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MEXICAN CAPOEIRA IS NOT DIASPORIC! ON GLOCALIZATION, MIGRATION AND THE NORTH-SOUTH DIVIDE

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DOI

10.18573/mas.122

KEYWORDS

capoeira, glocalization,
diaspora, North-South divide,
bodily capital

CITATION

Contreras Islas, David Sebastian.
2021. 'Mexican capoeira is not diasporic!
– On glocalization, migration and
the North-South divide'. *Martial Arts
Studies* 11, 56-70.
doi: 10.18573/mas.122

ABSTRACT

This paper contributes to the understanding of martial arts globalization processes. It focuses on the development of capoeira in Mexico, which is presented as an example of glocalization. In contrast to the diasporic capoeira observed by Delamont and Stephens in the UK, capoeira in Mexico is characterized by the proliferation of local groups with classes taught by Mexican instructors, as well as by advanced cultural reinterpretation. To explain these differences, capoeira is considered as the bodily capital of Brazilian migrants whose mobility patterns are influenced by the North-South divide. This paper hypothesizes that glocalization processes similar to Mexico's might exist throughout Hispanic Latin America and other regions of the Global South. Furthermore, the diaspora-glocalization divide could be a pattern in the globalization process of practices that originated in the South which spread as part of migrants' bodily capital. Finally, I ask how capoeira's globalization in Mexico might anticipate similar processes in the global North.

INTRODUCTION

Capoeira is a complex Afro-Brazilian practice that combines elements of dance, fight, music, theater, and lyric (among others). Defying traditional western genre categories, scholars like Lewis [1992] and Downey [2005] have classified it as a 'blurred genre' [Geertz 1983]. However, capoeira practitioners (*capoeiristas*) refer to it as a game (*jogo*) and to themselves as players (*jogadores*). After being heavily persecuted in most of Brazil because of a mixture of racial prejudices and its actual relation to criminal organizations, capoeira was declared Brazilian cultural heritage in 2008 and listed by UNESCO as intangible cultural heritage in 2014. Today, capoeira is a global phenomenon practiced by people all over the world. As such, it has become an important subject for academic research in a variety of disciplines, from history and cultural sociology to sport pedagogics and even neuropsychology.

Most academic research in capoeira has focused on understanding the practice as it is lived in Brazil. Nonetheless, as a Mexican scholar and capoeira teacher (*professor*), I am particularly interested in understanding the dynamics of capoeira outside Brazil: the way it has spread to other countries, how it is taught and by whom, and the overall experience of people learning and playing abroad. This research interest coincides with the work of other scholars including Joseph [2008a; 2008b; 2012] in Canada, Reis [2005] in Poland, Aichroth [2012] in Germany, Lube Guizardi [2013] in Spain, Lipiäinen [2015] in Russia, De Martini Ugolotti [2015] in Italy, and Wulforth, Rocha & Morgan [2014] in Australia.

Still, the present article was in large part inspired by the work of Delamont and Stephens, who have spent almost 13 years analyzing capoeira in the UK and other regions of the Global North using a two-handed ethnography approach. In one of their early papers [Stephens & Delamont 2008: 58], they introduced the notion of *diasporic capoeira*, which became a central element in their later works and a reference to many other scholars [see: Joseph 2012; Rocha et al. 2015; Wulforth, Rocha & Morgan 2014; Aula 2017]. They mention three main aspects of diasporic capoeira that distinguishes it from glocalized practices (like hip-hop):

Firstly, capoeira is spread by the migration of Brazilian teachers. Thus the capoeira in Newcastle, Tokyo and Frankfurt is taught by Brazilians, as it is in Rio. Secondly, the language of capoeira remains Brazilian Portuguese, as students from Newcastle, Tokyo and Frankfurt sing the same songs and learn the same vocabulary as those in Rio. Thirdly, the core aspects of the habitus of capoeira outside Brazil are presented to the students as inalienably and inexorably Brazilian. [Stephens & Delamont 2008: 61]

In the same paper, the authors claim that 'as long as the teachers are expatriate Brazilians, and the schools have Brazilian roots, the glocalization of capoeira is restricted' and that 'once teachers indigenous to the UK, Japan and Germany emerge, and hybrid forms evolve, capoeira will become more glocal' [61-2]. In a later work Delamont, Stephens, and Campos [2017: 166-67 & 172-73] continue to analyze the possibility of capoeira glocalizing in the UK, 'as opposed to the diasporic capoeira we see today' [167].

