RACIALIZED CULTURAL CAPITAL AND INEQUALITY: A COMPARATIVE STUDY OF BLACKNESS IN BRAZIL’S TOURISM MARKET

by

Danielle Hedegard

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AS members of the Dissertation Committee, we certify that we have read the
dissertation

prepared by Danielle Hedegard

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and recommend that it be accepted as fulfilling the dissertation requirement for the
Degree of Doctor of Sociology

Date: October 10, 2011

Jane Zavisca

Date: October 10, 2011

Ronald Breiger

Date: October 10, 2011

Stephen Cornell

Date:

Date:

Final approval and acceptance of this dissertation is contingent upon the candidate’s
submission of the final copies of the dissertation to the Graduate College.

I hereby certify that I have read this dissertation prepared under my direction and
recommend that it be accepted as fulfilling the dissertation requirement.

Date: October 10, 2011

Dissertation Director: Jane Zavisca
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ABSTRACT

In my dissertation, I argue that blackness is an accumulable cultural resource that perpetuates racial and class inequality. The overarching question I ask is what determines who benefits from blackness, black bodies or dominant resources? To answer this question, I first develop a framework that integrates cultural capital theory with two streams of research within the sociology of race – ‘racialization’ and ‘race as a resource.’ Next, I demonstrate my argument and address secondary theoretical goals – in globalization and race in Brazil, with an empirical study in the context of cultural tourism.

I examine how individuals transform capoeira into a racialized cultural resource through connections to symbols of blackness and the meanings these symbols provoke, within the tourism market in Salvador, Brazil. Capoeira is a globally popular Brazilian martial art often linked to blackness, which brings American and European tourists together with Brazilian practitioners in an interactive setting. Cosmopolitan consumers now interpret cultural symbols of racial difference, including blackness, as valuable, and tourism exemplifies the growing value of racial otherness. Salvador, Brazil is a central site in the framing of blackness for cosmopolitan consumers. Tourist settings allow me to examine how individuals acquire embodied cultural capital through experience with cultural others. Scholars connect Brazil’s extreme social inequality to race and class, and they reveal a profound ambiguity over racialized cultural heritage in Brazil. This creates a context where Brazilians of diverse racial and class backgrounds can benefit from racialized culture.
How do racial meanings emerge as tourists and Brazilians interact, how does blackness become valuable as a social, cultural, or economic resource for producers and consumers, and which actors benefit from this racialized cultural capital? I answer these questions through comparative participant observation and interviews at two capoeira studios. Long-term participant observation allows me to focus on the embodiment of experiences and the *how* of cultural valorization. Comparative ethnography best provides insight into how individuals, groups, and organizations put cultural capital to practical use to control and limit resources, allowing for two layers of analysis – one, of interactional meaning making and cultural enactment and the other, a cross-group comparison of these micro-level processes.
1. AN INTRODUCTION TO
RACIALIZED CULTURAL CAPITAL

In certain contexts, blackness – despite its common stigmatized status – is a valuable cultural resource that people accumulate and convert to social and economic rewards. Race is a socially constructed and malleable set of meanings that people attach to bodies and objects, and thus blackness is a complex cultural representation that people manipulate and possibly assign positive value in specific contexts. Given this definition, context influences what types of interactions happen, and in turn, if and how people construct, value, use and benefit from symbols of blackness.

Differences –ethnic, racial, and national – are central to how people make meaning and how they value and devalue others. In advanced capitalist societies, these differences have become central to a broader trend towards cosmopolitan consumption – or the valuing and consumption of cultural objects diverse in genre and linked to socially distant others. This dissertation examines how one symbol deployed in this cosmopolitan consumption – blackness – becomes valued and given meaning. Rather than focusing on consumers or producers alone, I examine the intersection of cosmopolitan consumption and the cultural production of blackness.

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*1* Cosmopolitan consumers are one type of omnivorous consumer, or consumers that claim a taste for a variety of genres (Peterson and Kern). Recent work finds that several varieties of omnivores exist (Bennett, Savage et al. 2009).
I examine one context where blackness matters and producers and consumers interact – the tourism of the martial art capoeira in Salvador, Brazil. Introducing the city, the popular *Lonely Planet Guide to Brazil* proclaims that the city 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, Chandler et al. 2005: 413). This context gives blackness the potential to become valuable to practitioners and consumers. Brazil is an important empirical context through which to extend theory on cultural resources – or cultural capital – to racial symbols and bodies. Brazil’s extreme racial and class inequality combine with a profound ambiguity over cultural heritage in Brazil (Agier 1992; Telles 2004; Santos 2005). This creates a context where Brazilians of diverse racial and socioeconomic backgrounds can possibly benefit from blackness.

How these producers and consumers construct and deploy blackness as a cultural resource also shapes racial and class inequality. Those that can legitimately claim blackness can convert it into social, economic, and other cultural resources. Because a vast literature on cultural capital finds that class strongly influences who can acquire and convert cultural capital into other resources, class may also influence who benefits from blackness. *Thus, I ask who benefits from blackness, black bodies (skin tone) or existing class-based resources? How does this process of generating and converting racialized cultural capital (RCC) unfold? Into what resources can the producers and consumers convert blackness – social capital, economic capital, or dominant cultural capital?*
I follow the abstract symbols of blackness from tourism marketing materials into capoeira studios, where foreign tourists and Brazilians ignore, rearticulate, and/or value them in interactions. My empirical chapters reveal how blackness emerges in two capoeira studios in Salvador through the interactions of foreign tourists and Brazilian practitioners, who each bring symbols and meanings into interactions. The studios vary the class background of Brazilian capoeira practitioners, and this difference provokes different interactions in each studio and, as a result, different symbols, meanings, and cultural capital emerge. My analysis reveals how consumers construct meaning in interaction with particular contexts (here, with the producers of cultural objects).

I presume no pre-existing racial groups that benefit from this resource.\(^2\) Instead, I show how people across the color spectrum and across cultures co-construct cultural objects\(^3\) of blackness, articulate concrete meanings around the concept, assign those

\(^2\) My goal is not to propose a theory of symbolic struggle among pre-defined racial groups or document differences in cultural capital across these groups. For example, some work documents differences in cultural capital across pre-determined racial groups – primarily blacks and whites in the US (DiMaggio and Ostrower 1990).

\(^3\) Cultural objects are any material or practical aspects of culture, such as artifacts, media, or rituals. They have symbolic properties (meanings) defined by their connections to other symbols. Cultural objects assume meanings in concrete situations through interactions between audience, object, and context (Griswold 1987; McDonnell 2010). They can be adapted and complicated in specific contexts (Sewell 1999; Eliasoph and Lichterman 2003; Brubaker 2006).
meanings to certain human bodies, and use this newly minted racialized cultural resource as a tool to gain other resources. I find that blackness as a cultural resource does not map onto any one racial category. Instead, existing economic, social, and cultural resources allow some Brazilians to muster blackness as a cultural resource over other Brazilians. In other words, class-based resources are necessary to transform blackness into cultural capital.

The process of meaning-making through experiential consumption that I describe should be generalizable to a variety of consumption contexts. In the context of capoeira tourism, blackness becomes attached to a limited set of instrumental meanings allow it to be successfully linked to economic and dominant cultural resources. In addition to contributing to understanding of culture, consumption, and racial construction, this analysis extends understanding of how cultural globalization – in this case international tourism and cosmopolitan consumption – influences cultural production and inequality in Brazil. My analysis reveals how globalization brings together class resources with a limited set of racial resources to allow a new form of cultural resource to emerge in the tourism market.

**Theorizing Racialized Cultural Capital (RCC)**

I integrate cultural capital theory and what I call the racialization perspective to develop my argument that blackness can become a valuable cultural resource. Such a framework is vital for cultural sociology and the sociology of race, as an analytical tool with which to examine how some groups (racial or otherwise) can acquire and benefit
from racial symbols and how this serves to create, reinforce, or undermine racial groups and racial and class inequality.

Cultural capital theory argues that tastes and embodied cultural styles vary meaningfully across status groups in society, indicating symbolic and social boundaries between groups (Bourdieu 1984). By enacting cultural differences gained through a lifetime of familiarity with a lifestyle, dominant groups create a status hierarchy and monopolize cultural capital. Put another way, “to possess cultural capital is to demonstrate competence in some socially valued area of practice” (Sallaz and Zavisca 2007: 23).

People deploy this cultural capital to gain other resources. People demonstrate style and objective knowledge in interactions with others in order to enter elite groups, neighborhoods, and schools. This in turn establishes new social ties and new economic and cultural opportunities. Dominant groups also use cultural capital to make social connections to exclude those unable to enact the subtleties of cultural taste. This exclusion extends to the social and economic arenas. The type and amount of cultural knowledge people hold influence the size of their social networks, success in educational settings, marriage partners, and employment opportunities (DiMaggio and Mohr 1985; Holt 1998; Lizardo 2006).4

Cultural capital takes objective, embodied, and institutionalized forms (Bourdieu 1986). As middle class consumers acquire objective cultural markers, elites and upper

4 Little research explores cultural capital outside of the US and Europe, though see Zavisca (2005) and Torche (2007).
middle class consumers must discover more nuanced means of distinguishing their tastes. Thus, the embodied form of cultural capital manifested in lifestyle is especially important to consumers in advanced capitalist societies (Holt 1998; López-Sintas and Katz-Gerro 2005).5

Individuals construct and convert cultural capital as they enact cultural preferences and knowledge derived from the deeply embedded interpretive schemas of their class position – their habitus (Bourdieu 1984; Lamont 1994; Bennett, Savage et al. 2009). The habitus gives people a taken-for-granted understanding of their own external class environment, allowing them to act and interact with their class group in a way that appears natural and legitimate (Bourdieu 1972). In effect, those with dominant class resources reinforce their position through their cultural capital.

Much of this scholarship argues that class is the primary source of cultural capital, but a few examine race. Dimaggio and Ostrower (1990) compare cultural participation across black and white categories in the US and find that these groups have different but not isolated tastes. Many blacks in the US claim a taste for cultural objects associated with blackness and those associated with whiteness.

Racial meanings warrant further analysis in work on cultural capital. First, cultural tastes influence racial exclusion. Bryson (1996) finds that whites are significantly more likely to dislike rap, gospel and other music popular among poor racial minorities. Lamont (2000) finds that racial groups construct differing criteria of worth to create

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5 Holt (1998) finds this style includes critical reception of cultural objects, self-actualization, development of individuality, and cosmopolitan taste.
symbolic boundaries between themselves and outsiders. Second, the racial meanings attached to cultural objects influence taste patterns. Johnston and Baumann (2007) and Cheyne and Binder (2010) both find that racial otherness is an important meaning to cosmopolitan omnivores.

People create and accumulate racial symbols and use them to influence racial and socioeconomic inequality. Whiteness has long been such a resource, valuable and unequally distributed within society (Lipsitz 1995; Doane 1997; Lareau and Horvat 1999; Pager 2003; Oliver and Shapiro 2006). Unlike whiteness, people often interpret non-white racial symbols negatively and Blacks in the US must draw on middle class knowledge and styles to confront discrimination (Fordham and Ogbu 1986; Feagin 1991). Skin tone, objectified knowledge, and embodied dispositions associated with race can become cultural capital.

Because racial meanings are contextual and socially constructed, there may be contexts when non-dominant racial symbols become cultural capital (Cornell and Hartmann 2007). Blackness, for example, provides people with enjoyment (Lacy 2007), racial group unity (Banks 2009a; 2009b), and a means to navigate street life (Anderson 1990). Carter (2005: 51) finds that “the resources, codes, and symbols of this particular group of low-income African American youth” form “non-dominant cultural capital,” or an in-group currency, for black high school students. Grazian (2003) examines how blackness can become capital outside of in-group social contexts, showing that black jazz musicians are viewed as authentic and desired by clubs where “white audiences still expected to be entertained by black singers” (2003: 20). Audience perception of the
naturalness and legitimacy of the racialized construction, along with an alternative market (nightclub entertainment in this case) elevate blackness to the status of cultural capital.

This work defines race as a static status and assumes that pre-existing racial groups benefit from the cultural resources associated with racial groups. Grazian, for example, considers how black skin grants blues musicians’ racial legitimacy. Carter’s analysis uses a broader base of racialized symbols – individuals’ knowledge of music and cultural symbols and their strategic use of language. However, she says little about how routine and taken for granted these skills are (or are not), how they are influenced by underlying schemas of interpretation and unconscious dispositions, or how the link between racialized symbols and cultural practices is established in enactment and interaction.

I instead define race as a socially constructed and malleable set of meanings that people attach to bodies and objects. This approach – which I call racialization – analytically separates racial symbols from the social groups that benefit from those symbols. According to this framework, actors use physical traits, assumed to be primordial and essential (usually phenotype which is itself socially constructed), to create symbolic boundaries between members and nonmembers (Cornell and Hartmann 2007). It also imbues the “gestures, utterances, situations, events, states of affairs, actions, and sequences of actions” associated with these bodies with racial meaning (Brubaker, Loveman et al. 2004: 43). Thus, racialization assigns people to categories, applies racially

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6 Though others find that African American jazz musicians fair no better or worse overall than non-blacks in terms of economic or critical rewards (Pinheiro and Dowd 2009).
charged symbols to bodies, and creates a racial interpretation of social experience. This definition allows me to examine how actors attach racial meanings to cultural objects and people in interactions, and how macro-level structures of racial meaning move into the everyday embodied actions of individuals.

Racial symbols take on meaning through their connection to other symbols and opposition to those outside of a given racial boundary (Barth 1969). They can derive from pre-existing aspects of the object, or actors can associate new racial symbols with cultural objects (Cornell and Hartmann 2007). In this view, blackness is a publically available representation that incorporates many symbolic representations – categories, artifacts, rituals, and bodies – into a system of relations.

The human body establishes racial meanings. Actors use physical traits, assumed to be primordial and essential (usually phenotype which is itself socially constructed), to create symbolic boundaries between members and nonmembers (Cornell and Hartmann 2007). The black body often signifies African ancestry (Davis 1991; Cornell and Hartmann 2007). In addition to these symbolic properties, the materiality of the body – muscle tone, condition of hair, skin tone, hair texture and condition, size of facial features – influences how racial meaning is asserted by and assigned to it (Soar 2001). This aligns with McDonnell’s (2010) argument that the material qualities of cultural objects influence if and how they are given meaning by audiences. The physical properties of bodies are central not only to establishing the racial identity of those bodies, but also to establishing the meanings of cultural objects related to those bodies.
Blackness is an abstract collective representation that incorporates diverse cultural objects – racial categories, identities, artifacts, rituals, discourses, practices, and bodies – into a system of symbolic relations. The meanings of objects emerge when an object and its set of relations interacts with actors’ interpretations, as actors use objects to make sense of the world and their experiences (Griswold 1987). The set of cultural symbols connected to blackness define objects and human bodies as racially black and attach meanings to them. They enable actors to assert individual and collective black identities.

Blackness connects to many well-established symbols and entrenched meanings across societies, often interpreted as fixed and primordial (Cornell and Hartmann 2007). The strength of these established meanings manifests clearly in the well-established racial categories of black and white. White connotes European origin and superiority. The positive value of whiteness is reinforced through contrast to the category black, which connotes African-ancestry and dark skin tone, a social fact revealed in work on employment and educational discrimination (Wilson 1996).

This makes blackness a cultural tool that actors (individuals, groups, organizations) deploy to reach goals (Swidler 1986; Waters 1999). Cultural tools become capital when people use them to secure other resources. As people enact cultural differences associated with the lifestyle of their socioeconomic background, they create a status hierarchy. Dominant groups monopolize the cultural tastes and objects associated with their lifestyle as cultural capital, and exclude those unable to enact the subtleties of dominant taste (Bourdieu 1984; Lamont 1994). Cultural capital secures social connections, further cultural knowledge, and educational and employment opportunities.
This literature on cultural capital underappreciates racial symbols. Whiteness and the positive meanings it invokes implicitly legitimize arts, tastes, and lifestyles associated with elites. Elites now value a broad omnivorous range of cultural objects, rather than older cultural markers such as theater and classical music. These omnivores value cultural otherness (Peterson and Kern 1996; Garcia-Alvarez, Katz-Gerro et al. 2007), especially when embodied as cosmopolitan knowledge of culturally distant others (Holt 1998; Thompson and Tambyah 1999). This includes esoteric versions of Southern foods and rare ethnic foods and rap music tied to racial ghettos and foreigners (Johnston and Baumann 2007; Cheyne and Binder 2010). Cosmopolitan omnivorism represents a growing opportunity for people to value subordinate racial symbols through frames of exoticness, authenticity, and cultural difference.

Thus, some cultural resources derive their value from associated racial meanings. These meanings come from societal classifications, meso-level narratives, social groups, and micro-level interactions (Anderson 1990). Actors can also associate new racial symbols with cultural objects. Racial symbols take on meaning by connecting to other symbols. Many symbols establish racial meaning, though common referents are the body (skin tone, hair, facial features, and styles), geographic specificity (specific continents, regions, and city neighborhoods), narratives and discourses (of people hood, difference, and politics), socioeconomic status, language, material objects, names, and ancestry (Wilson 1987; Anderson 1990; Nagel 1994; Cornell 2000; Soar 2001; Lewis 2003; Lizardo 2006).
Cornell and Hartmann 2007). Music and art often organize along racial lines in the United States (Peterson 1997; Grazian 2003; Roy 2004; Rodriquez 2006; Roy 2010). People drawn from, complicate, and adapt them in specific contexts of practice (Sewell 1999). Symbols such as socioeconomic status, language, and names do not always signify racial meaning and must be interpreted in specific context; however, racial discourse and the symbols it draws upon are deeply embedded historical narratives that influence everyday life and interaction – even when race is not a consciously salient element of interpretation (Omi and Winant 1994).

Objectified RCC is any material object associated with racialized groups such as an African mask or a samurai sword adorning a wall or knowledge of slavery or racial ideologies. Asserted racial identities, when demonstrated through material objects, are also objectified RCC. Racial meanings take on variable importance; in some situations, an African mask can be valued more because of its aesthetics than on racial meaning.

Institutionalized RCC can be educational credentials from or membership in historically black (or white) institutions, official racial classification schemas, or state-required identity cards. Skin tone and phenotype are institutionalized RCC that rest on an elaborate narrative of categories of difference defined as the natural outcome of institutions as stable and broadly diffused social interaction sequences subject to rewards and sanctions better situates racial categories and skin tone within the framework (Japperson 1991).
biological mixing. Dominant meanings attached to racial categories are stable and widely known (i.e. the meaning and value of beauty attached to whiteness).

Embodied RCC can be styles, tastes, and cultural performance including hairstyles, language use, style of dress, names, a taste for racialized music, and familiarity with elite cultural etiquette (Lamont 2000; Carter 2005). One can have declarative knowledge of cultural objects associated with a racial category or a symbolic identity (Gans 1979), or one can have unconscious dispositions perceived to be primordial racial identities\(^8\) and styles (Cornell and Hartmann 2007). The latter represents a powerful embodied RCC.

Racial meanings often remain unspoken and unconscious; however, they are strongest as cultural capital in these moments because they flow from the habitus in bodily performance, appearing as a natural and legitimate disposition of a racialized body, such as language (Lewis 2003). People perform language with little conscious thought, but the implicit differences in meaning between dominant and subordinate speech have power because others perceive them as natural and inevitable (Bourdieu 1991). Sometimes, the performance of race is central to establishing the meaning of other cultural objects (Myers 1998; Grazian 2003). I show how the meanings attached to the bodies of capoeira practitioners migrate to the objects of capoeira through interactions between practitioners and tourists.

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\(^8\) The constructionist framework negates that race is biologically determined, but many individuals perceive these identities as primordial (Cornell and Hartmann 2007).
Cultural capital must be unequally distributed across social groups, but this does not mean that blacks, whites, or other racial classifications possess divergent quantities of RCC. I investigate which individuals or groups gain legitimacy as holders of RCC and how this maps onto racial classifications and groups.\footnote{RCC can potentially turn racial categories into actual social groups because it is both constituted through a group and serves to make that group real. Afrikaner cultural entrepreneurs created cultural repertoires to define themselves as an ethnic group and differentiate themselves from the black population of South Africa (Cornell and Hartmann 2007). Chinese immigrants in Mississippi used their ambiguous racial status to align themselves with white interests and culture, which gave them success in the grocery market (Loewen 1988). That outcome was not fond in this empirical case, and is not the focus of the dissertation.}

Who can legitimately claim and convert RCC depends on the willingness and ability of that audience – a set of actors embedded in a social arena or relations of power – to exchange economic, social, and other cultural resources for the enactment of these cultural nuances (Bourdieu 1993). In the in-group contexts described in past work, cultural resources provide in-group status for subcultures.\footnote{Several scholars examine the role of cultural capital among non-dominant groups (Hall 1992) and find that non-dominant cultural objects create in-group status hierarchies within subcultures (Thornton 1995; Lamont 2000; Lena 2004; Wacquant 2005). This work rarely considers how in-group capital becomes valuable beyond the in-group.} For example, Carter’s (2005)
black cultural capital finds that meanings of blackness attached to knowledge of musical styles provides teens with in-group status, or social capital. These contexts hold little potential to generate capital that people value outside of that context – i.e. in the field of power. In elites contexts, elites monopolize widely recognized cultural capital valuable across a variety of contexts (Bourdieu 1993); however, what they value is highly selective. Elites value the arts associated with racially subordinate groups when they are reframed and connected to traditional high culture, as was the case for jazz and Black Art (Lopes 2002; Fleming and Roses 2007). These contexts generate little cultural capital for producers or practitioners from subordinate groups.

However, in large-scale markets, middle and upper middle class consumers value traditionally subordinate racial symbols. This may translate into benefits for producers and practitioners. In these markets, consumers seek cosmopolitan omnivorous Carter, for example, does not examine how whites may benefit from knowledge of black music genres.

11 The field of power is an overarching arena of social struggle “that operates as an organizing principle of differentiation and struggle throughout all fields…. [It is structured by] the distribution economic capital... and the distribution of cultural capital” (Swartz 1997: 136-137). In-group contexts produce what Bourdieu describes as field-specific capitals, such as scientific capital, which are valuable primarily in a subfield (such as the scientific field) rather than in the field of power (Swartz 1997).

12 Bourdieu uses the term market and field interchangeably in this work (Bourdieu 1993). I use the term “tourism market”, rather than “tourism field.”
cultural capital. For example, middle class consumers prefer blackness associated with marginalization (Crockett 2008). In Grazian’s (2003) study it is the blackness associated with blues music that grants clubs and musicians economic success. Lamont (1994) argues that the tastes of the upper middle class are especially important in maintaining inequality.

Table 1.1 presents a basic typology of this past work on cultural capital (involving race) across contexts. The first row refers to contexts where cultural capital draws, often implicitly, upon symbols and meanings of whiteness. The second row refers to contexts where cultural capital draws upon racially subordinate meanings such as racial and ethnic minority identities.
Table 1.1.
Forms of racialized cultural capital

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>In-Group Contexts</th>
<th>Fields of Restricted Production</th>
<th>Large-Scale Market</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Racially Dominant Symbols</td>
<td>subcultural capital</td>
<td>European-derived culture</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Racially Subordinate Symbols</td>
<td>black cultural; pugilistic capital</td>
<td>Esoteric ethnic foods; Black high arts</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

An Empirical Case: Capoeira Tourism in Salvador, Brazil

Cultural tourism is “the production of cultural difference and the valorization of local authenticity to stimulate people to visit a place to consume its distinct characteristics including, for example, history, cuisine, music, culture, identity” (Gotham 2007: 214). It exemplifies the value of racial difference and is an excellent context in which to examine how people create and use blackness as a cultural resource. Cultural
tourism constructs this cultural difference for the middle and upper middle classes of industrialized nations (MacCannell 1989; Grazian 2003; Mowforth and Munt 2009). This interactive context reveals how individuals acquire embodied cultural capital through experience with cultural others (Bruner 2005), knowledge that may be valuable beyond the tourism market itself (Mowforth and Munt 2009). Finally, tourism is an arena in which the practitioners of traditionally subordinate racialized practices can possibly profit.

Brazilian capoeira studios provide a strategic site in which to observe RCC. First, capoeira practice – the materials, rituals, narratives, and the variety of practical enactments of that set of cultural objects – is interactive and embodied (Lewis 1992; Delamont and Stephens 2008), and symbols and meanings emerge from conscious framing and habitual actions during practice. It is a game to practitioners, but outsiders refer to it as a Brazilian martial art. Like sports, capoeira combines adherence to norms and rules of conduct with creative enactment to outplay an opponent. However, “one of capoeira's many ambiguities is to be a game without absolute rules, objectives, or winners and losers …the point of the game is to play the game.” (Downey 1996: 4)

Practitioners form a large ring (the roda) with their bodies and two practitioners play within the roda. This play is a call and response of dance, fight, gymnastics, and martial arts movements, in which practitioners improvise combinations of movements and observe a set of rules and ritual behaviors. Practitioners are also musical performers; a bateria – or musical ensemble – plays Brazilian instruments, practitioners sing and clap a call and response, and the rhythm of the music determines the play in the roda. In
studios, students train for years, doing strength and flexibility training, learning to embody the movements (Downey 2010), and playing innovatively with opponents. Many also learn to play the *berimbau* – a large bowed instrument, the tambourine, the *atabaque* – a tall hand drum, and to sing and improvise songs. For some Brazilian practitioners it is a career, a means of travel, and a source of identity. For others it is a casual hobby.

**Figure 1.1**

*Capoeira roda*

Second, practitioners have a variety of resources to construct the meanings of capoeira, which they negotiate through a complex racial context in Brazil (Browning
African slaves developed and practiced capoeira in Brazil. The state began promoting it as a national sport in the 1930s, and it later gained popularity in a cultural Reafricanization movement in the 1980s. Put simply, capoeira is an abstract and collectively available set of representations institutionalized in Brazil and in global culture. It takes on a variety of local forms when people use the elements of capoeira – including movements, rituals, meanings, contexts, songs, instruments, clothing, and historical narrative – in concrete situations.

Third, capoeira is an established member of the global culture repertoire (Joseph 2008b). Capoeirista.com lists over 2000 formal capoeira studios in 99 countries as of July 2010. Capoeira moved abroad beginning in the mid-1970s when a capoeira dance troupe traveled to New York City to perform. By 1979, the group’s organizer, a lower class Brazilian master, opened the first studio in the US. Assuncão (2005: 212) asserts that capoeira is a “globalized subculture of protest”, which resonates with marginalized populations. However, empirical work in the UK and Canada finds that practitioners assert the foreignness of the practice (Joseph 2008a; de Campos Rosario, Stephens et al. 2010). Joseph argues that Brazilian practitioners market themselves and their product as authentic Afro-Brazilian culture to appeal to students desire to “escape the everyday, that is, the artificiality of mainstream Euro-Canadian culture” (2008b: 501).

13 Historians claim the capoeira practiced by freed slaves differs greatly from modern capoeira performance, and they continue to debate the actual location where capoeira first appeared (Assuncão 2005; Talmon-Chvaicer 2008).
Many argue that Salvador – the study location – is the birthplace of capoeira. It is also the second most toured city in Brazil, with international tourists mainly from the US and Western Europe (SCT 2005). In 2008, the Bahian State’s database of cultural organizations lists around 130 studios in Salvador, though another source estimates there are at least 2000 formal and informal groups in the city (Loez 2005: 15). The number of tourists in Bahia that engage in capoeira is not known, but one instructor estimates that 3000 foreign tourists visit his studio each year (Astor 2007). For many studios, tourism has become a means of economic survival and is forging new definitions of the art and new uses for its practitioners.

Fourth, this context also brings together lower and middle class Brazilians, providing an opportunity to observe RCC in the context of inter-class face-to-face interaction, something lacking in the survey and interview-based work on cultural capital. Scholars debate how much lower class Afro Brazilians benefit – economically

17 Salvador is Brazil’s third largest city, and was the country’s first capital. Over the course of the Atlantic slave trade, more African slaves were brought to the New World through Salvador than anywhere else throughout the Americas. Estimates put Salvador’s population of African descent at eighty to eighty-five percent in 2008.

15 Database accessed at: www.censocultural.ba.gov.br.

19 Thirty-three percent of capoeira practitioners in Rio de Janeiro are white, thirty-seven percent brown, and forty-five percent black (Telles 2004). Travassos (1999) provides limited evidence that capoeira masters play up or down the slave history and ethnic legacy of capoeira depending on their own racial identity. In Salvador, there are studios

**Comparative Participant Observation**

Cultural practice and racial construction are both embodied phenomena that demand a methodology sensitive to how people enact and perceive subtle bodily cues and casual comments. Long-term participant observation allows me to focus on the embodiment of experiences and the *how* of cultural valorization (Johnston and Baumann 2007) – “to analyze how specific external traits are translated into social profits” (Lamont 1994: 179) by moving beyond survey and interview methods to process¹⁷ and interaction.

Because of the depth of information I sought on meaning and interactions, I limited myself to two studios shown in Table 1.3. I chose studios through theoretical sampling (Ragin and Becker 1992). To address the claim that cultural capital reinforces existing power hierarchies, I selected studios with different amounts of economic capital – one in a poor neighborhood run by a working-class man (Capoeira Club) and another in a middle-class neighborhood run by a middle-class man (Capoeira World), populated by of various types throughout the city, from the tourist area to middle class neighborhoods to extremely poor areas.

