

Papers

The Regional System of Innovations of the ‘Trio Elétrico’ and the promotion of tourism at Salvador, BA: from ‘Fubica’ to the imaginary of cyberculture

O Sistema Regional de Inovações do Trio Elétrico e o fomento ao turismo em Salvador-BA: da Fubica ao imaginário da cibercultura

El Sistema Regional de Innovaciones del Trio Eléctrico y el fomento al turismo en Salvador-BA: de la Fubica al imaginario de la cibercultura

Moabe Breno Ferreira Costa¹; Rosana Mazaro¹; Maria Lúcia Bastos Alves¹

¹Federal University of Rio Grande do Norte (UFRN), Natal, Rio Grande do Norte, Brazil.

Keywords:

Trio Elétrico;
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Collective memory;
Tourism competitiveness;
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Palavras-chave:

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Sistema regional de inovações;
Memória coletiva;
Competitividade turística;
Desenvolvimento local.

Abstract

The creation and re-signification processes of the Trio Elétrico and the musical production of Salvador, capital of Bahia, invite to reflect on the Regional Innovation System and its relationship with tourism competitiveness of destination, considering economic, technological development, social behavior, and collective memories. Due to this problematization, the objective is to identify specificities of the Regional System of Innovations around the Trio Elétrico; establish its relationship with tourism competitiveness of Salvador; and discussing aspects that influence innovation processes. It is a qualitative research, guided by the critical-dialectical method, emphasizing historical materialism through bibliographic and documentary sources, as well as participatory observation. The attributes of the RSI approach, defined by Hall and Williams (2008), are used as reference framework. The RSI of the Trio Elétrico represents a successful phenomenon defined by an evolutionary line of innovations formed by the combination between creativity of social actors, collective memory, technological development, local culture, and public policy. These factors define a genuine territorial identity difficult to reproduce in other places. In addition, they promote prevailing activities for tourism competitiveness and local development such as generation of business, production of specific knowledge, and articulation between institutions and social actors.

Resumo

Os processos de criação e ressignificações do trio elétrico e a produção musical de Salvador, capital da Bahia, convidam a refletir sobre o Sistema Regional de Inovação e sua relação com a competitividade turística do destino, considerando desenvolvimento econômico, tecnológico, comportamento social e memórias coletivas. Por essa problematização, objetivam-se identificar especificidades do Sistema Regional de Inovações em torno do trio elétrico; estabelecer sua relação com a competitividade turística de Salvador; e discutir sobre aspectos que influenciam nos processos de inovação. Trata-se de pesquisa qualitativa, orientada pelo método crítico-dialético, enfatizando o materialismo histórico por meio de fontes bibliográfica e documental, além da observação participativa. Os atributos da

abordagem do RSI, definido por Hall e Williams (2008), são utilizados como referência estruturante da abordagem. Constata-se que o RSI do Trio Elétrico representa um fenômeno exitoso definido por uma linha evolutiva de inovações formada pela conjunção entre criatividade dos atores sociais, memória coletiva, desenvolvimento tecnológico, cultura local e políticas públicas. Esses fatores definem uma identidade territorial genuína difícil de ser reproduzida em outras localidades. Além disso, promovem atividades preponderantes para a competitividade turística e desenvolvimento local como geração de negócios, produção de conhecimentos específicos e articulação entre instituições e atores sociais.

Resumen

Los procesos de creación y resignificación del trío eléctrico y la producción musical de Salvador, capital de Bahía, invitan a reflexionar sobre el Sistema Regional de Innovación y su relación con la competitividad turística del destino, considerando desarrollo económico, tecnológico, comportamiento social y social memorias colectivas. Por esa problematización, se objetivan identificar especificidades del Sistema Regional de Innovaciones en torno al trío eléctrico; establecer su relación con la competitividad turística de Salvador; y discutir sobre aspectos que influyen en los procesos de innovación. Se trata de una investigación cualitativa, orientada por el método crítico-dialéctico, enfatizando el materialismo histórico por medio de fuentes bibliográfica y documental, además de la observación participativa. Los atributos del enfoque del RSI, definido por Hall y Williams (2008), se utilizan como referencia estructurante del enfoque. Se constata que el RSI del Trio Elétrico representa un fenómeno exitoso definido por una línea evolutiva de innovaciones formada por la conjunción entre creatividad de los actores sociales, memoria colectiva, desarrollo tecnológico, cultura local y política pública. Estos factores definen una identidad territorial genuina difícil de reproducir en otras localidades. Además, promueven actividades preponderantes para la competitividad turística y desarrollo local como generación de negocios, producción de conocimientos específicos y articulación entre instituciones y actores sociales.

Palavras chave:

Trío eléctrico;
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1 INTRODUCTION

Ah! How good you have come / welcome to Salvador, heart of Brazil / Come, you will know the city of light and pleasure / chasing after the *Trio Elétrico*. (Nizan Guanaes)

The epigraph is a fragment from the lyrics *Nós somos carnaval* (We are Carnival), a song composed by publicist Nizan Guanaes, and recorded by Ricardo Chaves in 1991. The composer says in the documentary *Axé – o canto do povo de um lugar*¹ (Axé – the song of the people of a place) that the production of the single met the request of the Municipal Secretary of Tourism with the purpose of attracting tourists to the capital of Bahia, specifically during the Brazilian Carnival period, which increased its competitiveness from the late 1980s. The song is still today a 'hymn' of Salvador's hospitality, welcoming those who arrive at the first capital of the country in search of the pleasures, festivity, and joy that make up the imaginary of *baianidade* (Bahia's way of life) appropriate for tourism promotion.

The imaginary develops from interactions between phenomena and social actions and their contextualization, composing communicational processes that involve the continuous exchange between message emission and reception. As proposed by Silva and Bastos (2014), these are representations endowed with memories; thus, capable of continuous updates and interpretations. According to Bignami (2002, p. 16), it can be said that an imaginary of a receptive center "is the result of the accumulation of knowledge about it, arising from various sources and through different processes". Thus, reports of residents and tourists, literary, audiovisual, advertising, and news reports, when correlating, constitute discourses that contextualize a place, legitimized from social relations.

Imaginary production comprises a cycle between history (the social dynamics), the interpretation of history (the attribution of meaning to the place from the observation of facts, such as tourism promotion) and the reformulation of history (the new conception that receivers of messages attribute to the location). On this

¹ Axé – Canto do Povo de um Lugar (Axé – People's Corner of a Place) it is a 2017 Brazilian documentary film, directed by Chico Kertész and scripted by Chico Kertész and James Martins. It brings together interviews of artists, journalists, radio and producers, and archive images presenting the birth of the axé music genre and its evolution in the present day.

subject, it can be said with Simões (2008), the formation of the imaginary occurs in three consecutive moments: Inauguration, when elements/founding images of the discourse emerge; Propagation, the numerous forms of discourse dissipation; and Legitimation, namely, the consolidation of the imaginary evidenced by social practices – in the case of tourism promotion, the success of the destination. Therefore, imaginary production involves coherence between social and communication practices.

