no other solution for their poverty, do not have the creativity to find another source of income and minimum wages in Salvador are low. A Baiana told me that if it wasn’t for tourism, there would be no jobs available. This is tough because many people told me that various generations of their families have

²⁷ These terms respectively mean: land of happiness, land of positive energy and land of all of us.

worked in tourism; a saleswoman said she was 13 when she started helping her father selling jewelry in Pelourinho.

The second issue concerns the recreation of identities and images in tourism. Rico explained for example how some Brazilians will express a love for soccer or Samba, just because they feel it is their obligation as Brazilians to do so, whereas they might actually not be very fond of these things. Poor representation of Capoeira in Pelourinho is another example. Too many people in Pelourinho try to benefit from Capoeira while many do not 'live' this culture. It creates a very poor image of it and suggests that everybody in Salvador plays Capoeira. Pinho (2008) describes that celebration of blackness offers a possibility for alternative cultural expressions and resistance against the dominating power structure but that it also keeps the black population 'hostage to stereotypical roles' of which the state benefits greatly (Pinho 2008:82-84). Like Lanfant e.a. (1995) state; tourism is an instrument for the emergence of new identities; identity is something offered to tourists. 'Life' itself becomes a 'tourist object' (Lanfant e.a. 1995:4-8). Ethnic tourism today exploits a limited number of cultural activities which are executed poorly. Many locals involved in tourism sell themselves, their body and whole of their being. Bobby calls the Capoeiristas in Pelourinho 'Capoeira Prostitutes'; they are selling their bodies through Capoeira just to make money. The few people that do this in Pelourinho, become to represent the whole of Salvador which gives a disturbed image. Oliver described how many people in Pelourinho have a hidden agenda when they talk to you; while they try to sell themselves, tourists feel deceived. Ethnicity has indeed, like Yang e.a. (2009) describe, become commodified; re-created and marketed to tourists, while ethnic identities are represented and constructed through images (Yang e.a. 2009:559,560). Africanism is re-created; a central market in Salvador where a few muscular men are working is turned into and sold as an 'African' market in photo albums for tourists and anthropologists (Sansone 2004:100). But according to Ubinea, Olodum and Samba *are* their ethnic identity and very important for the people as well as in tourism; the balance is delicate.

The third issue is the status of blacks as the rightful actor. Bobby was one of the few locals that really tried to change the situation for locals by using tourists to pressure the government. He wants a local polluted beach to be cleaned up by showing it is

important for tourists not to see this. Lanfant e.a. (1995) say it's important to restore the local society's rightful status as actor because tourism has the power to display an ethnic group on an international level, while they are marginalized by a central power (Lanfante e.a.1995:6). The power to make changes, make money and educate and express themselves should be given back to the people of Salvador because they are the culture that is being sold. Alberto commented the following about tourism: "we are 'burros' and 'payasos': because we (black people) work hard for white people like donkeys and we are clowns because we have to make the white people smile". This serving attitude, Pinho (2008) describes as a 'touristic bubble' that has created a burden for those who are constantly surrounded by tourists. It caused hospitality and the 'tendency to serve' to be seen as 'national characteristics' of Latin America (Pinho 2008:70). Blacks service in tourism, their culture is used, but receive little in return.

3.3 Tourism construction in Salvador

3.3.1 Organization and execution of Tourism

How tourism in Salvador came to exist poses some questions because the maintenance of the cultural and historical heritage is nowhere mentioned in the goals and perspectives of tourism in Bahia. The developments have been mainly focused on enlargement of the business sector, the income of foreign currency, the accessibility and promotion of Bahia and Salvador as a touristic product. Little thought has been put in the organization of the actual activities and cultural representation within tourism. According to Soares (2006) there have been three faces in the development of tourism in Brazil, which mainly focused on the set-up, increase and regulations of tourism²⁸ (Soares 2004:35-38,59). After the decline of tourism between 1990 and 2000 the government made a few recommendations; broadening of international flights and charters to Salvador, international packages and incentives, accessible prices, reception of large

²⁸ The first phase (1938) was a politics of legal diplomas, disconnection and restrictions of aspects of parts of the activities, fundamentally linked to regulations of travel agencies and tourism. The second phase (1966) defined and institutionalized for the first time a national politics of tourism and created official organisms for the concretization of the law. The third phase (1991) restructured the national politics of tourism, the government took a permanent position and the in 1966 created EMBRATUR (Empresa Brasileira de Turismo) gained more political power after 1991.

congresses and festivals, consciousness of ‘treating the tourist well’, and improving public security with ‘tourist police’. The idea was to open the doors to Salvador while news on crime and violence in Rio de Janeiro and Sao Paulo was rising (Soares 2004:62,63). Dirk told me that today there are very few (business) flight coming in to Salvador because of economic decline and bad organization of the airlines and, as section four will show, also the public security goal has not been reached. Tourism has only focused on finance and statistical growth, not culture and how to strengthen tourism, which will be explained next.

This second issue concerns the actual organization and planning of tourism. There is hardly any organization or structure; what has been organized in the past was the removal of most inhabitants of Pelourinho to be able to reform the historical centre into a money-maker. The government also reformed the building of the fort of Santo Antonio but left all the decorations and organizational aspects up to the Capoeira academies. Some people still hold a grudge against the government for these changes and now that the money is gone, an artificial cultural centre like Pelourinho can hardly be sustained, Livio Sansone explained to me. Everything that is working, is working on private initiatives; that is why Pelourinho is overloaded with organization, associations and foundations. Generally there is no continuity of projects and organizations because, until government level, new generation normally implement their own ideas, not considering build on from somebody else’s work, Silvana from Singtur-Ba²⁹ explained. The whole process of tourists arriving at the airport, the pick-up, a good hotels, professional tours, good restaurants to local security is a mess, Nelman said. There is no centre of communication, no overview and no improvement noticeable. Communication within tourism is lacking: “When we brought a large group of people into Pelourinho we saw a total of *two* policemen, which is unacceptable. We should be able to communicate with the (tourist) police and organize the security for our group but we cannot rely on the government”.

Most people interviewed confessed that ethnic tourism has declined and has to be better organized. Dirk said that there are hardly any large groups coming to Salvador

²⁹ Singtur-Ba stands for ‘Sindicato dos Guias de Turismo da Bahia’.

anymore and that more individuals visit but they are less interested in ethnic tourism. Incentive groups are pre-arranged, don't study culture and don't explore the city. Large all-inclusive resorts are being built on the beaches just above Salvador who should be obliged to use local products and help stimulate local markets by hiring local employees³⁰. Connor explained about 'Linha Verde', which is the road to Praia do Forte. Big tourism complexes have been built here but it caused the land on the ocean side to be valuable, but not the land on the other side of the road because there is no beach access. This has created 'pockets of poverty'; people who work in the resort on the beach side of the road, live in slums on the other side of the road. There are no incentives to the rural producers for the hotels outside of Salvador; everything comes in from the city. Another obstacle, according to Connor, is that Brazilian marketing does not sell the product 'Bahia' sufficiently to the external market. The ones that do sell Brazil do not sell Bahia and there is no (coherent) promotion of tourism in Salvador where times are tough. Tour operators that traditionally work in Salvador keep tourism rolling, not the government³¹. Many people talk about the World Cup Soccer in 2014 but the hotels are in the hands of a limited number of tour operators. A holding company bought up local tour operators and is sustained by political connections; cities will be full but few people will actually gain money from it.

This leads to the next issue which is sustainability. Connor explained that few afro-Brazilians own tour companies and blacks have traditionally not been in the position to benefit; they for example didn't own cars. Home-stays are not going to work because the network is missing and corruption is by many also considered a big issue; a friend of Oliver explained that he doesn't understand where the tax money goes. Soares (2004) explained that the economic model in Salvador is finishing off the natural resources and the majority of the population is excluded. Progress that doesn't risk the necessities and possibility of the future generation to provide their own provisions is not being complied with (Soares 2004: 19). In the Eco 92 conference from the United Nations, Brazil and other countries have made a commitment to find equilibrium between economic

³⁰ Most investors will already be foreign so most money will leave the country anyway.

³¹ The government expects to spend 9.7 million on promoting São João, which is traditionally celebrated in all municipalities and attracts a flood of people from the capital to Bahia, so it promotes itself. That 'Bahia is the preferred destination for Brazilians' is therefore automatic.

development, social development and security of the natural resources for future generations³² (Soares 2004:7,8). This means Brazil has promised itself to improve its tourist product in a responsible way but this goal has not been reached. Nelman explained the following; “the situation of tourism shocked me when I just graduated. The whole infrastructure was disorganized; there was no proper planning, organization, corruption was an issue and people weren’t determined to improve things. Streetvenders do not have the right approach and the infrastructure of the historical center is bad: the condition of buildings and everything else is poor”.

