What are the underlying cultural structures of the tourism market in Salvador, Brazil? What cultural objects and meanings does the market value? The cultural frames that define culture in Salvador, as well as the cultural objects that legitimate those frames, provide some of the raw materials that capoeira practitioners and tourists will use to make meaning in capoeira studios. I identify the cultural frames in the tourism market, the objects they value, and the broader societal discourses they employ.

The racial context of Brazil described in Chapter 2 offers conflicting predictions about how the tourism market will deploy racial symbols. The Nationalization perspective predicts that cultural objects in Salvador will assert Brazilian national identity rather than black cultural identity. However, the Reafricanization framework argues that capoeira, samba, and Candomblé assert black or Afro-Brazilianness, predicting that tourism materials will deploy these cultural markers of Salvador to assert the city as a racially marked place. This perspective also agrees with literature on tourism, which maintains the importance of racial difference to tourists.

I find that tourism materials focus on blackness and on a small repertoire of cultural objects, which suggests that these objects will be central cultural tools in interactions between capoeira practitioners and tourists.
Cultural Tourism in Global Perspective

Cultural tourism in Salvador is part of a global structure of cultural difference. Global culture consists of a topology of difference, which distinguish nations and groups within them (Friedman 1994; Appadurai 1996; Hannerz 1996). This topology takes cultural objects such as food, architecture, and music and deploys them to establish these identities before other nations (Savigliano 1995; Wilk 1999).

Blackness is an important cultural difference in this topology (Ebron 2002; Elam and Jackson 2005; Clarke and Thomas 2006). It defines both objects and countries, and tourists gravitate toward racial and ethnic groups they feel represent national and regional culture (Esman 1984; van den Berghe 1994; Gotham 2007). Black Americans, for example, tour the run-down ruins of slave holding forts in Africa (Bruner 1996) and view a trip to Africa as a homeland pilgrimage (Ebron 2002). The tourism market frames culture in terms tourists will understand – i.e. African tribesmen singing “Hakuna Matata” from the Lion King to a reggae beat represents black Africa to foreign tourists. Carefully selected wood carvings represent Africa and carefully dressed and coached Aboriginals in museum exhibitions represent Australia (Myers 1994).¹

In creating cultural difference, markets, group, and tourism professionals also assert authenticity to legitimate themselves (Spooner 1986; MacCannell 1999; Joseph 2008b). Authenticity is socially constructed and meaningful only before an audience, but authentic culture is powerful to modern consumers (MacCannell 1999; Wherry 2008).

¹ An extensive literature on cultural tourism investigates how market forces and foreign tourist perceptions shape images of local culture (Cohen 1984; Nash and Smith 1991).
The vast literature on the tourist arts shows that museums and private collectors tend to infuse foreign goods with exotic, pre-modern, and hidden symbolic meanings – or authenticity – that represent ethnic groups and nations (Smith 1977; Hendrickson 1996). Even when producers intend otherwise, embedded categories of difference guide interpretation (Myers 1998).

International sources frame Brazil as an exotic place of the racial other (Castro 2003; Shaw and Conde 2005; Ramos-Zayas 2008; Scheyerl and Siqueira 2008; Beserra 2011). They assert that Bahia (the state where Salvador is located) is the birthplace of capoeira, samba-reggae, and Candomblé (Agier 1991; Joseph 2008b). In other words, Bahia – the source of a grassroots Reafricanization movement in the 1980s – is Brazil’s contribution to blackness (Pinho 1999; Sansone 2003; Pinho 2008). Reafricanization began with the opening of several carnival groups in Salvador, explicitly focused on promoting Africa and black cultural politics through their music and social service programs (Agier 1991). Funk and reggae, and later hip-hop and rap, became popular in Brazil, influencing these groups, including one that created samba-reggae - a mix of samba and Jamaican reggae rhythms. Capoeira Angola became interpreted as a more African version of the object. Several scholars assert that capoeira appeals to foreign

\footnote{Samba-reggae is a musical style created in Salvador in the 1980s that combines samba and classic reggae rhythms.}
audiences through its connection to Afro-Brazil (Delamont and Stephens 2008; Joseph 2008a; 2008b; de Campos Rosario, Stephens et al. 2010).³