Thus, the lyrics used as an epigraph is an element of the imaginary of *baianidade*, pointing to a symbiotic (interdependent) relationship between Salvador's socio-cultural imaginary, revealing practices of residents; tourism imaginary, made up of images capable of attracting visitors, which propagates over time, and enhanced by the invention of the *Trio Elétrico*; and the technological one, highlighting the current cyberculture imaginary, since currently the *Trio Elétrico* is operated by digital controls and technologies. This interdependence suggests the formation of a system of innovations that enhances Salvador tourism. After all, as Medeiros and Castro (2007, p. 37) observe, “the” tourist nature “of a place is a historical and cultural construction.”

The *Trio Elétrico* is a vehicle adapted with sound equipment for presentations by artists during the carnival of Salvador. It was created in 1950 by friends Adolfo Antônio do Nascimento and Osmar Álvares Macedo, the famous duo Dodo and Osmar, and a year later they named it *Fubica*. Since then, this ‘musical contraption’ has undergone several transformations, resignifying its aesthetics, carrying capacity, sound power, and its role in the daily life of Salvador by following local and global metamorphoses.

As Camargo (2017) discusses, the idea of resignification corresponds to the attribution of new meanings to goals and places, which, in turn, perpetuates the imaginary, because it is from the historical continuity that it is possible to perceive the local identity in the process of adjustments to contemporaneity. Thus, Hall (2000) considers that identities are not fixed, but they re-signify themselves over time, assuming new social meanings, signaling and at the same time fomenting new social practices in a continuous production of imaginaries.

In the process of resignification of the *Trio Elétrico*, a business network had developed and this involved several social segments, entrepreneurs, and service providers. It is important to highlight, in this context, the consolidation of *axé music* in the national music market updating the identity of the Carnival of Bahia and making it so genuine that *Trio Elétrico* and *axé music* became national and international export products. Consequently, according to Hall and Williams (2008), the relationship between the history and transformations of the *Trio Elétrico*, the dynamics of Bahia's culture, and tourism dynamics constitutes a Regional System of Innovations (RSI) that combines elements of local memory, cultural and technological metamorphoses, and tourism competitiveness.

The consolidation of the *Trio Elétrico* in Salvador Carnival required governmental and private organizations to build operational processes related to RSI aspects. These aspects are (a) elements of regional culture, (b) territorial learning, and (c) continuous technology adjustment. Such a combination generates both perspectives and socioeconomic conflicts. Around the musical truck, there is an innovative ambiance, knowledge production, dynamic relationships between social actors, business generation, and this defines a particular type of institutionalization that continually updates the King Momo's revelry of Salvador.

Therefore, given this problem, this paper aims to identify specificities of the Regional System of Innovations emerging from the *Trio Elétrico*, to establish its relationship with Salvador tourism promotion, and to discuss aspects that come to influence innovation processes. This paper used qualitative research guided by the critical-dialectical method, and employed bibliographical and documentary sources as well as participant observation.

The article has three parts. As it is a critical-dialectic approach, based on Martins (1994) and Dencker (1998), it proposes continuous reflections on the theory, with contextualization from the social practices, this article it presents the methodology at the first topic, since it uses data collected in the documentary research and participant observation to illustrate the theoretical discussions, which make up the second topic, in turn, divided into two sessions. In the first one (Regional System of Innovations of the *Trio Elétrico*) discusses the attributes of RSI defined by Hall and Williams (2008) and presents specifics of the system, which forms from the *Trio Elétrico*.

The second subtopic (Memory and Creativity: Fundamentals of RSI of the *Trio Elétrico*) deals with the collective memory and the creative capacity of social actors that influence the processes of innovation, emphasizing cultural aspects that boosted the invention of the *Trio Elétrico*. To this end, classic theorists of memory studies (Nora (1993), Le Goff (1994) and Halbwachs (1996) are associated with the RSI fundamentals discussed here. In the third topic, also segmented in two parts, the evolutionary line and results of the RSI dynamics of the *Trio Elétrico* are presented.

In the first part (public power, *axé music* and the constitution of a tourism product), the role of the public power and the consolidation of the *axé music* for the structuring of the Carnival of Salvador as a tourism product resulting from the RSI of the *Trio Elétrico* are highlighted. In the second (Resignations of the *Trio Elétrico* and tourism competitiveness in the era of cyberculture), structural and aesthetic modifications of the invention of Dodô and Osmar are highlighted, based on the digital technologies and their presence in the daily life of the capital of Bahia. Also, indicative of the tourism performance of the Carnival of Salvador in the last three years, ratifying its evolution and competitive power.

It is important to highlight the difficulty of finding specific academic productions about the IRR of the *Trio Elétrico* and tourism promotion. This was a significant challenge to this study, requiring continuous research into documentary research and interdisciplinary narratives. On the other hand, this was an important provocation, which generated greater pleasure in the production of this construct. Finally, it is confirmed that the RSI of the *Trio Elétrico* is linked to the cultural identity of Salvador, constantly offering the production of new senses on the place for residents, whose daily practices contribute to feed creative processes. This aspect promotes the tourist flow of the destination by continuously inserting novelties into its traditions.

2 METHODOLOGY

The methodology used for the development of this construct follows a critical-dialectical approach. The study starts from historical materialism and it is based on the dynamic conception of reality, including dialectical relationships between subject and object, knowledge and action, theory and practice, characterizing a qualitative research.

They privilege experiences, practices, historical processes, philosophical discussions, or contextualized analyses. Their proposals are markedly critical and seek to unravel more than the conflict of interpretations, the conflict of interests. They represent transformative interests. They seek the interrelation of the whole with the parties and vice versa, from the thesis to the antithesis, from the elements of the economic structure to the social, political, legal, and intellectual superstructure (Martins, 1994, p. 24).

According to the author, the scientific validity of this typology of study occurs in this process of correlations, which allows the development of an internal logic from the methodological procedures adopted that should foster coordination between reflections and actions and between theories and practices. Thus, bibliographical and documentary research, as well as participatory observation, all of these are used to ensure the validity of the research.

Based on Dencker (1998), it is considered that the adopted procedures allow data collection, analysis, and evaluation of economic, political, social, and human aspects that revolve around the object, in this case, RSI of the *Trio Elétrico*. Bibliographical and documentary research has been taking place gradually since the end of the second half of 2017, seeking reflections and contextualization attributing pertinence to the intended theoretical correlations. In this context, the participatory observation in the Carnival of Salvador and in places institutionalized as a tourist places, in the summers of 2018 and 2019, seeking to extend and substantiate the discussions.

The evolution of transformations that have taken place since the first Carnival car passed through Salvador, in 1950, to the consolidation of the *axé* industry, is analyzed through the elements that characterize a regional system such as cooperation and integration, attributes of innovation, such as memory, creativity and novelty, considering the incorporation of new technologies. Thus, it is emphasized that the understanding of the aspects that foment the system is crucial for the determination of actions in the political arena of tourism.