Tourism in Salvador does have certain rules. On Friday, at least in tourist centers, it is compulsory for restaurants to sell Bahian cuisine and dress in white clothes which represent the Orixás and peace. Baianas that sell Acarajé in Salvador have to sell the typical dish; they can’t add or delete any ingredients like ketchup or other meat or fish, oil has to be dendé³³, and they have to honor traditional clothes. Baianas pay tax for their stand and can only have registered people working for them. Elisa’s mother makes clothes herself or she buys them. There are no written rules for it, but the knowledge is passed down through the generations. Some Baianas only gave birth to boys so they can also take over the business. There is a lot of competition so instead of a 3x3 meter stand that costs BRL 375 per year³⁴ on taxes, Elisa’s mother has a 2 x 2.5 and pays less tax. These rules also count for Baianas that dress up tourist to take pictures in traditional clothes³⁵. The clothes have to be typical, the dress as well as the male Olodum shirt and Capoeira pants. The articles on the table also have to be authentic even though they are made from plastic. This Baiana also pays tax and has to be registered. If she hires an unregistered person, the police are allowed to remove the whole business and give her a large fine. Some additional rules would still be appropriate according to Josuel (a tour guide). He said that the bad Capoeira shown at Mercado Modelo is the fault of poverty and tourists. Because of the lack of rules anyone can call himself a *Mestre* of Capoeira. People will do anything to eat and tourists don’t want to spend a lot of money, therefore

³² The result of the conference, Agenda 21, promotes tourism with a basic infrastructure, qualification and development of handcraft, and was supposed to make Brazil a competitive product.

³³ Dendé is a local flower and fruit that red, strong oil is extracted from which Acarajé is fried in.

³⁴ Equivalent of about €154,-

³⁵ See large picture on the cover.

they hire a fake guide that will tell them the most ridiculous things. The Baiana that takes pictures with tourists on Praça da Sé³⁶ said she struggles with the sun. Standing in the sun all day is very dangerous and therefore she works in shifts with a few others.

Ethnic tourism in Salvador is mostly practiced in certain areas of the city; Pelourinho³⁷ and Barra are the most commercial places. Very few tourists step outside of these restricted areas and when tourists do, most people say it's too dangerous. From Pelourinho to the fort of Santo Antonio takes ten minutes by walking through wonderful old scenery but many tourists do not reach this side of the historic centre, also because police often are not able to give directions. The fort of Santo Antonio has a large history and has become the centre for Capoeira (in commercial Salvador). To really get to see local culture, tourists should get more involved in religion and less in parties and beaches, Dirk said. Tourists should also see other neighborhoods of the city to see the real Baianos and non-commercial culture and attitude but in hotels there are only flyers of activities in these areas. Connor explained that Pelourinho used to be very dangerous for taxi drivers and tourists; many people in Salvador probably had not been to Pelourinho prior to restoration. There is few police on Sunday, which makes it the worst day of the week. Nelman said some tourists have seen Pelourinho in a movie but get completely disappointed when they arrive because one can't even have a cup of coffee. The worst examples of the human race walk around there; 'off their faces and dirty smelling'. The 'All Saints Bay' area exists of, among others, the municipalities of Salvador and Cachoeira, These places offer tourist splendor; besides large hotels they offer cultural history linked to music, religion, ways of living and cuisine. Cachoeira is a small village about two hours driving from Salvador where culture has been well preserved there and feels very authentic and ancient. Even youth there is aware of their history. The women of 'Boa Morte'³⁸ in Cachoeira are all black and have been continuing the same ritual for years which made them world-famous. Many guides said that Cachoeira is very important for tourism because of the history of slavery and colonization and it's important tourists also get to know the country side of Bahia.

³⁶ This is a central square in Pelourinho

³⁷ This includes the neighborhood 'Santo Antonio'.

³⁸ The 'Good Death' is a sisterhood of (afro-catholic) black women that celebrate African Roots in combination with devotion to the Virgin Mary. The month August is known for many festivities (especially on August 15) and it attracts many Afro-American roots tourists.

Connor was one of the people that said a guide is essential; nothing replaces the value of a good guide. He said some guides are pointers, who mention dates and a timeline. Then there are guides that put everything into context and can really bring the city to life but some just want to take the customer to stores to earn their commission. Connor said they know some wonderful guides in Salvador to be able to identify the guide and link him to the client. If the client is an architect or a doctor, you can find him a matching tour guide who is specialized in that area. Josuel also believes guides determine the impression tourists get from the area. The first time tourists come they know practically nothing and have to be taught how to live in the new place. But it's the least respected and least well paid job he thinks. Plus there are many foreign guides working here as well, of which many are also illegal. They are privileged because they speak many languages and they are trusted more than local but don't really feel the city like Bahians do; it is not a *spiritual* and *authentic* experience that they sell.

This brings us to the last point, namely interest and motivation. The cultural agenda of Salvador is an informative guide with lots of events, exposition, activities, and shows mentioned, organized per theme. To my surprise the section on black culture was the very last section of the book. When I called an office of Bahiatursa that was supposed to be able to give me some information on ethnic events, she had nothing to tell me and didn't bother to find out. There is a big lack of interest and pride in culture in most museums, shops and other organizations; sometimes you walk into a store and nobody even looks up. What encourages this is the 'well this is Salvador', 'what can you expect' attitude when there is a problem. Steve said that this is exactly the reason why progress in this city is a very slow process, but it doesn't have to be this way. Salvador is the only city where he has not seen progressive blacks. Together the inhabitants of Salvador need to work on improvement and happiness but this spirit is missing.

3.4 Cultural expressions in Salvador and ethnic tourism

In this sub-section the principle components of black culture in Salvador are exposed, the division between private and public culture is given and alternative expression are explained.

3.4.1 *Music, dance and Carnival*

Music is an important part of life in Salvador; *Baianos*³⁹ are great musicians and music is essential for day-to-day activities. Almost everyone knows how to play an instrument or write a song that is guaranteed to swing. Many Bahian musicians are famous around the globe according to Bobby and Justine. Most popular types of music like Samba, Pagode, and Forro are Brazilian but many have African brother or sister styles, according to Fabricio. For the success of tourism, these styles are essential, but what does a tourist understand and see? The exact translation of a song or music is difficult to make, let alone express the feeling and meaning that a song was meant to have. During a percussion class I saw that Macambira explained the difference between Samba Reggae, Samba dura, Samba Axé and a Polish girl that studied Samba had also learned the differences. It is essential that a tourist has a good teacher to understand the context of music. Times also change; Oliver told me that Olodum is now very commercial but that they used to make many protest songs. Nowadays they only create what sells so the authenticity and history is no longer in the same way transferred.

Dancing is an important part of daily joy; every song here has choreography. But it is a myth that everybody dances in the street, like an American girl said she expected, even though dancing is in the blood and you cannot keep a *Baianos* from '*rebolar*'⁴⁰. The folkloric ballet⁴¹ is an example of a cultural expression within tourism that combines music and dance and which has a positive effect on tourists and the understanding of black culture in Salvador. Samba is extremely popular and the '*morena*' that dances the Samba is indeed an icon. Forro is very important and 'São João' festivities are entirely dedicated to this music and dance. But the main musical and dance attraction is the *Carnival*. What is considered 'the national anthem of carnival' is called 'We are

³⁹ A *Baiano* is someone from Bahia.

⁴⁰ *Rebolar* means 'turning of the hips'.

⁴¹ It combines traditional music, a dance of the Orixás, Capoeira and Maculelé.

Carnaval'. The full lyrics and translation can be found in Appendix 3 but what they mainly show is that, while they do not speak much English, there is a lot of English in this song and it's also catered for tourists. It expresses that Salvador considers itself to be the heart and origin of the country, a city of pure fun and pleasure and that it is the *people* that *are* the carnival and the culture, not the government. It has also changed a lot over the years. The 'Trio Electrico'⁴² was invented exactly 60 years ago which was celebrated during the carnival. Music has changed; this year Ferry Corsten (electronic music) was present, which has nothing to do with African or Bahian culture. The rules have changed; blacks can officially participate without having to show a picture or tell in which neighborhood they are living, like was mandatory ten years ago. There are still special black 'bloco's'⁴³ like Ilê Aiyê and Olodum but carnival remains for the rich people. To enter a 'camarote'⁴⁴ people pay from 150 to 1.200 BRL per day. Blocos are even more expensive, depending on the 'trio electrico' you want to accompany. People spend in total sometimes up to 5000 BRL a day⁴⁵ which for a domestic worker, that earns BRL 500 a month, is an enormous amount. The contemporary 'Carnaval da Bahia' has become a huge commercial exploitation. It is no longer 'for the people', only for the rich, also explained by Steve and some local youth. I was amused by the creativity of the people here when I saw the 'camarote da pobreza' (see picture below⁴⁶), but then I realized it was a serious protest against social inequality. The camarote da pobreza has been present for three years now and has made the news every time, only very few people in Salvador seemed to know about it or even paid attention when I confronted them with it. Youth I met described that there is no Trio Electrico that has any kind of development project for peripheries of Salvador while they earn large amounts of money. Bacelar's (*In Crook* e.a. 1999) mentions that through *blocos*, culture became ideology and politics in the construction of a social identity for blacks in Salvador (Crook e.a. 1999:97). Yes, Carnival integrated different continent-wide themes and representation of West- and Central-African culture. It has become an African cultural ambassador in which self-

⁴² A 'Trio Electrico' is a wagon that the carnivals-band is situated on during the carnival parades.