¹⁷ Process refers to a series of actions.
students from their respective areas. Tourists in both sites were mainly middle and upper middle class young people from the US and Western Europe. They were, I argue, budding members of the growing cosmopolitan omnivorous class of cultural consumers.

Practitioners at both studios had advanced knowledge of capoeira, but they were not equally successful at converting this knowledge into capital. To explain these differences, I examine how each studio constructs capoeira with cultural knowledge and economic resources. I investigate racial constructions rather than use them as predefined variables in this comparison. Comparative ethnography provides insight into how individuals, groups, and organizations put cultural capital to practical use to control resources (Lareau 2003). This allows me to analyze RCC at two levels – one, of interactional meaning making and the other, a cross-group comparison of these micro-level processes. My analysis shows how the divergent cultural constructions of middle and lower class groups actually play out when they are used to acquire economic, social, 

18 Because income, occupational status, and education are highly correlated in Brazil (Bills, Godfrey et al. 1985; Bailey 2004; Schwartzman 2007), I use a simple definition of class as determined by economic capital. This aligns with past work (Telles 1995).

19 Most qualitative work on cultural capital focuses on one group only. Lamont (1994, 2000) examines both working and upper middle classes in separate books, but my analysis focuses specifically on a cross-class comparison of cultural capital in the same context. Without such a comparison, the meaning, objects, and boundaries revealed in ethnographic work may establish in-group differentiation but not necessarily exclusion of others.
and cultural resources. By focusing in-depth on two groups, my design analyzes interaction and process, rather than static cultural boundaries or stable “objects” that constitute cultural capital.

Data took the form of extensive field notes written after each class (Emerson, Fretz et al. 1995). Observations followed the extended case method (Burawoy 1998) – i.e. my theoretical interests focused observations. In order to examine this culture of practice – where underlying cultural codes and knowledge can be deployed (as resources in this case) rather than a discursive culture – Lizardo and Strand (2010) suggest analyzing the relationship between embodied dispositions and the external institutional environment. This meant observing how actors’ embodiment of blackness and capoeira related to the interactional environment of tourism at each studio and the cultural knowledge available in the larger tourism market. This fits with the call within racialization work to focus on process, interaction, and context (Brubaker 2006). Still following the extended case method, I linked these observations to social forces (such as omnivorism and cultural capital) that encouraged and were in turn reinforced by these processes. This also aligns well with my focus of racialization as a subtle process that occurs not only through conscious assignment and verbalization, but just as often though the unconscious influence of broad racial ideologies and their symbols on everyday

20 There are also degrees to which action and cultural knowledge are embodied versus strategic. People use everything from highly conscious pieces of knowledge and skills to fully automatic and unconscious routines, styles, and dispositions to act (Atkinson 2010).
interaction (Omi and Winant 1994; Lewis 2003). When relevant, I describe individuals in terms of skin tone and asserted racial identities.

In order to maximize data reliability, I gathered data in classes regularly for a period of several months in each studio by participating in classes three to five times per week (classes averaged three hours), social outings with Brazilians and tourists, and informal conversations. I attended demonstrations, trips the groups took to other studios, and testing ceremonies when possible to observe differences in activities when tourists were away. I gathered data in Salvador over the 2008-2009 year.

The studios provided recruitment presentations and regular nightly classes, and I observed conscious presentation and meanings that emerged slowly through interaction. Classes at the sites took place at night, to accommodate the studio and work schedules of the local students. This meant that I arrived home around 10pm each night and wrote my field notes late into the night. I attended classes as often as possible, missing classes only when the studios closed for local holidays or when I came down with the occasional cold. In the studios, I participated in the classes each night, learning to dance and play capoeira with the other students.

My observations in each studio varied over time. In the beginning, gaining rapport took precedence over the actual observations, and I often stayed after class to socialize with the students. After this initial phase, I tried to remember as much as possible from the class, write reminder notes immediately after class while still at the studio, and then write extensive notes for several hours once at home. As trends developed in my notes, I focused on answering questions rather than trying to remember everything that happened
in the site. As a white, female, US citizen, practitioners recruited me to participate in classes and social outings and placed me in the same category as tourists.21

I conducted several strategic interviews near the end of fieldwork. I used these to gain background information on the studio and practitioners and to follow up on specific events, observations, and conversations. How people enact culture can diverge significantly from the justificatory language they use to explain action (Lizardo and Strand 2010). Interviews provided missing data, rather than representing of a population or revealing in-depth culture. Further information on methodology – including pre-dissertation work, site selection, participant observation, interviewing, reflexivity, and a list of research participants – is in the methodological appendix.

Guiding Expectations

Now, I can propose general guiding expectations for how actors will construct and enact capoeira, how they will transform this into RCC, and who will benefit in this process. Cultural capital theory predicts that those of higher social class most successfully accumulate and enact cultural capital. This suggests that dominant groups in general, and thus whites, will best be able to generate and benefit from RCC. However, much past work on omnivorous consumption, race, and tourism finds that black bodies themselves are central to the consumption experience, predicting that those who possess traditionally marginalized human bodies will be best able to create and convert RCC in the tourism market.

21 Reflexivity is a vital concern that I address in the methodological appendix.
Most clearly, turning capoeira into cultural capital will generate economic capital for some (those with middle class resources or those with black bodies). What other forms of capital will this create? Past work suggests that cultural capital most easily converts into social capital. Before I describe specific expectations regarding the studios, I review the context of race in Brazil (Chapter 2) and of tourism in Salvador (Chapter 3).

**Summary of the Dissertation**

In the following chapter, I outline the underlying socio-cultural structures that inform Brazilian racial understanding and the role of capoeira and Afro-Brazilian cultural objects in that racial context. This review reveals a tendency to stress commonality among all Brazilians, a low level of racial groupness, and negative perceptions of blackness and slavery. The Brazilian state adopted capoeira as one symbol of national identity, greatly increasing its popularity among whiter middle and upper classes. However, a black cultural movement deploys symbols of global blackness and consciously presents nationalized cultural objects – including capoeira – as the province of Afro-Brazilians. Brazilians across class and racial categories manipulate racialized symbols in Brazil.

Chapter 3 then provides a parallel review of the underlying cultural knowledge of the tourism market and the racialization of cultural capital in this context. I present findings from a frame analysis of culture in Salvador in three types of tourism sources: state-sponsored tourism materials, private tourism materials, and foreign tour book and travel reviews. I find that an ideology of racial democracy directs the state to construct a
frame of cultural and racial mixture of African, European, and Indigenous peoples. Foreign and Brazilian private-sector materials, by contrast, draw from a discourse of global cultural difference to assert frames of Africanness and blackness respectively. I also find that all sources use overlapping repertoires of cultural objects to establish the authenticity of their claims and attach divergent meanings to the same objects. Capoeira is central to these claims.

The capoeira studios described in the subsequent ethnographic chapters operate within this context and have access to these collective representations. This broader context allows me to situate the ethnographic data to follow. First, it shows that capoeira is salient across all tourism frames. Second, these frames and the cultural objects that legitimate them constitute the cultural knowledge to which the studios have differential access. Access to this knowledge is cultural capital that Brazilian practitioners and tourists use to construct capoeira and thus RCC.

In chapter 4, I introduce ethnographic data on how meanings come into being in actual everyday interactions and how racialization shapes how foreign tourists and Brazilian capoeira practitioners construct cultural capital. In a capoeira studio with high economic capital (Capoeira World), Brazilian practitioners and tourists mutually constructed the meanings of capoeira. These meanings associated capoeira with symbols of blackness recognizable to cosmopolitan consumers within the global market for cultural difference--specifically Africa, slavery, and the black male body. The meanings that emerged resonated with a middle class disposition toward omnivorous consumption - specifically non-commercial, authentic, and experiential consumption. Interactions
ascribed this synthesis of meanings to dark skin toned Brazilian bodies, and tourists then embodied these cultural distinctions by physically interacting with these bodies. This authentic experience satisfied tourists at Capoeira World.

In chapter 5, I trace the meanings foregrounded at Capoeira World to their classes origins. I focus on the Brazilian practitioners and the resources that allow them to establish the meanings and authenticity documented in Chapter 4. At Capoeira World, RCC became simultaneously a product of middle class cultural capital and a generator of cultural capital in the tourism market, allowing the studio to align capoeira with the expectations of a wide consumer base. Black bodies mattered, but existing economic, social, and cultural resources were central to transforming blackness into other resources. RCC did not map onto racial groups, but onto the Brazilian middle class, granting benefits to blacks that had access to middle class resources.

I then compare these findings with cultural capital construction in a studio with low economic capital (Capoeira Club). Varying class position revealed that successfully transforming capoeira into cultural capital relied upon prior economic, cultural, and social resources. Lower class producers, whom tourists perceived as authentic, were less successful at constructing cultural capital because they had limited access to the class-based cultural knowledge of tourists. A lack of economic and social resources limited this group from gaining this cultural knowledge. This group occasionally attached concerns of racism and inequality to capoeira; however, these meanings misaligned with the tourists’ cultural knowledge. I also compare the “feel for the game” of tourism at Capoeira World and Capoeira Club. Capoeira World had a better understanding of the tourist audience
and the cultural frames of the tourism market than did Capoeira Club. This acts as a feedback mechanism that further widens the cultural capital gap between these studios.

The concluding chapter reviews the contributions of my findings to cultural capital theory, globalization, and inequality in Brazil. I also make suggestions for studying racialized cultural capital in contexts outside of Brazil.
2. RACIAL AND CULTURAL RESOURCES IN THE BRAZILIAN CONTEXT

What are the underlying socio-cultural structures that inform Brazilian racial understanding and influence how practitioners construct RCC in capoeira studios? What conscious ideologies can they draw from when framing capoeira? Who can legitimately claim knowledge of capoeira and blackness in Brazil?

I separate the discursive and the underlying aspects of racial culture in Brazil.\(^1\) At the broadest level, a state-promoted ideology frames Brazil as a racial democracy and all Brazilians as one race. This ideology foregrounds commonality among Brazilians, descriptive color-based terminology over harder racial classifications, and a low level of racial groupness. It provides the discursive material through which Brazilians discuss and justify the racial order.

However, the practical culture of race – underlying cultural codes and cognitive schemas as well as the social action they motivate – contradicts official ideology and the language of race in Brazil. Practical culture reveals that Brazilians negate, silence, and denigrate blackness and the role of slavery in Brazil. Ample research finds that underlying racial categories and meanings influence the racial identities Brazilians assert, as well as the educational and employment opportunities they encounter. A black political and cultural movement consciously reframes black identity and nationalized

\(^1\) The underlying cultural codes and schema that inform practice can diverge significantly from discursive culture (Lizardo and Strand 2010).
cultural objects as the province of Afro-Brazilians. These underlying cultural resources allow Brazilians to connect, interpret, and elaborate racial categories, objects, and meanings in practice.

The coexistence of these two contradictory meaning systems – the ideological and the practical – in Brazil creates an ambiguous racial context. Combined with the popularity of capoeira across a wide social base, symbols of blackness and Afro-Brazilianness may be available to anyone – regardless of skin tone or racial identification – who possesses the cultural competence to cultivate, display, and manipulate them.

**The Discursive Culture of Race in Brazil**

*Official Ideology*

The Brazilian State plays a central role in defining race in Brazil. Santos (1998) argues that Brazilian racial ideology can be divided into three historical periods. The first emphasized elite European culture, the second constructed Brazil as a mestizo nation, and the current emphasizes Afro-Brazilian culture.

The second phase established long-standing national ideology concerning race and engrained this belief system into the minds of Brazilians. This state-sponsored brand of mestizaje\(^2\) - racial democracy - came to dominate political and intellectual thought in Brazil during the 1930s Vargas regime (Williams 2001). Racial democracy framed the Brazilian population as a unique race of people created through the biological mixing of

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\(^2\) *Mestizaje* is an ideology used throughout Latin America to refer to the mixing of indigenous, African, and European races into a *new* race (Gould 1998).
African, Indigenous, and European peoples (Da Matta 1997). It reframed the meaning of several objects as symbols of national identity and a harmonious Brazilian race (Chasteen 1996; Davis 1999),³ often positioning Brazil in contrast to the racial conflict of the United States. Prior to the 1930s, the state actively repressed capoeira and other cultural traditions⁴ practiced among former slaves. In 1890, the Brazilian State officially outlawed the activity, after police repression throughout the 1800s, especially in Rio de Janeiro (Holloway 1989; Talmon-Chvaicer 2002; 2008).

From the 1930s to the early 1980s, the state reframed these cultural objects as Brazilian national objects (rather than as the domain of African-descended Brazilians). The dance *samba* and its accompanying drum rhythm became a national cultural tradition appropriate for all Brazilians (Chasteen 1996; Davis 1999; Pravaz 2008). The pre-Lent carnival celebration incorporated *Samba* in the 1930s and became popular among the upper class in Rio de Janeiro (Moura 1983; Andrews 2004). The national cultural repertoire also incorporated *Candomblé*, a religion that blends Catholicism and African

³ Nationalizing African-derived cultural objects is common throughout Latin America. (Guss 2000) finds that diverse cultural practices were incorporated and reconstructed by state in Venezuela. (Moore 1997) finds folklorization of black culture in Cuba. (Godreau 2002) argues that the state folkloricized Afro Puerto Rican communities in the name of nation building.

⁴ Traditions are “articulated cultural beliefs and practices, but ones taken for granted so that they seem inevitable parts of life” (Swidler 1986: 279).
deity worship (Andrews 2004; Santos 2005). Feijoada, a bean dish made with meat scraps, became a national dish and African-influenced foods and ingredients from the state of Bahia became a source of culinary pride (Fry 1982; 2001).

The State also legalized capoeira in the 1930s. The first formal capoeira studio opened during this period – Mestre Bimba’s capoeira Regional studio in 1937. Desiring to formalize the activity, Bimba, an advanced instructor, opened this first academia, or studio, through which he introduced a uniform, formal rule manual and instruction, prescribed sequences of movements to be memorized, and movements from “Greco-roman wrestling, ju-jitsu, judo, and French savate” (Assuncão 2005: 132). He named this form capoeira Regional. President Vargas declared the activity a Brazilian national sport after seeing a performance by this group in the 1930s. Because capoeira Regional used a formalized set of movements, a cord system for advancement, and fixed training studios, it spread quickly throughout Brazil and later abroad (Assuncão 2005).

The State continued to promote capoeira Regional in its nation-building project (Santos 1998; 1999a) and adopted it as a training program for the military (Vieira 1992; Reis 1997). In 1973, the Brazilian state agency Conselho National de Desportos (National Sports Council) began regulating the activity by establishing an official rule system. Participating in organized competitions required practitioners to be registered with the State. Run by military officials, these organizations reframed it as a rational,

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5 Capoeira, Candomblé, and samba remain complex and contradictory. There is lively debate over the historical origins and cultural transformations of samba, capoeira, carnival, and Candomblé (Sheriff 1999; Pravaz 2008).
modern, and mestizo sport appropriate for the public. They advanced this agenda by encouraging public schools to adopt it as a physical education program (Santos 2005). This legitimacy accorded capoeira by the State and military helped to open the activity to whiter middle class Brazilians (Assuncão 2005). Because capoeira Regional used a formalized set of movements, a cord system for advancement, and fixed training studios, it spread quickly throughout Brazil and later abroad.

During the third phase of racial ideology, beginning in the 1970s, nationalization further redefined these national objects – mainly those with a strong presence in the state of Bahia – by emphasizing them as *Afro-Brazilian contributions to national culture*. Bahia became the birthplace and continuing source of authentic national culture, aided by the cultural engineering of Bahia’s governor Antônio Carlos Magalhães in the 1980s. Magalhaes’ cultural policies framed Bahia as the cultural heart of Brazil, which stimulated local culture over the years also created a strong regional Bahian identity among locals seen today (Pinho 1998; Oliveira 2006; Aragão and Arruda 2008).

Santos explains the historical role capoeira played in the Brazilian State’s agenda to promote racial democracy. “The state apparatus sought to define Afro-Brazilian culture as folklore in order to foster tourism and, indeed, express the essence of Brazilian culture” (1998: 122). By 2008, the Ministry of Culture named capoeira the 14th official Cultural Patrimony of Brazil and proposed several goals to protect the practice.⁶ By 2006, State funding for capoeira was $930 mil *reais*. In 2007, funding grew to $1.2 million.

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⁶ These are (1) recognition of the knowledge of masters, allowing masters without formal education to teach in primary, secondary, and university schools, (2) a protection plan for
Alternative Reafricanization Ideology

At the same time that the State incorporated Bahia and its cultural productions into national culture, a grassroots Reafricanization (Roserio 1981) movement emerged in Salvador. It began with several carnival groups that explicitly promoted Africa and black cultural politics through their music and social service programs (Agier 1991; Morales 1991; Cunha 1998; Risério 2000). In the 1970s and 80s funk and reggae from abroad also gained popularity, influencing these groups. Later, in the 1990s, hip-hop and rap became popular in the city.

Soon after Bimba opened his capoeira studio in the 1930s, another practitioner, Pastinha, followed. His group sought to preserve the original style, so he named his style Capoeira Angola. This group claimed to preserve the original capoeira, affirm the African roots of the art, and avoid formal rules and grading schemes (Assuncão 2005). This style had few members and almost died out until the Reafricanization movement, when membership grew dramatically in Brazil and it became valued as a more African version of capoeira (Assuncão 2005). Today, both the State and grassroots black politics movements draw on Africanized symbols to make claims about Brazilian identity.

the elder masters of capoeira, (3) an incentive program to promote the activity worldwide, (4) the creation of a National Reference Center of Capoeira, (5) a plan to manage the use of biriba wood and other natural resources used in the activity, (6) a forum on capoeira, and (7) the development of an archive of the histories of well-known masters (Rios 2008).
Racial Classifications, Color Terms, and Boundaries

The Brazilian census categorizes the population as preto, pardo, branco, amarelo, and indígena (black, brown, white, yellow, and indigenous), but numerous studies show that Brazilians draw from a complex color scheme to identify themselves (Harris 1970; Sanjek 1971). Many Brazilians assert a moreno (brown) identity over the brown census category (pardo). Official rhetoric of the State and the black movement sometimes use the term Afro Brazilian to refer to all nonwhites, but the term is uncommon among Brazilians (Hanchard 1994; Marx 1998; Winant 2001; Telles 2004). A small group that emerged during the Reafricanization movement prefers the politicized black identity negro (Sansone 2003; Telles 2004).

Bailey (2009) finds that the census classifications of race (black, brown, and white) weakly organize attitudes towards stratification, affirmative action, cultural preference, or choice of color terms. Further, rather than claiming African or European ancestry, most Brazilians claim Brazilian as their ancestry when asked (Bailey 2009). This suggests that Brazilian is the primary collective identity in Brazil, rather than collective color, phenotype, or census-based categories.7 Scholars debate the differences in racial meaning in Brazil and the US (Skidmore 1993; Marx 1998; Telles 2004; Bailey 2008). Wade (1993: 345) argues that “in most places ‘racial’ identifications use a socially constituted appearance as a primary, although not an exhaustive nor an exclusive, cue for classification: in the United States this is also the case, although what appearance is taken to signify (e.g., about ancestry and its significance) is of course different from in Latin America.
Sansone 2003; Telles 2004). Bailey argues that Brazilian society is a context “where racial group affiliation and identification are not primary or ideologically legitimate sources of social organization” or of cognitive interpretation (2009: 22). Numerous studies support this view. Asserted racial identities are highly context-dependent and draw from a variety of color classifications (Harris 1970; Sanjek 1971). Brazilians show low loyalty to racial categories, often switching self and other identification across situations (Telles and Lim 1998; Telles 2002; Bailey 2009). Telles (2004) shows that census categories are also mild predictors of marriage and residential patterns.

Race-talk of any kind is extremely uncommon among Brazilians. Sheriff (2000) argues that a cultural logic of silence inhibits public and private speech on racial identity, discrimination, and slave history, especially among the marginalized. She provides striking evidence on the depth of Brazilian efforts to avoid, silence, and euphemize black skin, black identity, and slave heritage in public and private. These findings confirm the power of Brazil’s official ideology of racial democracy.

**The Underlying Culture of Race in Brazil**

*Logic of Interaction*

Despite Brazilians’ low loyalty to racial categories, an underlying racial logic does organize Brazilian society and social action. Sheriff (2000) argues that this low loyalty and Brazil’s many color terms do not signify transition across racial categories or any lack of race-based interpretation. Instead, color terms constitute a pragmatic
discourse\textsuperscript{8} – a socially shared logic of polite speech surrounding race – meant to avoid bringing attention to a wealthy or educated person’s blackness. Brazilians see wealthy or well-educated individuals as whiter than poor or uneducated individuals of the same skin tone (Telles 2002).

\textit{The Underlying Logic of Black and White}

For Sheriff, the color discourse overlays a deeply embedded but silent conceptual understanding of the world as divided by white and black as racial groups. Sheriff (2001: 45) argues that lower class dark-skinned Brazilians have a sense of collective racial identity around blackness: when describing racism her informants “would, regardless of color, often refer, in simple and straightforward terms, to \textit{brancos e negros} (whites and blacks)… the white and the black race were figured as oppositional and mutually exclusive categories.” The politeness Sheriff identified draws from underlying negative meanings attached to blackness (Figueira 1990; Simpson 1993; Figueiredo 1994; Burdick 1998a; Twine 1998).

Work on the younger generation further supports Sheriff’s argument. Dichotomous racial terminology is more common in everyday talk among younger generations (Vianna 1988; Bacelar 1989; Sheriff 2001; Sansone 2003).\textsuperscript{9} Sansone (2000) identifies the black body as a positive symbol of black identity among this generation,

\textsuperscript{8} Discourse is a conflictual system of ideas that focuses understanding of a topic.

\textsuperscript{9} Hanchard (1994) argues that racial understandings should move toward the polarized model to encourage collective mobilization for Afro-Brazilians.
and several show evidence that symbols of blackness from abroad, such as reggae and funk, are now popular (Vianna 1988; Bacelar 1989; Agier 1992; Fry 2000; Sansone 2003).

The Overlap of Racial and Class Categories

Brazil’s income distribution is among the most highly skewed in the world\(^\text{10}\). Class inequality is co-constructed alongside racial inequality. First, the contextual, or variable, nature of color labels in Brazil reveals that class influences how Brazilians assign others to racial categories and give them color-based identities. As discussed above, wealthier Brazilians and those in positions of power are described with lighter color terms than are other Brazilians with similar skin tone. Second, skin tone predicts income, occupational status, and educational level (Bills, Haller et al. 1985; Lovell 1987; Silva 1987; Telles 1992; Hasenbalg 1995; Telles 1995; Guimarães 2002; Telles 2004).\(^\text{11}\) This large body of research finds that light skin tone is highly correlated with income, wealth, education, and job status. These findings led even the State – despite its long denial of racial inequality – to take steps toward race-equity in recent social policies.


\(^{11}\) Some find a loss of popular support for racial democracy (Reichmann 1999; Htun 2004; Bailey 2008). However, as a “founding myth of Brazilian nationality” it may persist in the embodied racial understandings of Brazilians (Guimaraes 2001: 172).
Most prominently, the State began an affirmative action policy in higher education in the early 2000s (Guimaraes 2001; Bailey 2004). Table 2.1 proves basic inequality statistics for Salvador, Brazil.

Table 2.1

Basic inequality statistics for the Salvador metropolitan region, 2006

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Black/Brown</th>
<th>White</th>
<th>Total, Salvador</th>
<th>Total, Brazil</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Average Monthly Income (Reais*)</td>
<td>770</td>
<td>1715</td>
<td>1610</td>
<td>(701)**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unemployment Rate</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>17.5</td>
<td>9.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Functional Illiteracy Rate</td>
<td>17.7</td>
<td>9.3</td>
<td>14.3</td>
<td>22.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Average Years of Education</td>
<td>8.5</td>
<td>10.7</td>
<td>8.3</td>
<td>7.2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: IBGE
Cultural Tastes and Afro-Brazilian Traditions in the Racial Landscape

In 1976, Peter Fry wrote in a well-known and often-cited essay that the national embrace of Afro-Brazilian cultural practices served to reinforce a myth of racial harmony among the Brazilian populace. Twenty-five years later, Fry (2001) reversed his position, admitting a much more complex and contradictory relation between cultural practice and race relations. This relation between racial identity, inequality, and cultural practice in Brazil has long been a source of scholarly and popular debate.

Cultural tastes, especially musical, have been studied extensively in Brazil. O’Dougherty (2002) finds negative attitudes among middle class Brazilians towards foods and music associated with poor, dark Northeasterners. Ulhoa (2001) finds that *bossa nova*, *pagode*, and *samba* are viewed positively but *axé*, *sertaneja*, rock, rap, and funk – associated with uneducated lower classes – are viewed negatively. Perrone (2002) however argues that rock is a popular middle class genre following *bossa nova*. The middle class embraces rock music, but other foreign genres are popular by poorer darker skin toned Brazilians. During the 1970s and 80s, funk and reggae became popular in Brazil, and later in the 1990s, hip-hop and rap. Younger generations prefer these foreign symbols of blackness to Brazilian cultural objects (Agier 1992; Fry 2000; Sansone 2003). Finally, Sansi-Roca (2007: 153) argues that skin tone constitutes a criterion for legitimacy in the field of Afro Brazilian art, but also that “we find ‘artists’ who are
‘more’ or ‘less’ Afro-Brazilian depending on how they participate in Candomblé or in Afro-Brazilian culture.”

In contrast to the taste groups for popular culture described above, others argue that Brazilians across social class and racial categories share a common repertoire of tastes for the national objects of carnival, samba, soccer, and to a lesser degree capoeira and Candomblé (Fry 1982; Sheriff 1999; Fry 2000; Pravaz 2008). Only Telles (2004) and Bailey (2009) offer quantitative analyses that preferences for carnival, samba, capoeira, and Candomblé are fairly evenly distributed across class and racial categories. Figure 2.1 presents the relatively homogenous distribution of cultural tastes of respondents to a survey of tastes and racial attitudes, across the standard census racial categories. Likewise, Figure 2.2 reveals an even distribution across income groups.

12 The CEAP (a survey of the Universidade Federal Fluminense and the Centro de Articulação e Estudo das Populações Marginalizadas) contains a stratified random sample of 1171 individuals in the state of Rio de Janeiro, interviewed on their attitudes towards a variety of subjects including racial identity and racism, inequality, government, religion, and cultural tastes.
Figure 2.1
Preferences for cultural objects across white, brown, and black categories
A wide social base also practices capoeira, Candomblé, and samba. In 2006 forty-nine percent of Brazilian municipals\(^\text{13}\) had groups, following art at sixty-four percent, dance at fifty-six percent, and bands at fifty-three percent (IBGE 2007: 88). It is common to see people on the street in their uniform – usually white pants and studio t-shirt, to see children imitating or practicing moves on the beach, or to come across spontaneous street rodas. This is not to say that it constitutes a national pastime in Brazil – more accurately a subculture (Lewis 1999) – but Brazilians recognize it and consider it a normal part of everyday life.

\(^{13}\) Equivalent to census tracts in the US.
With correspondence analysis, I map the relationships among tastes for cultural objects and racial identities, identifying taste clusters. I identify the relative associations among racial categories and cultural preferences rather than parsing out individual contributions to cultural tastes, as would a regression analysis. I find that despite the flexibility of racial categories in Brazil, consistent racialized patterns of taste emerge in the state. These patterns vary meaningfully between categories associated with whiteness – a set connecting European origin and light skin tone with objects, practices, and groups – and those associated with blackness – a set of symbols and meanings connecting African-ancestry and dark skin tone with other material objects, cultural practices, and social groups defined in contrast to whiteness. I find racialized patterns of taste for capoeira and *Candomblé* in a correspondence analysis of cultural objects and asserted color-based identities.\(^\text{14}\)

Figure 2.2 shows this. Both Dimensions 1 and 2 provide meaningful interpretations. Dimension 2 (which accounts for 35.6 per cent of data inertia), this map shows that when individuals can choose racial identities from the color schema, one primary distinction in tastes is between WHITE (at the top of the map) and non-white identities represented in the MULATO and political NEGRO categories (at the bottom). MULATO and NEGRO cluster with *capoeira*, rap, and funk, and WHITE is closest to rock, *chorinho*, and *bossa nova* in comparison to other cultural objects. However, *orishas* – a proxy for *Candomblé* – is associated with the softer PRETO.

\(^{14}\) See Methodological Appendix for an explanation of correspondence analysis and definitions of the color labels and cultural objects included in this analysis.
Figure 2.3

Correspondence analysis map of cultural objects, self-asserted racial identity
Nationalization and Reafricanization Frameworks

Two contradictory perspectives – Nationalization and Reafricanization – debate the role of samba, capoeira, and Candomblé in racial identity formation and inequality in Brazil. Those in the Nationalization camp see carnival and samba dancing as elite-appropriated activities (Taylor 1982; Hanchard 1994; Sheriff 1999; Andrews 2004). Fry (2000: 97) argues that

“It has always been difficult for black groups to establish diacritical emblems of black culture, because, under the canopy of racial democracy, many cultural touchstones, such as feijoada (Brazil's national dish based on black beans and pork), samba, and capoeira (a balletic martial art), that can be traced back to Africa have become symbols of Brazilian nationality.”

Others see cultural production as an area relinquished to dark skinned Brazilians that limits their economic mobility (Bacelar and Caroso 1999; Telles 2004) and creates a short-term escape valve that neutralize resentment (Ribeiro 1984). Some argue this reinforces a false consciousness among racially oppressed Brazilians (Winant 1994; Hanchard 1999; Andrews 2004).