**A Brief Overview of Cultural Tourism in Salvador, Brazil**

Salvador is a densely populated coastal city of three million, and is Bahia’s largest and Brazil’s third largest city. It was the country’s first capital founded by the Portuguese in 1549.⁴ Over the course of the Atlantic slave trade, more African slaves arrived in the New World through Salvador than anywhere else throughout the Americas.⁵ Bahia’s economy – a colonial sugar cane economy abandoned for the growing industrial economies of Sao Paulo and Rio de Janeiro – lags behind the affluent south. Unemployment rates averaged 17.5 percent in 2005 (IBGE 2006).

Five million international tourists arrived in Brazil in 2007, and Salvador is the second most toured city (WTO 2008). These tourists arrive mainly from the US and Western Europe.⁶ The tourism trend began as early as the 1950s and 60s (Ribeiro 1984),

³ Assuncão (2005: 212) asserts that capoeira is a “globalized subculture of protest”, which resonates with marginalized populations.

⁴ For an ethnographic introduction to Salvador, see (McCallum 2005).

⁵ Estimates on the number of African slaves brought to Brazil center around 2.5 million (Andrews 2004) to over 3.6 million (Yelvington 2006: 20).

⁶ International tourists come from the US (12.4%), Spain (11.5%), Italy (11.5 %), Portugal (10.6 %), Germany (10.3 %), and France (10.1 %), according to the Brazilian Culture Ministry (SCT 2005).
as tourists began attending carnival activities in February each year (Pravaz 2008). Cultural performances from Bahia began touring Brazil, including capoeira in their performances (Wesolowsky 2007). In 1966, the Brazilian state opened its first tourism organization. Several black-inspired grassroots Carnival bands opened in the late 1970s, and later developed into extensive year-round cultural and social service programs. These programs quickly became popular among tourists and local government cited them as evidence of a vital local Bahian culture. Capoeira became a central ingredient in this cultural recipe, promoted in marketing materials, folkloric shows, hotels, restaurants, and theater as a traditionally Bahia cultural object (Pinho 1999; Santos 2005). Throughout the 1970s and 80s, the State of Bahia created a tourism strategy and slogan for Bahia, began to promote the city’s historic center as a tourist destination. Later, in 1995, it officially combined an already established connection between tourism and cultural policy with the Ministry of Culture and Tourism.

The historic center of Salvador – oddly named *Pelourinho* (Pillory) as the former home of Salvador's local slave whipping post – is a small area of the city that became a UNESCO World Heritage Site in 1985. The UNESCO project transformed the area from the city's red light district by forcefully removing many of the neighborhood’s poor residents to Salvador’s distant peripheral neighborhoods (Carvalho 1988; Filgueiras and Fernandes 1995; Collins 2003). Now, the streets are crowded with vendors selling snacks and drinks, beads, and jewelry, homeless children, the perpetually underemployed, and throngs of tourists. Because of the clash between seemingly affluent foreign tourists and

7 The restoration cost nearly US$100 million (Collins 2004: 200).
the locals, the *Pelourinho* continues to be a location of frequent muggings and many locals avoid the area. As Patricia Pinho states:

> There is no monument there symbolizing the pain inflicted on the slaves. Instead, *Pelourinho* is associated with pleasure. Its colorful streets are filled with souvenir stores and it is the place where the *bloco afro* Olodum holds its concerts for natives and tourists. *Pelourinho* is a must-visit place for anyone that comes to Bahia, and those who visit it ironically dance, drink and enjoy themselves while treading on the same cobble-stone streets in which African slaves were beaten and punished not much more than a hundred years ago (Pinho 2008: 146).