Therefore, the discussions that follow characterize the Regional System of Innovations of the *Trio Elétrico*. Transformations of this ‘musical contraption’ are analyzed, emphasizing its relationship with the culture of the Carnival, generation of businesses, cybernetic technologies, popular behavior of residents and tourism promotion.

3 THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

3.1 Regional System of Innovations of the *Trio Elétrico*

The Regional System of Innovations of the *Trio Elétrico* is composed of all the social, political, economic and technological dynamics that emerge from the ‘invention of Dodo and Osmar’, producing a specific culture in the city of Salvador and contributing to shape the Carnival as a tourism product with its own identity and great competitiveness. After all, since its creation, the *Trio Elétrico* establishes connections between local culture and global socio-technical transformations, setting itself up as a material symbol of the capacity of innovation of the culture of Bahia, which is totally immersed in the place imaginary with fundamental socio-economic importance.

According to Hall and Williams (2008), the Regional System of Innovations (RSI) corresponds to a territorialized process, which dispenses with localized knowledge, both popular and technical and scientific. It must also be properly assimilated to local modes of production, becoming a symbolic element of culture. According to the authors, because it is linked to the territory and imbricated in its technical and socioeconomic characteristics, innovation occurs as a process.

RSI involves a cycle of elements that enable the continuous re-signification of material and immaterial aspects of culture, constituting a historical narrative, thus endowed with imaginaries. This narrative can be observed in the relations that revolve around the invention of Dodo and Osmar. After all, in addition to revelers, behind the *Trio Elétrico* there are economic relationships, political interests, social perspectives, phonographic and advertising market, technological development generation of artists who have become national and international stars, creation of arts centers, and production of specific knowledge.

These factors interrelate, constituting networks of culture and business in the capital of Bahia, so interconnected that they can be considered as a Regional System of Innovations of the *Trio Elétrico*. As the sound truck is the major symbol of the Carnival of Salvador, these networks establish direct relationships with King Momo celebration, and it is around it that the dynamics of this system occurs, which, even in the face of turbulent moments, presents a continuous level of professionalization and development. According to Castro (2009), only between 1997 and 2007, the number of carnival organizations in Salvador increased from 156 up to 207.

From the perspective of Hall and Williams (2008), these companies can be considered as clusters, such as *Canto da Cidade* (Song of the City), by Daniela Mercury, one of the pioneers that ended up influencing others, and IESSI Music Entertainment, from Ivete Sangalo. These companies represent the set of organizations that have their own dynamics, moving several other companies and service providers. Therefore, they guide creative and economic processes around King Momo revelry.

These groups manage the licensing of entertainment products, such as artistic careers, recordings, events promotion, shows, and DVDs, as well as block parades and production of cabins among other actions linked to the Carnival of Salvador and *axé music*. In this way, they bring together a network of local producers, such as *Trio Elétrico* maintenance and support teams for carnival blocks, *abadás* (a specific type of clothing for the carnival) confections companies, lamb associations, independent professionals such as musicians, dancers, choreographers, composers, stylists, makeup artists which are organized the whole year depending on the party.

Data from the *Serviço Brasileiro de Apoio às Micro e Pequenas Empresas* (SEBRAE) (Brazilian Micro and Small Business Support Service), published on the website of the magazine *Pequenas Empresas, Grandes Negócios* (2018), indicates the formalization of small businesses linked to Carnival grew 321% in Salvador and Recife, Rio de Janeiro and São Paulo, in the period from 2011 to 2018. This movement promotes tourism, hotel occupancy, and services linked to hospitality. In turn, these data allow us to infer the existence of

different Regional Innovation Systems linked to Carnival, but mainly warn that to meet the market demand, an RSI lacks specific knowledge, generating expertise.

Hall and Williams (2008) call these specializations of territorial learning, necessary for training professionals who promote the sector. Therefore, in addition to the construction of clusters, the increase in the number of carnival entities requires the constitution of infrastructures of learning and knowledge, critical to innovation. In Salvador, entities of Afro-Brazilian culture linked to Carnival, such as Olodum and Ilê Aiyê, are precursors in actions to welcome young people and adolescents, offering classes in percussion, dance, theater, handcraft production, fashion, entrepreneurship, among other contents, in the sense of professionalizing them and including them in the local cultural market, specifically, attending the demands of the productions related to RSI of the *Trio Elétrico*.

Along these lines, there are also social projects to encourage musical and cultural production promoted by renowned axé music artists, such as Carlinhos Brown's Projeto Pracatum (Pracatum Project), Daniela Mercury's Instituto Sol da Liberdade (Sun of Freedom Institute), and Margaret Menezes's Mercado Ião Fábrica Cultural (Ião Marketplace Cultural Factory). Also, it can be said that the undergraduate programs in Cultural Production, Music and Arts offered by the Universidade Federal da Bahia (UFBA) (Federal University of Bahia), concentrated at Salvador, represent governmental structures of learning of RSI of the *Trio Elétrico*. Although the programs are not geared specifically to Carnival productions, they support the entities of the sector, offering qualified professionals. These training centers collaborate in the production of territorial learning, essential to feed the creative processes, ensuring the evolution of the RSI of the *Trio Elétrico*.

However, Hall and Williams (2008) warn that different market, ideological and social perspectives of the institutions that form an RSI can generate complex interactions. In the RSI of the *Trio Elétrico*, there are disputes for sponsors and better schedules in the parades between 'afro-Bahia' culture blocks from the outskirts of the city and the rope blocks representing middle-class associations. In these conflicts, which reveal economic and ethnic segregation, the rope blocks, 'pulled' by the great stars of axé music, have prevailed over the traditional Afro-Bahia entities.

By the participatory observation in the official circuits of the carnivals of 2018 and 2019, it is verified that the Afro blocks occupy the last hours in the parades, losing visibility of public and of the media, which is a factor of economic deviation, as it reduces its chances of being sponsored. The majority of those associated with these blocks are black and resident, while the blocks of rope are made of tourists and white people of Bahia, which reveals a racial problematic since 80.2% of Salvador population is black, as shown by the website Bahia Economico (2018), according to data from the Instituto Brasileiro de Geografia e Estatística (IBGE) (Brazilian Institute of Geography and Statistics).

The situation becomes more striking when it comes to ethnicity and pay. The Ibahia web portal (2018), based on IBGE indicators, shows that in the year 2017, white men had a salary increase of more than 38.7%, while the brown people had an average increase of 5.7%, and the blacks up to 1.6%. This dichotomy openly parades in the Carnival of Salvador. Most lambs (professionals who hold the ropes that protect the blocks' space during the parade), street vendors, support professionals, scavengers, instrumentalists are black; in turn, professionals who work in sectors of coordination, production, advisories, in the reception of the cabins and the own stars of axé music are mainly white.