Nevertheless, capoeira's development in Mexico does not fit the model of diasporic development that the authors outline in their treatment of 'capoeira classes across the world' [Stephens & Delamont 2008: 60]. Instead, the Mexican experience seemed closer to glocalization, as depicted by Bennett [1999a; 1999b] and Condry [2000; 2001] for the case of hip-hop. Although Joseph [2008b], Lipiäinen [2015] and Wulforth, Rocha and Morgan [2014] have pointed out similar tendencies to glocalization in their countries, the Mexican case is more radical since Brazilians neither introduced capoeira to the country nor dominated the local market.

The central thesis I will try to sustain, is that capoeira has followed different patterns of globalization in the North and in the global South, adopting the form of a diaspora in the first case, while tending towards glocalization in the second. To this aim, the following article will analyze the historical development and the present shape of capoeira in Mexico to show why it should be considered a glocal instead of diasporic phenomenon. I will also reflect on the implications of this finding for our understanding of the globalization processes of social practices across the North-South divide more generally. By integrating this perspective, my work aims to contribute to the understanding of martial arts globalization processes.

The article has been organized into five sections, plus a brief conclusion. It starts with an introduction to capoeira, which familiarizes the reader with the basic features of the Afro-Brazilian practice. The second section expands on the concepts of glocalization and diaspora, as well as the criteria used by Delamont and Stephens [2008] to sustain the diasporic shape of capoeira's globalization process. These concepts are fundamental to the third section, which presents historical and more recent data on the Mexican case, to analyze whether its shape corresponds to a diasporic or a glocal activity. It finds that notions of glocal capoeira better describe the Mexican case than the diasporic model.

The fourth section provides evidence of similar glocalization processes existing in other countries of Latin America. Using De Sousa Santos's [2006] decolonial theorization on the North-South divide, in combination with Wacquant's [1995] concepts of bodily labor and

bodily capital, I present one possible explanation of the different shapes of the practice found in Europe and Latin America. Furthermore, this suggests that the divergent patterns of globalization observed in the case of capoeira might be generalizable for other cultural expressions that originate in the Global South and travel the world as part of migrants' bodily capital.

The article's final section addresses the question posed by Delamont, Stephens, and Campos [2017] regarding the possibility of diasporic capoeira glocalizing in the UK. Inverting the colonialist chronology that associated the South to the past and the North to the future [De Sousa Santos 2006], I analyze to what extent the glocalization of capoeira in the Global South might help to anticipate and inform a similar process in the North.

THE PRACTICE OF CAPOEIRA

By combining dance with struggle, ritual with spontaneity, beauty with violence, and play with deadly seriousness [Onori 2002: 9], capoeira escapes every attempt at classifying it into traditional western genres. This article, however, approaches capoeira as a social practice [Schatzki 2002], or, to speak with Alkenmeyer [2013], as a 'socially regulated, culturally typified and organized bundle of human activities that unfold in time' [44]. As subjects of a social practice, capoeiristas incorporate, produce and reproduce a particular habitus [see: Alkenmeyer 2013: 42] that, given the appropriate conditions, can become a form of bodily capital [Wacquant 1995].

The historical origin of capoeira is the subject of intense debate within and outside the academic world. The two main theses on the subject assume that (a) it originated in Africa and was imported into Brazil through slave trading; or (b) it originated in Brazil, through the interaction of enslaved Africans and their descendants with European slave-owners and native *indios*. A relation of the arguments and counterarguments presented by each side can be found in the works of Assunção [2005], Talmon-Chvaicer [2008], Delamont, Stephens and Campos [2017: 84-8] or Varela [2019: 17-23]. Nevertheless, both positions concur that the history of capoeira is inseparable from the history of slavery in Brazil.

From 1800 on, references to capoeira depict a particularly violent past, linking the practice to the urban gangs (*malts*) that terrorized the cities of Recife and Rio de Janeiro. Surprisingly, the first records of mixed-raced white *capoeiristas* stem from this period – some of them attesting to the popularity of capoeira among the very police forces that were to persecute it after its illegalization in 1892 [see: Capoeira 2002: 145-164].