Those in the Reafricanization camp argue that dominated Brazilians gain benefits from nationalized cultural objects. First, some argue that Candomblé, carnival blocs, and capoeira challenge and transform relations of racial inequality (Lewis 1992; Sansone 1997; Risério 2000; Fuggle 2008). Cultural practices such as carnival offer a moment of racial equality and power reversal. Afro Brazilians assume power as their samba dance
groups and their parade floats occupy center stage in the Carnival parade, while white Brazilians watch from the sidelines (Sodre 1979; Da Matta 1990; Browning 1995).

Second, others argue that samba, Candomblé, and capoeira provide a space of Afro-Brazilian sociability and racial identity formation (Santos 1999b; Barreto 2005; Pravaz 2008). Sheriff (1999) finds that racial meanings still organize participants’ interpretation of samba. Sansone (2003) argues that these activities provide young black Brazilians with a space where blackness is at the top of the value hierarchy. In the only quantitative study of racial identity of those that like these practices, Bailey (2009) finds that the negro identity\(^1\) shows a higher degree of loyalty to capoeira, Candomblé, and samba.

Third, some assert that these practices provide dark skinned Brazilians with job opportunities – primarily in the culture and tourism industries – and a means of upward mobility (Araujo 1994; Agier 1995; Butler 1998). Butler (1998) asserts that Afro-Brazilian institutions serve as a basis of power and means of upward mobility for blacks. Focusing on the African derived religious traditions of Candomblé, several scholars do document the status that a small number of black practitioners have gained as religious leaders (Sansone 2003: 35).

These arguments are intriguing, but past work has not produced systematic analyses to prove assertions that dark skinned Brazilians benefit from the practice of capoeira and Candomblé. Several high quality ethnographies focus on poor, dark-skin

\(^{15}\) Again, negro is a collective black identity asserted by a small percentage of Brazilians over the more popular preto black color label.
Brazilians, but findings are mixed. Sheriff (1999: 21), for example, shows that lower class blacks in Rio de Janeiro resent middle class appropriation of Carnival activities and subsequent economic benefits. Past work also assumes Afro-Latin Americans are a collective actor as an object of study. This is problematic given the ambiguous context described above. A small percent of the population claims to be black and an even smaller group participates in Brazil’s black political movement (Burdick 1998b).

Further, little qualitative work incorporates the marginalized into a larger comparison of cross-class interactions. Sheriff (2000) provides one chapter on white middle-class residents in Rio, but she also assumes this group is homogeneous.

Because capoeira is common across socioeconomic and skin tone groups, practitioners debate the true heirs of capoeira. Its growing professionalization led to debate in the 1980s over the need for instructors to attain educational certification and created tension between wealthier, white practitioners and poorer practitioners without the resources to pursue formal credentials (Araujo 1994). Numerous books, magazines, and DVD also contribute to this discourse. The Bahian State Tourism Board sided with the traditional masters and denounced the need for instructors to hold degrees in physical education, something that would handicap poorer practitioners. Despite changes, much of the cultural material of capoeira today draws explicitly from the larger narrative on slavery and freed slave communities in Brazil, as witnessed in the numerous autobiographical works by masters and enthusiasts.

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16 A quick amazon.com search for "capoeira" returned 245 book and 77 movie results.

17 Narratives of slavery in Brazil often cite these freed slave communities, quilombos.
Academics also play a role in this debate (Vassalo 2004). Frigerio, in an article often referenced by practitioners, laments the “whitening” of capoeira *Regional* and contrasts it with capoeira *Angola* (despite the well-recognized fact that capoeira *Angola* was formalized after capoeira *Regional*): “Expressions of black culture - religion and this game/fight/dance [capoeira] - in order to be legitimated and integrated into the system, needed to lose many of the characteristics of their ethnic origin… We can understand the appearance of capoeira *Regional* as a “whitening” of traditional capoeira” (1989: 85, my translation from Portuguese). More recently, Greg Downey (2005: 183) writes that changes in the movements correspond in part to “the greater shame, stiffer inhibitions, and more severely limited range of motion of middle-class [white] practitioners” though he goes on to acknowledge that “capoeira movement is not purely a product of a player’s race” (2005: 184).

The initial *Regional* and *Angolan* styles differentiated into stylistic subdivisions, and the lack of any official rule system created a community characterized by factionalism. “*Regional* players tend to lambaste *Angoleiros* as floppy, geriatric floor-crawlers, who in turn pooh-pooh their counterparts as humor- and artless robots” (Downey 1996: 8), which contributes to the maintenance of these differences. Additionally, one of the defining features of the capoeira community is the following of “quasi-tribal lineages”, through which students identify with and are representatives of their *mestre* (Downey 1996: 8). Within capoeira *Regional*, “at times, minor differences

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are often cultivated as strict dogma, and at times, such small details as the color of one button has been enough to provoke irreconcilable differences.” (Almeida 1986: 52).

More recently, a new movement – contemporary capoeira - has emerged. Younger masters looking to distinguish themselves as practitioners innovate with the older Angolan and Regional styles, introducing new movements and practicing their own stylized versions of the older forms. The successive framings of capoeira provide a variety of cultural “tools” (Swidler 1986) from which practitioners can draw when constructing capoeira.

**Racialized Cultural Capital and the Brazilian Context**

I began with three central research questions: 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 of blackness convert capoeira – social capital, economic capital, dominant cultural capital, racial group closure?

I made general predictions in the Introduction. Cultural capital theory predicts that those of higher social class most successfully accumulate and enact cultural capital. This suggests that dominant groups in general, and thus whites, will best be able to generate and benefit from RCC. However, much of the past work on omnivorous consumption, race, and tourism finds that black bodies themselves are central to the consumption experience, predicting that those traditionally marginalized human bodies will be best able to create and convert RCC in the tourism market.
The racial context of Brazil augments these predictions. The Nationalization framework predicts that practitioners will connect capoeira to symbols of Brazilianness over blackness. This suggests that black bodies will not be central to generating cultural capital from capoeira. However, the Reafricanization framework predicts that practitioners will assert stronger racial meanings through capoeira by connecting it to symbols of blackness. This predicts that black bodies will be central to capoeira production.

To better analyze which Brazilians benefit from capoeira, I incorporate the racialization perspective into this past work. This creates a context-specific picture of the links between race and capoeira. This also allows me to conduct an in-depth qualitative examination of racial construction among Brazilians not analytically pre-defined by skin-tone. For example, Travassos (1999) provides limited evidence that the ambiguity surrounding capoeira allows masters to play up or down the slave history and ethnic legacy of capoeira depending on their own racial identity and that of their students. Alternative objects such as reggae also motivate black identities (Vianna 1988; Bacelar 1989; Agier 1992; Fry 2000; Perrone and Dunn 2002; Sansone 2003).

*In the Brazilian context, symbols of blackness and Afro-Brazilianness may be available to anyone – regardless of skin tone, racial identification, or class status – who possesses the cultural competence to cultivate, display, and manipulate these symbols.*

My comparative design allows me examine how racial symbols are deployed across class groups and across groups with differing access to the cultural knowledge of tourism.
However, before I can fully integrate these sets of predictions, I must analyze the cultural frames of the tourism market in Salvador. I do this in the following chapter.
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.

Cultural tourism in Salvador is part of a broad global structure of cultural difference, consisting of a topology of difference that 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 cultural identities before other nations, regions, or groups (Savigliano 1995; Wilk 1999). As the Lonely Planet quote shows, blackness is an important meaning of cultural difference in this topology (Ebron 2002; Elam and Jackson 2005; Clarke and Thomas 2006).

This discourse of cultural difference must, however, compete with two contradictory meaning systems in Brazil creates an ambiguous context for interpreting culture and race (Santos 2005; Fry 2001). 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 cultural (and racial) otherness within the global topology of cultural difference. This makes the tourism market in Salvador a site of intense cultural framing by foreign and Brazilian private-sector tourism actors and the Brazilian State.¹

I identify three dominant cultural frames in the tourism market in Salvador, as well as the objects each frame deploys to authenticate itself, and finally the broader societal discourses each frame draws from. An ideology of racial democracy directs the Brazilian state to construct a frame of cultural and racial mixture of African, European, and Indigenous peoples. Foreign and Brazilian private-sector materials, by contrast, draw from a discourse of global cultural difference to assert frames of Africanness and blackness respectively. All frames deploy Candomblé, capoeira, and samba, but use them to assert divergent meanings. This suggests that these objects will be central cultural tools in interactions between capoeira practitioners and tourists.

¹ Over the course of the Atlantic slave trade, more African slaves were brought to the New World through Salvador than anywhere else throughout the Americas. 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). Estimates put Salvador’s population of African descent at eighty to eighty-five percent in 2008.
Cultural Tourism in Global Perspective

International sources often frame Brazil (and Bahia) as an exotic place of the racial other (Castro 2003; Shaw and Conde 2005; Ramos-Zayas 2008; Scheyerl and Siqueira 2008; Beserra 2011). Tourism markets also define nations, cities, and cultural objects (Esman 1984; van den Berghe 1994; Gotham 2007). Tourists gravitate toward racial and ethnic groups (Ebron 2002), often viewing stereotypical symbols of these groups as authentic representations of national identity. For example, Bruner (2005) shows how the private sector frames African culture in terms tourists will appreciate – i.e. African tribesmen singing ‘Hakuna Matata’ from the *Lion King* to a reggae beat. These distinctions are often shaped to be recognizable to Westerners, especially tourists (MacCannell 1989), and blackness has become a central axis of globally recognized difference (Elam and Jackson 2005; Clarke and Thomas 2006).

Global blackness is constituted by a set of practices, objects, and meanings widely recognized as invoking blackness and African-decent. Africanness is one manifestation of this global blackness. Jamaica and reggae invoke meanings of blackness that circulate globally and are well-known beyond Jamaica to be associated with blackness, but they do not necessarily invoke meanings of Africa. Instead, Jamaica becomes a national source of reggae and Rastafarianism, common symbols of global blackness (Giovannetti 2005). References to the continent of Africa, however, usually conjure meanings of blackness. Museum exhibitions represent Africa for international audiences through carefully
selected wood carvings and Australia with carefully dressed and coached Aboriginals (Myers 1994).²

In creating cultural difference, markets, group, and tourism professionals also assert authenticity to legitimate themselves (Spooner 1986; MacCannell 1989; Joseph 2008b). Authenticity is socially constructed and meaningful only before an audience, but authentic culture is powerful to modern consumers (MacCannell 1989; Wherry 2008). 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,³ 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

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² 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).

³ Samba-reggae is a musical style created in Salvador in the 1980s that combines samba and classic reggae rhythms.
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 audiences through its connection to Afro-Brazil (Delamont and Stephens 2008; Joseph 2008a; 2008b; de Campos Rosario, Stephens et al. 2010).4

**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 1549.5 Over the course of the Atlantic slave trade, more African slaves arrived in the New World through Salvador than anywhere else throughout the Americas.6 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).

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

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

6 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).
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. The tourism trend began as early as the 1950s and 60s (Ribeiro 1984), 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

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7 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).
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 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

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8 The restoration cost nearly US$100 million (Collins 2004: 200).
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.
Methodology: Content and Frame Analysis

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 frames a place, its culture, and its people (MacCannell 1989; Grazian 2003; Wherry 2008; Mowforth and Munt 2009), producing “cultural difference and the distinct valorization of local authenticity to stimulate people to visit a place to consume its characteristics” (Gotham 2007: 214). 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).

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).

Frame analysis is useful in the study of the presentation of cultural identity because it reveals the objectified image of a place at one point in time – which can still be complex and contradictory – asserted by actors. Frame analysis also relies on linking the frame back to underlying and broader discourses, narratives, or ideologies within society, allowing me to hypothesize how the ideology of racial democracy and the discourse of global blackness will be used to frame Bahia. Frames can also represent different dimensions of a complex identity, but which "view" actors identify as primary reveals
what they value. This approach also allows me to identify concrete cultural objects\textsuperscript{9} used to authenticate each frame. Authenticity itself is a powerful meaning (Johnston and Baumann 2007) constructed through assertions of cultural, racial, and social origin (Fine 2003; Wherry 2008; Vasquez and Wetzel 2009).

\textit{Selection}

Local private and state-sponsored pamphlets selected were all those available at tourism offices and hotels in the tourist center of town that promoted cultural activities (museum, music, dance, art, etc. events). I gathered state-sponsored and private sector materials in Salvador from August 2008 to April 2009, once per month, resulting in thirty-two private and twenty-two state-sponsored materials.\textsuperscript{10} I also drew on both Brazil and Salvador’s comprehensive policy guides on culture and tourism, published in 2002.

\textsuperscript{9} Cultural objects are any material or practical aspects of culture, such as artifacts or rituals. Objects have symbolic properties defined largely by their connections to other symbols. Meaning emerges when this object and its set of relations interact with the interpretive process through which people make sense of the world and their experiences (Griswold 1987).

\textsuperscript{10} I gathered these materials by visiting all open businesses in the tourism center of the city – restaurants, hotels, museums, stores, tour companies, etc. and gathered all pamphlets available to tourists. The number of items available in each place varied from two to over a dozen. Most of these materials were polished in both Portuguese and English and relied heavily on visual cues rather than written descriptions.
and 2005 respectively.\textsuperscript{11} State-sponsored and Brazilian private materials reach domestic and international tourists.

I selected articles from US newspapers reviewing only Salvador as a travel destination (rather than those covering local cultural events, political or economic happenings in Brazil, or general travel articles about Brazil) that were at least one paragraph long (excluding brief blurbs listing ticket prices and promotions).\textsuperscript{12} I used the period of 1990 to 2009 to increase the number of articles for analysis.\textsuperscript{13} I excluded articles that discussed Salvador as a section of a larger article on travel in Brazil in general. This resulted in nineteen articles. Seven major travel books on Brazil available in the US were used (\textit{Frommer's, Fodor's, Lonely Planet, Rough Guide, Eyewitness Travel, Moon Handbooks, and Insight Guide}).\textsuperscript{14} I used the main introductory essay to the ‘Salvador’ section and excluded the remainder of the section listing sights and hotels. The

\textsuperscript{11} These are the only two years since 2000 that the state published policy statements on tourism and culture.

\textsuperscript{12} I generated a list of articles through LexisNexis by searching “Bahia” and “tourism” as well as “Salvador” and “Tourism.” I then compiled a list excluding duplicates and articles not primarily travel reviews. This produced a final list of 19 articles.

\textsuperscript{13} I found no significant change in frames in these articles over this period.

\textsuperscript{14} I used the most recent edition of each travel book, most of which are updated every 2-4 years. All books analyzed were published after the year 2000. This is not an exhaustive list of travel books, but these are the major books available to travelers in the United States.
question of how each source represents culture and which features are presented as
salient is best measured by the section's opening paragraphs.

Coding

To identify frames present explicitly and implicitly in the articles, I read all
articles in order to elicit a list of recurrent themes. These were then condensed into a
smaller group of overarching cultural frames and a group of object-specific references (to
capoeira, food, music, *samba, Candomblé*, etc.). This was a straightforward inductive
process as the articles were explicit and direct about their claims of culture in Salvador.
Next, I coded each article at the paragraph level, with these codes. Each paragraph could
potentially receive multiple codes if more than one frame was invoked in the paragraph,
but could not receive more than one code for the same frame (i.e. if a paragraph
referenced Africa three times, it received one Africa coding). Thus, each article received
multiple codes, which I presented as quantitative results of frequency of frame.

Each article also received a single dominant frame code, which was the frame
with the highest count for the article. Because many frames were invoked simultaneously,
I used a co-occurrence matrix to assess quantitatively the degree of overlap of frames.
Finally, specific cultural objects were used to support contradictory frames by separate
articles. I coded tour books using the same procedure. Comparison of tour books aimed at
budget travelers and those aimed at wealthier travelers revealed no differences.
The Frames of Cultural Difference in Salvador

Three cultural frames emerged inductively from tourism materials – Unique Mixture, Racially Black, and African. As Figure 2 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.
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) in only one location in the tourist center.\footnote{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: Bahiatursa office, Pelourinho, Salvador, Brazil.

Photo of Candomblé practitioners.

Translation of Figure 3: “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 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 eighteen of the twenty-six materials and was deployed 129 times within the articles at the sentence level. 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 as the dominant frame in six materials and at the sentence level 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, only two materials invoked a frame of culture as a Unique Mixture (twenty-nine times at the sentence level), 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**

In creating cultural difference, organizations and cultural entrepreneurs use authenticity to legitimate their version of reality (Spooner 1986; MacCannell 1989; Joseph 2008b). Tourism materials deployed references to specific cultural objects to authenticate the meanings of each frame. Authenticity is a socially constructed meaning rather than a property inherent to objects (Peterson 1997), and what constitutes authenticity varies across audiences (MacCannell 1989; Wherry 2008).
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 three 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.

**Authenticating State materials**

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%). Colonialism and food constituted the remaining cultural objects deployed in State materials. Articles invoked colonial heritage often, but was always as an architectural backdrop – colonial forts and buildings in photographs – for these three key cultural objects.

**Authenticating foreign materials**

Foreign materials drew upon a larger set of cultural objects including *Candomblé*, capoeira, drumming, *samba*, and food, as Table 1 shows.
Table 3.1

Cultural Objects in Foreign Tourism Materials (n = 26) of Salvador, Brazil

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Cultural Object</th>
<th>% with at least one reference</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Slavery</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Colonialism</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Candomblé</td>
<td>81</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Capoeira</td>
<td>81</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Food</td>
<td>73</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Samba</td>
<td>62</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Drumming</td>
<td>48</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. 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. 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 3.5**

*Portuguese colonial church, Pelourinho, Salvador, Brazil*

Photograph by Danielle Hedegard
**Candomblé:** Eighty one percent of articles discussed *Candomblé*. 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 Catholicism: “For every church there are probably two centers of *Candomblé*” (Rohter, *New York Times*, March 10, 1991, p. 15).

**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).

**Food:** Nineteen of the twenty-six articles referenced food. 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 3.6

Women selling acarajé in Salvador, Brazil

Photograph by Danielle Hedegard

*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.

*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).

*Authenticating Brazilian private sector materials*

Finally, the Brazilian private sector materials made use of a wider selection of cultural symbols, expanding upon those present in Brazilian state or foreign private-sector materials, as seen in Table 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 (n = 32) 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>Africa</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>Candomblé followers in costume, photographs of Candomblé jewelry.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Candomblé</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>Verbal reference, photos of capoeira instruments and players performing kicks.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Capoeira</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>Verbal reference</td>
</tr>
<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>
</tbody>
</table>


### Conclusion

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 3 summarizes these findings.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Topic</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Reference Type</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Maculelê</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</td>
<td>Racial Democracy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Mixture</td>
<td></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 Symbols</th>
<th>Brazilian Cultural Symbols</th>
<th>Brazilian Objects</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Pan-African colors</td>
<td>Reggae</td>
<td><em>Candomblé</em></td>
<td>Skin Tone / Body</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tribal</td>
<td>Hip-hop</td>
<td><em>Orishas</em></td>
<td>Colonialism</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>clothing/artifacts</td>
<td>Graffiti</td>
<td><em>Samba</em></td>
<td>Black Power Movement</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Africa-talk/narrative</td>
<td>Dreadlocks</td>
<td>Drumming</td>
<td>Race/Racism Talk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Slavery</td>
<td>Capoeira</td>
<td>Color terms</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>Maculelé</em></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>Baianas</em></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Food</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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 of 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.
4. MAKING MEANING AT CAPOEIRA WORLD:
RACIALIZING CAPOEIRA WITH COSMOPOLITAN TOURISTS

In an influential book addressing the meaning of tourism in modern society, MacCannell (1999) asserts that tourism is a search for meaning, specifically authenticity; through ritual worship of social difference, tourists acquire symbols they need to give meaning to modern life. MacCannell may have overstated the centrality of authenticity to giving life meaning, but his book does show that some consumers from advanced capitalist societies value authenticity and cultural difference. Consumption of racialized culture is becoming valuable as cultural capital among cosmopolitan omnivorous consumers that value social and cultural otherness (Cheyne and Binder 2010; Grazian 2003; Johnston and Baumann 2007). How do these cosmopolitan consumers and Brazilians construct cultural difference and authenticity as a tourist experience in the case of capoeira? How do the racial and tourism contexts described previously influence meaning making as it occurs in interaction in concrete situations?

Capoeira practice and racial construction are both embodied phenomenon that demand a methodology sensitive to how people enact and perceive subtle bodily cues and casual comments. In Schudson’s words, “the viewer is also actor, the audience is participant, and the distinction between the producer and consumer of culture is blurred if it exists at all. Culture is simultaneously attended to, institutionalized, resolved in action.” (1989: 173). Consumption is similarly interactive (Peñaloza 2001; Thompson and Tambyah 1999).
To understand how people construct meanings in concrete situations, I empirically examined, through long-term participant observation, the process through which meanings emerge in interactions (Eliasoph and Lichterman 2003). I observed interactions between tourists and Brazilians at Capoeira World – a studio outside of the tourist center of Salvador, but also popular with tourists. I observed as meanings emerged and became attached to the bodies of capoeira practitioners. This studio also brought together lower and middle class Brazilians, providing an opportunity to observe RCC in the context of inter-class face-to-face interaction. My analysis brings practice in by explaining how consumers construct and acquire omnivorous cultural capital in interaction with particular contexts (in our case, with the producers of cultural objects).

As my unit of analysis, I used actors’ embodiment of capoeira as it related to the interactional environment of tourism at the studio and the cultural knowledge available in the larger tourism market.

At Capoeira World, generic frames from the tourism market, as well as tourists’ cultural knowledge, became concrete during interaction. Here, capoeira knowledge, objects, and practices connected to a synthesis of two sets of cultural symbols. The first was a set of symbols recognizable to tourists as signifying blackness within the global market for cultural difference – specifically Africa, slavery, and the black male body. The second was a set of dispositions of middle class omnivorous consumption – specifically non-commercial, authentic, and experiential consumption. Cultural performance was as important as black bodies. Interactions ascribed this synthesis of meanings to dark skin toned Brazilian bodies, and tourists embodied these cultural distinctions by physically interacting with these bodies.
Capoeira World: High Economic Capital

The neighborhood sat at a distance from the Pelourinho Tourist Center, but was easily accessible, by bus and foot, to tourists. The area was dotted with a combination of tall apartment buildings, secondary schools, and businesses ranging from small copy offices to convenience stores. Small open-air bars offered a limited selection of beer, liquor, and soft drinks and a few plastic tables along crumbling front sidewalks. Farther into the neighborhood, condominium buildings gave way to small non-gated apartments and older private homes.

Capoeira World’s building was one of the largest I have seen. The main lobby housed a reception desk, usually manned by a young female employee from the neighborhood, a wooden bench, drinking fountain and several framed black and white photos of capoeira practitioners from the early twentieth century. The ground level also contained an office where the master and advanced student gather to discuss the group’s business, a small workout room, and a larger room with seven computers connected to the internet.

A staircase ascended to the main training area: a large room with a large blue circle painted on the floor and a smaller back room used for spillover training and male and female dressing rooms to the sides. The walls of the main room have several framed black and white photos of Africans in traditional tribal clothing and numerous berimbau (four to five foot long bowed instruments) hang on the walls. In front, a floor to ceiling sheet displayed the studio's name and logo. Shelves in the back of the room held numerous hallowed out gourds of various sizes, bells, tambourines, and the other instruments used in capoeira music. A few tall hand drums and a wooden bench sat on
the floor in back and a small boom box sat to the side. In the back room, a single framed photo of a famous practitioner – *Mestre Bimba* – hung high on the wall.

Descending from the lobby, the building had a set of rooms used to house visiting practitioners and long-term tourists, another workout room, an outdoor workout area, and a large shed where students manufacture *berimbau*.

Capoeira World’s master¹, Angel, was a light-skinned, thirty-seven-year-old high school graduate, generously tattooed with various capoeira symbols. His parents were lawyers. After training throughout childhood with a well-known master in Salvador, followed by two years in Europe working as an instructor, he returned to Salvador and opened his own group. He became a well-known *mestrando* (person in the process of becoming a master) in the capoeira community. His alumni ran studios in other Brazilian cities and in the US, Spain, and Holland. Through invitations to capoeira events around the world, Angel visited dozens of countries, and made regular visits to his alumni's studios to lead classes and attend *batizados*.² Several of his advanced students also traveled abroad with him and on their own to capoeira events. His studio also had a branch in the neighboring town that catered to local children.

¹ A master or *mestre* is a practitioner that has reached the end of the training period, which includes a lengthy period teaching capoeira students.

² A *batizado* is an initiation and testing ceremony in which students are baptized into capoeira and given an *apelido* and continuing students demonstrate their skill to advance in cord color (similar to belt systems in Asian martial arts).
The studio’s funding came from revenue from nightly classes, a monthly instrument making workshop (both attended mainly by tourists), presentations for local Portuguese language schools catering to foreigners, and government-sponsored grants for children’s classes. Few paying Brazilian students attended regularly. Angel saw capoeira and Capoeira World as a way to offer young Brazilians a feasible career. The majority of his advanced instructors and alumni rose through the studio’s social service program that provided free capoeira classes to children and teens.

Most of the studio’s Brazilian students lived in the surrounding middle-class neighborhood. The studio’s advanced Brazilian practitioners also lived in the neighborhood, but these students grew up in nearby lower class neighborhoods and joined the studio through free classes offered to low-income school children. They were young dark-skinned males. Most have been friends for years and spend time together socializing at local bars and events, and several live in shared apartments in the neighborhood. Advanced students held jobs as instructors at Capoeira World or in one of its social service programs in local primary and secondary schools. During my time with the group, only two advanced females trained. One, married, had trained for many years but attended class irregularly due to family duties. Intermediate and novice students were a mixture of light and dark-skin toned men and women from the neighborhood; however, intermediate students had far less direct contact with tourists than did advanced practitioners.

Tourism at the studio included short-term tourists that attended one or two classes and others that attended for several weeks or months. Tourists were almost all light skin-toned, twenty-something, middle class college students or recent graduates from the
United States and Europe. They were well-traveled individuals interested in a variety of cultural genres. Portuguese language skill varied among tourists from no language ability to intermediate, but most were at the intermediate level. None had advanced Portuguese comprehension skills.³

From Capoeira Practice to Authentic Difference

Enacting Experiential Consumption

At Capoeira World, extensive interactions between Brazilian practitioners and tourists transformed embodied knowledge into an interactive consumption experience that aligned with the cultural expectations of tourists. Performance and interactive consumption are central to cultural tourism (Bruner 2005; Desmond 1999; Tucker 1997). American consumers also value experiences more broadly (Hines 2010). Further, active consumption – rather than taste alone – is central to omnivorous cultural capital (Chan and Goldthorpe 2007; DiMaggio and Mukhtar 2004; Holt 1998; López-Sintas and Katz-Gerro 2005).

Interaction and experience provide cultural authenticity (Peñaloza 2001; Wherry 2008), a central cultural meaning to tourists (MacCannell 1999). Authenticity is a socially constructed meaning rather than a property inherent to objects (Peterson 1997), and what

³ The visual and embodied symbols described in the analysis were the primary cultural objects available to tourists. Much of the nuance of capoeira skill, conversations among Brazilians, and internal struggles at Capoeira World were beyond tourists’ understanding. This reinforced the perception that the studio’s culture was complex and authentic.
constitutes authenticity varies across audiences. It depends on the naturalization of symbolic boundaries that separate authentic from inauthentic (Bourdieu 1991; Peterson 1997). Subtle enactment of cultural knowledge are vital to establishing authenticity of artistic producers (Bourdieu 1984).

In nightly classes, a fairly standardized and basic workout routine structured the three-hour training, and most tourists whispered, through gasps for air, that the class was difficult. At the end of each class, a short thirty-minute *roda* allowed visitors and Brazilians to play in the *roda* environment. The master orchestrated these *rodas*, allowing each tourist to take a quick turn playing in the *roda* with a Brazilian. Brazilians performed basic kicks and defense movements and encouraged tourists to practice the movements taught in class. Brazilian practitioners also policed the *rodas*, chapping loudly and encouraging the foreigners to keep the circle of bodies in form, clap to the rhythm, and sing the response chorus to the various songs.⁴ After each tourist had a turn in the *roda*, Brazilian practitioners played amongst themselves. Tourists looked on, mouthing song lyrics, clapping, taking photographs and filming with digital cameras, or looking confused about the process unfolding before them.

During recruitment sessions every few months, the master and advanced students demonstrated instruments and capoeira play for groups of foreign Portuguese language-

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⁴ Songs all draw on a call-and-response format in which one practitioner sings the lengthy call lyrics and the *roda* members then sing back a short repetitive response. There is a well-established repertoire of songs used across groups, though groups can invent new songs.
program students. These interactive presentations introduced tourists to the embodied practice of capoeira and the racialized bodies of its practitioners:

The master told the group of at least forty North Americans to form a circle in the main workout room. He stood in the middle of the crowded circle of foreigners smiling broadly and holding a berimbau. He explained in rapid Portuguese that the instrument was fundamental to capoeira music. There were three sizes of berimbaus which produced differing sounds, and a lead berimbau could play various rhythms on the strung bow in order to control the speed of the capoeira game. He told them that capoeira is about improvisation and unpredictability – you have to have a feel for the game. He described other instruments used in capoeira, asking a Brazilian student to hand him each instrument as he discussed it.