⁴³ A *bloco* is a group of celebrators that by tickets to accompanies the Trio Electrico by walking with the band, protected between 2 ropes with security.

⁴⁴ A 'camarote' is a type of audience platform from where people safely watch the carnival's parade.

⁴⁵ The equivalent of 150 to 1.200 BRL is between €70,- and €550,- and 5000 BRL is about €2.300,-)

⁴⁶ Source: www.bahianoticias.com.br

described young ‘Africans’ use this opportunity to claim their part in Brazilian society, culture and heritage and Afro-Brazilian music has become the driving force in Bahian carnival (Butler 2000:169-183). But on the other hand it’s very idealistic because of the immense amounts of money involved; poor black masses have become outcast in what is supposed to be the largest manifestation of *their* black culture and pride. The segmentation between rich and poor is emphasized during carnival and racial segmentation is not resolved. Streets remain for poor people, and the facilities for wealthy inhabitants and tourists.



Picture 5: An example of the ‘camarote da pobreza’ which states; “without an opportunity for the anonymous, the public attends weak spectacles, maintained by hypocrisy of the media”.

3.4.2 *Capoeira and Maculelé*

Capoeira was invented by Angolan slaves, practiced in cane fields, to fight off land owners while imitating African Animals. It’s nowadays practiced by many but by some still considered to be for poor and black generations, not for whites, let alone tourists. Tutsi, a Rastafarian, explained that he plays Capoeira and that there’s a lot of racism amongst Capoeiristas. Some say it’s only for black, lower-class people and

because he is *moreno*, a lawyer, according to some, not allowed to play. He believes it to be a waste of culture and maintenance of racism. Butler (2000) wrote that, although no one seriously attempted to obliterate the traditions that characterized Bahia, there was constant pressure from both public and private sectors to channel Africanism into acceptable spheres. Police terror gave Bahia an ‘uncivilized’ image and Afro-Bahians were considered less than ‘civilized’ (Butler 2000; 187). *Capoeira Angola* was changed to *Capoeira regional* to get rid of the traditional African ties and the association with its lower-class origin (Kraay 1998:125-126).



Picture 6: Artworks of Capoeira are shown throughout the city but prejudice remains high.

Because of local prejudice against Capoeira, most people do acknowledge the importance of tourists in the appreciation of it. Tourists are necessary for the valuation of this part of the culture; it brings money into the Capoeira association and stimulates locals to get involved and appreciate their culture. Sansone told me that in Brazil, having a white person in the group generates pride because this foreigner is interested in their culture, for African-Americans it generates an opposite reaction. Mestre Boca Rica is famous but humble. He said to be proud of the fact that he visited 26 capitals of first-world countries but didn't very much express pride in his reputation in Capoeira. His parents did not want him to actively play Capoeira. Mestre Bola Sete (1989) wrote the

following in the preface of his book⁴⁷; “For my mother, Lourdes, hoping that one day she will understand the importance of Capoeira in my life”. This shows that prejudice is still not eliminated.

The Capoeira in Pelourinho and Barra is very exploited and of a low standard. It's not gaining respect for culture but actually only destroying the respect that other people have worked hard for to create. Even the Capoeira at the airport is embarrassing and the title of a book I came across, ‘The Capoeira of the Entertainment Industry’, is very appropriate. Capoeira has become cheap entertainment, a means of survival for many, rather than a worthy appreciation of culture. In remote neighborhoods the real game of Capoeira is played but knowledge about Capoeira has stayed behind. Many locals will not recognize a great Mestre when they see him on the streets or have no interest in going to the Capoeira associations in Pelourinho. All great Mestres are now teaching at the fort of Santo Antonio and have their association in Pelourinho because that is where the tourists and the money are. To gain recognition for Capoeira, a local will often turn to the tourist and not fellow Baianos. Capoeira has become an aspect of Afro-Bahian *identity* but the cultural awareness and research of the role of Capoeira, like Kraay (1998:130) described is still in progress.

Maculelé⁴⁸ on the other hand is not very popular. The first time I saw Maculelé it was poorly executed and didn't give a skillful and touching representation of cultural and pride. The second performance I attended, even though this it was a folkloric representation, was very professional and impressive. It was a large part of the folkloric ballet which shows the importance of this dance and many people had mentioned it to me before. The poor representation of Maculelé within black culture in Salvador is lamentable because it could take the edge off of the enormous competition in Capoeira and it would be a valuable addition to the range of cultural expressions available.

3.4.3 Religious syncretism

The name *Salvador* means ‘the savior’ which refers to Jesus Christ. *Bahia de Todos os Santos*, The All Saints Bay, was named after the Catholic Holiday All Saints day, November 1st, because Bahia was discovered on that same day. This means that the

⁴⁷ His book is called ‘A Capoeira Angola na Bahia’.

⁴⁸ Maculelé is similar to Capoeira but with two sticks in hand.

official names of the city are Catholic⁴⁹. The shops, restaurants and homes generally have an altar with pictures and statues of saints and many people are spiritual and wear religious jewelry. The syncretism with the African-based religion Candomblé is what Salvador is really selling and famous for: faith based on symbols, rituals and believes. For example the symbol ‘Baiana’ is strongly linked to this (Soares 2004:82). Rico explained that Candomblé is very popular because homosexuality is accepted and it is a maternal religion which Sanabria (2007) confirmed; heads of most Brazilian Candomblés are and historically have been women whom are referred to as ‘mother’ (Sanabria 2007;203).



Picture 7: The entrance of the Orixas at a ceremony in Salvador (April 2010)



Picture 8: Candomblecistas at a ceremony in Salvador (April 2010).

Every aspect of Candomblé and the Orixás is considered authentic as Butler (2000) explained; “Long after the abolition of slavery and the disappearance of African-born persons in Bahia’s population, Candomblés provided the infrastructure for the recreation of African identity and the foundation of an African-based world” (Butler 2000; 47). Candomblé is indeed a religion, *based on* African religions but Candomblé itself does not exist in Africa. African believes and rituals were merged with Catholicism. The Candomblé Orixá ‘Oxalá’, identified with peace and love, was merged with Jesus

⁴⁹ There are about 365 churches in Salvador, ‘one for every day of the year’, opposed to 1.200 Candomblé temples.

Christ (Sanabria 2007;206). Only 1% of tourists is interested in Candomblé, Luis said, while this is an essential part of black culture. Selka (2007) writes that Candomblé has been integrated into representations of Bahian identity. It's not simply lamentable that Candomblé is a marginalized and denigrated religion because it's presented to tourists as central to Bahian ways of life (Selka 2007;129-130). The Orixas have survived slavery and are therefore important in the contemporary Candomblé; Bobby had blue and white threads in his hair representing Xangó (warrior god) because he identifies with him. Also *Zumbi*⁵⁰ is essential for blackness in Salvador, Bobby said, but few people know his story. His statue has only been in Pelourinho since 2008 and is only written in Portuguese.

Some Brazilians, like Macambira, go to Africa (Nigeria) to learn about the Orixás, the Yoruba language and to play religious music. Candomblé is attacked by the Evangelical church; it is slowly being restricted because the mayor of Salvador is Evangelic and subsidies are cut. Candomblé is frequently related to blackness and often represented as a 'black religion' but about half of the Candomblecistas are white says Selka (2007) and a speaker at 'Semana da Africa' explained that nowadays Evangelism is considered the largest 'black religion' (Selka 2007;122,131). Candomblé is widely still considered to be something devilish which is a continuation of the past: "White elites, supported by legal system, government and armed forces were determined to stamp out Africanisms, particularly the rapid growing Candomblé" (Butler 2000; 169). This is also the reason that, according to Selka (2007) most of the Candomblecistas in Bahia discussed their practices primarily in terms of spiritual and practical, as opposed to ethnic or political motivations which contributes to the creation of a lower self-esteem, Rico explained (Selka 2007;121). At Dique do Tororó, the Orixás are situated in the lake (see pictures below) and are a pilgrimage area⁵¹. Big parties used to be given but the government is cutting the funding for this, Connor said. Oddly enough, one of the first things you see while arriving at the airport of Salvador is a picture of Candomblé with the question: "Do you know which religion, based on syncretism, this is?" This is strange

⁵⁰ Zumbi dos Palmares' was the last leader of the maroon community called Palmares in the outback of the state of Bahia.

⁵¹ Candomblecistas go to 'Dique do Tororó' to worship their gods and even take a boat trip to be close to them.

because, while Candomblé is very controversial in Salvador, it is one of the first things offered to tourists. This is also why Justine explained that he feels Candomblé is too much exploited in tourism. A woman tried to sell postcards of Orixás to me by telling they are picked on the base of your zodiac-sign, while the Orixá is supposed to choose you.