Persecution caused capoeira to practically disappear from most urban centers, with the notable exception of Salvador and its surroundings in the state of Bahia, where its practice subsisted in the folklore of the Afro-descendant population [see: Lewis 1992: 51-59]. Around 1930, in Salvador da Bahia, capoeira was subject simultaneously to a rebirth and a transformation through the innovations introduced by Manoel dos Reis Machado (*Mestre* [master] *Bimba*) and Vicente Ferreira Pastinha (*Mestre Pastinha*), which brought it closer to its current form.

Traditionally, capoeira was either learned in the streets, by attending clandestine rings (*rodas*) and trying to imitate the movements, or it was passed from master to disciple in a very personal way. This changed when Bimba opened the first capoeira academy (*academia*) in 1927, announcing his classes as '*luta regional bahiana*' (regional fight of Bahia) to avoid being persecuted by the police.

Aiming to give capoeira a formal status, similar to that of East Asian martial arts, Bimba developed the fighting aspects of the practice, introduced the use of uniforms and graduations, and developed a sequence-based teaching method that allowed his students to graduate within six months [Capoeira 2002: 179-182]. Bimba also required all his students to prove that they were studying or working, in addition to paying a monthly fee. As a result, many of his students were young white or mixed-raced people who belonged to the economic elite. Over time, some of Bimba's students came to hold important positions in the government or in the universities, from where they contributed to the legalization of capoeira in 1937, as part of the project of President Getúlio Vargas to forge a new national identity [Lube Guizardi 2011].

Despite these achievements, some Brazilian intellectuals accused Bimba of 'whitening' capoeira, and they worked together with other masters in the Bahia region to give birth to the style known as '*capoeira Angola*' or '*capoeira de Angola*', which sought to highlight the practice's African roots. In contrast to the pugilistic efficiency of Bimba's capoeira Regional, capoeira Angola cultivated a less direct fighting style, based on cunning rather than force, and emphasized the ritual and musical aspects of the practice. Although its followers held (and still hold) a traditionalist discourse, capoeira Angola incorporated many of the innovations introduced by Bimba, such as the use of uniforms and the sequence-based teaching. Pastinha, perhaps the most representative *mestre* of capoeira Angola, opened his own academy in 1941, following Bimba's initiative to take capoeira off the streets.

While capoeira Regional had an explosive growth throughout Brazil and established schools abroad in the early 1970s, capoeira Angola remained endemic to Salvador until the late 1980s [Varela 2017]. Lewis [1992] attributes the recent expansion of the Angola style to its rediscovery by black US-American *capoeiristas* that traveled to Bahia

looking for the ‘ancestral roots’ of the game. Ultimately, the encounter between Angola and Regional has given rise to a third eclectic style sometimes called ‘*atual*’ [Lewis 1992] or ‘contemporary’ [Browning 1995; Delamont, Stephens & Campos 2017; Varela 2017; Pérez Falconi 2013].

All three styles of capoeira have made their way into gyms, cultural centers and fitness studios all over the world – not to mention its appearances in videogames, movies and marketing campaigns. However, *academias* remain the emblematic space to learn, especially if one aspires to become a ‘serious’ adept [Lewis 1992: 67]. Academies are enclosed spaces – equivalent to a dojo or a gym – where one or more instructors give classes. Instructors or teachers in an *academia* are usually masters (*mestres*) themselves, or work under the supervision of a *mestre*. However, some teachers might open an academy without a *mestre*’s authorization.

Lewis [1992], Downey [2005], Joseph [2008a; 2008b], Delamont, Stephens and Campos [2017], and Perez Falconi [2013], among others, have described the structure of capoeira classes in Brazil, Canada, the UK and Mexico. In all these cases, the structure is relatively similar, consisting of a warm-up followed by individual drilling of movements, which are assembled into sequences, and further drilled in pairs. To train improvisation, classes usually end with some ‘routine’ games in a small capoeira ring (*roda*). The total duration of the classes is also similar, varying between 60 and 90 minutes.