Next, the master told the group they would do a quick workout and had them spread out across the room. The North Americans timidly lingered in the back. He smiled and motioned for them to come forward with his arms several times, and finally got them in formation. He had them crawling around the room on all fours quickly. Eight Brazilian advanced practitioners, all dark skin toned males, barefoot and dressed in white pants and white t-shirt bearing the studio’s logo, stood together in a corner of the room, watching and chuckling at the sight. Next, the master demonstrated a basic kick and enthusiastically motioned for the visitors to try the movements while Brazilians practitioners wandered the room helping flailing North Americans control their arms and
legs. The master appeared to be having a great time watching the embarrassed North Americans attempt unfamiliar movements.

After ten or so minutes, he had the group form a circle, and explained that this formation was the *roda* where practitioners played a game of capoeira. An advanced Brazilian student placed a bench at the front of the circle and four more sat down with instruments while another student brought a tall hand drum to the end of the bench. They began to play instruments and after an introductory song sung solo by one of the Brazilian practitioners, the master played in the *roda* with several Brazilian students as five Brazilians sang and played instruments simultaneously. The North Americans crowded around the small circle vying for a position to see the show. Other Brazilians clapped loudly, circling the *roda* and encouraging the North Americans to clap by clapping loudly in front of those not participating. The speed of the rhythm increased and the Brazilians’ movements sped up as well. High kicks began to fly between the practitioners in the *roda* as the North Americans clapped and looked on wide-eyed. The rhythm increased further and several sweat-soaked Brazilians, having removed their t-shirts, practiced flips and acrobatic moves in the *roda*. The human circle enlarged as the North Americans backed away from the flying legs, but Brazilian practitioners encouraged them to move forward. A North American ran to his bag to retrieve a digital camera and began photographing the show, which led to a flood of visitors retrieving their cameras. Soon several were standing on chairs in order to get a good view of the show in the *roda*. Several North American females began to whisper and
point towards the dark, muscle-bound young Brazilian males now wearing only white pants and their colored belt. Finally, the roda climaxed and the musicians began playing a slower rhythm.

Panting Brazilian practitioners stood to the sides and the master motioned for the Brazilians to take the visitors into the roda. A Brazilian walked into the roda and took the arm of a pale blond woman, who looked horrified and shook her head no. He motioned for her to come forward into the center of the circle. She timidly shuffled forward looking around, confused. He took her to the front to the roda and squatted with her. Slowly doing a cartwheel into the circle and motioning for her to do the same, he got her into the roda with him and began to ginga\textsuperscript{5} slowly. She stood awkwardly staring at him and swaying from foot to foot. He squatted and motioned for her to kick over his head, which she did, laughing from embarrassment. Then he shook her hand and she quickly went back to the outskirts of the circle. Brazilians repeated this with two additional North American visitors before the more outgoing tourists went forward on their own after asking a friend to photograph them in the roda.

When they finished the show, everyone was sweating in the stifling room.

(Field notes)

To complement this experience, Capoeira World framed its activities as not touristic. Several studies find that consumers interpret non-commercial and hand-made cultural products as authentic (Aldrich 1990; Bendix 1997; Grazian 2003).

\textsuperscript{5} The ginga is a wide sweeping step.
Brazilian students rarely attended some activities popular among tourists. However, Brazilian practitioners drew on distinctions between tourism and group practices, framing their activities as natural aspects of capoeira culture. They offered a berimbau-making class that seven tourists and no Brazilians took during my time with the group. Flexível, the resident berimbau-maker and an advanced practitioner, told me that the berimbaus he constructed are now all over the world:

During a berimbau-making workshop, Flexível, the instructor, showed us the proper way to put holes in the gourd. He demonstrated on the gourd he had cleaned and dried the previous day, placing two fingers on the back of the gourd and drawing a small mark on either side of his fingers. Then, he began to slowly poke out a hole over each mark with a knife. He stopped after a second, laughed and said, “but now that we have technology so we can just drill the holes!” We all laughed. He grabbed the drill and put the two holes in each participant’s gourd.

Brent, an enthusiastic light skin-toned 19-year-old North American, attending an elite US university, asked Flexível where people buy berimbaus. Flexível replied that people buy from the studio. He told Brent that the pretty painted berimbaus at the Mercado Modelo, the local tourist craft market, looked nice and may sound good, but were not made to last. “They won’t hold the good sound over years like a professional berimbau will,” said Flexível, referring to his berimbaus as professional. He explained that it was important to put the instrument together well, taking time and using the right parts. Brent said, “Yeah those are more for tourists” and Flexível agreed, saying they were
good for decorating your walls. He said there were *berimbaus* in the building that had been there for twenty years, though twelve years was average. A North American girl asked why there were so many *berimbaus* around if they lasted that long and Flexível replied “this is a *berimbau* factory.” Brent asked where the wood and gourds came from and Flexível said from the *Mata Atlantica* forest, that the gourd was a type of fruit that grew in the costal forest. (Field notes, quotes my translation from Portuguese)

Claim-making regarding authenticity was explicit only when tourists asked these direct questions. Instead, items subtly cued the non-tourism nature of Capoeira World. Many capoeira-related items were available in the tourist center – tambourines, drums, *berimbaus*, other instruments, pants and t-shirts in many bright colors, and silver necklaces with miniature *berimbau* charms. Brightly painted *berimbaus* in a variety of sizes, from one to over five feet in length, were one of the most visible. Capoeira World avoided these items, instead displaying and using only non-painted natural wood *berimbaus* and instruments. Several North American participants in the *berimbau* workshops told me that painting or decorating their hand-made *berimbau* would ruin it.
Figure 4.1.

Painted *berimbau*

Photograph by Danielle Hedegard
Figure 4.2

*Berimbaus* for sale in tourist market

Photograph by Danielle Hedegard
Figure 4.3

Non-painted *berimbau*

Photograph by Danielle Hedegard
Tourists interpreted the taken-for-granted way that practitioners played instruments, sang, and played in the *roda* as strong evidence of the studio’s non-tourism nature. When tourists arrived, they would find Brazilian practitioners practicing *berimbau* rhythms or kicks alone in the workout room, find the *berimbau*-maker cleaning gourds to construct new instruments, and find Brazilians gathered to socialize. The majority of
foreign visitors saw these Brazilians as legitimate practitioners rather than tour operators. Jack, a North American tourist, told me:

They're native Portuguese speakers... and all of the songs are in Portuguese, they really get the songs... partially because we're in Brazil and it’s the Brazilian spirit... a lot more experienced people... I like seeing Ouro sing because he fuckin’ really gets into it. His eyes role back into his head... A lot of people here are like that. (Field notes)

Brazilians never expressed feeling that they were anything but practitioners. For them, capoeira practice involved teaching others, whether foreign tourists or novice Brazilian students. As one advance practitioner told me: “One wants to train to become a good capoeirista, other to lose weight, other because he likes the berimbau, other because he likes the energy... and I have to make everyone happy.” (My translation from Portuguese.)

The group also aligned capoeira with consumer tastes for understated commercialism. Tourists valued this and many complained that street vendors constantly asked them to purchase things, especially in the city’s tourist center. Capoeira World charged roughly $35 per month for unlimited classes. Though the fee was more than that at other nearby studios, it was comparable to the fees charged in the Tourist Center and was a relatively small amount for tourists. There was no price list posted anywhere in the building. At their recruitment events, the Master made a quick remark that they offered classes “if anyone is interested.” The receptionist informed inquiring tourists of the price

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6 *Capoeirista* translates as someone that practices capoeira seriously.
and received their money. She gave them a quick reminder when their month had expired, asking if they planned to train for another month rather than asking for money.

While the receptionist subtly reminded tourists of the monthly fee, Brazilian practitioners rarely mentioned money to tourists. They would, every other month or whenever there was a fresh group of tourists, announce a *berimbau*-making workshop in which individuals could make the large bowed instrument from raw materials over several weekends. When tourists inquired individually about the class, Brazilian practitioners would tell them the price. The Master told his advanced students, in private, not to ask the tourists for money and to treat them how they would treat a friend.

Capoeira World also sold capoeira workout pants with the group’s logo stitched on one leg, as well as logo t-shirts in a variety of designs and colors. A single rack displaying one of each of the items sat in the reception area at night. They listed no prices on the clothing. Many did not notice the rack until a tourist appeared in class with the new clothing. The receptionist gave them prices when they inquired and allowed them to try on the clothes. Again, the price was reasonable to the tourists – roughly $17, and less than in the tourist center.

**Synthesizing Experiential Consumption with Authentic Blackness**

The interactive consumption described above provided important experiences with cultural otherness and authentic producers of that otherness (Peñaloza 2001; Thompson and Tambyah 1999). For cosmopolitan consumers, otherness and authenticity are central meanings (Johnston and Baumann 2007), but they must come in recognizable
form (Howes 1996; MacCannell 1989; Wilk 1995). Common symbols connected to blackness and available to consumers include Africa and slavery (Bruner 1996; Bruner 2005) (Pieterse 1995; Soar 2001), music such as hip-hop and reggae (Rodriquez 2006; Rose 1994) and low socioeconomic status. They also align with common themes of authenticity – exoticism (Johnston and Baumann 2007; Lu and Fine 1995), continuity with the past (Johnston and Baumann 2007), personal biographies (Fine 2003), and human bodies (Bruner 2005; Desmond 1999). The racial identity of artists can establish the authenticity of their work (Chong 2011).

Interactions at the studio synthesized dominant symbols of blackness – Africa and slavery, Afro-Brazilianness, and the black body – with experiential consumption. Making meaning at Capoeira World relied on meanings of blackness ascribed by tourists far more than on Brazilians asserted racial identities and meanings. This process gave meaning to capoeira objects as socially distant (Brazilian black bodies), culturally other (Afro-Brazilian), geographically specific (in Africa and Salvador), and historically embedded (in slavery).

It may appear inevitable to readers that capoeira be connected to these symbols, but the fixed and primordial concepts of blackness from the United States interact with an ambiguous racial context in Brazil. Only some capoeira studios in Brazil assert blackness as important to the practice (Travassos 1999). Several scholars argue that capoeira and other Afro-Brazilian derived objects are so integrated into nationalist ideology that they have lost racial meaning and reinforce a false consciousness among racially oppressed Brazilians (Hanchard 1999). Others see revitalized black identity in these objects (Agier 1992; Sansone 2003). Public and private speech on discrimination
and slave history is uncommon among Brazilians (Sheriff 2000). Finally, the term “Afro-Brazilian” is uncommon among Brazilians outside of academia. In Brazil, racial categories and skin tone do not necessarily align as they do in the US.

The racialization perspective fits this context of interacting meaning systems. Rather than presume capoeira signifies blackness, it allows us to examine how specific symbols and meanings become attached to capoeira objects – including the bodies of practitioners. Blackness appeared not as a pervasive force, but at specific moments in background presentation and daily interactions. Blackness became assigned to objects and bodies through conscious assignment and verbalization and though the unconscious influence of broad racial ideologies and their symbols on everyday interaction (Lewis 2003; Omi and Winant 1994).

The Racialized City of Salvador

The frames of the tourism market and the racialized context of Salvador reinforced the meanings tourists ascribed to capoeira within the studio. To many tourists, the food, music, dance, capoeira, and religion of Salvador represented Afro-Brazilianness and the city’s connection to Africa. “Being here is where the home [of capoeira] is,” one North American tourist told me. Though a few had no specific expectations about the culture of Salvador, the majority expected to see the stereotypical signs of Afro-Brazil present in tour books – women selling acarajé (bean fritters) on the street dressed in
Candomblé priestess costume, samba dancing and music, and capoeira. These symbols created a nexus of African-influenced culture. For example, a 28-year-old, light skin toned, North American graphic designer explained why he had come to Salvador:

Experience the more native... to play in a place where I feel like, that is the origin of capoeira... going out to the Pelourinho [the tourist center neighborhood] and seeing really bad street players... to going to Mercado Modelo and seeing a million berimbau for sale to like seeing a billion and one tourist items that have capoeira emblazoned on them... to learning how to dance samba... also learning about Salvadorian African culture and seeing how it really is. That's a huge thing. (Field notes)

Several tourists attended samba and Afro-Brazilian dance classes elsewhere, which they viewed as related to capoeira.

Background Aesthetics

In a limited way, the physical space of Capoeira World asserted a common geographical referent of blackness – Africa. This created an aesthetic background for capoeira practice. The few wall adornments in the workout room were mainly of African reference. These included framed black and white photographs of Africans in traditional tribal wear, an African war shield, a poster depicting and describing the shield and several other African artifacts, a large tapestry in a black and yellow geometric design,

Acarajé are associated with Candomblé and street vendors often dress in Candomblé costume. See Chapter 3.
and a collection of tall drums. The number of instruments displayed greatly exceeded the number commonly used during practice (one atabaque, three berimbau, and one tambourine) and always increased before recruitment events. The Master had acquired many of these instruments during his travels to capoeira events abroad.

**Discourse**

African symbols remained in the background, but the group made extensive explicit connections between capoeira and a historical narrative of slavery. During recruitment presentations, a speaker – introduced as an important capoeira historian – gave tourists their first lesson in the racial meaning of capoeira. The historian was important because the studio presented him as an official and respected authority on capoeira – someone the tourists should accept as legitimate. His lecture introduced tourists to the studio and to one limited version of capoeira history and meaning. The symbols he describes reappear in the studio’s adornments and in the appearance of several of its young male practitioners. He was also the main source of information about capoeira history and philosophy for the Brazilian practitioners at the studio.

This historian drew on a narrative of African slavery in Brazil, framing capoeira as a practice tied to blackness and different from modern cultural forms, Asian martial arts, and sports. He firmly established it as a cultural legacy of slavery and blacks, as a group, and linked the studio to this legacy. His narrative presented blacks as the natural holders of capoeira, silencing the popularity of capoeira among the whiter Brazilian

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8 A tall wooden hand drum.
middle class. He did not mention that Capoeira World was founded by a middle class Brazilian.

During a presentation for nearly thirty-five North American study-abroad students, the speaker showed the group a grainy black and white ten-minute film, made in 1954 he said, of a capoeira game. Two high-pitched berimbau played in the background as two shirtless dark skin toned men wearing oversized white pants played a game of capoeira. The movements and style of their game was markedly different from Capoeira World’s style and was clearly Capoeira Angola, though the speaker never mentioned this. The speaker told them that capoeira was prohibited during and after slavery officially ended, calling it a form of play for the slaves. He said this play still comes through in the practice today. He described the forests where slaves and ex-slaves had trained capoeira in Brazil. He then defined it as a "demonstration of freedom of the slave” and as a symbolic game – a fight that does not appear to be a fight. He went on to say that capoeira was related to the everyday lives of the slaves and gave an example of the cocorinho, a squatting movement used to duck beneath an opponent’s kick, telling them that the movement symbolized how slaves squatted on the ground to eat. By the end of the forty-minute presentation, one North American asked the speaker if the group only practiced Capoeira Angola.

The speaker then differentiated the Capoeira World’s capoeira practice from elites as a social group. He described past attempt to turn it into a national gymnastic and a military training program as a failed enterprise of
whites. Using binary racial categories – *brancos* and *negros* – he called elite capoeira practice an attempt by whites to appropriate capoeira from blacks, something that, according to him, failed to a prevailing “*capoeira do negro,*” or black popular capoeira.

Next, he told the visitors that capoeira was a social project and form of black political mobilization. He explained to them that political participation in Brazil commonly takes the form of social service projects rather than direct political action as it does in the US. This was a brief excursion from his historical narrative, and he never clarified if he was referring to the original creation of capoeira amongst slaves or its contemporary use in social service programs.

The speaker went on to differentiate capoeira from Asian martial arts by defining the content of capoeira as knowledge of the mind rather than the physical contact he linked to Asian martial arts, saying that it required more knowledge that Asian martial arts. He claimed that it was different from Judo and Karate, “which are full contact,” silencing the full contact grappling movements present in modern capoeira and, importantly, in studio’s style of capoeira. He concluded that it was different from sports, saying, “Watch the Olympics and you won't find a sport like capoeira.” He also compared the practice to boxing which he said was nothing more that a series of full frontal attacks, involving no thought. (Field notes, quotes my translation from Portuguese)
The historian’s speech silenced the cultural transformations capoeira underwent over the past century. It omitted inclusion of movements from Asian martial arts, which were becoming popular in Brazil in the 1930s (Assunção 2005). The speech established capoeira as a slave practice by drawing on a narrative familiar to North Americans, and established its homogeneity as a black cultural activity. Further, the other distinctions asserted (between capoeira and sport, Asian martial art, and elite practice) are well-established cultural categories among consumers from the US and Europe. He discussed capoeira in historical terms and said nothing of its practice at present, the field of competitors, stylistic differences, or the wide social base of practitioners in and beyond Brazil. When one North American asked what it was like today, the speaker replied, “Now it is considered patrimony of Brazil,” without elaborating. (My translation from Portuguese.)

In nightly classes, Angel frequently drew on his social connections to older dark-skinned capoeira masters, known in the capoeira community as the elders of capoeira. When a Brazilian student inquired about a *chamada*⁹, Angel explained the proper way to complete the movement as told to him by “the Great Masters” as he called them, naming several well-known capoeira masters by name.

Angel had a complex understanding of capoeira tradition and was adept at picking and choosing from the bank of symbolic resources to fit his needs. The master held brief question sessions on occasion at the end of classes. A Brazilian student asked Angel, why does the school not invent new songs? Angel replied that practitioners want to invent their own music and make music CDs to sell. He said that there are trendy songs you hear

⁹ Choreographed ritualistic sequences of capoeira movements between two players.
for a month which then disappear, or that are only popular in certain cities or regions. He 
viewed this as a loss of tradition, and he preferred to stick to basic old songs invented by 
the elders.

Tourists commonly asked Angel what he thought about the Angolan/Regional 
stylistic split in capoeira. Though he was an aggressive defender of his version of 
capoeira as “Contemporary” among Brazilian practitioners, Angel always told tourists 
that both forms are important and he teaches both to respect the traditions of the original 
creators of capoeira.

Interactions

Most of these meanings of capoeira emerged from interaction between tourists 
and Brazilians, rather than through the conscious decisions and framing on the part of 
either group. Repeated interactions solidified meanings in the studio. The historian was 
an important exception and his description of capoeira important because they reinforces 
the frames of the tourism market and set the tone for subsequent interactions within the 
studio. Blackness became attached to common, taken-for-granted elements of capoeira 
culture and practitioners lives. In practice, meanings were enacted simultaneously as 
foreigners connected the necklace of one practitioner and the dreadlocks of another with 
skilled bodily practice by dark skin toned young men. These bodily cues were visible in a 
space where others played berimbaus connected to a narrative of slave resistance against 
a backdrop of African artifacts.
Tourist-practitioner interactions extended this narrative to objects of capoeira, most centrally the *berimbau*. Brazilian practitioners and tourists drew on widely known historical myths in the capoeira community:

At the end of one *berimbau* music lesson attended by five North Americans, Brent asked the instructor about the importance of *berimbau* music. Drawing on a common capoeira myth, he asked, “Is it true there’s a special *berimbau* rhythm the slaves used to signal the approach of the police?” The instructor, a light skin toned advanced practitioner, raised his eyebrows and responded, “Yes, that’s one story. Capoeira used to be outlawed. They had to be aware.” He went on, reviewing the myth for the North Americans, telling them that because the police persecuted capoeiristas as practitioners of a violent activity, the freed slaves that practiced capoeira had developed a special *berimbau* rhythm to alert practitioners that police were arriving. He explained that *berimbau* players would play a dance rhythm and everyone involved would dance to hide the capoeira game from police. (Field notes, quotes my translation from Portuguese.)

Objects of Afro-Brazilian culture also became connected to capoeira in Brazilian-tourist interactions, excluding other types of Brazilian music and cultural activities from taking place within Capoeira World. Typically, these objects include *samba* music and dance, capoeira, drumming, *maculelé*,[^10] and *Candomblé*. The studio referred to capoeira as “Afro-Brazilian tradition” on posters and advertisements for its numerous events,

[^10]: A dance performed between two individuals holding and beating wooden sticks.
including a large banner that hung in a secondary workout room. More importantly, the studio linked capoeira to these practices by including *samba* dancing and *maculelé* in classes when new tourists arrived. *Samba* was a regular finale to *rodas*, and the studio held occasional *samba* dance parties on Fridays.

Interaction sustained the racial meanings of these symbols. Tourists and practitioners used what were often to Brazilians mundane objects of capoeira and their lives as cues for attaching racial meanings. Tourists often asked Brazilians to teach them *samba* dance moves after classes and inquired about practitioners’ lives and appearance. For example, several Brazilians wore necklaces – popular in Brazil – with a small charm containing an image of a catholic saint attached to the front and another to the back of the necklace. Much conversation among tourists in the locker room revolved around deciphering the meaning of these necklaces. Usually at least one female in the changing room had asked a Brazilian about the necklaces and could offer an explanation to the others – these were saints linked to *Candomblé*, which offered them protection. Conversations framed these necklaces as a part of afro-Brazilian religion, which offered practitioners protection. One North American female used a locker room discussion about the necklaces to relate her trip with one of the Brazilian practitioners to see a *babalorixá* – a *Candomblé* priestess who practices divination – he knew in an adjoining neighborhood. The North American related that the woman had thrown a handful of *búzios* – white sea shells – to read her future, and after had given her one of these necklaces. Tourists used necklaces to engage a Brazilian in conversation, touching the necklace around a neck and asking what it meant. Brazilians were accustomed to this question, welcoming the female attention and telling them that it was “a part of our
culture, which protects us in the *roda.*” (My translation from Portuguese.) Some Brazilians linked these necklaces to *Candomblé,* while others did not. However, in locker room conversations, tourists transformed the necklaces into a link between capoeira and Afro-Brazilian religion and capoeira practitioners into bearers of afro-Brazilian culture.

Tourists complained when local reality diverged from their expectations. Melissa complained, “Men aren’t supposed to be selling *acarajé.* I want my *Baiana,*”

Tourists complained when local reality diverged from their expectations. Melissa complained, “Men aren’t supposed to be selling *acarajé.* I want my *Baiana,*” after seeing a man selling the common food on the street earlier in the day. In other words, she expected to see only dark skin toned women dressed in the elaborate white skirt and headdress associated with *Candomblé* adherents working as *acarajé* vendors. She joked with another tourist that someone should report him to the cultural commission of Salvador. Melissa was a 21-year-old college senior of Mexican-American descent from California. She was enthusiastic and outgoing, providing salsa dancing classes to local schoolchildren, taking a Portuguese language class, and attending the capoeira classes regularly for several months.

*Distributing Culture to Capoeira Bodies*

The assertions of the capoeira historian, the studio’s inclusion of Afro-Brazilian objects, and the larger frames of the tourism market provided symbols and meanings of blackness that tourists attached to practitioners’ physical appearance in interactions.

Certain bodies – those of dark skin tone, even relative armatures – became authentic

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11 *Baiana* refers to a woman from Bahia and to female *acarajé* street venders dressed in costume.
capoeira bodies for tourists through this process. Fine argues that “the authenticity of the artist justifies the authenticity of the art work” (2003: 175), and at Capoeira World, racializing capoeira bodies also had a reciprocal effect on the meaning of capoeira. This process also shaped who could produce authentic capoeira, and thus cultural capital in the studio. Past work finds that audiences like blues musicians poor and black (Grazian 2003), outsider artists uneducated and non-white (Fine 2003), and tourist arts produced by ethnic others (Bruner 2005; Wherry 2008). Likewise, this group of tourists preferred dark skin toned male capoeira practitioners over others.

Tattoos and dreadlocks were taken-for-granted styles for the men, common among Salvador’s large lower class population (Figueiredo 1994). Four male practitioners had dreadlocks and two others wore large afros. The women liked these hairstyles. They often helped the males with afros and twists maintain their styles, gathering around these men before and after classes to tighten uncoiling hair twists with their hands.

One practitioner, Rapido, had a noticeable tattoo on his torso of the aged face of a male. A female tourist asked him about the meaning of the tattoo, touching it. Rapido would reply that the face is that of the Preto Velho, a mythical figure known as the wise black father, and asked the woman if she knew who the man was. When she said no, Rapido launched into a lengthy explanation of the importance of the figure in his life as a capoeirista, reminding his to be watchful in all of life’s situations and in the roda. The woman gave a slight nod and raised her eyebrows in response, only partially understanding his Portuguese she told me later, asking me to explain what he had said.
Dark skin was also popular among the almost exclusively twenty-something female tourists. These encounters often served as an introduction to a romantic relationship between tourists and Brazilians, as Sarah explained:

Some girls obviously show up just to see, you know, the hot black guys, which they [the Brazilians] welcome – a lot. So many North American girls come to see the black Brazilians, to see them and meet them and have fun with them. 

_Faians_ are also very proud of the black African culture that they live here... But I guess that's all part of it, you know, the life they have, I mean they love it that girls come here and wanna see and have sex with them and they [the Brazilians] love it. They can have every girl they want. Because, I think here in Brazil they are not the hottest guys that all the Brazilians want. I mean it's an easy life. I definitely think that they think the way they dance, the way they look, the way they play capoeira makes them irresistible (laugh).

(Field notes)

In the locker room, I also learn wheat tourists were whispering about during the studio’s performances. Female tourists spent much time in the changing room discussing these “hot black guys” and ranking their attractiveness. One Serbian tourist announced to the group of women that she “just wanted to do them all.” The men were especially visible compared to the mostly light skin toned female tourists. Jennifer, who had just completed a Master’s program in counseling in the US, was in Brazil for several months to practice capoeira. She told me in an interview, “Here I feel like anything I do gets a lot of attention from the guys… because I’m white, because I’m not a beginner, because they proposition me for sex. Just about every guy has propositioned me.”
Apelidos – capoeira nicknames – also connected physical bodies to blackness. Students of darker skin tone often bore *apelidos* that called attention to this characteristic: Bantu – the name of an African ethnic group – was the *apelido* of a tall lanky dark skin toned nineteen-year-old student. Cana, or sugar cane, was the name of a twenty-five year old advanced student. His name, as he explained to me, referred to his dark skin, which made him look like he could be a slave harvesting cane on a plantation. Senzala, also commonly referred to as The Rasta due to his long dreadlocks, was named after slave dwellings on large plantations. The lighter skin toned students were named for their speed, style, or other characteristic. Some practitioners came to expect interactions with tourists and preemptively offered further information they assumed the tourists desired. For example, one practitioner would preemptively relate the history of his *apelido* – a reference to the slave fields of Bahia – whenever tourists asked about his name.

Even when Brazilian practitioners were not attending to their black body or hairstyle and were not especially aware of the performative nature of, say, holding a *berimbau*, these symbols remained as cues with which others could attach meanings of blackness in interactions, observations, and later in private conversation.

Tourists did not see all Brazilian practitioners as black. Practitioners with light skin tone were overlooked by most tourist attention in and out of classes. The importance of skin tone was brought home by numerous reactions to the light skin-toned master. He was often referred to as a “strange guy” who interrupted their nightly interactions with the guys during classes. Tourists overwhelmingly described his numerous announcements about his views on capoeira to be annoying and ego-centric.
Interactions also connected these dark capoeira bodies to poverty and the necessity for street smarts in Salvador. Neither the studio’s classes nor its conscious framing of capoeira mentioned poverty. However, the context of Salvador and the personal biographies of the Brazilians that interacted frequently with tourists established poverty as a meaning connected to capoeira bodies. Most residents of Salvador are dark-skinned and poor compared with the wealthier mostly white foreign tourists (McCallum 2005). All interviewees (and many others in informal conversations) mentioned poverty as a pervasive and noticeable characteristic of Salvador when asked how they saw the city.

Tourists interpreted the Brazilian practitioners that they interacted with to be underprivileged and the school’s middle class neighborhood – where many of the Brazilian students lived – to be poor. Often, when tourists learned that I lived in the neighborhood, they asked in shock, “but aren’t you afraid” or “and you feel safe there?” Several of the school’s advanced students began training at the school as children through the school’s social service program that provides free lessons. These students, who had grown up in poorer nearby neighborhoods, now had regular work through capoeira, but often told tourists stories of their poverty. Tourists often connected the apparent poverty of the city to capoeira practitioners:

It was definitely interesting to see here how capoeira does gain another importance for someone who doesn't have anything else. For example, Mano, he comes from a very poor family and the Mestre really took him from the street and gave him a possibility not only to have a job but to see the world. It never would have been possible without capoeira. It's interesting to see how much it can really be a life philosophy… But I guess
it's really connected to Brazil in general, you know wherever I went outside of Salvador, people were like yeah, Bahia, full of malandragem.\textsuperscript{12} (Field notes)

\textit{Taking away Experience with Racial Others and their Culture}

Almost all tourists expressed satisfaction with their experience. Tourists’ extensive interaction with capoeira practice and practitioners provided embodied cosmopolitan lifestyle experience. During the class, which participants paid extra for, an advanced Brazilian student meticulously led tourists through the process of making the instrument – from tree branch and gourd to final product – and taught the instrument’s basic rhythms. During the \textit{berimbau}-making class, which participants paid extra for, an advanced Brazilian student meticulously led tourists through the process of making the instrument – from tree branch and gourd to final product – and taught them three basic rhythms. Tourists rarely asked for detailed information about capoeira. They were less interested in gaining skill playing \textit{berimbau} rhythms from the \textit{berimbau} workshop than in the experience itself. Sarah, a light skin toned 20-year-old German university student was in Salvador for a six-month internship with a cultural organization. She told me:

Yeah, I made my first \textit{berimbau} with them, which was fun. Well, I didn't remember everything, but that was a lot of information, even about the wood and what woods you can use and how light or heavy they are. That was nice. That was a good experience.