However, such as the generation of business and territorial arrest, these conflicts promote specificities to the RSI culture of the *Trio Elétrico*, favoring the concentration of knowledge, definitions of professional areas of activity and development of specific techniques, consisting of socioeconomic dynamics that points to multiple identities. After all, as Hall (2003) says, every identity is conflicting. Thus, Hall and Williams (2008) point out that these localized interactions drive innovation by allowing more direct and effective communications between actors, promoting face-to-face relationships, reducing time with mobility and bureaucracies, and especially generating expertise.

In this sense, these dynamics make possible the constitution of places of memory, such as the centers of professional improvement and the Carnival circuits. In them, there are shares of aspects of individual perception and cognition, constituting collective memories about the local culture, fueling the cycle of system

innovations. In this way, places of memory allow a symbiotic relationship between local, tourist and technological imageries. After all, as stated by Nora (1993), these places have at the same time and in varying degrees, material (because they present concrete existence), symbolic (by bringing together elements of representation), and functional (for promoting specificities and dynamics of culture, contemporary) meanings.

Such places are ideal for the conversion of subjectivities into actions, triggering creative processes imbricated to innovation, such as the design of the *Trio Elétrico* (shown in topic 3.2). In these environments, the formation and qualification of professionals, generation of employment and income, stimulation of entrepreneurship, enhancement of the population's self-esteem, ethnic mixtures, among other benefits, all this shall be discussed later. And, by a more critical look, as it developed during participatory observation, it is possible to develop public policies for the reduction of socioeconomic frictions.

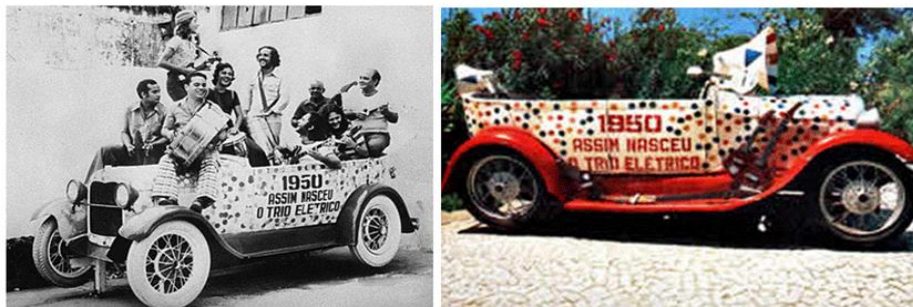
These factors allow the establishment of representative imaginary of the process of creation and re-significances of the *Trio Elétrico* as an RSI as they allow the characterization of a territorial identity, which would hardly be reproduced in another place, with the same authenticity. Because it is linked to local dynamics, the RSI of the *Trio Elétrico* provides feedback, being cyclical because it is the result of experiences and popular creativity and its ability to create solutions to everyday issues. In order to strengthen the importance of the RSI of the *Trio Elétrico*, it is worth noting that in 2016 Salvador received the title of City of Music by the United Nations Network of Creative Cities for Education, Science and Culture (UNESCO), recognizing the notoriety of the musical creation of the municipality as a way of fostering creativity, social inclusion, and economic movement (Agência Brasil, 2017).

In this sense, it is verified, with Hall (2001), that this system is fundamental for enhancing tourism competitiveness of Salvador, since, its cultural production assumes a more active and stronger role in the processes of national and international innovation. After all, the consolidation of the RSI of the *Trio Elétrico* is directly linked to the daily life of Salvador, constituting a cultural identity, directly related to the collective memory and the creativity of the social actors. This will be discussed later.

3.2 Memory and creativity: fundamentals of RSI of the *Trio Elétrico*

The creation of the *Trio Elétrico* in 1950 occurs when Osmar, the owner of a car repair shop, decided to decorate a 1929 Ford car with colored circles, imitating confetti. To powering the operation of the car-mounted speakers, his friend Dodô mounted a power supply connected to a car battery. The pair went out on Carnival Sunday through the streets of Baixa do Sapateiro, popular neighborhood of Salvador, dragging revelers to the sound of sticks and *frevo* songs. The following year, they invited the friend Demístocles Aragão and formed the *Trio Elétrico*, denominating it *Fubica* (Figure 1 - *Fubica*, the first *Trio Elétrico* of Bahia). The three musicians electrified the *Frevo* of Pernambuco with an instrument created by them, the *pau elétrico* (electric stick), later called *guitarra baiana* (guitar of Bahia).

Figure 1- *Fubica*, the first *Trio Elétrico* of Bahia created in 1950



Source: Google

From its creation to the present day, the *Trio Elétrico* has played a preponderant role in Salvador culture and Carnival, becoming increasingly sophisticated technologically and aesthetically. Thus, it meets the demands of the artists who present themselves, for about seven hours a day, captivating both residents and tourists, like in a magic spell. And an approach on the invention proposes that this magic corresponds to a creative process linked to social conditions conducive to its unleashing. As Hall and Williams (2008, p. 142) point out,

“innovation is an intrinsically territorial, localized phenomenon that is highly dependent on resources that are of a specific territory, linked to particular places and impossible to reproduce elsewhere.”

These resources are technical, financial, and mainly cultural, after all, it is the social dynamics, with their symbolism, that constitutes the predominant factor for innovation. As Perez (2016) proposes, innovations promote re-significances, since they correspond to combinations of elements of culture, whether material or immaterial, producing new meanings and new social practices. Thus, with Eagleton (2005), culture is reiterated as production processes; therefore, it continually updates itself, being endowed with contradictions and conflicts of all kinds.

Thus, it is inferred that innovative processes are given from aspects of the collective memory stored in the mind of the creator. For Le Goff (1994), memory is a psychic, intellectual, selective, and temporal construction, endowed with meanings, corresponding to the cultural representation. For Halbwachs (1990), in turn, the memory is formed from a social process of reconstruction of the past, with multiple and reflective characters. By the connection between the authors, it is considered that it is only possible to remember the past if it is present in contemporary situations. This reiterates that the RSI of the *Trio Elétrico* is due to facts and aspects that occurred prior to the invention, but because it is updated, gathered elements of the contemporaneity, so they form places of memory.

In these environments, the collective memory starts from individual experience – from lived moments in a sensorial way and not necessarily shared with the social group – constituting a sensitive intuition, which can manifest as insight², stimulating innovation processes. Halbwachs (1990) considers that memories contained in this intuition point to social frameworks; that is, individual experience is only recalled in collective settings. Thus, memory is thought of as a collective production in places of sociability, being directly associated with the idea of cultural identity. It presents materiality because it is associated with human experiences, sensitive or practical, occurring in specific places. Therefore, the importance of the centers of territorial learning: they feed the memory of RSI.

In this regard, to understand the process of emergence of the RSI of the *Trio Elétrico* is necessary to understand the social environment in which the invention of the carnival truck occurs. Moura (2009) observes there are distinct aesthetic, social, and technological roots imbricated in the invention of the mechanic friends and the way it is currently manifested in the culture of Bahia. The author understands the *Trio Elétrico* as an allegory of the road construction process and electrification of the city, because at the time of its creation, the municipality began to adapt to these technologies. Still, he considers the parades of society girls promoted by the elites between the 1920s and 1940s as an inspiration for the *Trio Elétrico*. The models paraded on boards mounted on duly decorated trucks and automobiles, which had their own aesthetic and technological standards.