Picture 9 and 10: Orixás in and on the side of the ‘Dique do Tororó’.

3.4.4 Private/Public division

Salvador shows no real separation between public and private culture. Religion is where the culture was preserved during slavery days. What used to be *all* privately contained within Candomblé is now spread out through the whole society after Candomblé became legal. The most public expression of culture is Carnival⁵² but also life in general is often celebrated on the streets or in communal areas. Bahian cuisine is loved and famous and most foods have African origins (Candomblé) and were created in Brazil to be offered to the Orixás, only some ingredients were added by Indians. Some dishes are very similar to African dishes; this was the conclusion of a male Bahian and a

⁵² ‘Carnaval da Bahia’ is the biggest street carnival in the world

male from Guinea-Bissau after comparing their dishes and cooking styles with each other. A Candomblé ceremony is the most private expression of culture, simply because a *real* and *authentic* session is hard to find and prejudice about them is high but a tourist can always pay for a created ceremony. From the above mentioned, one can conclude that culture is not hard to experience, there are many forms of culture and they are very interrelated. Many have been modified over the years but are truly Bahian.

3.4.5 Alternative and new forms of cultural expressions

There are many possibilities to express black culture in Salvador which are not related to tourism; an example is the popular dance academy where afro-dance is taught. Even though it is located in Pelourinho, the students are mainly (black) Brazilians and they practice African-dance, modern-Brazilian, hip-hop and break-dance. Tourists did also find their way to the academy and music used is mostly played live on big drums. One teacher started his class (for teenage girls) with a lecture on dance styles; he explained that Africa is a continent and how the context of colonization and the presence of Orixás and Samba make Afro-dancing in Brazil special. In another neighborhood ('Brotas') the Pierre Verger foundation is located which organizes cultural activities for local children. A different, often more academic tourist, will go there, even though Pierre Verger is very well-known and his shop is located in Pelourinho. Cultural expression in Salvador is wonderfully expressed by Costa (1985): "The Bahian culture is present in every mark of her history, in the quietness of the beaches, in the taste of every typical dish, in every game of Capoeira, in every step of Samba, in every visit to a church. In every prayer to the Lord of Bomfim, in every curtsy to an Orixá; where tourists search for their moment of faith and peace, is where Baianos also spiritually encounter his or her comfort" (Costa 1985:14). It's every interaction, every encounter, which makes a visit to Bahia special.

An example of a new form of black culture is what is called 'black music' (pronounced as 'blacky-musicy') which entails everything from local music to R&B, hip-hop and blues. Some styles have a strong influence from the USA and various young people dress in an American fashion, there is a large painting of Barack Obama in Pelourinho and the dance academy provides break-dance classes. This is all part of what

is universally considered ‘black culture’ but not directly related to African culture. According to Sansone (2004), new forms of black culture revolve around the experience of being an original African in the New World, which passes the national identity of the individual. Objects are chosen to represent this, often related to the body, posture, stigma and signals of mobilization and success (Sansone 2004:102). New black culture is very present in Salvador but this is not supported by knowledge about stories of black heroes like Marcus Garvey and Martin Luther King. Sansone (2003) explains that new black cultures are created on the basis of an African traditional (and transnational) experience but that it’s more concerned with creativity and re-invention of Africa for political reasons than to retain African culture through centuries of hardship (Sansone 2003:12-13,17). Dirk explained that Rasta’s are fairly new here and that it’s considered fashionable. It is indeed still a little strange for some (elderly) people, Bobby said. Afolabi e.a. (2007) mention this ‘new wave’ has gained power; African elements are subsumed under the reinvention of the oral tradition and the validity of *memory*. They are used as a tool for awakening consciousness of the devastating state of *favela* life as well as a call for local and global interventions (Afolabi e.a. 2007; 255). Parangolé⁵³ had to make a song called ‘I’m ghetto’ to make people respect the fact that they live in the ghetto and let the people know their time will come. One can conclude that new black cultures support a contemporary blackness. Its purpose is not presenting Africa but an awareness and fight for black rights and cultures.

⁵³ Parangole is a famous Pagode band from Salvador and their Carnival’s hit is called ‘Rebolation’. The song ‘sou favelas’ (I’m ghetto) talks about the good things coming from the ghetto and teaches people to respect themselves and other ghetto-inhabitants.

Section 4: Ethnic tourism in Salvador

“ ‘Sankofa’ means ‘go back and get your culture’, it is my tribal symbol”⁵⁴

-Justine-

This section will give a better overview of the social relationships and different actors involved within ethnic tourism and the effects and influences; pro’s and con’s concerning ethnic tourism in Salvador.

4.1 Tourists from black Diasporas in Salvador

4.1.1 Africa and Africans

Afro-Brazilians do feel connected with other black cultures but knowledge about other black nations and cultures is limited. Salvador generally doesn’t have an educational infrastructure and therefore leaves people lacking knowledge to really understand and be able to relate to black Diasporas. Baianos talk about Africa but most don’t know anything about it. Many are even unaware of the fact that it is a continent and not a country. Justine said that when someone calls him an ‘African’ he would call that person a ‘Latin American’. At the responds ‘but I’m Brazilian’ he has an opportunity to explain that he is ‘Ghanaian’. Someone asked Justine if Ghana also has rice; they know nothing about tribes, food, habits, languages or clothes from Africa. One of the reasons for this gap is that “social forces have created a Brazilian Africa; through conformism and protest their own Africa was created. Some anthropologists believe the culture to be ‘purely African’ but Bahia is without a doubt a large area of production of black culture in the ‘New World’” (Sansone 2004:91-94). According to Justine, music is what is closest related to African culture and he says Baianos make very good musicians⁵⁵. But Bobby said that the image of Baianos only making music and dancing is very primitive and restricted. Sansone (2004) explains that the constitution of 1988 obliged the state of

⁵⁴ Sankofa is also the name of Justine’s Bar.

⁵⁵ He himself is a DJ and club owner.

Bahia to teach about the African history in secondary school and to promote a multi-ethnic image in the propaganda of government organizations. This created the need for ‘African’ information and symbols which has resulted in fragmentation and essentialization of the African culture and a generalization of ‘African people’. An example is the drumming that is represented as the essence of all the African music (Sansone 2004:98). The identity of Africans⁵⁶ in Salvador is therefore also not made up of a direct connection with blacks and a communal history. One student-anthropologist, João from Guinea-Bissau, explained he does not directly feel connected to Baianos simply because they share a similar history. It is a connection supposedly based on suffering but he is also not a direct descendent of slaves and this history has no link with his family or life. Local culture in Salvador is also imposed on Africans. He is a foreigner just like any other tourist and is not able to identify with a black person playing drums or Capoeira simply because he doesn’t know how to do this. Other Africans have said that they do not recognize their Orixás from Africa in Candomblé whereas the Orixás known in Brazil are based on the Orixás in Africa. Justine expressed that he felt the credibility of Candomblé to be low; African mentality is different. He has little faith in the religion and the expression of it because it is much stronger in Africa. He experienced a Baiano laughing at him while he was speaking to his Gods, trying to stop the rain. Fabricio from Guinea-Bissau also told me he didn’t recognize the Orixás; especially the clothes were very strange to him because they felt more like a show than a religion.

Justine is one of the Africans that feel responsible for teaching people in Salvador about their history and roots, the name of his bar (‘Sankofa’) represents this. He has started his Afro-Bahian restaurant because there was not one single African restaurant in all of Pelourinho. He wants to show what African food and Bahian food is like and trains their cook to make African foods the traditional way. He always cooperates in school projects and other types of interviews. He also uses his bar to show people a little bit of Africa, especially on African nights that he organizes there. His business partner Steve took charge of improving the educational level of the decoration; they are going to create a little overview of data for each African country that is represented by a flag. Sansone (2004) explains that the public education indeed has collapsed in Bahia. Mass

⁵⁶ Africans in this section stands for visitors that were born in Africa.

communication was more focused on a modern black culture and mass tourism was presented a sophisticated and elite image of it (Sansone 2004:98). Salvador is nowadays provided with three African cultural centers but they are badly promoted. The Benin house provides limited information on the country but shows some of the similarities between Bahia and Benin. The Nigeria cultural house provides more books, art, a museum and also Yoruba-classes. Their power is limited, according to Justine, because it is not functioning well. The Angola house is for example located out of the Pelourinho centre in a not very safe area and the president of the Nigeria house does not speak Portuguese. This shows that actual education on Africa and African history is still in a start-up phase. The effort to connect to black communities is paying off though, according to Sansone (2004). He claims that today it's easier to 'behave like a negro' and show interest in Africa than 30 years ago. Two signals are the growing popularity of Rastafarians and alternative dress codes (Sansone 2004:99).