(Field notes)

Likewise, Capoeira World allowed tourists to receive cords (equivalent to a belt system in Asian martial arts) during the time of the annual testing ceremony, though the

\textsuperscript{12} Trickery or cunning.
norm among capoeira groups is to award cords only to regular, advancing students. Several announcements were made preceding the event to encourage their participation (a forty dollar fee was charged for an event t-shirt and baptismal cord). While I was there, sixteen tourists, all novices, participated in the ceremony and received cords. Most reported to me that they would probably not continue taking capoeira classes once back in the US and Europe but wanted to participate because, as one North American told me, “I just did it for the experience, you know.” She told me she was unlikely to look for a group in the US, saying, “It just wouldn’t be the same.”

Tourists were equally interested in gaining cultural experience beyond capoeira itself, and the majority preferred hanging out with Brazilians to actually learning capoeira. Their experiences translated into knowledge claims among tourists about Brazilian practitioners and Brazilian culture, as they compared stories about how they gained these pieces of knowledge from practitioners and shared photographs of their cultural encounters. Like locker room discussions about practitioners’ necklaces, foreigners discussed the meaning of capoeira rituals, the proper way to *samba*, and Brazilian behavior in general.

In addition to the many photographs taken by tourists, Capoeira World provided tourists with several material objects to accumulate as evidence of their experiences. The pants were popular with tourists. Many arrived in Brazil without workout pants, and were happy to purchase them as useful souvenirs. It was common to see tourists arrive with a new pair of the pants, smiling proudly and showing them off to the other tourists. Mindy, light skin toned a 20-year-old North American elite university student, told me she probably would not ever wear the pants in the US, but would keep them as a souvenir.
The *berimbau* class was also successful with tourists. All those I spoke with enjoyed this class, one North American going so far as to refer to her hand-made *berimbau* as her *filha* – her child. She joked that she had gotten carried away and considered buying a special *berimbau* carrying case for fifteen dollars in the tourist center in order to get the instrument back to the US. She told me it would likely hang on her wall. “Yeah, I’m gunna sit on my porch at home and play my *berimbau* alone,” she joked.

**Figure 4.5**

**Tourists in the *berimbau* workshop**

Photograph by Danielle Hedegard
Conclusion

Of those expectations stated in Chapter 3, these data support predictions two and three. This studio asserted both blackness and Africa as meanings connected to capoeira objects and bodies. These meanings also connected capoeira to *samba* and *Candomblé* during interactions between tourists and Brazilians. Tourists also valued embodied experience and interaction with Brazilian capoeira bodies as they consumed capoeira. To understand how these meanings become cultural capital for Brazilians and which Brazilians benefit from this capital, I analyze the resources upon which this studio’s success depended in the following chapter.
5. MAKING RACIAIZED CULTURAL CAPITAL:

CAPOEIRA WORLD’S “FEEL FOR THE GAME” OF TOURISM

The authenticity that tourists and Brazilians established together in interactions appeared as the natural outcome of Brazilian capoeira practitioners’ bodies. Brazilians embodied knowledge of capoeira and of a limited set of meanings connected to blackness and experiential consumption. What resources allowed the Brazilian capoeira practitioners at Capoeira World to establish the meanings described in the previous chapter? What do Brazilian practitioners gain from this specific construction of capoeira with tourists? In other words, how is capoeira racialized cultural capital for these Brazilian capoeira practitioners? Again, I take as a unit of analysis the relationship between embodied dispositions at the studio and the external institutional environment of the larger tourism market.

A Feel of the Game of Tourism

Cultural capital can take objective, embodied, and institutionalized forms (Bourdieu 1986), but it is most powerful when it is embodied. Embodied knowledge and styles are especially important in interactions – such as those described in the preceding chapter. When knowledge and practices appear to be inevitable and to flow naturally from the body, others interpret them as legitimate (Bourdieu 1972). Embodied cultural knowledge, practices, and styles come from deeply embedded interpretive schemas learned through a lifetime of socialization in an experiential environment – one’s location
in the socioeconomic structure. These schemas, which internalize that external environment, constitute a person’s habitus (Bourdieu 1972; 1984). The habitus informs action not through conscious rules or ideology but through a subtle and taken-for-granted feel for how the world works and how one responds to external demands.

A Professional Habitus

Brazilian practitioners’ underlying capoeira habitus oriented them to see capoeira as a profession. Their habitus was constructed through years of socialization at Capoeira World – a studio with middle class resources, directed by a middle class Brazilian – told practitioners that tourism, and interactions with tourists, were natural elements of capoeira. Constructed through years of socialization at the studio, it made public performances, travel, and photographs a normal part of their lives as capoeira practitioners. It included tourism in this normal, daily functioning of the group and of practitioners’ conception of capoeira. In the presentations and interactions described, comfort with the tourists’ daily gaze, questions, and photographs was vital to the practitioners’ successful enactment of capoeira.

Unlike the novice students and tourists, advanced Brazilian students received extensive scrutiny of their practical skill at capoeira play and music. This took place during the nightly *rodas*, which the master orchestrated like a conductor, signaling who should enter the *roda* and when, nodding to the *berimbau* players to indicate they should change the rhythm or stop the practitioners in the *roda*, stopping the *roda* to discuss its energy and encourage everyone to clap and sing, and looming over the circle to scrutinize
the ‘game’ of his advanced Brazilian students. At times, he stood silently over the roda, arms folded, making faces of dissatisfaction when one of his students was not playing to his satisfaction. At other times, he stopped the roda to correct the problem:

Ouro – a 23-year-old Brazilian male who lived in the neighborhood near the studio and was one of its most advanced practitioners - and Azul - another advanced Brazilian male, 26 years old from a poorer area, who lived at the studio and constructed berimbau - were playing when I came in. Mestre Angel shook his head repeatedly and maintained a displeased look on his face as he watched his advanced students play. After a few minutes, he signaled to Cantor – a 27-year-old male Brazilian who had been playing for 11 years and had several tattoos related to capoeira on his body - on the lead berimbau to stop the game. Mestre Angel looked at Azul and said, displeased, “the game is moving but you are not moving with the game.” He recounted several of the movements that Azul did in the roda which he didn't like, telling him to respond to his opponent rather than just doing movements. Ouro and Azul returned to the roda and started playing again, but after a minute, the mestre told them to stop, shaking his head in dissatisfaction, and asked for two new practitioners to enter the roda. (Field notes, quotes my translation from Portuguese.)

He verbalized repeated concerns for how the game was going and how the energy of the roda fluctuated when correcting his students. When correcting students, he focused on a practitioner’s failing to respond to an opponent with an appropriate move as an
impediment to the game of capoeira rather than focusing on how the practitioner could improve his own movements. Not clapping, singing, playing at all, or playing correctly impeded the production of capoeira, and the master politely corrected these problems.

This verbal evaluation extended beyond the *roda* to assess people as *capoeiristas*. The group distinguished between being a *capoeirista* and all other types of practitioners as Cantor, an advanced male Brazilian practitioner explained to me:

I see a capoeira athlete, as a person that has good moves… but the fundamental of the game… it isn’t to know how to do a good attack move… you are a good athlete of capoeira but you are not a good *capoeirista*, because you don’t understand the fundamental of the game. It’s a basic difference between a person that plays capoeira and a person that lives capoeira. (Field notes, my translation from Portuguese.)

The instructor and advanced students defined a *capoeirista* as someone who understands the nature of the different games (*Angolan* - a slow, low game; *Benguela* - a slowish, playful game; *Sao Bento Grande* - a fast-paced, aggressive game with more high kicks than other games) and can play them properly, meaning they can respond to their opponents movements during play with game-appropriate movements and stay in a call-and-response bodily dialogue in the *roda*. The ultimate authority – the *mestre* – and his advanced students categorized students by this criterion, but as I show next, the group’s conceptualization of capoeira was flexible enough to allow for stylistic variation and for a diversity of practitioners such as casual hobbyists and tourists.
Capoeira was a source of pride and self-esteem for the students who are employed by Capoeira World. “Capoeira shows a positive side of our culture, shows something that we value in our culture,” an advanced practitioner told me. The master also made speeches about his non-economic interest in capoeira. “I do not do this for the money, but for you guys” he told the group several times, going on to plead for students to take care of the instruments and materials and endorsing Capoeira World as “the biggest and best capoeira studio he had seen.” (Quotes my translation from Portuguese.)

The group was an important community for many of the advanced students and a source of a collective identity around "our culture" as capoeiristas. It was those who worked in capoeira that most fully developed this identity. Many of these students went by their apelido in the studio and in their daily like, with family and friends also. Almost all advanced students had their apelido tattooed in large letters on their body. They also regularly verbally asserted their capoeirista identity, such as saying “eu sou capoeira” (I am capoeira). Several advanced practitioners told me they saw capoeira as their life philosophy, an orientation towards the world that stressed awareness and preparedness. “I see capoeira as a game of life, have to understand what is behind the actions,” Cantor told me. (My translation from Portuguese.) He went on to explain the role of capoeira in constructing this philosophy:

Capoeiristas do not just sing to sing. I could be leading a song and see that his friend playing in the roda is in trouble. Then I can start improvising – changing the song’s lyrics - to warn him, tell him how to protect himself.

Most people, they will understand the words of the song and sing along, but
they will not understand the other meaning - that I am singing specifically to warn him. They just go on singing. (Field notes, quotes my translation from Portuguese.)

Repeated and prolonged interaction with tourists provided an image of the cultural understandings of tourists and an embodied understanding of how to interact with them. Through years of interaction with foreign tourists, the instructor was familiar with their cultural tastes, styles, and norms, and these distinctions framed the presentation of capoeira knowledge. After a few weeks of classes, many of the tourists learned what Sara told me: “they know exactly what to say, you know.”

Brazilian practitioners met my attempts to inquire about how they felt about foreign practitioners (in conversation and interviews) with a simple lack of interest – usually a shrug and a stock response of “yeah, it’s good we have foreigners” or “I like having foreigners here because the classes stay full and the master shows up more.” (My translation from Portuguese.) One advanced Brazilian student told me that Salvador was a tourist city and it was better to have many foreigners at the studio than none.

Most, when pushed, told me that foreigners just did not play capoeira in a nuanced way by waiting for the right moment for certain movements rather than trying to beat the other player or by inventing or improvising songs, and most Brazilians felt that they often could not have a “real class” because of the number of foreigners in the nightly classes. However, practitioners’ understanding of capoeira incorporated foreign tourists. They accepted the participation of foreigners in all of the studio’s events and classes.
naturally, encouraged them to enter the *roda*, led them into the *roda* by the hand when they won’t go in on their own, and invited them on trips with the studio. They regarded all foreigners as tourists even when they showed initiative in demonstrating skill at playing capoeira and asking to play instruments during *rodas* and regardless of their actual experience with capoeira, defining them as outsiders.

In addition to having an embodied sense of how to present oneself (enact cultural capital), to have cultural capital in the market for capoeira tourism is also to have a “feel” for the game of tourism – to know what opportunities exist for tourism and to understand the rules of the game (Bourdieu and Wacquant 1992). Capoeira tourism constitutes an arena of social activity defined by specific rules, types of capital, and hierarchical positions (Bourdieu 1993). It has a set of rules and values that suggest appropriate strategies of action to its participants, determining what counts as cultural capital and how that capital is connected to economic and social benefits.

Beyond the local interactions with tourists, the master of the middle class studio engaged with the larger tourism market in several ways. First, he made strategic moves to find and attract young North American and European tourists, approaching local Portuguese language studios (which cater mostly to US college students) and offering capoeira presentations. In 2009, the studio conducted presentations for multiple cohorts of these students from various study abroad programs, reaching hundreds of potential foreign customers. He also attended many capoeira events in the US and Europe, where he promoted his studio and encouraged foreigners to visit. The large, centrally located, and active studio could absorb the number of students in many of these language
programs, giving this studio an advantage in establishing these connections. The master regularly compared his studio to others in the city by pointing out the size and quality of the building and the variety and quality of instruments and workout equipment the studio provided.

The master and his advanced students also understood how to compete in the market for capoeira tourism. Practitioners in both sites expressed a dream to “viver da capoeira” – literally to make a professional living from capoeira practice, only in the middle class studio did practitioners have an understanding of the realities of this market. Advanced students at the studio all told me it was difficult to make a living from capoeira in Salvador, due to the number of studios in the market, and many told me they planned to move abroad to open a studio. Several had been abroad on short trips with the master to attend events and were saving money to return. Because several of the studio’s alumni had moved abroad to open studios, these students had connections to Brazilians abroad and to the process of opening a studio abroad. Several advanced students told me they preferred to move to Canada or Europe, where, they said, it would be easier for them to immigrate than in the United States. Two were taking English classes and others practiced basic English conversation with the North American women attending classes. Each of the advanced students who planned to move abroad to teach capoeira told me that it was a slow process of saving money, building connections, and attending capoeira events abroad. Each of the male alumni already working abroad as capoeira instructors had married a foreign woman he had met in Brazil, making the studio’s tourists an
important source of socialization into the cultural distinctions of this consumer base and a literal means of competing in the market for capoeira.

*Muddying the Racial Waters: A Symbolic Boundary between Brazilian/Non-Brazilian*

Essential to creating cultural capital is constructing symbolic boundaries between legitimate and illegitimate cultural objects, as well as the practitioners and producers of those objects. Symbolic boundaries are conceptual means of classifying the world by creating categories of objects, people, and practices (Bourdieu 1984; Lamont and Fournier 1992; Lamont 1994; 2000). These boundaries generate cultural capital by allowing one social group to monopolize valued culture. These boundaries take various forms – moral, socio-economic, and cultural, and can be specific to context (Lamont 1994). Symbolic boundaries usually reinforce hierarchies of class (Bourdieu 1984; Lamont 1992) and race (Lamont 2000). Their power is greatest when they allow a group to appear as the natural and inevitable holder of certain forms of culture – what Bourdieu calls misrecognition (Bourdieu 1991).

People also use them to assert collective identities and distance themselves from others. For example, Waters (1999) shows how West Indian immigrants in the United States use island culture to present themselves as West Indian and not black, because they see black Americans as a stigmatized group. This process works best when the constructed boundaries align with dominant cultural stereotypes and discourses (Anderson 1990; Lamont 2000; Cornell and Hartmann 2007).
Tourists at Capoeira World preferred to socialize with dark skin toned practitioners, but the strongest symbolic boundary at the studio was that asserted by Brazilian practitioners. This boundary separated the studio’s Brazilian practitioners from all foreign tourists and knowledgeable foreign capoeira practitioners. Brazilian practitioners sought to maintain Brazilians, as a category, as the legitimate holders of capoeira knowledge.

There was a clear tension at the studio between not giving away information and keeping the foreigners satisfied with enough information. Tourists occasionally asked for written song lyrics in order to learn the words to the songs sung during rodas, unaware that most were standard lyrics available on hundreds of websites. When tourists inquired about capoeira history or philosophy, he or she received a brief response from Brazilian practitioners. One Brazilian told me he did not like giving away information. “If they want to know what the lyrics mean, they should sign up for a music class,” he said. (My translation from Portuguese.)

The master and advanced practitioners had complex knowledge of capoeira, but this was lost on most tourists who lacked nuanced knowledge with which to evaluate what the practitioners said about capoeira or how they practiced it. They regarded all the Brazilian practitioners, even those who had been practicing for less than one year, as expert practitioners. Most tourists had no prior knowledge of capoeira and fit into the tourist category; they rarely challenged how classes ran or how capoeira was performed, perceiving the group’s version of the practice as universal.
Capoeira World did not cater to the few knowledgeable practitioners wishing to acquire nuanced skill. The knowledgeable foreign practitioners visiting the studio were included with the tourists during classes and did not have the same roles that they had at their home studios – of teaching, playing instruments during rodas, and leading songs. The Brazilian teachers never expected any of the foreigners to play capoeira a certain way or even to know how to play and did not evaluate foreigners’ knowledge of capoeira.

In a roda of capoeira, playing the berimbau and leading songs is typically dominated by the core of advanced students as is play in the roda, and this was the case at the studio; despite the berimbau workshop, these foreign students were never encouraged to try to play the instrument in the nightly rodas. Occasionally a knowledgeable foreigner offered to play a drum or tambourine during the nightly roda. Brazilian practitioners sent them to the end of the orchestra bench to play a less important instrument. When one of these foreigners managed to position himself in front of a drum, Brazilian practitioners would eye each other anxiously and relieve the foreigner from the drum.

All experienced foreign practitioners, while identifying themselves as capoeiristas (individuals claiming a capoeira practitioner identity), were quick to subordinate themselves to the Brazilian capoeiristas, who they saw as more dedicated to the practice. But the insecurity among the experienced foreigners was irrelevant to the majority of Brazilian students and their mestre, who simply saw each of these foreigners as tourists.

These few experienced foreign practitioners expressed a mild feeling of exclusion at the studio and embarrassment at their skill level compared to their Brazilian
counterparts. “I try to stay away from playing foreigners… I can do that back home. I try to play with Brazilians who are more advanced,” Michelle, another North American practitioner, told me. These practitioners all expressed being confused about what they could and could not participate in at the studio. Whenever an advanced foreigners attempted to explain movements to or correct a novice student, he or she was quickly reprimanded. Tourists often took photographs or recorded video of classes and rodas, but when a knowledgeable foreign practitioner did the same, he or she often received severe (and public) reprimand for not asking permission. Many of the advanced practitioners expressed repeated annoyance with these knowledgeable foreigners who “ask a lot of questions” or “want to know every little thing.” (My translation from Portuguese.)

Whenever an advanced foreigner attempted to explain movements to or correct a novice student, he or she was quickly reprimanded. Jennifer, despite being a regular berimbau player with her studio in the US, told me:

I haven’t led a song here… that’s really interesting…I feel intimidated singing. There are some really good singers here that improvise all the time. They just like, sing a lead, then just make something up that’s going on to keep it going. Me… improvise is like put this part here, change the parts …. So yeah, I’ve just been intimidated by the language and also, here, not knowing if I can play, if it’s ok. (Field notes)

Jennifer also told me: “I still feel like I struggle for respect here in a sense. I don’t like to tell people how long I’ve been in capoeira [seven years], cause I don’t feel like I’m as good as some people.” A Belgian woman, who had been playing for five years and
was in Brazil for four months to train capoeira, said she was embarrassed to wear her orange (intermediate) cord at the studio because she knew her skill was not equivalent to a student with an orange cord from the Brazilian studio.

Branca, from the Czech Republic, finally left the studio to train with another group after four months, saying that she “was never really a part of the group.” She told me she did not like the group’s constant focus on making money from North American tourists and the overflowing classes filled with novice students that this created. Branca stayed in Salvador for six months to study fine arts at the Bahian state university for a semester, and then traveled throughout Brazil. She left Salvador tired and ready to be home.

This boundary between foreigner and Brazilian was brought home by the master’s public reaction to a visiting male practitioner from the Czech Republic. This man had advanced skill at capoeira play and music, and he professed desire to learn from the master at Capoeira World. However, the master publicly rebuked him several times, such as in the following incident:

After the *roda*, the master told everyone to sit down in a circle on the floor. He was visibly irritated and asked a female visitor from the Czech Republic to translate for him. He wanted the Czech man to understand him. The visiting man was a tall blond wearing neutral white capoeira workout clothes, an advanced practitioner who had been training at the studio for about a month. The master began to lecture, saying "capoeira is always played with the mind” and knocking on his head with his *berimbau* stick. “It’s a game of
intelligence.” He explained that everything is done with a purpose, and a practitioner should always think about what he was doing. “Everything,” he re-emphasized, from the choice of *berimbau*, the music, the *roda*, one’s interactions in the *roda*, “everything has a purpose and reason for being how it is, even if it does not appear to.”

He paused for the Czech woman to translate and she began speaking rapidly in Czech, which drew suppressed chuckles from the group. When she stopped, the master began again, telling the man that he had not been playing properly in the *roda*. Practitioners must be alert, aware, and most importantly, think about what they are doing and about what their opponent is doing. He told him that one never combines an attack with a cartwheel. He was animated, talking a mile a minute and waving his arms. The man sat passively staring at the floor. He stood and asked one of his advanced students, a tall dark skin-toned man with dreadlocks, to come forward into the *roda*. The master demonstrated what he had just explained in words: he reenacted what the man had done in the *roda*, giving his advanced student a head-butt and then immediately backed away into a crab position with one foot extended. “You have to use your head” he said to the man again. (Field notes, quotes my translation from Portuguese.)

These lectures along with subtle marginalization of the knowledge of foreigners framed Brazilians as the legitimate holders of this knowledge.
Converting Capoeira

What do Brazilian practitioners gain from this specific construction of capoeira with tourists? In the tourism market, I expected the racialized cultural capital generated from capoeira to be most easily converted into economic capital, through the mechanism of the tourism market. Past work on cultural capital shows that it may be most easily converted into social capital (Lizardo 2006; Schultz and Breiger 2010), and I expected this to be a second benefit of RCC for Brazilians. I find that the successful creation of racially charged cultural capital at Capoeira World does indeed grant them economic success in the tourism market. The social capital benefits are, however, limited to a select group of advanced Brazilian practitioners. I also find an additional advantage to the studio’s racialized cultural capital – dominant cultural capital.

Economic Capital

The economic gains to the Brazilian practitioners are straightforward: the successful use of tourist distinctions translated into higher tourist volume and greater lengths of stay for tourists. In addition to the revenue from nightly classes, it also meant that tourists purchased more instruments, clothes, and music lessons. For Brazilian practitioners, capoeira became a form of RCC valuable in the growing tourism market in Salvador and, on rarer occasions, in cultural markets of the US and Europe for those few practitioners that were able to open capoeira studios abroad.
Social Capital

Social connections – especially weak ties – can be crucial to building status, learning about job opportunities, and getting interviews, to name a few benefits (Granovetter 1983; Lin 1999). Because Brazilian practitioners had disposable income from jobs as capoeira instructors, socialized outside of the studio, and lived in the neighborhood, tourists could spend time with them at local bars and clubs, developing friendships and romantic relationships. These interactions with tourists in Capoeira World provided its advanced students popular with tourists with exactly these important weak social ties. Upon my second visit to the school in 2008, two of the male practitioners who had led classes the previous year had married foreign women and moved abroad to open studios in the US and Spain respectively. One other male alumnus had opened a studio abroad after marrying an American woman. None of the remaining Brazilian practitioners reported having taken trips abroad to visit tourists at home in the US or Europe or receiving job contacts through social contacts with tourists. For those other Brazilian practitioners, the relationships established during tourists’ visits most often translated into Facebook “friendships” or email acquaintances.

Some tourists told me that they had heard about Capoeira World and even particular Brazilian practitioners through friends in their respective home countries who had visited Capoeira World in the past. A few tourists made repeat visits to Salvador and Capoeira World; however, the four repeat visitors I spoke with said they had not been in contact with any of the practitioners while outside of Brazil.
More often, the cultural knowledge of practitioners at Capoeira World and their social interactions with tourists translated into “dominant” cultural capital. Carter (2005) uses this term to distinguish cultural capital that is widely recognized as valuable across most social settings from her theorization of “black” cultural capital – knowledge of black American styles and music valuable in a limited social setting. Dominant cultural capital aligns with standard views of cultural capital as widely valued and convertible in many contexts (Bourdieu 1986; Lamont and Lareau 1988).

Little work in the cultural capital perspective examines elite tastes and cultural capital in Brazil. Some evidence suggests that the content of dominant cultural capital follows a different path than it does in the US and Western Europe. A growing body of work in anthropology, consumer studies, and cultural studies reveals that knowledge of and access to the cultural objects and the lifestyle of the US and Western Europe are central markers of cultural capital outside of these countries (Arnould 1989; Belk 2000; Fung 2007; Ustuner and Holt 2007; Stuner and Holt 2010). Access to and embodied familiarity with cultural markers inaccessible to most – American-style home decor, European fashion, and technologies such as the iPod – are used to signal high status (Wilk 1995; Stuner and Holt 2010). O’Dougherty (2002), for example, shows that for middle class Brazilians, trips to Disney World are not just vacations but valuable cultural and status building resources.

At Capoeira World, attract tourists with racialized capoeira knowledge allowed practitioners to gain dominant cultural capital as demonstrable ties to the global arena and
American and European culture and embodied cultural dispositions. Advanced practitioners’ photographs of themselves with tourists and the foreign friends listed on their internet profile pages constituted a global cultural capital, publically available for all to see. Interaction with tourists provided practitioners with knowledge beyond widely available foreign consumer goods like Coca-Cola or to disembodied claims to like foreign musical genres. Instead, these interactions offered experience with the cultural distinctions of American lifestyle and provided them embodied skill with the cultural knowledge of the foreigners. It would be a stretch to say that Brazilian practitioners could recreate an American lifestyle, but their contact with tourists familiarizes them with this lifestyle and provided social ties to Americans and Europeans as cultural capital.

Conclusion: Middle Class Resources in Action

In the previous chapter, I found that blackness and black bodies were central to the studio’s interaction with tourists. This chapter shows that Capoeira World could successfully assert blackness and deploy black bodies because of existing middle class resources. This supports expectation number four over number five; middle class practitioners can best construct racialized cultural capital because they can motivate economic capital towards material cultural goods and social capital towards gaining additional cultural knowledge. Further, the cultural capital the master has from education and upbringing resonates with foreign tourists’ cultural understanding.

At Capoeira World, familiarity with tourists’ cultural distinctions became simultaneously a product of middle class cultural capital and a generator of cultural
capital in the tourism market, allowing the studio to align capoeira content with the expectations of a wide consumer base. RCC differentiated the studio from others and the Brazilian practitioners from the tourists. It also, as a separate capital, generated its own benefits in the forms of social, economic, and cultural capital.

Deploying RCC relied on pre-existing resources and tourists’ distinctions rather than the dominant racial dispositions of Brazilian society. Black bodies mattered, but existing economic, social, and cultural resources were vital to transforming blackness into other resources. Capoeira World could benefit from this RCC because it successfully combined economic and cultural resources with symbols of blackness, including black bodies. This meant that RCC did not map onto whites or blacks as groups (or the white, brown, and black categories of the Brazilian census), but onto the Brazilian middle class, granting benefits to blacks that have access to middle class resources.

These findings also support expectation number six. The racialized cultural capital generated from capoeira was most easily converted into economic capital in the tourism market. It also became, to a lesser degree, social and cultural capitals for Brazilian practitioners.
6. AUTHENTICITY IS NOT ENOUGH: FAILING TO MAKE MEANING AND CULTURAL CAPITAL AT CAPOEIRA CLUB

Could Capoeira Club, a lower class capoeira studio that also sought tourists, create racialized cultural capital, as did Capoeira World? Was Capoeira Club similarly successful with tourists? Cultural capital theory predicts that class will be positively correlated with the successful generation of cultural capital and thus RCC. However, work on tourism and on the consumption of racialized cultural objects predicts that both poverty and black bodies will allow lower class practitioners to successfully transform capoeira and capoeira bodies into cultural capital with tourists.

As I found in Chapters 4 and 5, Capoeira World motivated existing economic, social, and cultural resources to co-construct meanings of blackness and experiential consumption with tourists. Black bodies mattered, but were not the only necessary ingredient to creating cultural capital. Were the symbols of blackness and poverty at Capoeira Club enough to create an authentic experience for tourists and allow this studio to compete with capoeira World?

Again, I examined interactions between tourists and Brazilian capoeira practitioners, the symbols these interactions foregrounded, and the meanings these interactions created. Again, I found that authenticity, in the form of non-tourism experience with cultural difference was central to capoeira tourism at Capoeira Club. Unlike Capoeira World, I find that Capoeira Club was less successful at holding the
interests of tourists and thus at transforming capoeira knowledge, practice, and symbols into cultural capital – racialized or otherwise.

**Capoeira Club: Low Economic Capital**

A lengthy bus ride from the center of Salvador towards the outskirts reaches the studio in about an hour. In a car, the ride takes about fifteen minutes. Winding along the city highways, the bus route passes through the densely populated urban center dotted with high-rise apartment buildings and then continues toward the outskirts of town, a vast area known locally as the periphery. Leaving the high-rises behind, shorter buildings, fronting mechanic shops, hardware supply stores, tire stores, etc., give way to a vast swath of shanty neighborhoods that cover the hillsides. After several minutes along the highway flanked by these low-income neighborhoods the bus reaches the neighborhood. Air filled with fumes from the passing traffic and a few small open-air bars give way to a narrow road, which ascends into a network of walkways and houses. The community’s residents had electricity, water service, and houses constructed (usually by the residents themselves) of bricks, mortar, and corrugated aluminum. Beyond the main road, only foot traffic can reach many of the neighborhood’s houses along narrow paved paths. Most of the area's male residents who work, work as security guards at one of Salvador's many gated apartment buildings or businesses, and female residents often work as housekeepers in the city's wealthier households.

When I met the Capoeira Club’s master in 2006 on pre-dissertation fieldwork, his studio was located a few doors from the neighborhood’s entrance. The building was unassuming, a wooden front with two glassless window openings closed by wooden
shutters, three concrete walls, a polished concrete floor, a corrugated metal roof, and a small open air concrete slab in back where one can find a small occasionally functioning bathroom and a refrigerator. The building was typical of the neighborhood – built by hand with available materials. Inside the main rectangular room, about fifteen by twenty-five feet, Capoeira Club was homey and welcoming, decorated with an elaborate mural of the studio's emblem and photographs of the numerous foreigners who visited the studio. The open window cutouts at the front of the building filled with parents and friends of the students watching the class.