The main objective of the classes, and of the training in general, is to prepare the students for the capoeira-game, which takes place in the ring (*roda*). The *roda* is a circular space, generally delimited by the bodies of the participants who switch roles as musicians, choristers, spectators and potential players. At one end of the perimeter is the orchestra (*bateria*), composed of various percussion instruments led by a musical bow called *berimbau*. While singing, clapping hands or playing an instrument, participants wait for their turn to occupy the center of the *roda*, where they build a beautiful (though violent) bodily dialogue simultaneously with a partner and with the orchestra.

To participate successfully in the *roda*, a capoeirista must acquire and assimilate various skills. For example, Rosa [2015] describes the importance of moving and articulating the body in polyrhythmic patterns connected through serpentine movements of the spine, producing what she calls ‘*ginga* aesthetics’. Downey [2002; 2005; 2012], on the other hand, emphasizes the need to train the sense of balance to hold the body in the handstand, as well as to develop a form of synesthetic perception that associates the sounds of music with the experience of movement. For Delamont and Stephens [2014;

with Campos 2017], these changes go much further, and may include behaviors that take place outside the *roda* – such as the act of dancing in a nightclub. These and other elements can be considered components of the habitus [Wacquant 2004; 2011; 2014] of the capoeira practice, and as potential forms of its specific body capital [Wacquant 1995].

GLOCALIZATION, DIASPORA AND DIASPORIC CAPOEIRA

The concept of globalization has been the subject of a long academic debate that would be impossible to reproduce here.¹ At the risk of oversimplifying, I will treat it as a process of integration and construction of (inter)regional or planetary networks of economic, political and cultural interactions [Roudometof 2014]. In general, the Eurocentric tradition considers that globalization began around 1500 CE, with the colonization of America and Africa and the triangular trade between both continents and Europe. However, authors like Assunção [2005] and Roudometof [2014] criticize the Eurocentric view because it does not allow the addressing of previous phenomena (e.g., the Silk Road) as part of globalization.

Following this idea, Assunção [2005] proposes complementing the globalization discourse with the concept of diaspora, understood as the dispersion of a human community that gives rise to a plurality of communities, established in different countries, which share (and recognize) a common origin. Particularly, ‘a diaspora presupposes the existence of a real or imaginary homeland to which its members aspire to return’ [Assunção 2005: 212]. Contrary to the Eurocentric tradition, Assunção considers that the combination of globalization and diaspora provides a better understanding of massive migration phenomena, where people mobilize and settle outside their home country, like the massive displacement of African people in the context of slave trading that gave birth to cultural expressions like capoeira, hip-hop, or jazz. In addition, Rocha and her team [2015] have noted that ‘diasporas keep network ties with the homeland and use the network to support new members’ [406]. The role of diaspora for globalization has also been a central topic in the works of authors like Appadurai [2008] and Cohen [2008].

Another point of debate within globalization theory has focused on questioning its supposed homogeneity and homogenizing effects. In contrast to this idea, Roudmetof [2014], Ritzer [2003] and others have pointed out that globalization implies continuous processes of cultural

1 For an overview see Antonio and Bonnano [2000].

reinterpretation, decoding, and incorporation. This perspective, which resembles the concept of creolization used by Lipiäinen [2015] to analyze capoeira in Russia, contravenes the simplistic vision of homogenous-homogenizing globalization, replacing it with a dispersive adaptation movement where diversity emerges in the intersection between the global and the local. To capture this dynamic, Robertson [1995] introduced the concept of glocalization, meaning the interpenetration of the global and the local that gives rise to unique results in different geographical areas.

Based in both Assunção's perspective on diaspora and Robertson's concept of glocalization, Delamont and Stephens [2008] argue for a diasporic globalization of capoeira in the UK. To support their argument, the authors compare their observations on capoeira with two examples taken from ethnographic literature: tango and hip-hop. According to Delamont and Stephens [2008], the case of hip-hop is representative of glocalization, insofar as it was 'moving away from its Afro-American roots' [61]. As an indicator of this 'moving away', the authors mention the proliferation of local hip-hop bands that compose new lyrics talking about local problems in the local language, as reported by Bennett [1999a; 1999b] and Condry [2000; 2001] in Newcastle, Frankfurt, and Japan.