In the twentieth century, the King Momo celebration begins to invade the streets of Brazilian cities with blocks, cords, and carnival societies. This behavior has economic motivation since the less wealthy populations did not have the resources to pay the parties in the clubs, besides the social and racial segregation. This helps to understand why in Salvador, popular demonstrations were concentrated in the Historic Center up to Campo Grande. The parades were not organized and included schools of samba, *afoxés* (a genre of Afro-Brazilian music), and blocks of Indians. The elites made their Carnival in clubs and sometimes in the streets, promoting parades with floats and thematic costumes.

Therefore, it is this symbiotic nature of social and technological imaginary that inspires the creation of Fubica, representing the process of the inauguration of the *Trio Elétrico*. In this sense, the invention is the foundation of RSI of the *Trio Elétrico*, since it establishes elements allowing the development of creative processes and continuous adaptations to contemporaneity, boosting tourism imaginary. Fubica's conception will generate a

² As Bolshaw (2008) notes, insight is the result of acquired knowledge, but it usually occurs when least expected. Researchers in cognition, such as the neuroscientist Jung-Beeman, consider the moment of insight arise with the sense of certainty of the manifest idea.

network of relationships associating collective memory, creativity, knowledge, socioeconomic, and technological aspects, constituting cultural identities. As discussed below, this relationship is reproduced in all cycles of re-significances of the *Trio Elétrico*.

4 RESULTS AND DISCUSSIONS

4.1 Public power, *axé music* and the formation of a tourism product

A decade after its invention, the *Trio Elétrico* was already a symbolic element of the King Momo revelry of Salvador, recognized not only by artists and revelers, also by the municipal government, which since 1960, identified its communicative potential and power to move residents and the local economy (Bochicchio (2006). In this period, to stimulate popular creativity and innovations in the formats, standards, potentialities, and aesthetics of the *Trio Elétrico*, Salvador City Hall starts to promote *Trio Elétrico* contests, beginning the process of propagating the *Trio Elétrico* imaginary.

Since then, parades began to be organized and become a tradition in the Carnival of Salvador, and different models of the sound truck appeared (Figure 2: *Trios Elétricos* between the 1960s and 1970s). The King Momo revelry of Salvador became a mix of *Trios Elétricos*, whose artists were not necessarily famous and vocalists were rare since, because of the lack of appropriate technology, the voice was amplified by loud-speakers.

Figure 2- Trios Elétricos between the 1960s and 1970s



Source: Google

At the end of the 1960s and during the 1970s, different cultural and musical expressions began to emerge in Bahia, such as *Tropicália*, *Novos Baianos*, *afoxés* and percussion blocks, and when using the *Trio Elétrico* for their presentations they collaborate for the formation of a new scene in the Carnival of Salvador, taking more and more people of Salvador to the streets. The *Novos Baianos* placed amplified speakers and transistors in the *Trio Elétrico*, improving the technical quality of the sound. Thus, the volume increased as well as allowed the singer *Baby do Brasil* to sing on top of the *Trio Elétrico*.

In addition to this technological innovation, the 1970s brings other factors to boost the organization of Carnival parades. The singer and composer Moraes Moreira create *frevo* from Bahia; in 1974, *Ilê Aiyê* became the first Afro block to parade in the city, opening doors for dozens of others. Along with this Africanization of the revelry of Salvador, the number of blocks of the middle class increased. The mixing of these different musical expressions promotes the amplification of sound power and carrying capacity of the *Trio Elétrico*. Mainly, it contributes to the emergence of a new way of making music in Bahia and to the triggering of new marketing relations, from the 1980s.

In 1985, singer and songwriter Luiz Caldas, released the song *Fricote*, from the album *Magia* (Magic), and inaugurated the *axé music*: a new cultural movement was born in Salvador, which will draw the attention of

national record companies to the production of local music. The relationship between national and record companies of Bahia will be essential for the dissemination and strengthening of the new musical genre. As Oliveira and Campos (2014) explain, in the 1970s, national record companies started to partner with small-localized companies. These produced discs to be distributed by those, revealing new talents.

Thus, the production of carnival music from Salvador becomes widespread in the national market. As an example, the authors cite the song *Deuses, Cultura Egípcia, Olodum (Faraó)* (Gods, Egyptian Culture, Olodum (Pharaoh), from the year 1987, recorded first by the singer Margareth Menezes, then by Bandamel, Bloco Mel, adding the 800 thousand copies. These new dynamics of the phonographic market has become an inducer of tourism, attracting people from the interior of Bahia and other Brazilian states to the Carnival of Salvador.

Oliveira and Campos (2014) verified that the popularity of the movement led to a network of artists, producers, and entrepreneurs who no longer needed to leave Bahia to achieve success and profitability, beginning to build networks of commercial and social relationships around music production in Salvador and the need for improvements of the *Trio Elétrico*. The crowd was growing increasingly behind the truck, and with that, the vehicle has to undergo new aesthetic and functional changes. It was necessary to attend to the new format of the bands that mixed percussive and electronic instruments; and increase the sound power to reach an increasing, diverse, and ever more demanding number of revelers (Figure 3: *Trios Elétricos* 1980: *Trios Elétricos* of the Bloco Pinel and the band Armandinho, Dodo and Osmar).

Figure 3 - Trios Elétricos of 1980 (Trios Elétricos of the Bloco Pinel and the band Armandinho, Dodo and Osmar)



Source: Google

In this movement, the municipal government strengthens relations with producers of *axé music*. The very composition *Nós somos carnaval* (We are Carnival), used as an epigraph in this text, represents this dynamic, constituting itself as an advertising product of the *Trio Elétrico* and the Carnival of Salvador. And just in the early 1990s, the Bahia new musical movement established itself in the country as a strong music market. Oliveira and Campos (2014) point out that the album *O Canto da Cidade* (The song of the city), by Daniela Mercury (1992), was important to consolidate the *axé music* industry by attracting the national media to the state.

This contributed to increasing the tourist flow, consolidating the Salvador Carnival as an important national attraction. The album, released in a national scale by Sony Music, sold more than two million copies (diamond disc in Brazil) and was voted the most important of the country of that decade, according to a poll conducted by Folha de São Paulo (2008).

[...] With only one year of success *O Canto da Cidade* (a famous song of mine), Salvador won 500 thousand more tourists. One more example: I have about 50 million in Brazilian currency of spontaneous media return in every carnival in Salvador. This return, from my presentations (6 hours a day singing and dancing without stopping or eating – added to another 5 hours prior to preparation – and another 2 hours post presentation for recovery of voice and body – for 6 days in a row) brings a gigantic appreciation for the image of the city, the state and the country. All of this stimulates tourism and drives the economy. (Daniela Mercury, Revista Fórum, 2019).