After twelve years at that location, the master, using money donated by foreign visitors over the years, built a new studio/house in the neighborhood, and began offering classes from the large main room of his home in 2008. A few hundred yards off the main street down a narrow paved walkway, his small concrete porch led to a small room occupied by a large television on a table, and a bedroom off to the side, partially hidden behind a makeshift fabric curtain. A twelve by twenty foot rectangular workout room followed, and then a kitchen and bathroom – small and abstractly shaped rooms conforming to the physical limits of the space available for constructing a home in the densely populated community. The jagged walls of the house left large gaps between the walls and the roof.

The workout room itself, about 15 by 25 feet, was minimally decorated – a concrete floor painted a lively blue, white concrete walls, a hand-painted logo on the side wall, and a large hand-painted banner across the front wall announcing classes. To the side, hung a corkboard covered in snapshots of the group and the various foreign visitors the studio has hosted. Two brightly painted touristic berimbau leaned in a corner behind
one of the studio’s two plastic chairs and its only drum. One tambourine hung from a nail in a sidewall. A television, DVD player, and stereo sat in another corner.

Capoeira Club’s instructor, Eduardo, graduated from his master’s instruction over fifteen years earlier and promptly opened his own studio. At forty-nine years old, he has run Capoeira Club for many years, teaching in the neighborhood. After being shot in the side by a stray bullet at the age of thirty-seven, he could no longer play capoeira but continued to teach. He had worked for over twenty years as a security guard for a high-rise apartment/extended stay hotel in a touristy beach neighborhood of Salvador, where he earned just over four hundred and fifty reais per month (about USD $225).

Eduardo’s students, all from the surrounding neighborhood, ranged in age from four to late twenties. The twenty-something students worked a variety of low-paying jobs in the city, as security guards, mechanics, and industrial laborers. Occasionally an older student, having trained capoeira in his younger days, stopped by for a reminiscent class, but these students did not attend regularly due to work and family commitments. One a typical night, ten to twelve students appeared for class. Many students trained irregularly, withdrawing for weeks, months, and sometimes years due to other commitments.

Men and women trained at the school. Students were of varying skin tones, but there were no Brazilians likely to be classified as white. All were clean-cut, except for one nineteen-year-old male who sported shoulder-length dreadlocks. None had visible tattoos. Unlike practitioners at Capoeira World, many in this group held low paying jobs
which required them to have *boa aparência*\(^1\) – a clean cut look with no visible tattoos (Figueiredo 1994).

Unlike Capoeira World, Capoeira Club was physically and symbolically distant from the Tourism Center. The instructor and students had little access to social contacts, funds, or cultural knowledge of the tourism sector. Through his job at the hotel, Eduardo met and attracted tourists to the studio. In 2007, a work colleague created the studio's first leaflet, written in three languages – English, Spanish, and Italian – to attract tourists. According to the instructor’s log, over one hundred foreigners visited Capoeira Club as of 2009, but only a handful returned for repeated classes. Eduardo charged these foreign students fifty *reais* (roughly USD $25) per month to attend classes. As of 2009, the studio’s foreign visitors remained irregular diversions. Funding came from the money charged these tourists, tourists’ occasional donations, and class monthly fees – twenty *reais*\(^2\) (about USD $10) – charged to local students.

Tourism at Capoeira Club was limited compared to Capoeira World. The studio received several short-term tourists that attended one or two classes, but only a handful attended for several weeks or months (during my time there only six attended long-term). The tourists that visited Capoeira Club were all light skin-toned, twenty-something, middle class college students or recent graduates from the United States and Europe. Portuguese language skill varied among tourists from no ability to intermediate, but most

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\(^1\) Literally, good appearance.

\(^2\) Brazilian currency, roughly two *reais* to one US dollar.
were at the intermediate level. None had advanced Portuguese comprehension skills.³

These tourists were intrepid independent travelers that enjoyed off-the-beaten-track locations and experiences. Several had lived in and traveled to numerous countries.

Making Meaning? From Capoeira Practice to Commercialism

Chapter 4 showed that performance and interaction are central to capoeira tourism. How well audiences understand a performance depends on how well categories of interpretation match categories intended by the performers and producers (Alexander 2008). At Capoeira Club, performances and interactions failed to assert a coherent set of meanings – physical and interactional, racial or otherwise – as they did at Capoeira World. Tourists enjoyed the studio’s performances and were impressed by individual practitioners’ skill at capoeira practice, but they were also confused during interactions. Tourists interpreted the group’s poverty and distance from the Tourism Center as authentic, but they rarely attended more than one or two classes because of the strong sense of commercialism at Capoeira Club.

³ The visual and embodied symbols described in the analysis were the primary cultural objects available to tourists. Much of the nuance of capoeira skill, conversations among Brazilians, and internal struggles at Capoeira World were beyond tourists’ understanding. This reinforced the perception that the studio’s culture was complex and authentic.
Performing Capoeira for Tourists

On the surface, many of Capoeira World’s activities mirrored those of Capoeira Club. The studio conducted occasional recruitment presentations, though they traveled into the city to do so rather than holding events at the studio. The group held nightly classes where they conducted capoeira workout routines and taught tourists capoeira movements. Performance was central to the studio’s interactions with tourists. Tourists took photographs and pointed at Brazilian practitioners, fascinated by the complex movements. Capoeira Club’s lack of sustained experience with tourists left Brazilian practitioners nervous when interacting with foreigners and left tourists frustrated by complex and unfamiliar movements. The section below described one of the studio’s recruitment performances, done at a local beachfront hotel where the master worked as a security guard.

The group of fourteen Brazilian teens and adults arrived with the studio’s only drum and two *berimbau*s. They were all dressed in the studio’s full uniform - red pants and navy shirt, cords around the waist – which was rare. They stood on the sidewalk across from the hotel beating the drum and strumming the *berimbau*s for about fifteen minutes, while the master prepared inside the hotel. He came out later and motioned for the group to come through the lobby into a large unused space, where about twenty North American and European guests of the hotel waited.

After ten minutes of fussing with the stereo, a capoeira CD started playing but was barely audible as it echoed through the huge ceramic tile room. The master asked the North Americans to line up in rows and three of his students
stood in front practicing the basic rhythmic movement of capoeira, the *ginga*.
The master communicated with them using hand motion, and did not verbally
explain anything to the foreigners throughout the class or performance. The
advanced Brazilian practitioners in the front row – demonstrating for the
foreigners – each moved at a different speed as they did the movements,
because they could not hear the music well. This confused the foreigners, as
the stiffly attempted movement they had never done before, and the master
walked around the room correcting each North American by repositioning
their arms and legs. The remaindered of the Brazilian practitioners watched in
amusement or chatted amongst themselves. None offered to aid the flailing
foreigners. The tourists looked at each other in confusion, laughing in
embarrassment. The master told the three Brazilians demonstrating in the
front of the room to move on to a basic kick. The foreigners again attempted
this new movement cumbersomely.

Finally, one Brazilian practitioner offered to help a tall blond North
American male who was moving like a robot but enjoying himself. After she
demonstrated the kick for him, he attempted it twice and she nodded yes with
a smile. He spoke to her in English, explaining how difficult it was, to which
she smiled and shook her head in affirmation. A minute later she came
running over to the Brazilians laughing, and said that she had absolutely no
idea what he had said to her. They all laughed.

A female North American struggling with the kick began waving her arms
at the Brazilians standing to the sides, trying to get their attention. After
several minutes of this, she caught the eye of one Brazilian male who had been training with the group for two months, and motioned him over saying “pode ajudar?” (Can you help?) He demonstrated the movement for her several times and then quickly went to join his friends and giggle at the experience.

The three Brazilians in front, now soaked in sweat in the non-air conditioned room, continued to demonstrate kicks quickly without breaking the movements down for the tourists. One North American female, wearing a t-shirt from a capoeira group in the tourist center, began explaining the movements in English to the group of tourists.

Next, the master ordered those students demonstrating movements to begin a floor movement that involved moving to the side by placing both hands on the floor and spinning over the hands. After a minute of chaotic flying arms and legs amongst the foreigners, I intervened to explain the movement to several of the tourists that had crashed into each other several times. The master and Brazilian practitioners stood and watched. The Brazilians ended the lesson without a word to the tourists and pooled on the opposite side of the room. (Field notes.)

Beyond their difficulty directing tourists in capoeira practice, the group struggled with their performances of capoeira for tourists. After this workout session, Capoeira Club conducted a performance for this group of tourists. A few tourists left after the workout, thinking the presentation had ended. However, after several minutes of organizing and tying white scraps of fabric around their arms as a costume, the Brazilians
began, again without warning. A male student began playing the studio’s one drum to a \textit{maculelé} rhythm, but the huge room swallowed the sound. Next, the group of Brazilians moved into the center of the room single-file, beating together wooden sticks held in each hand. They had trouble getting into formation and several had to stop beating their sticks to point out the correct positions for other practitioners. Finally, the performance began – a choreographed routine the group had invented and practiced several times beforehand. Four of the older students had designed and practiced the performance repeatedly, but others had been unable to attend classes regularly at the studio. These students repeatedly fell out of place in the routine, moved in the wrong direction into another performer, and missed important beats where they were to hit their \textit{maculelé} stick with that of another performer. When they finished, the tourists stood silently for a minute, not realizing the performance had ended, before they began clapping.

After this, Capoeira Club conducted a \textit{roda}, including the foreigners in the circle. The master played the \textit{berimbau} and male student drummed, but the sound was again, barely audible in the room. The tourists all stood at the back and timidly clapped, while Brazilians played in the \textit{roda} for several minutes. Then, two older and more assertive students began randomly pulling tourists in one by one. Brazilians performed capoeira movements independently of the foreigner in the roda with them, while the foreigner moved about looking confused and embarrassed. Again, no one attempted to guide them in doing movements they had practiced earlier. After several tourists had been pulled into the roda, three foreigners went to the front of the \textit{roda} on their own to play, pointing to the \textit{roda} to indicate they wanted to play. A North American female whispered to another
tourist that one of the Brazilians was good. Several North American males began to crowd around the front of the roda waiting to go into the roda.

As at Capoeira World, tourists enjoyed photographing the show. During the roda, tourists watched excitedly and ran for their cameras. Afterwards, one North American who could speak some Portuguese attempted to speak to the Brazilians, asking them how long they had practiced capoeira. Another took a multitude of photos with his digital SLR camera, motioning for the Brazilians to pose and soon the adolescent Brazilians from the group were crowded around him waiting to have their picture taken.

Tourist Satisfaction

The foreigners all told me that they enjoy their brief visits. When Eduardo opened his new studio, operating out of his home, he held an all-day roda and barbeque, which twenty-five North Americans, two Japanese tourists, and several Brazilian practitioners from other studios attended, but none returned to take classes. Despite a recruitment flyer and repeated attempts to recruit tourists verbally in the beach area where Eduardo worked, the studio received few tourists who stayed for more than one or two classes. Eduardo repeatedly expressed his confusion to me as to why tourists did not stay longer to attend classes at his studio.

Overall, tourists saw poverty and distance from the tourist center as signals of authenticity. The foreigners who visited wanted to avoid tourist things and experience the “everyday stuff of the common person,” as Lidia, an Italian in her early twenties, told me. Lidia spent months in Salvador staying at the pricy oceanfront hotel building where Eduardo worked, dividing her time between the beach and parties.
Lucas, an outgoing 28-year-old white Spaniard, met the master a few weeks after arriving in Salvador for a final course on Architecture at the city’s public university. Lucas spent much of his time in Salvador sharing beers and clubbing with other foreign visitors most nights of the week, and moved from apartment to apartment sharing living space with a variety of foreigners. Lucas told me he liked the studio because it represented something away from tourism and commercialization:

I think it is authentic, because it’s really from the street. For me what is inauthentic is in the Pelourinho, but in [the neighborhood] it's much more authentic - because the money is much less there. I see it more as a social project… I think it should be a normal person. You see these tourists that do capoeira, they have dreadlocks and capoeira pants... it's another level. Here the people from there don't go around with shirts of Mestre Bimba, I don't know. When you do capoeira, do capoeira. But after, dress normally. I know people here who like capoeira a lot, but it looks like they play capoeira 24 hours a day. (Field notes.)

Lucas and another Spanish tourist, Roberto, spent much time playing with the studio’s children before class and found “the contact with the people there. It’s a really direct contact, not superficial.” They rarely asked questions specific to capoeira, but were happy with the atmosphere: “It’s a reality of Brazil that for a tourist you don't see. [The neighborhood] is a suburb that is really far away, that helps me understand another side of Brazil.” Roberto told me, “For me, personally, it is an important cultural exchange, and I think for them too. The kids are always fascinated with us, asking where you are from.” (My translation from Spanish.)
The construction of poverty fit with tourists’ views of the city. They all complained about the city; the aggressiveness of vendors, street children, and the homeless in Salvador were regular topics of conversation. This led Lucas to see the city as a dangerous place and he hated the touristy parts of the city, saying, “After Salvador, nothing will seem dangerous.” After completing the Architecture course, he stayed in Salvador for four more months, but finally left to travel to Buenos Aires, telling me that in the end he “just didn’t like the city.” His experience in the city was not altered by the dominant tourist messages:

“To see the city as a place of many parties, where everyone is singing... that isn't true. Here they have huge social problems. Day to day you can see the reality in the street. When people from here talk, oh carnival in Salvador, I don't know how carnival is, but people are always talking about how they have a lot of parties here. I don't think that is true.” (Field notes, my translation from Spanish.)

However, this was not enough to motivate these tourists to return for classes, as did the tourists at Capoeira World.

**Asserting Poverty and Commercialism**

Meanings between tourists and Brazilians at the studio emerged not from the extensive interactions seen at Capoeira World, but from tourists’ perceptions of the material deprivation of the neighborhood and through the master’s verbal assertions about money. Tourists enjoyed the performances they attended, but were left confused during classes and frustrated by what they saw as blatant commercialism.
Limited Material Resources

This studio lacked many of the material resources of Capoeira World and did little strategic presenting for foreign tourists. During the two years I knew the group, they conducted two planned presentations to recruit tourists from the beachfront neighborhood where the master worked. Both events were marked by a lack of resources – several practitioners could not participate in parts of the performance because there were not enough maculelé sticks and the group’s single drum could not produce enough sound to fill the large room.

The shortage of resources also influenced the nightly classes. Students attended few classes in their studio uniform because they could afford only one outfit. Though Capoeira World could provide studio t-shirts to the advanced practitioners, all students at the Capoeira Club had to purchase the studio t-shirt at twenty-five reais (about USD $13). To save money, the master bought fabric and asked a neighbor to sew the studio’s pants, charging his students only for the cost of the fabric and labor. Still, most of the studio’s students could afford only one pair of pants. Instead, students usually appeared for class in sweatpants and any shirt they could find. The Capoeira World manufactured berimbaus and had dozens lying around for students to use for practice; however, few of students at Capoeira Club could play the berimbaus well enough to lead a roda with the instrument, because of limited access to the studio’s two berimbaus during the three weeknights the master held classes. Students could not afford to buy the berimbaus and many did not have time to make one. The studio owned two tambourines, and when one
was damaged, the master put the second one away so that students could not train on it without supervision.

The training room itself was not large enough to accommodate more than eight or so students at once, so students spent up to half of the class time standing to the sides waiting for a turn to use the space. The studio had no floor pads with which to practice flips, and though they talked about going to the beach to train these movements, they never went due to the distance and lack of free time. The master often could not watch the class closely, assigning training sequences and then leaving to shower, eat, and prepare for his night job.

Because the studio operated out of the master’s home, family members would occasionally walk through the workout room to get to the kitchen or, after having showered, to return to the bedroom wrapped in a towel. A television in the entryway to the house loudly played Brazilian soap operas almost every night, competing with the stereo playing capoeira music. Neighbors wandered in and out to watch the class or chat with family members. Kids from the neighborhood showed up to watch and giggle at the practitioners, often asking the master if I was a gringa. On one occasion, a political candidate handing out propaganda walked into the room interrupting class to describe her political platform to the group.

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4 A derogatory term for a foreigner.
Making Commercialism the Dominant Meaning

Capoeira Club connected capoeira to meanings of poverty through strategic complains about and requests for money and in practical enactment of capoeira with limited resources. The master complained regularly about expenses and the difficulty of maintaining the building and the group to tourists, going so far as to tell them his monthly salary. As Lucas told me, “He is making four hundred reais per month at the flat, and I’m paying fifty reais per month. I understand that this is a huge percent of his salary.” (My translation from Spanish.) Many times, he pointed out specific parts or materials of the building, saying he wanted to replace a door, a window, the roof, complaining that it was unsecure. However, the poverty of the neighborhood was obvious. Eduardo viewed all foreigners as a homogeneous group of ricos – rich people. The hotel at which he worked charged between 700-1000 reais per month ($350-$500 dollars) for a small studio apartment, which he commented on almost daily, insisting that this was an exorbitant price, greater than his monthly income.

However, the studio failed to establish clear cultural meanings in interaction with tourists, who also saw the studio’s enactment of capoeira as marred by blatant commercialism. The master’s marketing attempts alienated tourists. He learned to emulate the predatory nature tourism in Salvador, inviting foreigners to his home to see his studio and then attempting to sell them classes and clothes once they were there. The tourists all complained about the master’s tendency to commercialize capoeira, when he “whipped out the pants and shirts to sell” whenever a tourist visited the studio, as an Italian tourist explained: “After the first class, he starts asking you to fill out a form and
pay a monthly due... the girls liked it a lot, it was an experience that they won't forget, but afterwards they said to me that it is just an economic business for him.” (Field notes.)

The master’s insistence came from a genuine financial need and from his mimicking dominant approaches to sales in the tourist market of Salvador, but this made the tourists uncomfortable. Ricardo and Lucas purchased white capoeira pants from the master to use in class, but later complained when they saw the pants for less in the Tourist Center:

I think it’s a general problem in Salvador to go for the foreigner, the gringo. To see what they can get. That I don't like. I don't like it because if you say 'I'm helping the kids and maybe you can help me that would be good, ok, you spoke directly. But don't sell me the pants for ten or twenty 
\[ reais \]
more and when I see then in the Pelourinho, which is super expensive, for less than you are selling them. No. I can understand that his economic situation is strong, but. (Field notes.)

Along with poverty, the master occasionally asserted – quite explicitly – contemporary racism as a central meaning in capoeira practice. The master made these statements in conjunction with his repeated claims of poverty. Wealthy white Brazilians were pushing blacks out of economic opportunities in capoeira. The master and students did not often make claims about the history or cultural material of capoeira. Instead, they complained of the theft of capoeira by “os brancos” (white instructors), who were according to him getting rich from capoeira instruction. He frequently complained about current debate to require a degree qualification in physical education to instruct capoeira,
which would restrict poor blacks from teaching capoeira, as most blacks in Brazil had limited access to formal education.

Limited Aesthetic Distinction

The careful aesthetics of Capoeira World confirm what past work find regarding cultural capital – consumers in advanced capitalist societies prefer culture framed as authentic, noncommercial, and aesthetic (Bendix 1997; Grazian 2003; Johnston and Baumann 2007). Capoeira Club made little effort to frame (verbally or visually) capoeira practice in classes or at these infrequent recruiting activities. The workout room way entirely functional, offering tourists no greater sense of capoeira’s aesthetic appeal, as at Capoeira World. Practitioners relied on silent demonstration of movements, the roda, and capoeira instruments over verbal explanation. Students did not regularly wear the studio’s uniform to class, and instead appeared in mismatched workout clothes.

Tourists knew little about capoeira and the studio’s appearance and verbal cues did nothing to enlighten them. What do you know about the history of capoeira, I asked Lucas. "History? Nada. It is a game that was from African origin, I think. Here it is practiced like a martial art or a way to defend yourself. It was a game of the slaves. So that they could play, they made it look like a game." (My translation from Spanish.)

The few instruments the studio owned were not displayed, but instead tucked away in a corner or out of sight altogether. I asked the master why he did not decorate the workout room or at least display the berimbau and tambourine. He replied that they might be damaged if he left them out – better to have them safely put away. Further, rather than using plain (and less expensive) berimbau, the master bought the studio’s
few instruments at the tourism market. I asked the master why he bought these painted *berimbau*, and he replied that he did not know where else to buy them and did not have time to make his own. He also told me that the tourists liked the painted instruments. All tourists I interviewed told me they found those instruments and everything sold at the tourist market to be tacky or undesirable.

The souvenirs the studio offered were not personalized. Rather than offer workout pants with the group’s logo – which the studio’s Brazilian students used for performances – the master appeared after class with a stack of brightly colored generic workout pants purchased in the tourism center. He offered these pants to tourists repeatedly, an inflated price, and rarely made a sale. Tourists complained about the tacky pants and the high prices. When one tourist inquired about purchasing a pair of white capoeira pants, the master bought a pair of bright yellow pants in the *Pelourinho* and offered them to the woman in the following class.

Lucas explained to me how obvious it was to him that the master was only interested in tourism:

> I went there where he works a few times, because he doesn't speak English and he wanted me to talk to the people in the hotel to get them to go to the capoeira. I didn't like that, I felt used. He's saying, 'come to [the neighborhood]. Show of capoeira, then *Candomblé*, then *feijoada*, and you pay me twenty *reais* and come.' And I had to say that to the people that are staying there. And I felt really stupid. I can understand that he needs help, but don't use me. The people were looking at me like, what is this? (Field notes, my translation from Spanish.)
This tourist’s reaction shows that Capoeira Club did attempt to connect capoeira to Afro-
Brazilian cultural objects such as *Candomblé*, but this was unsuccessful because it was
not presented subtly. Lastly, Capoeira World tapped into many available symbols of
Afro-Brazilian culture to assert meanings with tourists, but Capoeira Club never used
the term Afro-Brazilian or connected capoeira (or capoeira bodies) to a discourse of
slave history with tourists.

**Creating Cultural Capital from Capoeira?**

The limited economic capital and knowledge of tourists’ cultural preferences – or
cultural capital – both led to the dominance of commercialism and kept Capoeira Club
from attracting tourists. These factors exacerbated each other. Without material
resources, the studio could not create a coherent aesthetic experience for tourists. Without
knowledge of tourists’ cultural distinctions, the studio could not keep tourists at the
studio for repeated classes. This in turn further distanced its practitioners from socializing
with tourist in order to understand their cultural distinctions.

However, the studio’s struggle in the tourism market was influenced by more than
their lack of cultural and economic capitals. Their class position left them with no larger
understanding of the world of cultural tourism and of how to act within that world. At
Capoeira Club, their view of the world of tourism was generic and incomplete compared
with Capoeira World.

Recent work on culture and inequality moves away from older formulations of the
“culture of poverty,” a perspective that asserts destructive values and interests are the
cultural cause of poverty. Instead, new approaches focus on how cultural frames and repertoires – a set of strategies of action and skills from which people can draw, influence socioeconomic position. These cultural tools and frames of reference develop to best meet the demands of a person’s class environment (Hannerz 1969; Swidler 1986; Macleod 1995; Lareau 2003). Swidler (1986), for example, argues that, as a toolkit, the cultural skills and knowledge of the lower class help them navigate the local environment but provide little guidance for pursuing goal beyond that setting. “One can hardly pursue success in a world where the accepted skills, style, and informal know-how are unfamiliar… To adopt a line of conduct, one needs an image of the kind of world in which one is trying to act, a sense that one can read reasonably accurately (through one’s own feelings and through the responses of others) how one is doing, and a capacity to choose among alternative lines of action” (275). Young (2004) provides an important empirical analysis of the strategies of young poor black men in the US, finding that the habitus is central to their mobility or lack thereof. Those men most removed from mainstream society have competencies designed to allow them to live in their local

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5 This approach is heavily criticized for blaming the victim, and for assuming oppositional values among the poor without empirical data. Recent studies find that the poor do not have oppositional cultures (Young 2004; Carter 2005).

6 People can have varied and even contradictory tools in their repertoire, but it remains constituted through the context in which a person lives.

7 Bourdieu argues that the lower classes develop a taste for necessity, which includes rejection of the tastes of other classes.
environment, yet this actually inhibits them because it offers them only vague representations of the world of work and general rather than specific strategies for getting jobs.

An Underlying Hobbyist Habitus

Capoeira Club’s practitioners interpreted capoeira as a hobby, even while attempting to attract tourists. Both studios held community and collective commitment as important aspects of their respective group cultures. However, a culture of hobby and safety – capoeira a secondary or tertiary concern after work and family commitments – replaced the culture of professionalization seen at Capoeira World. The primary meaning which became attached to capoeira practice within the group was that of a community hobby meant to offer an alternative to young people from a neighborhood where school attendance and employment were low. The instructor was well known within the community for running this studio and working with local children. He often walked younger children home after the kids class.

As Wacquant (2005) finds that successful boxers come from the stable and most integrated segment of the lower class, this studio’s practitioners and their master lack the economic resources and time necessary to cultivate a professional orientation towards capoeira. Instead of a career opportunity, the studio represented what Wacquant’s gym represents for inner city boxers – a safe refuge, a community to belong to, an activity to dedicate oneself to that is better than the options outside the gym. He often employed a vocabulary of community and safety when referring to the capoeira studio. The studio has a high enrollment of children from the area, several of whom the master walked home
after the kids class each night. The group’s students had known one another for years and many had close personal friendships outside of the studio. The master repeated to students nightly that they needed to attend every class and chastised students who missed classes to hang out. Commitment to capoeira was highly valued and verbalized; however, this was framed as a commitment to a non-street lifestyle, rather than to developing advanced skill at capoeira or adopting a capoeirista identity. On several occasions, students complained outside of class about how capoeira practitioners from a neighboring group played the game, viewing them as excessively aggressive and dangerous, thus further confirming the primary meaning of capoeira within the group.

The master complained almost daily about the thieves, drug-addicts, and drunks of the neighborhood, telling me repeatedly that he had to ask several students to leave the group because of their drug habits or because they brought friends to the studio who sold drugs. The master, unable to play capoeira after being hit by a stray bullet some 15 years earlier, was a constant reminder of the dangers of the city. *O tiro* – the shot – was a popular topic of conversation.

A lack of money and time meant few if any yearly trips to capoeira events in the city center or to other capoeira studios, no trips out of the city as a group, and no extra activities to develop more nuanced knowledge of capoeira. On rare occasions, the master would bring a capoeira DVD to class for the group to watch – though he always skipped through the discussions to focus on impressive movements in the videos. In the two years I participated with the group, I never heard anyone at the studio discuss a historical narrative of capoeira or philosophize about how it should be practiced.
The studio held weekly rodas, but the master or his son usually played the main berimbau the entire time. Only one student at the studio could play the drum well enough to do so during a roda. Other students played the tambourine, but none were expected to take time to learn the instruments. Several alumni could play these instruments well, but these older students rarely appeared for weekly roda due to work and family commitments. Similarly, many of the students could sing the chorus of many capoeira songs, but did not know lengthier lyrics. The master wanted to learn other rhythms and songs, but lacked time to take music classes or practice daily. Advanced students rarely led classes, which inhibited the development of the leadership skills necessary to work in capoeira.

The master encouraged students to attend regularly, but he rarely placed importance on the development of professional capoeira competency. He rarely evaluated their skill at capoeira play and never their musical abilities. Only a few students knew song lyrics well enough to lead songs during rodas. Each year before the annual testing ceremony, he would quickly evaluate if each student should advance to the next cord level. However, when I asked him to explain to me how he made these decisions, he told me which students attending class regularly over the course of the past year.

A Feel for the Game of Tourism?

At Capoeira Club, though the instructor was aware of the market for nightly capoeira classes among tourists, this awareness was not enough. Numerous practitioners at the studio had the cultural goods so to speak – at capoeira practice, samba dancing, and musical practice. The master and advanced students at Capoeira club understood there
was a market for capoeira tourism and that tourists wanted, in general, a cultural experience. Comparing this studio’s “feel for the game” of tourism with that of Capoeira World revealed that the lack of available resources acted as a feedback mechanism that further separated Capoeira Club from the success of Capoeira World.

**Interacting with Tourists**

In contrast to Capoeira World, the lack of sustained contact with foreigners at Capoeira Club, in addition to distancing them from tourists’ cultural distinctions, also slowed the group’s socialization into the workings of the tourist market. The lack of sustained interaction with foreigners or with the tourism market left these Brazilian capoeiristas with limited knowledge of how to interact with tourists. They had difficulty teaching capoeira to people unfamiliar with the practice. The classes rarely focused on any one movement for more than a few repetitions, running through them quickly rather than breaking down the movements into parts for novices. They often attempted to teach the tourists complex movements, and the tourists expressed frustration at not being able to do the movements, unaware those were movements too complex for novices. Another told me he never knew what was happening in class because they would quickly move from one training sequence to another without warning, after repeating the movement once or twice.

Newer teachers at Capoeira World conducted classes in similar style, but those teachers rarely led tourists for more than a few minutes when other instructors are resting or busy. The many advanced practitioners at Capoeira World could teach classes, conduct *rodas*, and work with tourists each night. However, the Capoeira Club could not maintain
a comparable performance on a nightly basis. Many advanced students could not attend class regularly because of work schedules, meaning they could not hold a *roda*. When they held small *rodas*, there was often no one to play the instruments.