*Pelourinho's* steep cobbled streets and brightly painted and restored seventeenth and eighteenth century colonial buildings are home to numerous restaurants promising tourists true Bahian cuisine, inexpensive bed and breakfasts and hostels, internet cafes, and a parade of shops selling of tourist paraphernalia. *Pelourinho* houses numerous museums, restaurants and entertainment venues and draws a crowd of foreign tourists and Brazilians from the surrounding lower-class neighborhoods. One can purchase mass-produced key chain, paintings of tropical scenes in any size, Brazilian flip-flops and t-shirts, workout pants sporting the word CAPOEIRA across the bottom, figurines of deities from the local religion *Candomblé*, jewelry handmade from local palms and dyed seeds, brightly painted *berimbau* and other instruments, and leather sandals. Along the narrow streets, women stand dressed in traditional *Baiana* wardrobe - an elaborate white lace hoop dress, head turban, and extensive jewelry. They beckon tourists into stores and
pose for tourist photos (for a small fee). A group of men practice flashy kicks and play the berimbau to attract tourist in the main square.

Just beyond the tourist center, at the bottom of a large freestanding elevator that descends from the *Pelourinho* to the Lower City, a tourist market sits - a huge two story building on the waterfront filled with stalls selling more souvenirs. Here one can follow stairs down below the main floor of the former Customs House to the basement caverns, sitting in a few inches of still water, where slave merchants once stored slaves prior to auction.

**Figure 3.1**

*Pelourinho Tourism Center, Salvador, Brazil*
The Frames of Cultural Difference in the Tourism Market

Because there is little literature on the tourist economy of Salvador, I analyze the framing of culture among the main social actors in tourism – the Bahia State and its official tourism organization, private tourism operators, and international tour books. I analyze the framing of culture among three main actors in the market – major US travel news articles and tour guidebooks on Brazil, Brazilian state-sponsored tourism materials, and Brazilian privately-sponsored tourism materials. Tourism marketing materials are an important source of cultural frames and symbols that tourists use to interpret their experiences (Buck 1977; Dann 1996; Morgan and Pritchard 1998). Cities can brand themselves to shape tourist perceptions (Gotham 2007).

Frame analysis is often used to study how social movements define issues. Frames present issues, discourses, or ideologies in a way that highlights certain features and attaches specific meanings to the objects associated with the issue (Snow and Benford 1988). They simplify complex narratives and sets of symbols into what actors consider the salient features. Frames help scholars analyze complex cognitive structures and interaction (Goffman 1973), but they can be used successfully to analyze more fixed scripts such as marketing materials (Rivera 2008) and media (Binder 1993). Frames simultaneously draw upon existing perceptions and construct them. In other words, they are not marketing techniques meant to resonate with pre-existing views, but can teach new interpretations (Ferree 2003). They can be substantiated through images, symbols,
words, and discursive strategies, but must draw from established discourses or ideologies to be accepted (Oliver and Johnston 1999).  

Salvador possesses many restored colonial buildings and churches, is an important member of the South American region, and is a coastal city with beaches and islands. Tourism materials could emphasize any of these factors, but instead they almost exclusively frame Salvador and Bahia as a racially meaningful destination. This took various forms, but each drew to some degree on a discourse of cultural difference.

Three cultural frames emerged inductively from tourism materials – Unique Mixture, Racially Black, and African. As Figure 1 shows, each source draws on more than one frame, but relies on one frame significantly more than the other two. Brazilian state sources almost exclusively frame culture as a unique culture created through the mixing of African, Indigenous, and European races. US news articles and tour books frame culture as African. Brazilian private-sector materials use the African frame, as well as a new frame – Racially Black. Both the African and Racially Black frames draw on meanings of blackness, and overlap to some degree. I treat them as analytically distinct because the African frame connects Salvador, culturally and geographically, to Africa, but the Racially Black frame connects Salvador to black biological ancestry.

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8 Full details on selection and analysis of tourism materials is provided in the methodological appendix.
Brazilian State Sources

In official state reports, the state of Bahia explicitly links culture and tourism by merging of Bahia’s Tourism Ministry with Bahia’s Culture Ministry. This new Ministry viewed culture as a marketable product meant for use in the tourist market:

The position of Bahia in the cultural scene of the country, as a national pole of creation and production, stimulated the Bahian government to promote the strengthening and renovation of the processes of creation/production/diffusion and preserve the historical/artistic/cultural patrimony of the State… It is the diversity of this patrimony that sustains the tourism/culture binary, given that culture supplies the content of touristic activity, the singularity and richness of
Bahian culture can be utilized as an important differentiating force in the market (SCT 2005: 57-58, my translation from Portuguese).