Since the success of *Canto da Cidade*, *axé* performers add up to high values with albums, concerts, advertising contracts, and spontaneous media time. They win prizes and establish public, private, and philanthropic partnerships. The sale of *abadás* (shirts of the blocks) began to grow considerably, so in 1996, due to the

congestion of blocks in the traditional circuit of the Carnival (Campo Grande), Daniela Mercury descends with its block to another area of the city, making the route between the districts of Barra and Ondina, consolidating a new circuit, offering as a difference the seafront. The Carnival of Salvador has three official circuits (Centro Histórico, Campo Grande, and Barra-Ondina), increasing its spatial dimension and, consequently, the expansion of the tourist flow.

This dimension of the RSI of the *Trio Elétrico* can also be measured from the reproduction of the Carnival of Salvador in other cities of the State, the country and abroad, in different periods, called the *micareta* (off-season celebrations), or ‘extension’ of the Carnival, as has occurred in cities like Porto Seguro, south of Bahia, and in the city of São Paulo. These timeless carnivals reveal the system’s export capability, taking its structure (vehicle, event format, and music) beyond the municipal boundaries. This requires further changes in the structures of the *Trio Elétrico* (Figure 4: *Trios Elétricos* become bigger and more powerful starting in the 1990s).

Figure 4 - Trios Elétricos become bigger and more powerful from the 1990s



Source: Google

Artists of *axé music* have become important drivers of tourism in Salvador. Proof is that Salvador’s City Hall invited two important icons of the movement, veteran Daniela Mercury and Saulo Fernandes, one of the young talents, to launch the summer of Salvador 2017 in São Paulo (Correio da Bahia, 2016), one of the main tourism sources for the destination, announcing more than 60 celebrations, having as main product the Carnival.

This panorama results from transformations in the Salvador Carnival over the years, which is becoming more competitive and sophisticated. And to follow the world movement, from the 2000s, the *Trio Elétrico* undergo new processes of re-significances adopting the digital technologies characteristic of cyberculture. In this way, these transformations are represented by the *Trio Elétrico* of the singers Daniela Mercury and Ivete Sangalo, who each gather more than 200 thousand people in each parade in the Carnival. It also presents data of the tourism performance of the Salvador Carnival, whose identity is totally associated with the invention of Dodo and Osmar.

4.2 Resignifications of the *Trio Elétrico* and tourism competitiveness in the era of cyberculture

In the year 2000, the raves celebrated the capital of Bahia, commonly held in palaces and mansions listed as historical heritage. Cybercafes of Salvador, intelligent hotel building, optical sensor readers, online communication, public service digitization processes, and other factors marked the appropriation of Information and Communication Technologies (ICT) in the daily life of the city proliferated throughout Salvador. As Beni (2017) points out, these devices constitute ‘infrastructures’ necessary for the operationalization of contemporary organizations.

All this situation fosters cyberculture imaginary, proposing symbioses between fiction, techniques, actions, transgressions, freedom of expression and dissemination of information, through factors such as robotics, virtual reality, electronic music, synthesis images, digital manipulations. As Lemos (2002, p. 258) observes, these aspects express the “transgressive, deviant and appropriating spirit, reaching its dissemination by the

social body, reaching, even indirectly, all the people who have access to the new technologies." The appropriation of digital technologies to spaces and objects alter their configurations, giving them new material, symbolic and functional meanings.

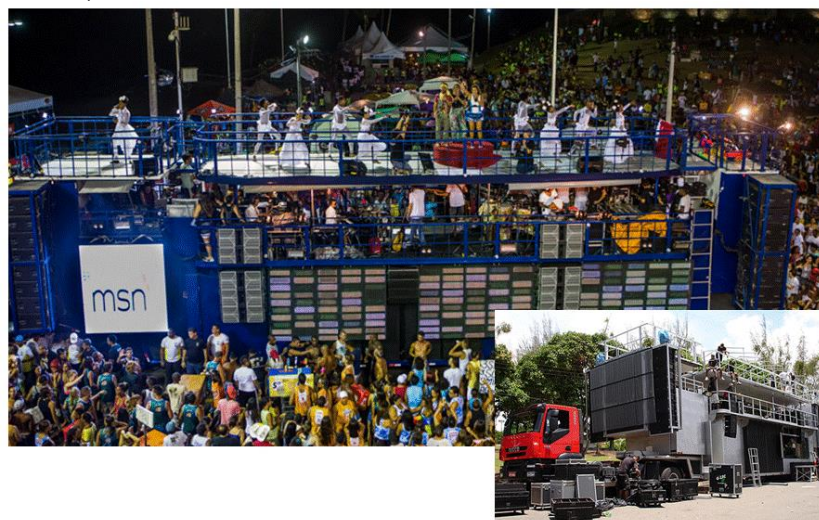
This conjecture proposes new resignifications in the RSI of the *Trio Elétrico*. In 2000, the Barra-Ondina circuit was already consolidated as the official party space. The singer Daniela Mercury, influenced by the digital revolution, decides to mix the local sound with the electronic music, putting DJs on top of the *Trio Elétrico*, calling it *trio eletrônico* (electronic trio). It was seven hours of fusion of Bahia music to digital rhythms (Drum N Bass, House, Techno, Lounge). According to the artist, in an interview with singer and songwriter Caetano Veloso, in the channel of the *Mídia Ninja*, on YouTube (2019), at that time, the experience sounded strange for a good part of the population, who did not seem to understand that fusion, reaching to the boo it at a certain point in the circuit.

In the dialogue, Caetano Veloso considers the landmark moment of the re-signification of *axé music* and of the Carnival of Salvador, which in contemporary times has blocks of electronic music only, reproducing the first carnivals with only digital music. In addition to the rhythmic fusion, cyberculture imaginary proposed new metamorphoses to the *Trio Elétrico* itself, as can be contextualized through the trucks of Daniela and the singer Ivete Sangalo. In 2006, one year after the release of the album *Carnaval Eletrônico* (electronic carnival), which consolidates cyberculture imaginary in the Bahia music scene, Daniela Mercury, together with a professional of the audio team of her company, Marco Carvalho, designs her new *Trio Elétrico*.

The 'Axé Queen' cybernetic *Trio Elétrico* was first used at the Carnival of Salvador in 2007. According to information from Backstage (2016), the vehicle was built with an ingenious system of hinges and slides that transform its width of 4,40 meters to 2,60 meters, the maximum allowed to parade in circuits of the cities of Europe. To add this transforming character, hydraulic and manual drives were incorporated into the vehicle. This represents the appropriation of disambiguation imaginary, characterized by fictional alien robots capable of transforming their bodies into innocuous objects as vehicles - aspect that is part of cyberculture imaginary.