Some Africans⁵⁷ said they encounter some prejudice in Salvador. Some Baianos for example explained to me they think Africans are rude for not looking them in the eyes. João said that for European exchange students the director of the University went to the airport to pick them up and take them to their homes but African students had to fetch a ride with a fellow African student or find a hotel. He said there was no African flag at a meeting with the entire group of students, but most countries (even Argentina, a rival of Brazil) were represented with a flag. Africans are accused of invading and intruding local (Bahian) culture sometimes because Bahians have taken African culture and changed it. He said while wearing an African traditional costume he feels looked at strangely but clarified that Salvador's society is not racist but prejudiced; if they were racist I myself would not have been able to join the event of '*Semana da Africa*'⁵⁸ and he would also be discriminated. It is only when he opens his mouth that he is treated differently: everything foreign is looked at and treated differently in Salvador. Haji Baraka, who is child of a mother from Tanzania and an Australian aborigine father and lived his whole life in Finland, confirmed this. His identity is African-Australian-Finnish and didn't like Salvador much because people didn't give him back his change, he got robbed various

⁵⁷ Most of the Africans that I spoke to were students.

⁵⁸ This 'Week of Africa' was a cooperation and exchange of information and experiences between African and Brazilian students.

times and the police speak no English. Even though he is a black man, he speaks no Portuguese and he had a hard time communicating. When people noticed that he was not Bahian, he felt people only took advantage of him and he found it hard to trust anyone. Eventually he only socialized with tourists because he felt they better understood him. This shows that Africans are not automatically appreciated for their contribution, education is badly organized and African visitors are treated like any other.

4.1.2 African-Americans

Ahmed, a black American teaching Capoeira in Salvador, his goal is to decrease the culture gap that exists between Brazil and the USA. According to him this needs to start with basic awareness; in the USA there are people that don't know there are more blacks in Brazil than in the USA, or even don't know there are blacks at all because TV in the USA only shows light skinned girls with blond hair. In Brazil some people don't know that there are black people in the USA also, caused also by a lack of education and interest. Ahmed's whole family has a black belt in martial arts. When he told his father that he was doing Capoeira his father made fun of him but after getting to know the art, he started appreciating it. Ahmed wants to teach about Capoeira, history and tradition but he also argues with locals about their culture. He finds the competition between Capoeira Angola and Regional useless; it is all part of the same culture that they love. He has made it one of his goals to show the pride of and give education of local arts and culture, even though it's mainly to tourists. Ahmed wants to also transmit North-American black culture because he speaks the language. He is from Brooklyn, New York, which is why he is accepted and respected, even in local *favelas* he says. Pinho (2004) teaches us that the increase in national visitors and African-American tourists made Salvador more Africanized and increased the 'auro of negritude' (Pinho 2004:27,28). Connor explained that the BTOA (Brazilian Tour Operator Association) from the USA has many special tourism projects for Brazil and devotes itself to development work in the country.

I have seen Afro-Americans that told an Afro-Brazilian they were the same, while pointing at the color of their skin. Marcus, for example, also said that Africans and African-Americans have almost the same culture and have a bond from the beginning. They say 'brother' to each other and don't need a lot of explanations. Only one or two

Afro-Americans socialized with me, while they explicitly said they were bonding with my Afro-Brazilian friends based on their skin color. Pinho (2008) explained that most African-Americans are said to be looking for the 'same', an intimate linkage with their black brother or sister and collective ethnic identity (Pinho 2008:72-74,79). Other people, like Rico, say that Afro-American tourists often only come for a tropical experience and just to 'take a peak' of what this place has to offer. They just look for a reference of culture and then go back to their American culture. Afro-Americans dress-up in Nike and Ray-Ban sunglasses; there is no American walking around in an African outfit. Rico said Americans are generally scared; they sometimes even arrange private security or don't leave the hotel outside of the activities they have planned with their guide. An African-American guy I approached mentioned to me that he was in Salvador basically because someone said it was a nice place and because he wanted to see where Michael Jackson shot his 'They don't really care about us' video with Olodum; he did not at all come for local black culture. According to Oliver, Africans and Afro-Americans come for some knowledge and spirituality. Connor explained that promotion in Brazil is attacking only the African heritage market of the whole US market. Spring break is a big event but only a few students go to Rio de Janeiro for sex-tourism. He is convinced that the cultural connection is huge but that the language is a major problem. The whole focus in Bahia is on Afro-Americans but apparently some still think Buenos Aires is the capital of Brazil. Things did start to change, especially in the academic world. Today, the power of the USA is declining and they will need to understand their partners around the world, Connor said. Universities are encouraging travelling for students to start appreciating their own wealth and learn how the world works.

Bobby explained that he had a problem with Ahmed being a foreigner, taking a local person's job and teaching a culture that is not his. This shows that being an Afro-American or Afro-Brazilian is not the same and that they have different rights and obligations. Pinho (2008) argues that racial connections can hardly overcome the division in class, nationality and wealth between the Afro-American tourist and the Afro-Brazilian host. It remains a wealthy tourist that is served by an Afro-Brazilian local which disturbs the racial bonding (Pinho 2008:77,78). Rico says that African-Americans are like any other tourist or American, sometimes even considered problematic. Oliver said their way

of talking is similar to a 'Baiano' but he does not necessarily feel connected to Afro-Americans, sometimes even irritated. Not many people in Salvador have expressed a love for Americans. Rico told me that the Americans are automatically disliked in Salvador; it seems part of an educational package that everybody studied. Because of reverse-racism Rico, after years of experience, can and will no longer work with African Americans. They told him he betrayed his own race by marrying a French woman and they were shocked when he showed pictures of his white friends. Like Pinho said; there is a difference in understanding, living and experiencing blackness and some African-Americans get frustrated when they are not considered black in Brazil (Pinho 2008:83). When Rico was in the USA he had to choose if he wanted to belong to the blacks or to the Latinos; he *had* to pick a side which was impossible for him because he is Afro-Latino. A Brazilian is not supposed to feel connected to a person because of similarities in color but in the USA you *have* to identify with your black blood. A black guy from Sao Paulo, who was on vacation in Salvador, said that he is actually scared of the racism in the USA. Afro-Americans generally don't like Bahians to hang out with white people and they insist of having a black guide; not because he is good, but just because he is black said Rico. This was confirmed by Connor. The ex-owner of the Essence magazine⁵⁹ wanted to work with Tatur-Turismo. Beauty salons are a large industry, which are traditionally located in black neighborhoods. One of Connor's ideas was to create a pool of (pre-approved) taxis to visit four or five salons for a couple of days a week, other projects would be linked to Capoeira and cooking. This way he would be able to bring foreigners into communities in a safe way which would create a win-win situation. Apparently this was not what the man had in mind; the owner had a problem with Connor being white. Even when Connor said he would point out Brazilian workers, train them and hand over the project in two years he refused. This was a mayor operation the workers otherwise would not have had the chance to work on but Connor was seen as a colonist and they chose another black (evangelic) tour-operator. The operator agreed to offer a Candomblé ceremony every Saturday night; this simply does not exist so would have had to be staged. Based on this, Connor refused the group's offer to organize half the tour. African Americans obviously have a different approach to blackness and unity.

⁵⁹ The Essence Magazine is geared towards professional African-Americans.

4.1.3 *Black Atlantic*

After describing the bond between African-Americans, Africans and Baianos it is necessary to link back to what is known as the Black Atlantic to describe group identity of black Diasporas. The Black Atlantic is considered a contemporary transnational, multilingual and multi-religious arena of black culture that brings together blacks around the world with a shared past and shared African cultural, social and political practices and has supposedly created a collective identity for them (Sansone 2003:14, Sansone e.a. 2008:327-328). A membership of the 'Black Atlantic' is based on these aspects and, as this research has show, blacks in Salvador cannot connect to most of them so it's hard to speak of a collective ethnic identity. There is not a connection *per se* between those countries with a history of slavery and blacks in Salvador. Yes, Bahia is looking for a black identity and people are growing throughout this search for their black roots. Some people and organizations are working hard on the creation of black pride and improvement of cultural expressions. But the other side of reality is that if people within Salvador itself do not feel connected on the base of color and history it is even less likely that they do this with blacks even further away from home. Being black is still not something the masses consider something to value and emphasize, nor is the academic climate in the condition of fully educating the people on history and self-esteem. Pinho (2004) explains that indeed the centrality of Africa concerns the *search for Africa* by Diasporas, the search for a black identity and the recreation of black cultures in different times and spaces. This has caused a creation of a mythical and idealized Africa and maybe the Diasporas have searched for Bahia more then Bahia has sought them (Pinho 2004:27,28). Black countries have developed differently through a difference in ethnic make-up of society and politics. This has caused a misunderstanding between blacks of different countries and cultures. African-Americans do come to Salvador to explore their roots and Africans bring their cultural heritage, but Salvador is not fully aware of these roots. She represents a recreated image and is not always positive about her black visitors. The lack of knowledge in Salvador about and intimacy with other 'black' countries maintains the gap between Diasporas. The masses of Salvador do not have a lot of knowledge about and interest in Africa, their own history, let alone any other predominantly black country (somebody thought that Kingston was the brand of a USB-

device in stead of the capital of Jamaica). It is therefore that the opinions of Castro and Pinho are more appropriate in the case of Salvador. Castro (*In Sansone e.a.2008*) argued that governments have not been successful at bridging the gap between the two sides of the Atlantic and stimulating the flow of persons and ideas that could revitalize the collective African memory. It is up to the Afro-Brazilian people of Bahia to put an effort into reinforcing their black identity and collective esteem (Sansone e.a.2008:327,328). Pinho (2008) argues that (roots-) tourism confirms the existing hierarchy within the Black Atlantic, emphasizing the unequal distribution of powers and underprivileged position of Latin American and African countries (Pinho 2008:84). Tourism in Salvador confirms the image of foreigners being rich and locals often feel exploited. The misunderstandings about Africa and the attitude towards African and American visitors explains how few people in Salvador feel connected and feel a love for other black communities based on their knowledge and attitude presented. The interaction will be even better explained in the next sub-section ‘the image of tourism’.