State sponsored tourism materials almost exclusively frame culture in Salvador as a Unique Mixture of cultures. None used the African frame, 8.7% used the Racially Black frame, and 82.6% used the Unique Mixture frame (another 8.7% had no coherent framing). This agrees with the state of Bahia’s official cultural policy published by the Ministry of Culture and Tourism, which states ‘Salvador is considered the cultural capital of Brazil. Its people are formed by native Americans, Portuguese and Africans and present a unique ethnic and cultural diversity that stands out for its harmonious and democratic coexistence, rarely found in the world today’ (Bahiatursa 2009). The Ministry establishes Bahia as a branded good: ‘The brand ‘Bahia – Land of Happiness’ should depict the authenticity and richness of Bahia culture, with its cultural industry; respect the Bahian way of being, of living and our philosophy of life’ (SCT 2005: 89, my translation from Portuguese). These official state documents make no use of the term Afro-Brazilian.

I found only one Bahian state flyer on ethnic tourism, which promoted a mixture of African and European cultures and displayed a photograph of dark-skinned women dressed in full Candomblé dress that read:

Black and beautiful, that is Bahia. A sacred place protected by Christian and African divinities, saints and orixás, a unique syncretism, a symbol of the resistance of the slaves during Portuguese colonization. Here they survived, giving birth to a singular afro-Bahian culture, of striking elements. From the rich local culture, the capoeira to the religious festivals, such as the Festival of Bonfim, in Salvador (January), to the Festival of the Good Death, in
Cachoeira (August) and diverse others throughout the year, they include everyone in a profusion of sounds and colors that make Bahia much more. I found stacks of state-sponsored tourism materials in numerous stores, restaurants, and state-run theaters and cultural organizations. However, I located this ethnic-tourism brochure (Figure 3.3.) in only one location in the tourist center.⁹

⁹ The Brazilian state aims its marketing of ethnic tourism exclusively at blacks by “sending information and tourist materials – slides, films, photographs – to a tourist agency specializing in ‘attending to blacks’” (Santos 2005: 115).
Figure 3.3.

Bahian Tourism Ministry brochure on ethnic tourism.

Source: Bahiaturusa office, Pelourinho, Salvador, Brazil.

Photo of Candomblé practitioners.
Translation: “Black and beautiful, that is Bahia. A sacred place protected by Christian and African divinities, saints and orixás, a unique syncretism, a symbol of the resistance of the slaves during Portuguese colonization. Here they survived, giving birth to a singular afro-Bahian culture, of striking elements. From the rich local culture, the capoeira to the religious festivals, such as the Festival of Bonfim, in Salvador (January), to the Festival of the Good Death, in Cachoeira (August) and diverse others throughout the year, they include everyone in a profusion of sounds and colors that make Bahia much more.”

Local Private-Sector Sources

Frames in Brazilian privately sponsored materials were more diverse, but two frames prevailed. The Racially Black frame was the most common at 19%, followed by the African frame at 17%. Sixty-four percent of these materials provided minimal information about culture, referring to the name, time, and location of specific touring activities – i.e. boating trips, music shows, a ‘capoeira music competition.’ I coded these (as in figure 3.4) as ‘No Frame,’ but included the objects that they invoked in the analysis. Compared to the limited variety of state-sponsored tourism materials, foreign private-sector tourism materials were detailed.
Foreign Private-Sector Sources

The African frame dominates in major US news articles and tour books. It dominated seventeen of the twenty-five articles and was used 130 times within the articles. Only one article did not reference Africa. This frame constructed the city as culturally African (not European, Latin American, or Brazilian) and, at times, as a geographical extension of the continent of Africa. The *Lonely Planet Guide to Brazil* which states that Salvador is “the African soul of Brazil…[where] the descendants of African slaves have preserved their cultural roots more than anywhere else in the New
World, successfully transforming them into thriving culinary, religious, musical, dance and martial art traditions” (Louis, et. al. *Lonely Planet Brazil*, Lonely Planet Publications, p. 413). Articles also made mild claims, such as the claim that Salvador “might have been somewhere in Africa” (Taubeneck, *Chicago Sun Times*, December 26, 1993, p.3) and in claims that African culture influences the food, music, dance, and art of the area.