The objective of the resignification was to meet the demands of national and international events, configuring market vision and planning. Another concern of the artist was to transform her *Trio Elétrico* into a mobile amphitheater, adapting a stage with 70 square meters above the roof of the truck, as a kind of the third floor, hence its name of *Triatro*. This space is unique to performances by the artist and her ballet (Figure 5: In addition to having the third floor, Daniela Mercury's *Trio Elétrico* is adaptable to the streets of Brazil and Europe).

Figure 5 - In addition to having the third floor, Daniela Mercury's *Trio Elétrico* is adaptable to the streets of Brazil and Europe.

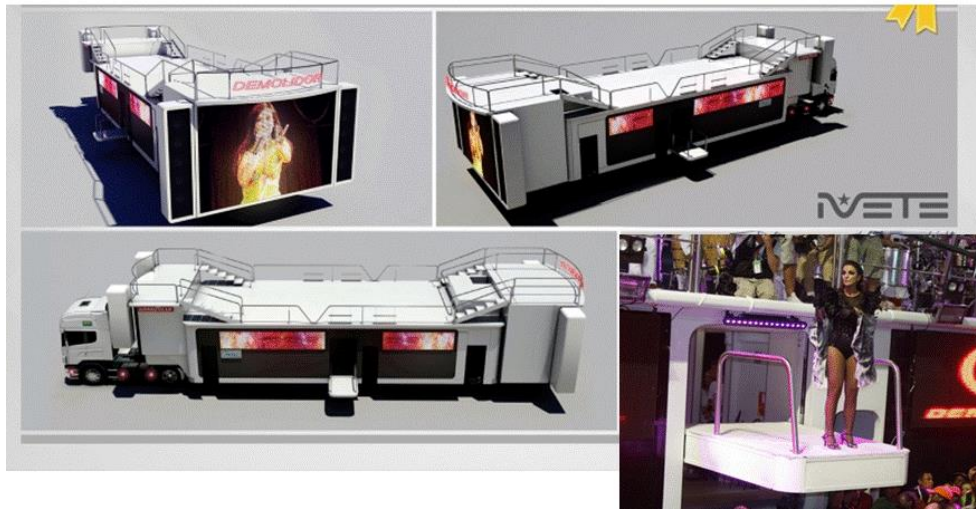


Source: Google

Ivete Sangalo called her *Trio Elétrico* of Daredevil Y, given its structure and sound potential. According to information from web portal G1 (2009), the equipment corresponded, in 2009, to an investment of BRL 2.5 million. The website of *Clube do Hardware* (Hardware Club) (2011), informs that the Daredevil Y was built by the partnership between the *Grupo MB Produções* and the company of the artist. Students of the *Faculdade de Belas Artes de São Paulo* developed the design, associating environmental and technological awareness.

The all-aluminum structure of GGD Metals, which keeps the car lighter, consuming less diesel and generating fewer pollutants to the environment, as well as 22 Goodyear tires that guarantee more safety to the revelers. The Daredevil has circumferences inspired by the designer of state-of-the-art technological equipment. The predominance of the white color is to convey the message of peace and harmony. There are also two side lift doors that open and take the singer close to the audience (Figure 6: Ivete Sangalo's *Trio Elétrico* associates environmental awareness and digital technologies).

Figure 6 - Ivete Sangalo's *Trio Elétrico* associates environmental awareness with digital technologies.



Source: Google

Besides the aesthetic improvement, the sound input of the Daredevil Y has been fully optimized. The speakers come out from within the *Trio Elétrico*; three digital power generators were adapted, totaling 470 KVA, 300 Selenium speakers, machine digital amplifiers, 128 imported drivers, 18 sounds and 343,600 watts of sound. Two high-level digital desks were attached. The sound of Daredevil Y can reach up to almost six miles away. The stage was covered with white synthetic grass and has a VIP space for guests.

The interior is fitted with special flooring, private dressing room, exclusive bathroom with shower and another three for guests, plus refrigerator, microwave, custom mirror, leather sofas, LCD TVs, Home Theater, cable TV, internet, air conditioning, wardrobe, and lights for chromotherapy. As the name suggests, it is a vehicle with full sonic, visual, and technological power – a real Daredevil. (Figure 7: Internal compartments of Ivete Sangalo's *Trio Elétrico*).

Figure 7 - Internal compartments of Ivete Sangalo's *Trio Elétrico*

Source: Google

The insertion of electronic music in the Carnival of Salvador, the Daredevil Y, and the *Triatro* represent the appropriation of cyberculture imaginary to RSI of the *Trio Elétrico*, in which the digital 'infrastructures' propose re-significances in the operation of the sound vehicle and in the culture surrounding it. Thus, we can observe the continuity of the system, and this reiterates the symbiosis between social, tourism, and technological imaginary, adapting it to the world dynamics. It is also reiterated that the regional innovation process is directly associated with the collective memory, that is, the ways in which local communities perceive technological, social, political, and cultural transformations, adapting them to their daily lives.

It can also be said that the innovation process of the RSI of the *Trio Elétrico* results from the self-diagnosis of the producers, in order to increase the capacity to meet the demands of artists and consumers. In this sense, based on Mazaró (2018), it is considered that these continuous re-significances reiterate that the competitiveness of a regional system is inherent to it and is not determined by the market or the competition. One example is the positive indicators of the Carnival of Salvador in recent years. For example, on the website *Agência do Brasil* (2016a), public authorities estimated that during the seven days of Carnival 2016, approximately BRL 1.2 billion was injected into the local economy; already in 2018, the City Hall, made an estimate of BRL 1.7 billion, according to a report in the newspaper *A Tarde* (2018). These figures represent the generation of business among the organizations that are part of the RSI of the *Trio Elétrico*.

According to the report of *A Tarde* (2018), each day of the Carnival 2018 revelry had the participation of two million revelers (20% more than in 2017). It is estimated that 800 thousand tourists, domestic and international, participated in the Carnival celebration, resulting in 96% hotel occupancy (in 2016, there were 560 thousand tourists). According to the *Federação Baiana de Hospedagem e Alimentação* (FeBHA) (Bahia Federation of Food and Lodging), this percentage was the highest among Brazilian capitals in the period. The report also shows that foreign tourists spent an average of BRL 3.5 thousand during the whole holiday, and the Brazilians around BRL 4.9 thousand. The people of Bahia, meanwhile, had an average expenditure of BRL 1.7 thousand.

In the same document, there are other important data that represent the professionalization of the celebration. For example, the reduction in the rate of care of the Civil Guard. In 2017, 877 occurrences were recorded; in 2018, that number dropped to 477 (a reduction of 45.6%). The attendance in health units had a reduction of 3.5% and the shelters for children of street vendors and collectors of recyclable material received 373 children and youngsters up to 18 years (an increase of 120 places compared to last year). In a report from Ibahia (2019), the city estimated that Carnival 2019 would generate 250,000 temporary jobs, moving about BRL 1.8 billion in the city's economy.

These data confirm the evolutionary line of RSI of the *Trio Elétrico* and its relationship with tourism competitiveness, reproducing throughout history, and relationships between creative processes, technological development, private organizations, and public policies necessary for the increase of tourism competitiveness. It is also evidenced the production of territorial knowledge, professionalization, self-assessment processes and the constitution of a culture hardly reproduced in another locality, as established by Hall and Williams (2008).