4.2 The general image of tourism

From a questionnaire it became clear that most international tourists have organized their trips privately and with friends. Many already knew about Salvador from books, friends and TV. What they presented as the most positive aspects of tourism are the friendly local people, unique and interesting history, culture and architecture. More specifically; museums, churches, samba, Capoeira, percussion, music, Carnival, and other parties were very much appreciated. Culture is very open and different and they consider it nice to see how the celebration of black culture and their roots is ‘supposed to happen’. People that have been to Salvador before and returned this year have said that it has changed for the better; self-consciousness and cultural expression improved. The contact with locals many have experienced as wonderful and interesting, they have received private tours and much information and some locals even helped to improve their Portuguese. Many tourists have said that culture really lives in Salvador. Popular souvenirs are havaianas⁶⁰, clothes, earrings, handcraft, Capoeira items and food items.

⁶⁰ This is a Brazilian brand of slippers.

One girl commented that her journey “makes her want to go to Africa to compare it to the Bahian culture”. On the other hand the culture is a “weird commercial issue”, as a German tourist has put it. Most tourists have complained about the mode of transport, crime and safety related problems and the lack of attention from the government. A deeper insight of this image of tourism will now be explained.

4.2.1 Interaction within ethnic tourism

Nelman explained that for many people Salvador has a different vibe; it's that uniqueness that attracts tourists to Salvador. Many prefer the character of Salvador over Rio de Janeiro. Tourists love Baianos because of the conversations they have, the fact that they are very helpful and social people. Tourists like to walk around the city, they love black culture, restaurants and they feel free. Because of the enormous amount of information available today on internet, tourists generally have an idea what to expect but they are still pleasantly surprised when they come to town.

But besides the fact that tourism in Salvador is known as ‘ethnic’ and that the black population is the essential factor in the expression of culture in tourism, the image of tourism in Salvador is also made-up of sex-tourism, drugs and problems that the city faces today. Sex tourism can involve be local men and women getting involved with foreigners, so called ‘gringás’ and ‘gringos’. Locals are often searching for a foreigner to gain an economic benefit or even a ticket to leave a marginal life full of problems and restrictions and tourists are often looking for a tropical experience with his or her ‘negro’ o ‘negra’. Locals are sometimes too much involved in tourism out of despair to make a decent living which often expresses itself in the form of sex tourism. This creates a bad image of both tourists and locals which automatically causes frictions. Monique and Sandra said that they talk to other women about the abuse and that they don't like their picture taken because they don't know what people will do with it. Locals are sometimes no longer interested in other locals to start a relationship because they believe a tourist has more to offer them. It also creates friction between locals and tourists because most tourists are seen as sexually abusive people. Some locals therefore strongly dislike tourists and some tourists rather hang out with other tourists to avoid difficult situations. Even within Brazil the image of Baianos and Salvador is not always very good. They are

at least considered different; most people consider Bahia an island in Brazil, almost another country. The hygiene of the city was mentioned as a down-point and the crime and slow pace of the city also. The historical centre brings together the ‘good and the bad’ that Salvador contains. Tourists do appreciate black culture and Brazilian roots that lie in Salvador but do also abuse it at the same time which has created a disturbed balance in relationships between tourists and locals. This competition between locals and the dislike between locals and tourists destroys unity and loyalty, also on a cultural level. They need each other but sometimes find it hard to be around each other. Some people in Salvador take culture seriously, they take pride in it and want to treat it with respect. Others are concerned with making money, using tourists for this personal goal and do not take their fellow Baiano in consideration. Yang e.a. (2009) explains that some people are concerned for environmental destruction and economic exploitation and some even call it a ‘human zoo’ when locals are stared at and photographed against their will (Yang e.a. 2009:560). Oliver was photographed about twenty times in the five minutes I was sitting next to him and nobody asked for permission. The balance between tourists and locals is lost and has to be rediscovered.

4.2.2 Drugs and safety

“Until about four or five years ago crack was not allowed into the communities. People were not begging and searching garbage bins for empty beer cans like they are today” Bobby told me one evening while waiting at the main bus-stop of Pelourinho, right before a little guy that he knew showed me his big knife and robbed a young man standing beside me. Crack is destroying the city because apparently the police and drug lords let the drugs come in; even tourists have gotten hooked on it and nowadays crystal meth is also coming in. Crack is extremely addictive and destructive. On big billboards around the city one can see that Crack is the cause of 80% of the homicides in Salvador. The region ‘vinte-oito’ (28), which is notorious for its drug sales, is situated right outside the center of Pelourinho, one block away from Praça da Sé. Also the ‘Rua das Flores’, situated right inside the center of Pelourinho, is very dangerous because of drugs and prostitution. Pinho (2008) correctly argues that tourism still consists of privileged people from core countries which are pampered by less fortunate inhabitants of less wealthy

countries. Tourists want to enjoy the same facilities as they would at home and be protected from beggars and thieves (Pinho 2008:70). For tourists coming to Salvador it is important to always be aware of danger and theft. Like Nelman said; Pelourinho is the first thing you see on a postcard and it's in state of unsafety; tourists that go there don't want to come back. Everybody in the area *but* the police knows who the criminals are and therefore the police do nothing about crime. Even though most are pick-pockets, it ruins the perspectives of tourists and tourism. Everybody knows the selling places, every kid that is addicted and should be rehabilitated, for which there is no network to catch them with. Everyone in Salvador is somehow involved with crack because they all know someone that is addicted, died from it or got killed by someone that was addicted, Christopher said. Locals will always help a tourist to remain safe, as much as they can. They normally always tell you where you can and can't go; they feel responsible because the government only shows the beautiful side of the city. I once asked for directions and got 'assigned' a private guide that took me to the doorstep, just a regular guy that was also on his way there. But sometimes people that actually work in tourism and are responsible for this safety do not know what they are doing. Like said before, the police should improve its service. And Dirk told me about the '*ladera da preguica*' which is a hill (*ladera*) from where the slaves brought the stones up, that are now in Pelourinho. This was hard work and that is why the 'lazy' (*preguica*) whites left this work for the slaves. When I asked for directions at the tourist office and later from a guide, they gave them to me. When I was almost at the scene, a local told me I had "no business there" because it's full of drug dealers and prostitutes and therefore too dangerous. A lady in one of the stores in Pelourinho told me I should go to the lake 'Lagoa da Abaeté' of which I later also found out it's a very dangerous place. Dirk says the crime in Salvador is exaggerated very much; most violence occurs in the favelas and is not projected against tourists. That is true but as a tourist you are always considered a good and easy target.

4.3 The unbalanced exchange within tourism

Foreigners have been the base for ethnic tourism in Salvador. Verger, Bastide and Caribé were in fact also tourists that have initiated an interest in Bahian culture, documented it and created a basis for ethnic tourism. Verger was trusted in Salvador and on the West coast of Africa, Connor explained. He was an important channel between Africa and Bahia because he was a translator. Carybé was an Argentinean artist and researcher and because of the French Xavier who is an admired anthropologist, working in Cachoeira, there is access to good education on the African heritage. Not to mention the high contribution of Livio Sansone, who has written many books and is a University Professor. Until today, foreigners promote culture and visit the city to see and learn about black culture in Bahia. Salvador had an exposition called Pan Africa. This collection of African tables, masks and statues used to be owned by an Italian and donated before his death because he thought this would be the ‘best place for the expansion of the knowledge of Africa’. But also for the pride of the people foreigners have been essential; often tourists are less prejudice and can stimulate cultural expressions. Bobby respects foreigners because his former Dutch girlfriend had taught him to be proud of and be able to express his roots in a time where this was still very complicate, he explained. Tourism is also a soundboard; locals often complain to the tourists about their situation. This is a positive outlet for their frustration but tourists will not be able to help if locals are not heard in Salvador itself. Like explained before, many events go by without attention from media and politics, mobilization in Salvador is low.