While practitioners at Capoeira World learned that tourists were often timid in capoeira classes and vigilantly encouraged tourists to stay engaged and attempt new movements, instructors at Capoeira Club never encouraged tourists, leaving them to stand or sit whenever they are afraid to try a movement. This was especially obvious in the studios *rodas*, intimidating activities where individuals must push their way into a circle of clapping watchful people, initiating play. This can be intimidating to novices, who must worry about making their bodies do the movements in addition to being observed by the group. This group left tourists standing on the sideline of *rodas* to clap, rarely encouraging them to enter and play. The two Spanish tourists who attended the class regularly rarely entered the *roda*, and told me they did not understand when or how to go in. Instead, they stood to the side and clapped for the thirty to fifty minute weekly *roda*. The master told me he did not want to make tourists uncomfortable by pushing them to enter the *roda*.

This timidity with the foreigners extended into all interactions with them, including dealing with injuries such as a tourist dislocating his shoulder:

Felipe, a twenty-five year old French man who trained at the studio for three months, dislocated his shoulder in the *roda* tonight. He was doing something rather innocuous and ran from the *roda* clutching his left arm and groaning loudly. He yelled “it’s broken” and bit the corner of the wall like a wild animal. Everyone thought he was joking and laughed. Then he bit the wall
again and cried out. When he swung around, I saw that his shoulder was out of position. Sweat was pouring from his shaking body as he doubled over in pain and groaned. The kids started to gather around him, smiling. One started to touch him and he yelled out for the kid to stay back. He calmed down a bit and refused to move his arm despite everyone telling him that he needed to straighten it out and pop it back in place. That ended class. I was horrified, but the Brazilians just stood around chatting and occasionally trying to decide what hospital to take the guy to at 9 pm. There was no rush to help Felipe. After ten minutes or so, it was decided that he would go to a hospital, a forty-minute bus ride away. A Brazilian was trying to get him to change his clothes first, out of his sweat soaked capoeira outfit, but he groaned that he could not. When the bus finally arrived, he shrieked every time it went over a hole in the road and asked every ten seconds how much farther it was to the hospital.

(Field notes.)

While practitioners at Capoeira World understood that foreign visitors are a diverse group, the practitioners at Capoeira Club, because of a lack of sustained contact with foreigners, perceived all foreigners as a homogeneous wealthy group. The construction of capoeira content distinguished by poverty appealed to only a small number of foreign tourists, most of who were interested in a one-time experience rather than repeated (paid) classes. The majority of the tourists the master attempted to recruit in the beach area of the city showed no interest in visiting the studio or neighborhood, making these authenticity-seekers a small consumer base.
Understanding the Market

Further, while Capoeira World’s practitioners had a good understanding of the reality of opportunities for work in capoeira and the limits of these opportunities, their lower class counterparts saw a career in capoeira as a distant idealized dream. These students rarely discussed work in tourism, capoeira, dance, or entertainment, except for the occasions when I explicitly asked about the topic. I made several inquiries with the studio’s few advanced students – who were as skilled at the movements, music, and associated *samba* dance – if they thought of pursuing careers in capoeira or tourism. Students met these inquiries with similar responses – a quick shake of the head, no, as if the idea were beyond the realm of possibilities. One advanced student – the master’s son, following his father’s career path by working as a grocery store security guard – told me that there were no opportunities. “No,” he said, “you have to study more to work less.” (My translation from Portuguese.)

Students at Capoeira Club did not verbalized distaste for the tourism market or for the way capoeira was practiced by the famous masters or studios successful in the tourism market (just the opposite). They occasionally joked that only a few lucky superstars of capoeira could jet around the world attending capoeira events. Students at Capoeira World had knowledge of the process of pursuing opportunities, slowly making social connections, built up by attending events in the city and eventually, abroad. Students at Capoeira Club, when I asked the advanced practitioners if they had considered trying to work in capoeira, shook their heads no, told me it was impossible, and changed the subject.
This studio misunderstood the unique experience his studio could offer tourists. Rather than a meaningful one-on-one encounter with Brazilians, the studio emphasized Tourist Center products and spent little time in meaningful interaction with the foreigners. The master had no specific strategy for marketing his classes to tourists, and he repeatedly commented to me over the months that he did not understand why tourists did not attend more regularly or dedicate themselves more fully to learning capoeira. Almost daily he commented to me, in disbelief, that most of the tourists he saw in the beach area where he worked, spent most of their days and nights drinking heavily. Furthermore, partly because he worked in the beach area, his recruiting efforts were limited to this section of town. He did not recruit in the Tourist Center where more authenticity-seeking tourists may have been located. Their exclusion ran so deep that they were unaware of the aspects of the studio that aligned well with the market for capoeira tourism, such as their ability to offer authenticity and one-on-one interaction with local Brazilians. The master told me he wanted to close his studio in the neighborhood and offer classes out of the hotel where he worked. He thought this would allow him greater access to paying tourists, though it would eliminate many of the Brazilian practitioners from the class because of the time and money needed to reach the beach area by bus.

This also misaligned with these tourists taste for spending much time socializing in bars with others of similar socioeconomic backgrounds. While the tourists at Capoeira World could spend time with that studio’s practitioners in local bars and attending concerts, the students at Capoeira Club rarely socialized after classes and could not afford a bar-going lifestyle.
The master of Capoeira World was able to mobilize his social connections to find foreign language students to attend recruitment events, to travel abroad for capoeira events (which also brought foreign visitors to his studio), and to find the capoeira historian he used at recruitment events. Capoeira Club had none of these social ties. Instead, the master approached tourists on the streets in the beach neighborhood where he worked and met tourists staying at the hotel. He did not mobilize his few social connections to other capoeira groups to recruit tourists or provide other cultural events for tourists to attend.

**Conclusion**

Now I can return to my central research questions: 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 of blackness convert capoeira – social capital, economic capital, dominant cultural capital, racial group closure? Answering these questions required both a comparison across class groups and an analysis of the cultural resources available to capoeira studios and tourists. My comparative design allowed me to examine how racial symbols were deployed across class groups.

The Nationalization and Reafricanization frameworks described in Chapter 2 made predictions regarding how these studios would construct meaning around capoeira in the context of tourism. The Nationalization framework predicted that practitioners would connect capoeira to symbols of Brazilianness over blackness. However, the Reafricanization framework predicted that practitioners would assert stronger racial
meanings through capoeira by connecting it to symbols of blackness and Africa. Travassos (1999) provides limited evidence that the ambiguity surrounding capoeira allows masters to play up or down the slave history and ethnic legacy of capoeira depending on their own racial identity and that of their students. However, in the tourism context, black bodies themselves should be central to the consumption experience. In chapter 2, I claimed that in the Brazilian context, symbols of blackness and Afro-Brazilianness may be available to anyone – regardless of skin tone, racial identification, or class status – who possesses the cultural competence to cultivate, display, and manipulate these symbols.

The experience of Capoeira Club in the tourism market supports this prediction. The findings of the previous two chapters show that class resources provide the cultural competence necessary to create cultural capital from capoeira. Black bodies are a necessary but insufficient condition for success in the market for tourist capoeira. At Capoeira Club, tourists interpreted the studio as authentic because of its poverty and distance from the Tourist Center, but it was nevertheless less successful in the tourism market than was Capoeira World. The lack of cultural cues – physical and interactional, racial or otherwise – left tourists confused and frustrated by what they saw as blatant commercialism.

This stemmed from the Brazilian practitioners’ lack of social, economic, and dominant cultural capitals, which constituted capoeira culture as a hobby and left practitioners uncertain how to play the game of cultural tourism. These factors acted as feedback mechanisms that further separated the ability of the studio to transform capoeira into cultural capital. Finally, the mainly black bodies of these capoeira practitioners and
other recognized symbols of blackness did not become central symbols in this studio’s enactment of capoeira with tourists.

Two things became clear when comparing Capoeira Club with the more successful (in tourism) Capoeira World. First, having existing middle class resources was central to the relative success of Capoeira World. The lack of material objects, social connections, and dominant cultural knowledge derived from class position all impeded Capoeira Club’s ability to establish shared meanings with tourists. Second, the centrality of meanings of blackness at Capoeira World also relied on existing resources at that studio. Capoeira Club possessed black bodies and used Afro-Brazilian symbols, but the studio did not provide a coherent and sustained meaning system for tourists. Individuals across class groups can take action to market their cultural knowledge or enact it in a particular manner, but their understanding of how to do so, of which venues to use, and of which audiences to seek out are each shaped by the underlying dispositions of their location in the class structure.
Table 6.1
Comparison of Capoeira World and Capoeira Club

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Familiarity with tourists’ distinctions</th>
<th>Capoeira World</th>
<th>Capoeira Club</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Experiential consumption</td>
<td>Blackness co-constructed in interaction</td>
<td>Poverty</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Poverty</td>
<td></td>
<td>Blatant commercialism</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Professional habitus</td>
<td></td>
<td>Hobbyist habitus</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Economic resources</td>
<td></td>
<td>No economic resources</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Familiarity with tourism and tourists’ culture</td>
<td></td>
<td>No familiarity with tourists’ culture</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Outcome</td>
<td></td>
<td>Failed attempt to convert capoeira to economic capital</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Successful conversion of capoeira to economic, social, and cultural capitals</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


The data presented in this dissertation do not constitute a full exploration of the proposed framework of RCC, but illustrate its analytical usefulness for examining cultural capital and race. There are several case-specific limitations. First, the dynamics of how the experiences and materials acquired by tourists are enacted and valorized in the tourists' home societies is beyond the scope of this manuscript. However, this is also an important step in understanding cosmopolitan cultural consumption and status building. Second, this case study of the valorization of blackness reveals that the racialization of cultural capital is highly context-dependent and future research should attend to the variety of ways that racial symbols are attached to cultural capital and how this is informed by the underlying cultural distinctions of actors. Despite these limitations, this study contributes to several literatures on consumption, culture and inequality, and tourism. It also offers several expectations for RCC to test in other contexts. The following discussion reviews these contributions.

Blackness and Experience in Cosmopolitan Consumption

What symbols of blackness do cosmopolitan consumers value and how are they acquired and given meaning? Capoeira required retooling with tourists’ cultural knowledge to become valuable to these consumers. This transformation aligned consumer tastes for authentic and non-commercial experience with symbols of blackness.
By mobilizing several symbols from the cultural toolkit of blackness and cultural
difference dominant in the US and Western Europe, interactions between tourists and
Brazilian practitioners co-constructed capoeira as something valuable to cosmopolitan
consumers. These symbols included racial categories such as blacks, slaves, and non-
elites; the genre of Afro-Brazilian culture rather than Asian martial arts or sport; the
globally institutionalized marker of racial difference – skin tone; broad racial narratives
of slavery and Afro-Brazilianness; material symbols such as African artifacts and
necklaces; bodily styles including dreadlocks, tattoos, and capoeira nicknames; and
embodied practice of samba and Candomblé.

Symbols of blackness are central to cosmopolitan consumption, and their value
relied on two broad social processes. First, blackness became valuable due to the
centrality of authentic socially distant cultural objects, as revealed in recent work on
cosmopolitan omnivorism (Cheyne and Binder 2010; Johnston and Baumann 2007). The
retooling of capoeira was consistent with this literature. Interaction between tourists and
Brazilians valorized a restricted aesthetic interpretation of the material objects and
embodied practice of capoeira. Blackness was transformed into aesthetic and geographic
ties to Africa and Salvador; the rare, exotic, and aesthetic appeal of socially distant dark
toned skin and dreadlocks; nonindustrial berimbaus hand-made by racial others; and
practice embodied as a historic manifestation of slave tradition. Associating capoeira with
samba, Candomblé, and maculelé further extended the symbols of socially and culturally
distant blackness gained by tourists. Blackness – and symbols of other socially distant
racial and ethnic peoples – should become important in other contexts of interactive
consumption such as music and art venues and martial art and bodily activities such as yoga and dance classes. Future research should attend to the variety of ways that actors attach racial meaning to cultural capital and the underlying cultural distinctions that inform this process.

The second broad social process that granted blackness positive value was the importance of cultural experience (Holt 1998; Peñaloza 2001; Thompson and Tambyah 1999). Foreign tourists gained cultural capital not as nuanced – or often even basic – skill at capoeira practice, but as experiences with a racially aesthetic version of capoeira and the human bodies of its practitioners. The experiences and material objects they acquired abroad are more limited in availability than consumer objects at home. For example, capoeira is practiced in the US and Europe, but the embodied claims of knowledge about authentic capoeira and Brazilians gained through these experiences are inaccessible to many outside of Brazil. This distinguishes tourists’ experiences with capoeira as legitimate and excludes the capoeira knowledge and skill of non-Brazilian practitioners in their home societies. In summary, cosmopolitan consumption provides a mechanism for transforming racialized cultural resources into cultural capital.

The centrality of experience with producers’ bodies in the case of capoeira tourism suggests that work on omnivorous cosmopolitan consumption should shift its focus to embodied interaction in consumption contexts. This will further the goal, set forth by Johnston and Baumann (2007), to look for cultural hierarchy within rather than across genres. The expectation suggested by my analysis is straightforward in this regard. In addition to preferring aesthetic versions of a genre (Johnston and Baumann 2007;
Peterson 2003), these consumers will valorize interpretations that allow them to gain significant embodied experience. Consumers diverge in their intensity of consumption (Chan and Goldthorpe 2007; Han 2003; Sullivan and Katz-Gerro 2007), and these cultural tourists may represent a special type of omnivores that distinguishes themselves from others by seeking out significant experiential consumption. Thus, they may seek out interactions with artists, musicians, authors, and chefs rather than simply attend cultural events. Given the growing importance of experiential consumption (Belk and Costa 1998; Holt 1995; MacCannell 1989; Thompson and Tambyah 1999) – even when the product is standardized (Miller 1998), the interactive process of meaning-making described above should provide insight into a variety of contexts such as music, art, and food consumption.

How the experiences and materials acquired by tourists are enacted back in the tourists’ home societies is beyond the scope of this manuscript. Interactions with capoeira practitioners at the studio should have provided them with sufficient knowledge and experience to incorporate into their lifestyle as members of the traveled culturally class. Future work should examine this reenactment after the moment of consumption.

**Cultural Capital, the Sociology of Race, and Inequality**

How does the process of valorizing blackness in the tourism market influence racial inequality? Scholars of race in Brazil see several potential advantages to Afro Brazilians in practices such as capoeira. Some argue that Candomblé, carnival blocs, and capoeira challenge and transform relations of racial inequality, offering a moment of racial equality and power reversal. (Lewis 1992; Sansone 1997; Risério 2000; Fuggle
2008) (Sodre 1979; Da Matta 1990; Browning 1995). Others argue that these practices encourage racial identity formation (Santos 1999b; Barreto 2005; Pravaz 2008). Finally, others argue that these practices provide dark skinned Brazilians with job opportunities and a means of upward mobility (Araujo 1994; Agier 1995; Butler 1998).

This study extends this work with an explicit comparative analysis of which Brazilians benefit in one of these traditions – capoeira. In doing so, the analysis and the concept of RCC opens an avenue of research into “how specific external traits are translated into social profits” for the producers of culture (Lamont 1994: 179). By integrating cultural capital theory with the racialization perspective, I avoided the assumption that symbols of blackness would either benefit blacks or become appropriated by whites. By focusing on experiential consumption, I showed that Brazilian practitioners also needed extensive embodied skill (rather than only material objects or taste for capoeira) to construct cultural capital in the tourism market.

Those with the darkest skin became the central embodied symbols of capoeira among tourists. These symbols drew from a repertoire of tourists’ distinctions, rather than Brazilian racial understanding. Further, these dark bodies and other symbols of blackness were ultimately successful at conveying meaning to tourists because they were synthesized with a middle class consumer disposition. Knowledge of these tastes came from the experiential environment of the studio, which allowed practitioners to acquire familiarity with the cultural distinctions of tourists. Constructing cultural capital also depended on these practitioners’ prior resources. The many artifacts and the large building depended on prior economic capital. Social connections allowed the studio’s
master to access foreign language students and the historian used during recruitment presentations. This gave the Brazilian middle class as a social group (rather than whites or blacks) authenticity as capoeira practitioners. This aligns with Wacquant’s (2005) finding that those most successful in boxing draw upon existing economic and social capital.

Chapters 4 through 6 confirm that those groups in dominant positions can best symbolically mark cultural content as valuable and best benefit from that cultural capital. The Brazilian practitioners at both studios possessed extensive practical knowledge of capoeira. Access to dominant cultural capital and to economic capital provided the middle class studio with a better understanding of the cultural distinctions of the tourists and of how to play the game of culture tourism. It also provided them with the material resources with which to enact their cultural knowledge. The cultural capital framework is rarely used to analyze tastes, consumption patterns, and cultural knowledge in Brazil. However, work on taste patterns in Brazil does support the value of the cultural lifestyles from the United States and Western Europe are valued among Brazilians.

Sansone (2003) suggests that these cultural activities provide “black” Brazilians with a space in which blackness is at the top of the value hierarchy. Others argue that samba, *Candomblé*, and capoeira provide a space of Afro-Brazilian sociability and identity formation (Pravaz 2008; Santos 1999) and affirmation of blackness (Barreto 2005). Collective identity formation is another possible benefit of racialized cultural capital, though that outcome was not fond in the capoeira studios examined here. A collective class-based identity is an important outcome of Bourdieu’s original
formulation of cultural capital (1984), and it is reasonable to examine if racialized
cultural capital leads to race-based collective identities.

Cornell and Hartmann (2007) argue collective racial identities develop around
perceptions of shared interests, shared institutions, and shared view of the world. Social
institutions and cultural practices can create opportunities for shared interaction and
meaning-making on a daily basis which can foster racial identity and group-making.
While the outcome of the race-making process is ultimately about the construction of a
conscious social group aware of its common fate, there are various stages along the path
to groupness. Intermediate factors important in the process of race-making, or in our case,
making blacks. Valorizing blackness, slave heritage, and other racial markers is one
factor Cornell (Brubaker 2006; Cornell 1996; Nagel 1994). Race-talk is especially
important in the Brazilian case where silence about race and Brazil’s history of slavery is
the societal norm (Sheriff 2000). Discussing racism is another important avenue of race
making.

Did capoeira practice in the tourism context encourage any racial identity
formation in these studios? Capoeira World offered a better outlet for the construction
and articulation of racial identity than did Capoeira Club because it provides practitioners
with a greater quantity of symbolic and material resources to draw from than does the
low-income studio. It is a site where young dark skinned men can compete for jobs and
cultivate their physical appearance, can learn a narrative of slavery, and can draw from a
repertoire of symbolic goods to construct racial identities with tourists. The focus on
slavery and the black body did create an environment for valorizing and discussing
blackness in a country with a long history of silencing the slave past and framing blackness as ugly. This studio drew symbolic boundaries around capoeira as a slave tradition, verbally distinguishing it from other martial arts and sports. Contrary to existing scholarly speculations (Fry 2000; Sansone 2003), global symbols of blackness did not constitute a consistent form of racialization.

However, there was a striking lack of any reference to racism or black political movements at Capoeira World. Issues of racism and contemporary racial identity are not discussed in the school’s classes or at the school’s social activities. Further, the school’s collective focus on professionalizing students into the role of capoeira instructor draws attention away from asserted racial identities. This suggests that a meaningful formation of black identity is unlikely to occur through this studio’s RCC. Instead, the valorization of blackness at this studio is highly colonial, resulting from the sexualization of black male bodies in their interactions with the many white foreign tourists at the studio.

This is an interesting finding: it supports Bourdieu’s claim that the dominant will be better able to establish and use symbolic goods that the low-income studio. Yet, it also suggests that even without the support of their white middle class mestre, these somewhat disadvantages dark youth can develop racial identities in a country where such identities are widely discouraged and disparaged. Ironically, the racial resources they have access to come from the studio’s involvement in tourism. Slave narratives, for example, are explicitly verbalized only in tourist presentations. Though in Brazil many know the basic story line of capoeira history, a more complex set of meanings and narratives for practitioners to use in constructing identities comes from these lectures. Capoeira Club,
however, cannot provide a source of jobs, cultivation of physicality (have to cut hair to work as a security guard, which is the only job opportunity available to many), or socialize Brazilians into a positive narrative of black history. Though Brazilians at Capoeira Club occasionally vocalize concerns about race, it is Capoeira World that provides symbolic and economic resources for developing black identity.

The Sociology of Tourism

This study also has several implications for the sociology of tourism, from which it implicitly draws. There is an extensive literature on cultural tourism, which investigates how images of local culture are shaped by market forces and tourist perceptions. This literature documents the variety of effects that tourism has on the “toured” – including everything from cultural renaissance, economic growth, and political activism to dependency, commodification, and cultural destruction, yet says very little about the creation of cultural capital (Dawson, Fredrickson, and Graburn 1974; Nash 2000; Smith 1977).

Work on the tourist arts and souvenirs shows that cultural distinctions from tourists’ home societies matter to tourists. This vast literature has shown the importance of having experiences and objects to return home with as cultural markers of the trip (Adler 1989a; Graburn 1983; Graburn 1984; Hitchcock and Teague 2000; Urry 1992; Urry 1990). Westerners, especially museums and private collectors, are prone to infuse foreign goods with exotic, pre-modern, and hidden symbolic meanings representing ethnic groups and entire nations (Dawson, Fredrickson, and Graburn 1974; Hendrickson
1996; Smith 1977) and can easily be externally imposed upon less powerful countries and groups (Nash 2000). Artists and middlemen must often alter the art to align it with the distinctions and expectations of Westerner consumers, collectors, and museums (Price 2007; Steiner 2008). Cultural entrepreneurs such as blues clubs (Grazian 2003) reconstruct their practices to resonate with this preoccupation among Western consumers.

Most work theorizes tourism as a phenomenon through which individuals search for otherness (Gotham 2007; Graburn 1989) and tourists as authenticity-seekers with psychological desires for meaning (MacCannell 1989) or personal identity (Bardhia, Ostbergb, and Bengtssonc 2010; Desforges 2000; Urry 1990). Volumes have been written about this search for authenticity, how to define it, and how to locate it (Cohen 1988; Cole 2007; Wang 1999). However recent work shows that tourist motives are diverse and many are not in search of the illusive authentic (Bruner 2005; Cohen 1979).

This study suggests that viewing tourism as a project of cultural capital could offer a valuable new dimension to understanding how tourist motivations and tourism providers presentations interact. Work on cultural capital allows us to place these tourist arts within a broader sociological context of status distinction making, which argues that claims of cultural difference arise as groups claim cultural goods and experiences which can be accumulated and exchanged as a means of status distinction. Tourism is a highly interactional context (Tucker 1997) for creating, transforming, and preserving local boundaries, practices, traditions, and relations, and is thus an ideal location for creating not only cultural difference but also cultural capital. The emergence of global culture as a source of cultural capital and the prevalence of tourism among Western individuals
suggests that tourism itself and the artifacts and embodied experiences with which individuals return may be another source of cultural capital. Tourism allows individuals a means of gathering both objective and embodied cultural capital, because the material objects they acquire abroad are more limited in availability than consumer objects at home. Not only is access to trip taking and exotics itself linked to lifestyle (Adler 1989b), but how one references and performs this new experience and knowledge to others at home reveals embodied cultural capital. Many tourists may be attracted to symbolic goods, experiences, and social connections to be accumulated, exchanged, and used to acquire status and capital in their home societies (Britton 1991; Larsen, Urry, and Axhausen 2007; Lash and Urry 1994).

Only a few tourism studies imply a group-based social status dimension to consuming tourist arts and choosing souvenirs. Several tourism scholars point to the middle classes of affluent nations as the primary carriers of tourism as a social and meaning-making process (Graburn and Barthel-Bouchier 2001; MacCannell 1989; MacCannell 1999; Munt 1994). However, this work focuses almost exclusively on individual rather than group-based motives of tourism behavior and overlooks a basic insight from the sociology of leisure – that conspicuous leisure activity also provides an important status-building function (Bourdieu 1984; Veblen 1967). Collecting through tourism has a long history associated with lifestyles (Adler 1989b; Lee 1999).

This study suggests that the alteration of cultural objects for tourist consumption – another central concern in tourism research (Dawson, Fredrickson, and Graburn 1974) – occur not only through strategic efforts on the part of providers, but also through the
practical enactment of cultural distinctions embodied within tourists’ habitus. The greater access providers have to tourists and their main sending societies, the better able they will be to embody the cultural distinctions of these foreign societies and align their cultural traditions and objects with those distinctions in subtle and unconscious ways.

Second, authenticity seeking – a central concern in tourist studies – has an important cultural capital dimension, where practical enactment of class habitus directs tourist behavior far more than a psychological need for meaning in the postmodern world (MacCannell 1989). Tourism allows individuals a means of gathering objective and embodied cultural capital, because the material objects they acquire abroad are more limited in availability than consumer objects at home. Rather than being the central force of tourist behavior as a vast literature suggests, authenticity is a byproduct of cultural distinction.

**Racialized Cultural Capital as an Analytic Tool**

The RCC approach allows researchers to make several important analytical separations when studying how racial symbols benefit groups (Carter 2005; Grazian 2003). The first is to distinguish the possible benefits of RCC – economic, social, cultural, political, and identity-building – for social groups. The second is to separate the various social groups – class, racial, gender, subcultures – that can claim a given set of racial symbols. The third, and most important, is to analytically separate these various benefits from social groups. This allows us to examine how some groups (racial or otherwise) but not others can acquire and benefit from RCC. We can then analyze how
RCC creates, reinforces, or undermines racial groups and alleviates or reinforces racial and class inequality.

By avoiding the assumption that symbols of blackness either benefit blacks or become appropriated by whites, we found that a light skin toned capoeira master could benefit from these symbols by synthesizing them with middle class consumer disposition. It also revealed that, though those with the darkest skin became the central embodiment of RCC and focus of tourists’ attention, the studio muddled Brazilian with afro-Brazilian. This gave the Brazilians as a social group legitimacy to hold and benefit from capoeira knowledge. RCC offered benefits for Brazilians with dark skin tone, but this benefit was not distributed to blacks as a group. Instead, RCC relied on middle class resources, making this group best able to reap the rewards of racialization. It revealed that benefits went beyond the obvious economic gain from tourism by providing Brazilian practitioners access to Western cultural capital.

Finally, what of Holt’s (1997) concern about how field-specific capital can transform into a resource in a general symbolic economy. This suggests a final question: when and how does RCC transpose into institutional areas such as education, marriage, job, public encounters, and politics? The answer should depend on whether racialization occurs because of the internal dynamics of the field of cultural production or due to forces outside the field that drive racialization within a specific market, such as the tourism market. As work the field concept shows, the ability to control the content of cultural capital depends on the relative autonomy of the field from other fields and institutions and on its relative position in the hierarchy of fields (Ferguson 1998; Sallaz...
2006; Stampnitzky 2006). Future research should also look for RCC in other markets – from specific cultural markets (hip-hop music, Native American spirituality, etc.) to broader fields (consumption of elite art, cultural capital enactment in school and work settings, etc.).
This essay documents the details of my fieldwork in Salvador, Brazil. I approached my research questions using three methods: in-depth interviews, participant observation, and content analysis of tourism promotional materials. All data gathering adhered to the Institutional Review Board standards of participant confidentiality.

**Timeline**

The timeline below illustrates my fieldwork in Salvador, Brazil. This project grew from fieldwork I conducted on capoeira studios in Salvador for my Master’s project. Though the theoretical focus of this project differs from my Masters work, I was able to use some data gathered during the summer of 2006 at Capoeira World in this dissertation project.

![Fieldwork Timeline](image-url)

- Middle Class
- Lower Class
- Tourist Center

**Figure A1: Fieldwork Timeline**

- no note taking
- note taking

2007 – Pre-Dissertation site selection
2008-9 – Dissertation Fieldwork
Language and Cultural Training

My training in the Portuguese language began at the University of Arizona in August 2004. I took classes in Portuguese for Spanish speakers and intermediate Portuguese over the 2004-2005 academic year. I then spend the summer of 2005 in Salvador, Brazil in a language emersion program, where I took courses in advanced Portuguese grammar and composition, as well as a course of the history and culture of Salvador. I spent the summer of 2006 in Salvador conducting field research for my Master’s paper at the University of Arizona. My speaking and listening skills in Portuguese were advanced when I began pre-dissertation fieldwork in the summer of 2007. In addition, I spend considerable time in Brazil after my formal fieldwork in Salvador, from roughly summer 2009 to spring 2011. This extended time in Brazil provided me with the cultural knowledge with which to interpret the cultural codes and social contexts of interaction both within and outside of the capoeira studio.

Capoeira Training

In addition to my time in Brazil, I practiced capoeira for roughly one and a half years prior to beginning dissertation research. I took capoeira classes in the United States for my Master’s project. I attended class three times per week (two hours per class) from September 2005 to March of 2006 and continued to attend classes in order to refine analysis of this data from April to May of 2006. I continued to take classes at this studio from fall 2006 until the following summer. When I began dissertation research, I had reached intermediate level at capoeira. In other words, I had trained in capoeira sufficiently to embody the practices as a participant observer in Brazil.
Figure A2

Map of South America, Salvador da Bahia
Selection of and Access to the Sites

My initial contact with Capoeira World was in 2005 while on a FLAS-sponsored Portuguese language program in Salvador. The local language school arranged several trips to local organizations, including a trip to the studio where the group of students I was with attended the studio’s presentation of capoeira history and practice. I learned that the studio was heavily dependent on tourism, yet remained outside of the tourist center of town, making it an appropriate choice for this project.