On the contrary, they consider the case of tango to be an example of a diasporic process, insofar as it 'is taught by Argentineans, who can recreate authentic *milongas* (dance halls). The songs are sung in Spanish, and the teachers are the self-exiled and the expatriates, who have the Argentinean equivalent of *saudade* [i.e. nostalgic longing or affection for home]' [Stephens & Delamont 2008: 61, emphasis in the original]. To support this, they refer to the research conducted by Savigliano [1995; 1998] in Japan and Viladrich [2005; 2006] in New York.

Based on this conceptual framework, Delamont and Stephens [2008: 61] will consider a practice's shape diasporic if:

1. it is spread and taught by migrants of the practice's land of origin,
2. it preserves its original language, which is learned by adepts abroad, and
3. the teachers use authenticity discourses [Joseph 2008b] to link the practice's habitus inexorably to its land of origin.

In contrast, based on the hip-hop example, a glocalized practice would show:

- a. proliferation of local groups, not linked to its land of origin;
- b. use of the local language within the practice (e.g., singing hip-hop in German, rather than English); and
- c. reinterpretation or 'creolization' [Lipiäinen 2015] of the practice to express local meanings [e.g., using hip-hop to talk about the problems of communities in Germany, Japan, or the UK].

Following these criteria, and based on 13 years of ethnographic research observing and documenting capoeira classes and events in the UK, New Zealand and Canada, the authors conclude that 'capoeira classes across the world are taught by expatriate, self-exiled Brazilians to students who are enrolled into 'schools' of capoeira that are still based in Brazil' [Stephens & Delamont 2008: 60]. Consequently, they choose the term diasporic capoeira to describe a globalized practice where 'the teachers are Brazilians, who express *saudade* (nostalgic, homesick longing) for Brazil, and present themselves to their students as self-exiled, nomadic Brazilians' [2008: 60, emphasis in the original]. Within the field of Brazilian martial arts, Rocha et al [2015] use similar arguments to compare 'diasporic' capoeira with 'glocalized' Brazilian Jiu-Jitsu.

Without a doubt, the notion of diasporic capoeira introduced by the authors has proven to be a useful analytical resource, as shown by their fruitful research. Additionally, the ethnographies of Joseph in Canada [2008a; 2008b; 2012], Reis [2005] in Poland, Aichroth [2012] in Germany, and Browning [2015] and Downey [2008] in the United States, seem to confirm the universality of the diasporic shape proposed by Delamont and Stephens. Nevertheless, all the countries mentioned above are part of the Global North, a concept that comprises the geographical regions that have taken advantage of capitalist modernity [Marini 1973; De Sousa Santos 2006]. To prevent the normalization of colonial, Eurocentric generalizations, this article considers how capoeira has spread and developed in the Global South rather than simply assuming the universal validity of the diasporic model.²

Keeping this in mind, let us now analyze the situation of capoeira in Mexico.

2 Even within the North, the diasporic shape of capoeira is challenged to different degrees by the observations of Joseph [2008b], Lipiäinen [2015] and Wulfhorsts, Rocha & Morgan [2014].

THE SHAPE OF MEXICAN CAPOEIRA

This section illustrates the limitations of ‘diaspora’ in apprehending the forms of capoeira adopted in Mexico and other regions of Latin America. It begins by briefly reconstructing the first ten years of capoeira in Mexico, followed by a general analysis of the current form of the practice in the country. Finally, it highlights some examples of cultural reinterpretation/creolization. Gathering this evidence together, it argues for the existence of a glocal-shaped Mexican capoeira.

To reconstruct the history of capoeira in Mexico, I rely on the work of Adolfo Flores Ochoa [2000] and Sergio González Varela [2017; 2019]; a database of Mexican capoeira groups, gathered independently by Marcos Fernández Vera (*Contramestre Bateria*) in 2012; some interviews conducted for the podcast Divagar Radio³ between 2017 and 2018, and information posted on capopedia.org.mx.⁴ I also draw on my experience as a teacher (*professor*) of contemporary capoeira and 18 years of membership in the group *Longe do Mar*. Readers should thus consider themselves warned as to possible sources of bias that may arise from my personal involvement with the research subject.⁵

The first recorded capoeira workshop in Mexico took place in 1992 at the Antiguo Colegio de San Idelfonso, part of the Escuela Nacional de Danza, in Mexico City [Flores Ochoa 2000: 15]. Due to the lack of any previous records, this suggests that capoeira may have arrived in the country about 28 years ago. It should be noted that this first workshop was not hosted by a Brazilian teacher, but by an Argentinean: Mariano Andrade, known today as *Contramestre Manhoso*, a former pupil of *Mestre Yoji Senna* in the city of Buenos Aires [Flores Ochoa 2000].