These claims set Bahia apart from the remainder of Brazil. It became the center of African-influenced culture and “the very pulse of Brazilian culture, the grand palace overlooking Brazil’s ethnic landscape. Salvador’s heart remains in Africa and the African influences here are strong and colorful, having been filtered through almost three centuries of slavery and hardship” (Buren, *Moon Handbooks Brazil*, 2006, Emeryville: Avalon Travel, p. 357). Materials referenced West Africa, Angola, Nigeria, and Senegal multiple times as sources of local cultural objects which “could have been produced in Senegal or Ghana” (Robinson, *Washington Post*, September 28, 1997, p. W12). The population of Salvador, under this frame, is of African-descent rather than Afro-Brazilian or slave-descendent. This frame distinguished Salvador from European-influenced and Latin American cities. Whereas articles framed the city as a contemporary African cultural outpost, they made no such contemporary references to Europe or Portugal. They cited Europe nine times and Portuguese forty-one times, but only in reference to the colonization of Salvador.

In another popular frame, invoked seventy-two times, Salvador became a racially black or Afro-Brazilian city –its population and culture a manifestation of black people. This frame, similar to the African frame, distinguished the city as more African and blacker than the rest of Brazil. It set Salvador apart from the rest of Brazil as “the soul of
black culture in Brazil” (Podesta, *Washington Post*, August 2, 1993, p. A13) or “the Afro-Brazilian heart of Brazil.” (Murphy, *New York Sun*, March 4, 2005, p. 21). Salvador was called the “Black Rome” eight times. Two articles related blackness to poverty and none referenced racism, discrimination, black social movements, or other social issues. This frame intersected the African frame; twenty-three of seventy-two references simultaneously invoked Africa and blackness.

Finally, articles invoked a frame of culture as a Unique Mixture twenty-nine times, asserting that food, religion, and music is “a unique blend of African, Portuguese and indigenous influences” (Santiago, *The Star-Ledger*, May 18, 2008, p.1). This became Bahia’s unique culture. Articles used other aspects of the city to assert the superior appeal of culture: “Tourists might come here once for the miles of beaches or pounding surf, but they return for the lively blend of Latin and African culture that spices the food and pulses in the music” (Hoskinson, *Chicago Sun-Times*, July 11, 1999, p. 5).

**Authenticating the Frames: The Meanings of Cultural Objects**

References to cultural traditions authenticated each frame’s meanings. Salvador was the first city in Brazil in possession of many restores colonial buildings and churches, is a central member of the South American region, and is a coastal city with tropical climate, beaches and islands, but the tourist appeal of these factors was never central. Instead, beaches and colonial buildings became backdrops upon which to superimpose racial distinctiveness. Rather than pre-defining key cultural markers, the analysis reports cues to cultural difference that emerged inductively in analysis of the materials.
Interestingly, all frames and sources drew on overlapping sets of objects to support claims, showing that each frame attached divergent meanings – of blackness or unique Brazilian racial mixture – to the same objects, as seen in Figure 3.5. Comparing the use of these cultural objects across foreign and state materials shows that the state relied primarily on *Candomblé* (30% of all claims within state sources), capoeira (30.7%), and *samba* (15%) (and food to a lesser degree). Articles invoked colonial heritage often, but was always as an architectural backdrop – colonial forts and buildings in photographs – for these three key cultural objects.