My initial contact with Capoeira Club was in the summer of 2006, while conducting research at Capoeira World. I met the studio’s instructor worked as a security guard in the apartment building in which I was staying. After seeing me with my capoeira uniform, he invited me to visit his studio. The walls of the studio were covered in photographs of the group, several of which included foreign tourists who had visited the studio. After visiting one other studio in a lower class neighborhood in the summer of 2007, I chose Capoeira Club because it had worked with more tourists. Locating lower class groups was difficult, many of which are informal neighborhood groups not registered in the state database.

In both sites, I explained that I was writing a book about capoeira tourism, yet I am fairly certain that no one understood what this meant. The Master at Capoeira World was supportive, offering me access to books and documentaries on capoeira, but I feel he never fully understood that I was writing about the interactions at that studio. The same was true at the other site; they assumed I was writing some kind of book report on capoeira, rather than doing original work. This was further complicated by the fact that
few of the Brazilians on any of the sites understood what a doctorate program was. 

*Despite this, all sites were indifferent to being observed and questioned, having encountered many tourists and researchers in the past.* Capoeira World had hosted researchers in the past.

**Participant Observation**

Classes at my sites took place only at night, to accommodate the work schedules of the local students. This meant that I arrived home around 10pm each night and wrote my field notes late into the night. At Capoeira World, classes took place Monday through Friday; at Capoeira Club, Monday, Wednesday, and Friday. I attended classes as often as possible, missing classes only when the studios closed for local holidays or when I came down with the occasional cold. Arriving at the studios by bus, usually during rush-hour, was long and frustrating. I left home an hour and a half before the class at Capoeira Club in order to arrive on time, usually via a heavily overcrowded bus which inched through traffic for an hour.

In the studios, I literally participated in the classes each night, learning to dance and play capoeira with other students. I found quickly that occasionally sitting in the back observing was met with incredulous looks. Why would anyone come and then not participate? The intense physical demand of the classes over such a long period of time was, honestly, something I should have considered more carefully beforehand. Luckily, the only injury I suffered in the classes was a briefly dislocated toe (much less traumatic
Table A1
Basic Comparison of Field Sites

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Location</th>
<th>Capoeira Club</th>
<th>Capoeira World</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Lower-class neighborhood.</td>
<td>Independent building on quiet street in middle class neighborhood.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Workout room in the house of the instructor.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Monthly class fee</td>
<td>50 <em>reais</em> for 3 classes per week; (2.75 per hour) for tourists</td>
<td>70 <em>reais</em> per month; (7 <em>reais</em> per hour)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other classes</td>
<td>None</td>
<td><em>Berimbau</em> class</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Foreigners per class</td>
<td>0-2</td>
<td>12-25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Funding</td>
<td>Monthly dues, tourist donations, clothing sales.</td>
<td>Monthly dues, State incentive program, Contracted performances, clothing sales, <em>berimbau</em> sales and classes.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
than the experience of a French visitor who dislocated an arm at Capoeira Club and had to spend a painful 40 minutes on a bumpy public bus ride to the emergency room). I found quickly that my wanting to occasionally show up and sit in the back observing rather than participating was met with incredulous looks (which was complicated by the fact that none of my research subjects really understood the idea of fieldwork or a doctoral program). Why would anyone come and then not practice?

My observations in the studios varied over time. In the beginning, gaining rapport took precedence over the actual observations, and I often stayed after class to socialize with the students. After this initial phase, I tried to remember as much as possible from the class, write reminder notes immediately after class while still at the studio (which the other students always found strange), and then write extensive notes for several hours once at home. Later, as trends began to develop in my notes, observations became more focused on answering questions rather than trying to remember everything that happened in the site. Being unable to take notes during the class made it difficult to get exact quotes from participants (something which made later interviews necessary), and certainly made data gathering slow going and extended my stay in the sites.

I gathered data on as many interactions as possible and looked specifically for: what types of interactions do tourists and Brazilians have? What do people say about capoeira? What do they not say? What practices are common, uncommon? What types of performances happen at the studios? What parts of the performance are allowed to proceed? Which are not? Who is and is not allowed to act in the performance? With what means can they act? Who is allowed to attend? What kinds of audience responses are
accepted, not allowed? Are their powers that interpret/critique the performance independent of producers, audience?

How tourists follow the cultural traditions of the art, i.e. do they sing in Portuguese, clap, play the musical instruments? Which students do/do not follow these traditions? How, if at all, are these traditions enforced in class (verbally or nonverbally)?

What tourism activities does the studio participate in? Do Brazilians have strategies for distancing themselves from tourists, for connecting with tourists? Do tourists differentiate themselves from locals, and if so, how?

Do individuals perceive attention as having to do with their skin tone or racial identity? How do students use Afro-Brazilian culture in the class for practicing, teaching tourists, constructing identity? Do they talk about race in any of the above situations, and if so, how? Who does and who does not articulate race? How are racial constructions used to construct meaning and boundaries? How practitioners link (verbally and in nonverbal interaction with tourists and other Brazilian practitioners) racial constructions to capoeira practice and to tourism? Are boundaries around race individual or collective – i.e. do practitioners use collective terms such as “we,” “us,” “our culture.” Do symbolic boundaries established within the studio extend into everyday life?

My role in the studios

Reflexivity urges researchers to be aware of their various social positions within the site and work to understand how these positions affect the data that is generated (Bourdieu and Wacquant 1992; Burawoy 1998). My positions in the sites influenced both the data that were available –what I had access to and how those in the sites reacted to my
presence - and my interpretation of those data. My status as a relative beginner to capoeira practice granted me special insights into certain aspects of the site and excluded me from other facets. My position as an outsider – a white, female, US citizen – provided data on the incorporation of foreign practitioners and tourism into capoeira practice in Brazil and the interaction of tourists and locals.

At Capoeira Club, many of the students and neighborhood visitors to this studio observed me with the close eye of an ethnographer. I was, to many of them I believe, an alien. The children that visited were fascinated by me, asking me all manner of questions about where I came from and what I liked. I enjoyed a privileged position in this studio as one of its first, few, and longest resident foreign visitors. My photos, in the capoeira roda of the studio, hangs on the studio’s wall among the many snapshots of the group over the years, and the photo was regularly pointed out to studio visitors curious about the only blond white woman in the neighborhood. The studio’s instructors never pushed me to continue in class when I was tired or wanted water, which was not the case for the Brazilian students. I was free to simply sit and watch rather than participate if I wanted, also not an option for the studio’s Brazilian students.

I watched the group struggle with tourism in many ways: to arrange and carry out performances for potential tourists, to communicate verbally with tourists, to design flyers, and to understand tourists’ interests and expectations. I offered the studio’s mestre few if any suggestions during the bulk of my research, despite seeing ways they could improve in this respect and feeling perpetually conflicted about the issue. As I hope my empirical work shows, in addition to the obvious lack of funds for more extensive investments on tourism, a key hindrance for the studio’s tourism goals is a lack of
understanding of the cultural distinctions of the tourists they hoped to attract. While I did, in the end, donate $100 to the studio, I believe this will do little to advance their professional goals.

Race and Gender in the Studios

Jonathan Warren (2000: 162?) argues that white scholars studying Brazil are especially susceptible to falling into a trap of failing to see how race matters:

In Brazil, “one’s whiteness may never come up in discussion except to affirm how attractive one is. Therefore a white person, even in nonwhite circles, will likely experience race as either “not that significant” or as something positive… Similarly in Brazil, not only are white researchers able to get a lot more for their whiteness, but they can also more easily delude themselves into believing that they are not white— that they are “just an individual.” Given the nature of whiteness in Brazil as compared to the United States, it is evident that Brazil is a racial paradise for whites, in that they enjoy an incredible degree of uncontested white privilege. In Kyle’s words, “It’s wonderful.” Whites can more easily indulge in racial privilege without guilt because white privilege is naturalized and unmarked in nonwhite spaces... The Brazilian racial terrain provides powerful incentives for “going native,” for accepting and defending elements of the myth of racial democracy.”

Warren makes an important point, and I feel it worth discussing with respect to my fieldwork. I have no doubt that both my gender and race were keys to the access I
was granted in the capoeira studios. My blond hair, green eyes, and white skin granted me immediate and nearly unlimited access. At Capoeira Club, the studio’s instructor would comment regularly on my looks, telling me (and everyone else) that I was beautiful, and even asking several times, with a raise of the eyebrow, if I would ever consider marrying a Bahian. He bent over backwards to accommodate my presence, going so far as to offer to move the time of the nightly class so that I would not have to take the bus there at rush hour. I refused the offer, but he continued to bring up the issue, and even held up the start of class on occasions when I arrived late.

One disturbing incident clarified for me how much my whiteness was granting me in the studio. Eduardo, I, and a 16-year-old dark-skinned female student of his were sitting in the studio after class, chatting, when he brought up my attractiveness once again, asking the girl to confirm that I was indeed beautiful. She did, and then added that she was ugly, to which the instructor simply shrugged. I was horrified and told the girl and Eduardo that she was not ugly. Eduardo, a man prone to pointing to racism as an explanation for everything negative in Brazilian society, said nothing. It was clear that even a man conscious of racial issues and willing to, contrary to the dominant cultural logic, discuss racism, was no less captivated by the belief in the natural dominance (at least in terms of physical beauty) of whiteness.

At Capoeira World, my whiteness did not go as far in opening doors to the studio, simply because of the constant turnover of a high number of white females at the studio, with which the mostly male capoeira practitioners could flirt. Yet my access to this site was still immediate. By the end of my first class at the studio, the Mestre had offered me
books and videos on capoeira that were kept at the studio and several of the male practitioners had volunteered their interest in being interviewed. Most were happy to answer my questions about the studio and their involvement in capoeira. I soon learned, however, that this interest in my research was often not sincere. One male student, who had agreed to an interview scheduled for noon, moved the time back to 8pm and promptly began rubbing my thigh within second on the interview. I did not interview him. This behavior continued among the majority of the male practitioners for nearly six weeks, until the men realized I would not come around.

So, while my gender and race were keys to my initial access to the site, these later became obstacles to my involvement in the studio. Though I still had no problem securing interviews in the site, the sexualized atmosphere of the studio meant that the few Brazilian female practitioners kept to themselves and generally disliked the many foreign women at the studio. I was at the studio for at least six weeks (on my second visit, after masters work) before any of the Brazilian women would speak to me. While the foreigners at the site were all happy to talk with me about the studio and theory experiences, I found the incessant discussion about their sexual adventures with the studio’s male students frustrating.
Table A2

Summary of Research Participants across Sites

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Capoeira World</th>
<th>Capoeira Club</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Brazilians</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Males</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Females</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Average Age</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Median Age</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Non-Brazilians</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Males</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Females</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Average Age</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>24.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Median Age</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Interviewing

As many scholars have observed, a cultural logic at work in Brazil demands silence or at least politeness, euphemism, and avoidance of negative social realities, including but not limited to race issues. This, in my view, makes interview data gathered
from Brazilians extremely problematic. Combining this with the fact that many of my Brazilian research subjects did not know what a PhD or a dissertation was, made this method especially questionable. I found interviews useful for gathering demographic facts from participants and for filling in holes in my observational data, but the bulk of the empirical material does not rely on interviews. Much data did, however, come from informal conversations with participants before and after capoeira classes and at social events, when I found it much easier and natural to bring up issues relevant to my research or to dovetail on a natural conversation occurring among my research subjects.

I found interviews among foreign tourists to be more relaxed and normal for these subjects, most of whom saw nothing odd about being interviewed. When I did conduct interview, I did them in public places, usually outdoor bars or cafés. Most lasted roughly one hour. Arranging interviews often took several days to weeks.

Interviews allowed me to relate changes in the studios with the growth of tourism and changing State policies on culture, tourism, and capoeira. They also provided details on the experiences of a diverse sample of practitioners, as advanced male practitioners were most dominant and vocal in the sites. Finally, they provided a means of “triangulation” (Denzin 1978) of observations by allowing me to follow up on specific events, observations, and conversations and by serving as a validity check for participant observation data. Rather than serving as representatives of a population, I selected interviewees to provide data for theoretical extension. I interviewed the Masters at each studio, three to five advanced students at each studio, and foreign students (seven at Capoeira World, four at Capoeira Club – which was every foreign visitor that stayed for more than one class). Though I had initially planned to interview a variety of non-
advanced Brazilian practitioners, I found that informal conversation answered many of my questions and that these practitioners had little meaningful interaction with foreigners in the studios.

I conducted all interviews in person at the location of the participant’s choice. Interview questions were of two sorts: questions on basic information requiring short responses, and open-ended questions oriented towards gathering data on experience, identity, and perceptions. I probed for information on how they link capoeira to tourism, Afro-Brazilian traditions, and race. These latter questions elicited stories from participants (Hollway 2000). I began with questions which allow the subject to discuss at length his or her experience with capoeira in general and used this answer to organize further questioning. This allowed me to follow up on topics raised by interviewees using their phrasing and ordering of importance and to explore how subjects connect various topics. It avoided directly asking respondents what it is that I wanted to know and allowed me to avoid leading (Mishler 1986) interviewees towards certain answers. With interviews there is always the possibility of social desirability bias – the desire of respondents to please the interviewer or to state the socially acceptable response (Deutscher 1978; Mishler 1986). Interview responses can also be influences by the researcher characteristics such as gender, age, race, and status. To address these issues, I conducted interviews near the end of my time with each studio in order to allow subjects to become accustomed to my presence. I also conducted interviews near the end of fieldwork in order to probe for information about silences observed during participant observation.
Writing and Coding Field Notes

I digitally recorded, transcribed, and coded all interviews and all field notes from participant observation using the qualitative data analysis program ATLAS.ti. This program also allowed for scanning and coding of photographic material and tourism promotional material. I wrote an analytic memo immediately following each interview to capture additional information on the participant and think through connections with theory. ATLAS.ti allowed me to apply both theoretically based and grounded codes (inductive codes coming verbatim from the data) to all data.

Coding was done during the data collection process in order to look for emerging categories and themes to orient subsequent data gathering. I developed code categories throughout the process but began with those central to race and symbolic resource theories. For example, the following are some codes I began with: rigid definition, flexible definition, tour guide role, presentation of authenticity, desire for authenticity, exclusion of tourists, inclusion of tourists, reference to Afro-Brazilian tradition, reference to black identity, racial boundary, cultural boundary, national boundary, racial content. By interacting with the data, I developed refined codes. This process required moving back and forth from data to theory in order to develop analytical categories from the data and revise theory to fit new concepts (Ragin 1987; Becker 1998).
Interview Guide: Tourists

Nationality, education, age, job

Take me through a typical day for you here.

Why Salvador? How would you describe the culture of Salvador?

How does Salvador compare to your expectations about the city?

What role does capoeira have in the culture of Salvador?

What is the history of your involvement in capoeira? Where did you first learn about it?

What attracts you to capoeira? What about this group attracts you?

Does this group differ from your expectations of capoeira?

What do you like about the studio? What do you dislike?

Are you satisfied with your experience at the studio?

What’s your most memorable moment in capoeira here in Salvador?

Do you feel you learning anything at the studio? What? Why or why not?

What do they say to you about the studio, about capoeira?

Has anyone talked to you about the history, music, philosophy, Bimba, etc?

Did they give you a capoeira name?

Do you feel like there are expectations of you here?

What is your role in the studio?

Are there activities here that you feel you can’t take part in?

How would you describe capoeira to people back home?

What other cultural stuff would you compare it to?

What do you know about the history?

How would you describe the group? The neighborhood?
What do you think makes a good capoeirista?

How do you think a capoeirista should look?

Have you visited other capoeira studios?

What other cultural activities do you do here?

How would you describe your cultural taste? What do you like and dislike?

How does capoeira relate to other cultural stuff you like?

Do you think that race plays a role in the site?

What does the word “Afro Brazilian” mean to you?

Do you think you have learned anything about Brazil from your experience in the studio?

*Interview Guide: Capoeira Instructors*

Nationality, education, age, job(s)

How would you describe the culture of capoeira?

What role does capoeira have in the culture of Salvador?

What do you think capoeira in Salvador will be like in 10, 20 years?

What do you see as your role in capoeira?

Tell me about the professionalization of capoeira and the studio’s role?

What do you see as important to teach your alumni?

What do you think about requiring educational credentials to teach capoeira?

What is the history of the studio?

   Establishment?

   How has it changed over the years?

How is it funded? Government funds, tourism, etc?
What do you think the studio will be like in 10, 20 years?

How has capoeira influenced your life?

How much does it influence your daily activities?

Do you receive jobs through capoeira? If so, how did you make these connections?

Do you travel through capoeira? If so, how did you make these connections?

Have you made important social connections through capoeira?

Do you participate with other groups or organizations because of capoeira?

Do you ever think about your success with capoeira relative others? What do you think explains this?

Do you participate in cultural events abroad, etc? What type of cultural events are you looking to link with capoeira?

How would you describe a good capoeirista? Can you describe an example?

How should a capoeirista act, look (status markers)?

What is valuable in capoeira tourism… knowledge of what, experience, color, presentation, taste, community, etc? Are these things valuable outside of capoeira? Does knowing about culture help you make money through capoeira?

What do you feel the tourists are looking for? Do they have demands… for culture, knowledge, skills, etc? Do you have to change things to accommodate them? How?

Tell me about a good and bad experience with foreign capoeira practitioners.

Tell me about a good and a bad experience with tourists.

Is race a useful idea in capoeira in general? In capoeira tourism?

How would your define your race? Ethnicity?

What does the word “Afro Brazilian” mean to you?
Interview Guide: Other capoeira practitioners

Education, age, job(s)

Take me through a typical day in your life.

What is the history of your involvement in capoeira?

How has capoeira influenced your life?

How much does it influence your daily activities?

Do you receive jobs through capoeira? If so, how did you make these connections?

What kinds of activities are you involved within through the studio? Social connections?

Organizations? Do you travel through capoeira?

Have you ever considered working in capoeira? Tourism? Dance?

How would you describe a good capoeirista? Can you describe an example?

How should a capoeirista act, look (status markers)?

How would you describe the culture of capoeira?

What role does capoeira have in the culture of Salvador?

What kinds of capoeiristas do you like/dislike? Why?

What are your general feelings about tourism of capoeira, tourism in Salvador in general?

What do you feel the tourists are looking for? Do they have demands… for culture, knowledge, skills, etc? Do you have to change things to accommodate them? How?

Tell me about a good and bad experience with foreign capoeira practitioners.

What types of tourists do you prefer/dislike?

Is race a useful idea in capoeira in general? In capoeira tourism?

How would your define your race? Ethnicity?
Frame Analysis

Local private and state-sponsored pamphlets selected were all those available at tourism offices and hotels in the tourist center of town that promoted cultural activities (museum, music, dance, art, etc. events). I gathered state-sponsored and private sector materials in Salvador from August 2008 to April 2009, once per month, resulting in thirty-two private and twenty-two state-sponsored materials. I also drew on both Brazil and Salvador’s comprehensive policy guides on culture and tourism, published in 2002 and 2005 respectively. State-sponsored and Brazilian private materials reach domestic and international tourists.

I selected articles from US newspapers reviewing only Salvador as a travel destination (rather than those covering local cultural events, political or economic happenings in Brazil, or general travel articles about Brazil) that were at least one paragraph long (excluding brief blurbs listing ticket prices and promotions). The period of 1990 to 2009 was used. I excluded articles that discussed Salvador as a section of a larger article on travel in Brazil in general. This resulted in nineteen articles. Seven major travel books on Brazil available in the US were used (Frommer’s, Fodor’s, Lonely Planet, Rough Guide, Eyewitness Travel, Moon Handbooks, and Insight Guide). I used the main introductory essay to the ‘Salvador’ section and excluded the remainder of the section listing sights and hotels. The question of how each source represents culture and which features are presented as salient is best measured by the section's opening paragraphs.

To identify frames present explicitly and implicitly in the articles, I read all articles in order to elicit a list of recurrent themes. These were then condensed into a
smaller group of overarching cultural frames and a group of object-specific references (to capoeira, food, music, samba, Candomblé, etc.). This was a straightforward inductive process as the articles were explicit and direct about their claims of culture in Salvador. Next, I coded each article at the paragraph level, with these codes. Each paragraph could potentially receive multiple codes if more than one frame was invoked in the paragraph, but could not receive more than one code for the same frame (i.e. if a paragraph referenced Africa three times, it received one Africa coding). Thus, each article received multiple codes, which I presented as quantitative results of frequency of frame.

Each article also received a single dominant frame code, which was the frame with the highest count for the article. Because many frames were invoked simultaneously, I used a co-occurrence matrix to assess quantitatively the degree of overlap of frames. Finally, specific cultural objects were used to support contradictory frames by separate articles. I coded tour books using the same procedure. Comparison of tour books aimed at budget travelers and those aimed at wealthier travelers revealed no differences.

**Correspondence Analysis**

Correspondence analysis (CA) is a statistical technique that allows us visualize and interpret the variation in a contingency table. It does not predict a causal relationship between variables or parse out individual contributions to a dependent variable, as would a regression analysis. Instead, it maps variation to reveal the relative associations between two sets of variables. This is particularly useful for the Brazilian context in which the various dimensions of socioeconomic status – which also influence taste patterns – do not operate independently, but rather overdetermine one another.
CA compares the relative differences present across rows or columns in a two-way contingency table (which in our case are rows of racial categories and columns of cultural objects). It constructs a simplified representation which best fits how a dataset exists in space. (In other words, it performs an algorithm which simplifies data into a specified number of dimensions of variation – usually a two dimensional plane is selected – while retaining as much of the data’s variation as possible from the original data as it exists in a higher dimensional space.) Either rows or columns of the frequency table are normalized and then weighted according to each row’s mass relative to the total number of observations to create row and column profiles. This process creates a series of vectors – sets of points existing in an n-dimensional space.

CA then constructs visual representation of these vectors, mapping the data’s structure in space. Because the row profiles and column profiles are functions of each other, they can be mapped in the same space to facilitate visualization of the relationship between the categories of rows and those of columns. CA allowed me to locate a structure that captures the two main axis of variation in a frequency table of cultural objects and racial categories to identify how sets of cultural objects and categories associate relative to others. In other words, the map represents racial categories as they are constituted by cultural objects and objects are constituted by racial categories. Mathematically speaking, the position of each cultural object on a CA map is determined by its relative association to each racial category in the survey data. There are several methods for weighting these vectors, depending on which categories you choose to compare – row categories with other rows, columns with columns, or rows to columns. For more on the mathematics and interpretation of CA see Greenacre and Blasius (1994).
This simplified structure also allows us to interpret the qualitative meaning of the main axis of variation within the data, which must be interpreted based on substantive and theoretical grounds. Rather than assessing how racial categorization and identity explain tastes, the analysis reveals how racial identities and cultural tastes co-constitute each other. Examining this co-constitution of categories and objects is useful and common method for assessing meaning in cultural sociology (Breiger 2000). By comparing how identities and tastes vary across racial categorization schemas, I find differences in meaning of categories and their corresponding clusters of cultural objects.

The two dimensions of the map (marked by horizontal and vertical axes) divide those data points most different from one another. Points on the maps can be compared to each other by examining which side of each axis they lie on and where they lie relative to the extremes of each dimension. Those points situated to the farthest extremes of each axis most strongly express that dimension and its interpretation. In our empirical context, this means that cultural objects and racial categories most opposite one another are the least associated in the survey data. The closer the distance between row points or between column points (but not inter row-column distances) indicates more highly-related responses. In other words, two cultural objects (or two racial categories) that map in close proximity relative to others are more highly associated with each other than to other objects in the survey data. Third, the distance between row and column points does not have a direct interpretation, but the angle created by extending back to the origin from a given row point and a given column point allows for comparison of the correlation of these points. A small angle indicates a higher correlation in the survey data than does a large angle. Finally, a CA map that offers no meaningful interpretation (i.e. the analysis
revealed no meaningful variation in the data) would appear as a single cluster of evenly spaced points rather than as several distinguishable clusters.

I examined patterns of racial identification and tastes in the state of Rio de Janeiro. The CEAP (a survey of the Universidade Federal Fluminense and the Centro de Articulação e Estudo das Populações Marginalizadas) contains a stratified random sample of 1171 individuals in the state of Rio de Janeiro, interviewed on their attitudes towards a variety of subjects including racial identity and racism, inequality, government, religion, and cultural tastes.

Thirteen cultural objects (see Table A3) were included in the analysis. The survey question ‘How important is each popular object in your life?’ asked respondents to rate, on a scale of one (very important) to four (not important), for each object. This analysis dichotomized these variables, coding responses of one (very important) and two (important) as indicating a taste for a given cultural object. I excluded those with missing responses from analysis.

This dataset includes several measures of racial identity (see Table A4). Racial identity variables used were interviewer-assigned racial categorization measured by the three main racial categories of the Brazilian census (branco, pardo, and preto), interviewees’ self-asserted racial classification on this official census schema, and interviewees’ self-asserted racial classification on an expanded color schema (including mestiço, moreno, mulato, and negro). All respondents were first asked to identify themselves from a list of standard census categories and color categories and then to identify themselves using the standard three category census schema. Respondents could choose only one category for each question.
Table A3

**Cultural Objects**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>State Nationalized Objects</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Capoeira</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Orishas</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Samba</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Foreign-Influenced Objects</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Funk</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Rap</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Rock</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Other Popular Objects</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Axé</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Bossa Nova  A jazz-like music popularized in the 1960s among the wealthy of Rio de Janeiro’s beach neighborhoods.

Carnival  The annual pre-lent parade and celebration.

Chorinho  A fast-paced instrumental music.

Forró  A musical rhythm made from an accordion, a zabumba – a type of drum, and a metal triangle.

Pagode  A subgenre of samba music, using a banjo instead of a cavaquinho – a type of guitar.

Sertaneja  Brazilian country music.

---

**Table A4**

**Racial Categories**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category</th>
<th>Definition</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Branco</strong></td>
<td>White, official census category.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Pardo</strong></td>
<td>Brown, official census category.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Preto</strong></td>
<td>Black, official census category.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Mestiço</strong></td>
<td>A mixture of European (white) and Indigenous ancestry.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Moreno</strong></td>
<td>A color description meaning brown.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Mulato</strong></td>
<td>A mixture of black and white ancestry.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Negro</strong></td>
<td>Black, indicating a politically-motivated identity.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
APPENDIX B: HUMAN SUBJECTS FORMS
May 7, 2007

Danielle Hedegard  
Advisor: Jane Zaviska, PhD  
Dept. of Sociology  
P.O. Box 210027

BSC: B07.148 CONSUMING CAPOEIRA?

Dear Ms. Hedegard:

We received your research proposal as cited above. The procedures to be followed in this study pose no more than minimal risk to participating subjects and have been reviewed by the Institutional Review Board (IRB) through an Expedited Review procedure as cited in the regulations issued by the U.S. Department of Health and Human Services [45 CFR Part 46.110(b)(1)] based on their inclusion under research categories 6 and 7. As this is not a treatment intervention study, the IRB has waived the statement of Alternative Treatments in the consent form as allowed by 45 CFR 46.116(d)(2). Although full Committee review is not required, a brief summary of the project procedures is submitted to the Committee for their endorsement and/or comment, if any, after administrative approval is granted. This project is approved with an expiration date of 7 May 2008. Please make copies of the attached IRB stamped consent documents to consent your subjects.

The Institutional Review Board (IRB) of the University of Arizona has a current Federalwide Assurance of compliance, FWA00004218, which is on file with the Department of Health and Human Services and covers this activity.

Approval is granted with the understanding that no further changes or additions will be made to the procedures followed without the knowledge and approval of the Human Subjects Committee (IRB) and your College or Departmental Review Committee. Any research related physical or psychological harm to any subject must also be reported to each committee.

A university policy requires that all signed subject consent forms be kept in a permanent file in an area designated for that purpose by the Department Head or comparable authority. This will assure their accessibility in the event that university officials require the information and the principal investigator is unavailable for some reason.

Sincerely yours,

[Signature]

Theodore J. Glattke, Ph.D.  
Chair, Social and Behavioral Sciences Human Subjects Committee

TJG/rf  
cc: Departmental/College Review Committee
Continuing Review Determination

Investigator: Danielle Hedegard  
Project No. : 07-0347-02 (Previously: B07.148)  
Project Title: Consuming Capoeira?

<table>
<thead>
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<tr>
<td>☑ Enrollment in Progress or Still Planned</td>
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<td>☐ Enrollment Closed: study procedure/intervention ongoing</td>
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<tr>
<td>☐ Enrollment Closed: follow-up only</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>☐ Data Analysis Only</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>☐ Concluded</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>☐ Study Not Begun</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

IRB Comments: Revised Consent Forms (updating to current UA template) and personnel changes (adding Cornell and Breiger) approved concurrently.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Documents Approved Concurrently:</th>
<th>Documents Reviewed Concurrently:</th>
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<tr>
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<tr>
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<td>☐ Investigator’s Brochure</td>
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<tr>
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<tr>
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<td>☐ Other</td>
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</table>

Period of Approval: 5/7/08 — 5/7/09  
☑ Expedited Review  
☐ Full Committee Review  
☐ Facilitated Review

Elaine G. Jones, Ph.D., Chair  
Social and Behavioral Sciences Committee

Date Reviewed: 5/7/08

Reminder: Continuing Review materials should be submitted 30 – 45 days in advance of the current expiration date to obtain re-approval (projects may be concluded or withdrawn at any time using the forms available at www.irb.arizona.edu).
REFERENCES


Rio de Janeiro, Pallas: 87-112.


Sheriff, R. (2000). 'Exposing Silence as Cultural Censorship: A Brazilian Case'


Skidmore, T. (1993). 'Bi-racial USA vs. multi-racial Brazil: is the contrast still valid?'


London, Sage.