On the other hand, Oliver claims that the Baiano treats the tourist well but that the tourist is generally cold and stressed. He believes they only come to grasp a bit of the warmth of Salvador but they bring the cold of Europe or the USA. A lot of love is missing in tourism. There exist many stereotype images of tourists in Salvador: Germans are seen as the most closed tourists, the French are considered adventurous, Italians are seen as the main sex-tourists, Portuguese tourists supposedly believe they own Salvador and are seen as arrogant, Argentineans have a competition with Brazil (mainly through soccer etc) and, according to Bobby, want to copy Brazil. Oliver will always inspire someone to better their life and he believes tourists should do the same. Costa (1985) was very right when he said that “Bahian culture has certainly gone beyond the borders of its

own country but the biggest joy and emotion that visitors experience and remember comes from direct contact with the country and its people” (Costa, 1985:13). This is why it is essential that the bond between locals and tourists are restored and are based on a more even and less discriminatory exchange. Globalization and tourism have changed the correlation between identity and the local place. It increased social complexity and broken down traditional boundaries, according to Vidal (Vidal 2008:807). The relation between locals and tourists in Salvador is very complex because of the advantage both try to gain from it. Relationships between the host and the guest are important but especially the voices from the host should be heard, according to Burns (2004:11). Host and guest often find themselves directly opposing each other and discriminating one another because of the importance of tourism in the struggle for survival in Salvador.

Another complication are tourists that work in Salvador. For example Ahmed teaching Capoeira is not by everyone accepted because Bahia is the state of Capoeira and he is taking over jobs and money that are supposed to be for local. For tour-guides this issue is also complex; some believe it’s not up to a foreigner to teach local culture, others say it is not a problem if they studied the culture and speak several foreign languages to be able to transfer their knowledge. ‘Baianos’ are the workers, the face of tourism but make very little money. Josuel explained that he believes his work is essential for a pleasant, spiritual and authentic experience of the tourist but because he works for an agency, he makes very little money. Nilzete her husband Kaio went as far as mentioning that it would be good if the Brazilian government could learn from other countries how to organize and produce an equal society because now they only invests in nice parks in the center to facilitate the rich people and tourists but forgets about the suburbs.

What tourists learn and are able to appreciate of local culture depends on how the culture is transferred. Culture is not expressed in the best possible way because locals know they will get money in exchange for culture anyway, because tourists are often more concerned about the experience then the authenticity. Yang e.a. (2009) also point out that the ethnic culture is degraded and sacred sites are invaded and denigrated. Tourism is commercialized and authentic cultures are therefore ‘polluted’ which is said to create a false tourist consciousness (Yang e.a. 2009:560). Candomblé is often staged but also the folkloric ballet is staged. It does give the tourist a good idea of what the culture

consists of but sometimes keeps them away from real cultural expression. Because most cultural activities are in the tourist centers, one can still escape to other neighborhoods and find other authentic cultures but they often don't. Capoeira at Mercado Modelo is probably the worst place to have a look at Capoeira. A Dutch guy told me the following: "Capoeira they show there is a total disgrace. The *mestre* (he shouldn't be allowed to call himself that) was drunk and could barely speak. He sat down at our table uninvited and started ordering beers". And a tourist that takes Capoeira classes does hardly receive information about the history or anything else involved or related to Capoeira; for example Samba de Roda or Candomblé. It also does not automatically create pride in what they do; especially the already mentioned 'loverboys' have a very bad reputation. This means that the like Yang e.a (2009) explain non-economic benefit of tourism, the way that local ethnicities can promote their culture and way of living, thereby revitalizing it and protect it from dying out, is not aspired. Cultural traditions can be given new meaning and 'tourist arts' can create new forms of art. Increasing self-awareness of the ethnic group can strengthen their local identity through an increased pride in their culture (Yang e.a. 2009:561). But the reality of Salvador is different; culture is almost simplified and forcefully maintained to be sold to tourists. Its *soul* has been removed, like was done to Pelourinho when its inhabitants were ordered to leave. The majority who remained do not in the same way aspire to transfer a pleasurable experience of black culture. The real knowledge and excitement of it is no longer transmitted to the tourist because culture is solely seen as a source of income, not of self-esteem and pride. Lanfant e.a. (1995) emphasize that traditional societies are encouraged to maintain their culture for the sake of tourism. This creates a need for transmission of memory, expression of this collective memory and a transformation into a 'system of tourist attraction' (Lanfant e.a.1995:32,37-39). The amount of culture shown is limited, culture became recreated and ways of execution are partial: Bobby showed me an exposition on theatre and photo created by students which are options that are rarely explored.

Some tourist-organization, like Tatur-Turismo, donate part of their profit to cultural organizations like Steve Biko or other schools. Without a doubt, tourism offers an inflow of foreign currency which could be beneficial to the local community and development of the area in the form of employment and improvement of infrastructure, higher incomes

and a higher living standard (Yang e.a. 2009:561). But tourism also offers many other possibilities, like Bobby and Oliver made clear to me. It offers a possibility of education to the local people. Connor added to this that tourism can help as long as its long term, otherwise the impact of development supported by tourists is minimal; English classes that a tourist gives will eventually stop when he or she leaves. There is indeed a certain amount of frustration on side of the Brazilians, when comparing themselves to tourists. But, according to Oliver, their pride sometimes keeps them from benefiting from tourism, by e.g. asking help with their illiteracy. The 'Estrella' program (run by the BTOA) is a long term commitment but good intentions are not enough, sais Connor. When children get fired up, you have to know if you can maintain a program for a long time before starting or it will only create false hope. Cultural exchange remains at a very basic level and many opportunities are missed. Nelman explained that tourism is good for the promotion of social projects, the exchange of ideas and financial participation. When tourists come with love and care to help people and their neighborhood, buy musical instruments or other items and then play together, people should be grateful because they help on social grounds.

One can conclude that today, tourism in Salvador needs many improvements to reach its potential of educational space that Yang e.a. (2009) spoke of when they said that 'globally, ethnic diversity and 'local color' have become fashionable. Tourism has created a space for some groups to educate the outside world, an opportunity they otherwise probably would not have had. It can strengthen the awareness and restoration of heritage of an ethnic group that is being undermined through internal or external forces' (Yang e.a. 2009:559,560). Salvador is still being undermined but has all the potential to become strong; a great history, ancient buildings, forts, museums, churches and the spirit of its people. But blacks nowadays are still being exploited and, according to Soares (2004), tourism today is incapable of eliminating inequality because of the rules they are nowadays subjected to within the capitalist production and contradictions. Tourism will not be able to reduce the existing disparities between the Brazilian regions on its own (Soares 2004:43). Sex tourism is the worst, even though this situation has already changed a lot; Salvador no longer has the image of sex-paradise.

So what should change to reach this goal? A wider range of cultural activities should be organized, the money has to be channeled and divided better and more of the city should be used for touristic purposes. More Bahian cooking course could be offered, especially since Bahian cuisine is so important for locals and tourism. Programs for children would be educational because they, with the greatest of ease, will learn about the history and culture of Salvador. But first adults would have to get involved and be able to better and more securely organize this sector. Other suggestion from tourists were; written and verbal English, safety to be able to walk around town freely, transport from and to Salvador but also within the city including bus schedules, better maps (indicating safe and unsafe areas) and less beggars. Tourist activities often become a product developed by public and private powers as a political tool for development. Soares (2004) explains that sustainability of tourism can only be reached if the products and services are developed in harmony with the environment, the community and culture, in a way that the inhabitants are the permanent beneficiaries and not victims of the development of tourism (Soares 2004:5,7). Even tourists have mentioned the responsibility of the government to assist in maintenance and construction of buildings, housing and beaches and alleviate the suffering of the people in Salvador. Tourism could do so much more, when correctly organized and used.

Section 5: Conclusion

Salvador and the rest of Bahia have many things to offer; beaches, a warm climate, friendly people, delicious cuisine, amazing black culture and a rich history of slavery and heroic conquest of land and culture. Tourists that come to Bahia want to learn about local culture and history, they want a true Bahian experience and take in all the vibes from Capoeira, Samba, Carnival, and a good conversation with a Baiano. Tourism has sped up globalization and has complicated the identification process. So how does contemporary ethnic tourism influence identity construction and cultural expressions of Afro-Brazilians in Salvador? That is the main question for this research which is why central concepts are identity (including color in a racial democracy), expression of black culture in Salvador and the interaction between Baianos and tourist through this ethnic encounter called ethnic tourism. The organization of Salvador and ethnic tourism will provide a basis for that.

The first empirical section has explained the influence of color, the ‘racial democracy’ and how this influences society and citizenship of blacks. The aftermath of slavery has caused a low self-esteem for blacks and they are still widely discriminated. Many Baianos are unable to recognize their blackness and will automatically auto-classify in a lighter term of skin color. (Poor) Blacks are often excluded from society and social life. Most leaders are white and blacks (80% of the population) are still not seen as equal citizens and miss out on equal opportunities and rights. A party for tourists, held on the beach of Barra, is too expensive and too far away for most blacks; there is hardly any transport for the people in remote neighborhoods. Blacks have not dealt with this by protesting against the authorities, black movement have remained small, but by turning against other blacks in their struggle to survive. This is also the reason why there is little continuity in organizations or projects; there is no confidence in cooperation, history also shows. Because prejudice and inequality is so prominent in society, it is also noticeable in tourism. There is very little mixing between blacks and white and the only mixed couples are generally between tourists and locals, but they are often discriminated because they’re seen as sex-tourists. Most organizations in Pelourinho, except for Olodum and Ilê Aiyê, are not able to grow and are often not noticed by tourists.