Foreign materials drew upon a larger set of cultural objects including *Candomblé*, capoeira, drumming, *samba*, and food, as Table 3.1 shows. Foreign private-sector materials mobilized slavery (39% compared to 17%) and drumming (5% and 3% compared to none) to support African and Racially Black frames more than in support of Unique Mixture frame. *Samba* (3%, 5%, and 4%), capoeira (7%, 10%, and 11%), and *Candomblé* (21%, 21%, and 25%), were distributed across the three frames.
Figure 3.5

Relative use of legitimizing objects in tourism materials across frames and sources
Table 3.1

Cultural Frames in United States Travel Reviews of Salvador, Brazil

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Cultural Frame</th>
<th>As dominant article frame</th>
<th>As discursive strategy within articles</th>
<th>Average use per article</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>African</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>129</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Racially Black</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>72</td>
<td>2.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unique Mixture</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>1.1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Slavery: All articles referenced slavery, often numerous times throughout the article in support of the African or Racially Black cultural frame (39.6% in support of the African frame, 39.7% in support of the Racially Black frame, and 17.9% in support of the Unique Mixture frame). Slaves became the source of contemporary culinary, religious, artistic, and musical expression in Salvador. As one article put it, “Descendants of those
slaves still living in Bahia have somehow managed to hang on tightly to their African roots” (Taubeneck, *Chicago Sun Times*, December 26, 1993, p.3). Many articles referenced locations where slaves were stored, sold, or flogged, structures built by slaves, and the number – varying from 2.5 to 5 million - of slaves brought to Brazil through Salvador’s port, as aspects of culture in Salvador.

**Colonialism:** Articles invoked colonialism to refer to architecture and bolstered the framing of contemporary culture as African or Racially Black (6.3% in support of the African frame, 11% in support of the Racially Black frame, and 14.3% in support of the Unique Mixture frame). Many references to cobblestone streets, crumbling colonial mansions, baroque churches, and “stately colonial buildings a panorama of pastels in dusty rose, celadon and pale blue” (Leshner, *Copley News Service*, February 19, 2001), established colonialism as a pervasive backdrop for the city and its cultural attractions. These brief references distanced the city from a contemporary connection to Europe or Portugal. Rather than promoting the experience of a preserved slave-holding dungeon, articles referenced these sites as locations of music, dance, and tourist souvenirs – in other words, as evidence in support of the contemporary blackness and Africanness of culture.
Figure 3.6

Portuguese colonial church, *Pelourinho*, Salvador, Brazil

![Photograph by Danielle Hedegard](image)

*Candomblé*: 81% of articles discussed *Candomblé* (20.7% in support of the African frame, 20.6% in support of the Racially Black frame, and 25% in support of the Unique Mixture frame). However, within articles, *Candomblé* was referenced numerous times in support of the Racially Black and Unique Mixture frames. Articles described the activity as arriving in Bahia with African slaves, as developing among slaves in Brazil, and as a syncretic “combination of Roman Catholicism with tribal African lore” (Prada, *The Boston Globe*, October 17, 2004, p. M4). I found thirty-six references to Catholicism, most referencing *Candomblé*’s syncretism or asserting the dominance of *Candomblé* over

*Food:* Nineteen of the twenty-five articles referenced food (18% in support of the African frame, 11% in support of the Racially Black frame, and 28.6% in support of the Unique Mixture frame). Most of these referenced the fish stew *moqueca*, the bean fritter *acarajé*, or to the specific ingredients used in these two dishes – palm oil, coconut milk, hot peppers, and shrimp. Four referenced drinking coconut water out of green coconuts. One article mentioned the popular Brazilian *churrasco* (barbeque) restaurants and none mentioned the many European-influenced foods available in Salvador.

References to food ranged in intensity. Some briefly mentioned that African-influenced spices and ingredients flavored the foods of the city. Others asserted Bahia as the location of national culinary tradition. Food substantiated claims of Africanness, such as the bean fritter dish from eaten in Nigeria and sold on the streets of Bahia. Others explicitly stated the mixture of cultural sources of Bahia’s food:

> From the manioc, sweet potatoes and nuts of the Indians, from Portugal's meats and its egg and coconut sweets. Ships stopping on the way from the Far East dropped off cinnamon and cloves, and West Africa contributed bananas, ginger and the palm oil used to fry and flavor everything. But the slaves did the cooking, and from their own repertoire and the new ingredients a kitchen grew up here of brews and fish, shrimp and chicken stews that are unique to this region (Simons, *New York Times*, March 24, 1985, p. 15).
This was one of four references to European or Portuguese foods in the local diet, each supporting the Unique Mixture frame.