Another factor that consolidates the RSI of the *Trio Elétrico* is the imaginary of the sound truck already incorporated in the popular daily routine, which was verified through participatory observation in the Historical Center of Salvador, and in the carnivals of 2018 and 2019. In addition to the giant *Trio Elétrico*, it was possible to observe the streets of Salvador and in the King Momo revelry, boys transiting with miniatures called 'carrinhos do café' (coffee cart) or 'trios do cafezinho'³ (coffee trios). Inspired by the heyday of the *Trio Elétrico*, coffee vendors in Salvador began to turn their trolleys into little *Trio Elétrico*, showing the symbiosis between social, tourism and cyberculture imaginaries in everyday life (Figure 8: 'Coffee trios' symbolize the symbiosis between social, tourist, and cyberculture imaginaries that make up the RSI of the *Trio Elétrico*).

Figure 8 - 'Coffee trios' symbolize the symbiosis between social imaginary, tourist imaginary, and cyberculture imaginary that make up the RSI of the *Trio Elétrico*.



Source: Google

These small *Trio Elétrico* can be found in several places of Salvador, but there is a greater concentration in the Historical Center, the same region where Fubica was created, confirming the region as a place of memory of that system, where one can notice territorial learning. In addition to the new design, which includes LED lights and special paintings, the trolleys have been adapted to incorporate digital audio and video devices.

The equipment is successful among the population by marketing coffee at a low cost and various other products like cigarettes, candy, CDs, DVDs, MP3, cell phone covers, among others. But mainly it is the sound power that most attract the attention of residents and tourists. The 'coffee trio' is already so intertwined in the local identity that in 2013, it was part of the Festival of the City, promoted by the City Hall, to celebrate the 464th the anniversary of the founding of Salvador, according to a report by Jornal Tribuna da Bahia (2016).

Nevertheless, a new cultural practice is beginning to be consolidated in the municipality, which is the contracting of these small *Trio Elétrico* for the animation of private parties, constituting a new economic cliché in RSI of the *Trio Elétrico*. In the Carnival of 2018, it was common to see these miniatures enlivening corners,

³ The coffee trolleys were originally created to help transport the thermal bottles with coffee and milk, they were only made up of a platform on wheels, with a kind of steering wheel that aided the driving. Over time, they gained colorful and props until they were transformed into small trios, in a movement that seems to reproduce the history of Fubica.

alleys, and streets in the vicinity of the circuits of the foliage, informally and disorderly, as if they reproduced the history of the first *Trio Elétrico* in the 1950s. However, in 2019, the coffee cart was officially introduced in the King Momo revelry with a date and time set for a parade in Fuzuê (a pre-carnival movement promoted by the city hall), thus occupying a space defined in the Carnival of Salvador, which is another process of re-signification within the RSI culture of the *Trio Elétrico*.

Therefore, all this movement allows us to state that the *Trio Elétrico* is at the same time an element of tradition and innovation of the Bahia's King Momo revelry. The sound and visual truck accompanies the local and global transformations and contributes to increase tourism competitiveness of Salvador and its Carnival, which was considered by the Guinness Book in 2005 as the largest popular celebration on the planet. The *Trio Elétrico* and axé music became identity elements of the State. Through them occurred the consolidation of a Regional Innovation System, whose processes of re-significances increasingly enhances the tourism competitiveness of the place.

5 CONCLUDING REMARKS

As the song lyrics used in the epigraph of this text says, Salvador is *o mundo Carnaval* (the Carnival world), in which the invention of the *Trio Elétrico*, the governmental stimulus, the creation of a specific musical genre as well as the continuous processes of trio re-significances, with adaptations to the technologies, represent the institutionalization of the Regional System of Innovation of the *Trio Elétrico*. Therefore, we verified that the system is defined by the constitution of an evolutionary line of re-significances of the culture through the interconnection between aspects of collective memory, creativity, technological development, public policies, and socioeconomic behavior that foster destination competitiveness.

Due to its constitution and dynamics, the RSI of the *Trio Elétrico* presents a flexible infrastructure of learning, knowledge and interaction, planning, management, and evaluation, constituting a cyclical movement of updates. These aspects are properly territorialized, however, without losing connections with the world transformations. Thus, at the same time, they establish relationships with the regional present day and other spaces of the planet. This enables the production of new meanings of the place, updating the culture, boosting its socioeconomic aspects, enhancing the attractiveness for people from various parts of the world, fomenting the tourist competitiveness of the destination.

Moreover, the study allows us to state that innovation corresponds to continuous processes of development linked to cultural characteristics. Therefore, the RSI of the *Trio Elétrico* is given unusual meanings that foster singular practices and update cultural narratives. Its regional identity aspects make it possible to adapt the place to the global by building services and products that can be understood by people from different contexts, arousing their interest. Innovation is a mediating factor between cultures and, therefore, is an element of tourism promotion.

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Informations about the authors

Moabe Breno Ferreira Costa

PhD Student in the Social Sciences Applied to Tourism Program, Federal University of Rio Grande do Norte (UFRN). He holds a degree in Social Communication from Paraíba State University (UEPB) and a master's degree in Culture & Tourism, for the integrated program between the Santa Cruz State University (UESC) and the Federal University from Bahia (UFBA). Member of the research group Cultural Identity and Regional Expressions (Icer-CNPq). Address to Access this CV: <http://lattes.cnpq.br/3668983781176449>

Contributions: Research design, literature review, data collection, data analysis, discussion.

E-mail: moabebreno@hotmail.com

ORCID: <https://orcid.org/0000-0002-2988-0609>

Rosana Mara Mazaro

Doctorate in Administration / Tourism, University of Barcelona, DITMUB-Spain. Master of Business Administration Public, PPGA / UFSC. Graduated in Administration, UNIPAR. Current President of the National Association for Research and Postgraduate in Tourism -ANPTUR. Member of the Technical Working Group for Nautical Tourism of the Ministry of Tourism, Brazil. CV: <http://lattes.cnpq.br/028024084903732>

Contributions: Research design, data analysis, discussion.

E-mail: rosanamazaro@uol.com.br

ORCID: <https://orcid.org/0000-0002-0128-7918>

Maria Lúcia Bastos Alves

Post-doctorate from Roehampton University-London-UK (2015). PhD in Sociology from the University of São Paulo / USP (2004). Master in Social Sciences from the Federal University of Rio Grande do Norte / UFRN (1993). Graduated in Social Sciences from UFRN (1983). She is currently Assistant Professor III at UFRN and Deputy Leader of Base Interdisciplinary Research in Tourism and Society Research (UFRN). CL: <http://lattes.cnpq.br/1719643619018288>

Contributions: Data Analysis, Discussion

E-mail: mluciabastos29@yahoo.com.br

ORCID: <https://orcid.org/0000-0003-4719-5020>