The red line through the second empirical section is that Salvador has a lot of potential to be a flourishing and popular tourist destination but many aspects are in urgent need of modification to reach this goal. Like Soares (2004) said; the product Salvador is far from saturated. It is still in a growing phase and still shapeless. It is leaning on culture without really offering its true value (Soares 2004:81). Improvement to make ethnic tourism work in a way that it is effective towards locals and visitors has to come from the government but also black community itself. Sustainable tourism is important; local communities have to start benefiting from ethnic tourism, the way culture is expressed has to improve and create a future for the next generations. Only a small group of (white) people financially gain from tourism; tourism has not spilled into the lower society. The state has to improve the structure and organization of the city and tourism to able to take better care of locals and tourists. Politics is using exotic blackness to gain popularity and money but blacks suffer and are being exploited. There is a gap between people and the authorities which caused a lack of communication and trust. People are not united and motivated to make a change. Presently ethnic tourism is only working against itself; while it is poorly executed and exploited, it is destroying a strong, proud culture that Salvador has. Education is missing; almost nobody speaks English, training in tourism is poor and locals even lack knowledge about their history and culture, especially critical in ethnic tourism and black consciousness. Locals attach little value to their own history and culture; the government is getting away the (ab)use of blackness and tourism is more a mechanism of survival then one of strengthening the local black identity. The government has made many mistakes but it is, without a doubt, also up to the black community to start creating a future for themselves, like their forefathers have had to do just over a century ago. Instead it has always been foreigners, like Verger and Bastide, which have valued, documented and promoted local culture. Often tourists better appreciate blackness and black culture then locals do. Culture is only being valued for its economic gains. This has created an impoverishment and maybe even loss of cultural elements through what Soares (2004) call 'massification of the product' (Soares 2004:9). Tourism isn't implemented correctly and the aspects are not coherent and concrete. The city needs to work hard to make it more attractive. In the first place for its locals, because they deserve to be proud of who they are and live in comfort and harmony. In the second

place Salvador needs to be more accessible for the tourists because it has a lot to offer them; history and culture of great value and importance that they shouldn't risk losing forever.

The third empirical section explained the influence of Africans and African-Americans and the effects of ethnic tourism through interaction between locals and tourists. Africans have described to feel like outcasts and even discriminated sometimes. Baianos have generally shown no interest in the influence of Africa on black culture and not really accepted their teachings. African-Americans do not always come to Salvador to discover their roots and are generally disrespected by Baianos because they are considered just any other tourist and said to discriminate against whites. To speak of a membership of the Black Atlantic is therefore too unpretentious. New black cultures are visible, for example Rastafarianism is growing in popularity, but many black visitors do not feel welcome and knowledge about blackness and black history remains limited. Besides this, the structure and socio-economic inequality in Salvador has caused tourists to hardly travel within the city and not get to know 'real' neighborhoods of Salvador. Culture has become the most popular means of survival and is therefore nowadays very much exploited and degraded. Tourists do really appreciate the music, religion, Capoeira and celebration of black roots but sometimes tourists also suffer in Salvador. One tourist commented that he experienced "the worst hassling in South America" and most people said that safety, begging and hassling create dissatisfaction by tourists. Poverty is aggressive, male and female prostitution is heavy and street sellers, drug addicted children and the hidden agenda of many people are the main complaints of tourists. Locals complain about the limited number of tourists, bad manners that tourists sometimes have and the sex-tourism that is being exploited.

To answer the Problem Statement '*How does contemporary ethnic tourism influence identity construction and cultural expressions of Afro-Brazilians in Salvador?*' is complex. Tourism cannot be seen separately from the overall situation of the black population in Salvador. The 'silent repression' is still there which leaves blacks without enough self-esteem, strength and recognition to protest and make a change in their economic opportunities and social relations. They are often unaware of their history or culture and not inspired to start learning and developing. Tourism can only have a limited

effect on local identities when society does not allow changes to be made. Tourism indeed shows people to be proud of black culture because tourists show appreciation without local prejudices. It were mainly foreigners who created an environment of interest in and maintenance of Bahian culture and heritage. On the other hand, tourism is also known for its sexual exploitation and emphasizes the division between poor locals and wealthy visitors. Financial contribution is unequally divided; a small group of elites profits the most where as it should go to ethnic communities. The disorganization of the city itself (especially the lack of security and education) has become a burden for tourism also. The Secretary of Tourism has little education and tourism therefore greatly relies on private organizations or even individuals. The level of information on heritage and culture given in tourism is limited and a major issue is the language barrier. Because of poverty, tourism has become a means of survival, rather than expression of cultural pride and dignity. The influence of tourism is generally not long term which causes frustration on the side of Brazilians. Low service, poor cultural expressions and bad security is bad for tourism.

Further research should be conducted about how exactly tourism and the organization of Salvador should be improved to create equality, a comfortable city to live in and a richer cultural performance for its visitors. Positivity and hard work is what Salvador needs and therefore I can only say; 'Go Salvador!'

List of Pictures

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Picture 5: The 'Camarote da Pobreza'

Picture 6: An artwork of Capoeira

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Pictures 9 + 10: Orixas in and at the 'Dique do Tororó'

Appendix 1

This text from a child's school book in Salvador called 'Português Linguagens', written by Claudia, n° 440⁶¹.

'Diga não ao racismo!'

“Nos somos iguais, nos somos diferentes”. Ia ser muito chato se todas as pessoas fossom iguais, nao e mesmo? Mas por sorte a humanidade e cheia de variedade e de cor (negros, brancos, amarelos, e indios, que a gente diz que são vermelhos). E tambem existem os altos, os baixos, os gordinos, os magros, os loiros e os morenos. Por causa das cores, as pessoas, muito antigamente pensavam que os humanos estavas divididos em varias racas. Agora não: nos sabemos que as diferencas sao normais e saudaveis. Os povos mais antigos são os negros e eles evoluiram ha muitos anos milhares de anos na Africa. Como o sol la e muito forte foi bom a pele deles ter ficado oscuro. Assim, eles se protegem mais do sol. Muito negros foram morar na europa e na Asia. Nesses lugares o sol e bem fraquinho. E a pele negra nao absorvia luz suficiente para produzir uma vitamina importante; a D. ai a pele desses povos se adaptou ao ambiente e comencou a ficar mais clara: mais branca ou mais amarela. Os cientistas ainda estão estudando essas diferencas. Querem saber quando elas apareceram. Mas de uma coisa eles ja tem certeza: as diferencas fazem a humanidade ficar mais forte, esperta e divertida”.

⁶¹ For details see Bibliography.

Appendix 2

A person of color

When I was born, I was black...When I grew-up, I was black...When I go into the sun, I am black...When I am cold, I am black...When I am scared, I am black...When I am sick, I am black...When I die, I will be black...

And you white person?

When you were born, you were pink...When you grew up, you were white...When you go into the sun, you become red...When you are cold, you turn purple... When you are scared, you are pale...When you are sick, you turn green...When you die, you become ash-grey...

After all of this, you still want to call *me* a person of color?

*Pessoa de Cor*⁶²

Quando eu nasci, eu era negra... Quando eu cresci, eu era negra...Quando eu vou ao sol, eu sou negra...Quando eu estou com frio, eu sou negra..Quando eu estou com medo, eu sou negra...Quando eu estou doente, eu sou negra...Quando eu morrer, eu serei negra...

E você homem branco?

Quando você nasceu , era rosa...você cresceu, era branco...Quando você vai ao sol, fica vermelho...Quando você fica com frio, fica roxo...Quando você está com medo, fica branco...Quando você fica doente, fica verde...Quando você morrer, ficará cinza...

Depois de tudo isso, você ainda *me* chama de pessoa de cor?

⁶² Source: <http://30ealguns.com.br/2007/11/homem-de-cor/>

Appendix 3

Lyrics and translation of ‘We Are Carnaval’.

<p><i>‘We are Carnaval’</i> (Portuguese)</p>	<p><i>‘We are Carnaval’</i> (English)</p>
<p>“Ah, que bom você chegou Bem-vindo a Salvador Coração do Brasil Vem, você vai conhecer A cidade de luz e prazer Correndo atrás do trio Vai compreender que a baiano é Um povo a mais de mil Ele tem Deus no seu coração E o Diabo no quadril We are Carnaval We are, we are folia We are, we are the world of Carnaval We are Bahia”</p>	<p>“Ah, it’ so good that you came Welcome to Salvador Heart of Brasil Come, you will get to know The city of light and pleasure Running behind the trio You will understand that the Baiano is A people more then a thousand He has God in his heart And the Devil on his hips We are Carnaval We are, we are revelry We are, we are the world of Carnaval We are Bahia”</p>

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