Figure 3.7

Women selling *acarajé* in Salvador, Brazil

*Drumming:* Forty eight percent of articles referenced drumming, usually as a pervasive background characteristic of the city. According to articles, people parade through the streets with drums as “a rumble that seems to have no source, as if it just
emanated from the fabric of the old colonial buildings” (Robinson, *Washington Post*, September 28, 1997, p. W12). This often supported the African frame, such as “the beat of the bongo drums echoing through the narrow cobblestone streets is a rhythmic reminder of Brazil’s African heritage” (Barrett, et. al. *Insight Guides Brazil*, 2007, Singapore: Apa Publications, p.384).

*Samba:* Samba appeared in 62% of articles, in support of the African and Racially Black frames, such as the following: “freewheeling samba sessions, featuring a powerful drum choir and singers who celebrate the preservation of black culture” (Rohter, *New York Times*, March 10, 1991, p. 15). Two articles used another musical rhythm, Samba-reggae, to support the Racially Black frame.

*Capoeira:* Eighty one percent of articles referenced capoeira. These references supported all three cultural frames (7% in support of the African frame, 9.5% in support of the Racially Black frame, and 10.7% in support of the Unique Mixture frame). It was an activity which “originated in Angola as a means of wooing women” (Gentile, *United Press International*, March 11, 2003) and one which “originated with slaves in Bahia” (Taubeneck, *Chicago Sun Times*, December 26, 1993, p.3).

Finally, the Brazilian private sector materials made use of cultural symbols not present in Brazilian state or foreign private-sector materials, as seen in Table 3.2. Direct reference to the black body and Africa were most common, followed by Candomblé, capoeira, *samba*, reggae, drumming, *Maculelé* (a dance performed between individuals beating wooden sticks together), and rap. These were direct verbal references to objects, though the black body and Africa also appeared several times in photographs or as dark-skinned individuals, tribal clothing, dreadlocks, and as the pan-African colors of red,
green, and yellow. These references differed from those of foreign materials. In local private-sector materials, references to Africa referred to the continent and tribal wear, but never to Brazilian cultural objects (capoeira, *Candomblé*, etc.).

Table 3.2

**Cultural Objects in Brazilian Private-Sector Tourism Materials of Salvador, Brazil**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Cultural Object</th>
<th>% with at least one reference</th>
<th>Means of substantiation …</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Black Body</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>Photographs of dark skinned individuals, dark skinned women in costume, dreadlocks. Verbal reference, use of pan-African colors (red, green, and yellow together), dark skinned individuals in tribal clothing.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Africa</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>Verbal reference, sketches of <em>orishas</em>, photographs of female</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Candomblé</em></td>
<td>5</td>
<td><em>Candomblé</em> followers in costume, photographs of <em>Candomblé</em> jewelry.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Capoeira</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>Verbal reference, photos of capoeira instruments and players performing kicks.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Overall, the analysis shows that tourism materials racialize Brazilian culture. Each of the three sources uses a distinct racialized frame. Racial democracy directs the state to assert that Salvador’s culture is a unique mixture of African, European, and Indigenous cultures and peoples. Foreign private-sector sources frame culture as African drawing on a discourse of cultural difference. Finally, Brazilian private-sector sources frame culture as racially black but not African, drawing on a local discourse of Reafricanization. Further, the repertoire of cultural objects deployed by the state to assert and authenticate a national identity of racial mixture, are deployed by these private sectors to assert Brazil's blackness, each frame attaching divergent meanings to the same objects.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Cultural Object</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Samba</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>Verbal reference</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reggae</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>Verbal reference</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Drumming</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>Verbal reference, photographs of drums.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maculelé</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>Verbal reference</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rap</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Verbal reference</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Colonialism</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Verbal reference, pictures of colonial forts.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Food</td>
<td>0</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Slavery</td>
<td>0</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### Table 3.3.

**Summary frames and discourses of cultural tourism in Salvador, Brazil**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Actor</th>
<th>Dominant Frame</th>
<th>Underlying Discourse</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Brazilian State</td>
<td>Unique Mixture</td>
<td>Racial Democracy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brazilian Private Sector</td>
<td>Blackness</td>
<td>ReAfricanization</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>International Private Sector</td>
<td>Africanness</td>
<td>Global Difference</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In Table 3.4, I summarize the underlying sociocultural structures of race and of the international market of cultural tourism in Brazil. Capoeira practitioners have access to discourses of racial democracy and Reafricanization. From the tourism market, practitioners and tourists have access to frames of blackness, Africanness, and Brazilianness, and well as the symbols used to legitimate these frames.
Table 3.4
Available Symbols for Racializing Capoeira in the Tourism Market

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>African Symbols</th>
<th>Global</th>
<th>Brazilian</th>
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<td>Pan-African colors</td>
<td>Reggae</td>
<td><em>Candomblé</em></td>
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<td>Tribal clothing/artifacts</td>
<td>Hip-hop</td>
<td><em>Orishas</em></td>
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<td>Africa-talk/narrative</td>
<td>Graffiti</td>
<td><em>Samba</em></td>
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<td>Slavery</td>
<td>Dreadlocks</td>
<td>Drumming</td>
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<td>Capoeira</td>
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<td><em>Maculelê</em></td>
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<td>Food</td>
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<td>Skin Tone / Body</td>
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<td>Colonialism</td>
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<td>Black Power Movement</td>
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Questions and Expectations: Racialized Cultural Capital in Capoeira Studios

Now I can return to my initial research questions and specify expectations for how tourists and Brazilians will create and accumulate RCC in capoeira studios in Brazil.

1) What determines who benefits from blackness, black bodies or dominant resources? 2) How does this process of generating and converting racialized cultural capital (RCC)
unfold? 3) Into what resources can the producers and consumers convert blackness – social capital, economic capital, dominant cultural capital, racial group closure?

Several bodies of literature offer predictions regarding these questions, including 1) work on cultural capital, 2) work on race and alternative cultural capital, 3) the Nationalization and Reafricanization perspectives on Brazil, 4) tourism literature, and 5) my analysis of cultural frames in the tourism market. Combining these literatures, I produced the following expectations.

1. Both the Nationalization framework and the Unique Mixture frame support the prediction that meanings of Brazilianness will dominate in capoeira studios that work in tourism.

2. Both the Reafricanization framework and the African and Racially Black frames identified above support the expectation that meanings of blackness and Africanness will dominate in capoeira studios.

3. The importance of embodied experience to cosmopolitan consumers suggests that interaction between tourist and Brazilian capoeira bodies (rather than passive consumption) will be central to constructing capoeira practices, objects, and bodies as racialized capital. I expect that these interactions will foreground those objects identified in the analysis of the tourism market.

Because I expect embodiment and practical enactment to be central in capoeira studios, those with underlying cultural interpretations that align with tourists should best benefit socially and economically from capoeira. This, however, offers contradictory predictions.
4. Cultural capital theory predicts that middle class practitioners will be best able to construct racialized cultural capital because they can motivate economic capital towards material cultural goods and social capital towards gaining additional cultural knowledge. Further, it predicts that the cultural capital these practitioners possess from education and upbringing will resonate with foreign tourists’ cultural understandings more so than will the cultural knowledge of lower class practitioners. The ambiguous racial context of Brazil (Chapter 2), where people of a variety of skin tones may be able to assert black or Afro-Brazilian identities, supports this expectation.

5. However, in the US and Western Europe, concepts of blackness connect with the black body, especially dark skin tone. This predicts that tourists will interpret these practitioners – including those from the marginalized lower class – as more authentic at enacting capoeira. Actual black bodies could be vital to successfully enacting capoeira as cultural capital. Past work on tourism and the dominance of the black body in tourism materials in Salvador support this expectation.

6. Finally, in the tourism market, I expect the racialized cultural capital generated from capoeira to be most easily converted into economic capital in that market. Past work on cultural capital shows that it may be most easily converted into social capital, and so I expect this to be a second benefit of RCC.
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