For several Mexican students this workshop was their first contact with capoeira. After falling in love with the practice several decided to attend the First International Capoeira Encounter organized in 1992 by *Mestre Acordeon* (Bira Almeida), in San Francisco, California. One of the attendees of that event was Adolfo Flores Ochoa, today known as *Mestre*

Cigano. In an interview for Divagar Radio, he states: ‘what I saw at that moment in San Francisco made me decide that ... I didn’t know, I didn’t understand absolutely anything ... But that’s what I wanted to dedicate the rest of my life to’.⁶

In 1995, Andrade and his students founded Ollin-Bao, an independent dance group that explored Afro-Latin music and dances (including capoeira). In 1996, Ollin-Bao became Banda do Saci, the first capoeira group in Mexico City, which is still active [Flores Ochoa 2000]. Meanwhile, Victor Montes, today known as *Contramestre Tequila*, returned to Mexico after training in Brazil with *Mestre Squisito*. He opened a local branch of the group Terreiro do Brasil in the city of Guadalajara in 1995.⁷ A third entry point for capoeira into Mexico occurred in the city of Xalapa. Again, this was not led by a Brazilian teacher. Rather, in this case the leading figure was a Japanese (*instructor Japão*) from the *Cativeiro* group, who arrived at the Universidad Veracruzana in 1998.⁸

The first capoeira *mestre* to visit Mexico was *Delei*, founder of the *Abolição* group in the United States, with whom Andrade organized the first graduation ceremony (*batizado*) in 1994 [Flores Ochoa 2000: 15]. A few years later, in 1997, Banda do Saci organized a workshop with *Mestre Curió*. After this visit, the group led by Andrade decided to subscribe to capoeira Angola, with *Curió* supervising their work from Brazil. Dissatisfied with the decision, Adolfo Flores, Rosalinda Perez, and Iñaki Garrido separated from Banda do Saci in 1998 and founded *Longe do Mar* as an independent project to continue exploring various styles of capoeira [Flores Ochoa 2000]. Alejandro Ruiz, another of Andrade’s pupils, also left Banda do Saci to open a local school of the *Escola de Capoeira Angola Irmãos Gêmeos* (ECAIG, the group of *Mestre Curió*) in Mexico City [see: Varela 2019: 117].

The First National Encounter of capoeira, organized jointly by *Longe do Mar* and *Terreiro do Brasil*, was held in the city of Guadalajara

3 Divagar Radio was an internet radio program about capoeira in Mexico that was on the air from 2017 to 2018, transmitted live through <https://www.circovolador.org/>. The first program aired on February 7, 2017. All programs can be heard free at https://mx.ivoox.com/es/podcast-divagar_sq_f1385779_4.html (Accessed 4 June 2020).

4 Created in 2018, Capopedia is a collaborative repository of information about capoeira in Latin America inspired by the Wikipedia model, available at: <http://www.capopedia.org.mx/> (Accessed 4 June 2020).

5 On the analytical implications of positioning oneself within one of these styles, see: González Varela [2017: 46-53] and De Brito [2016].

6 Adolfo Flores Ochoa [Guest] [2017] Divagar Radio [Podcast]. February 15. Available at: https://mx.ivoox.com/es/platica-mestre-cigano-audios-mp3_rf_17026850_1.html (Accessed 8 June 2020).

7 Victor Montes [Guest] [2017] Divagar Radio [Podcast]. August 10. Available at: https://mx.ivoox.com/es/divagar-contra-mestre-tequila-audios-mp3_rf_20259971_1.html (Accessed 8 June 2020).

8 Christopher Suárez [Guest] [2018] Divagar Radio [Podcast]. January 24. Available at: https://mx.ivoox.com/es/divagar-professor-chris-yanga-audios-mp3_rf_23324500_1.html (Accessed June 2020). Flores Ochoa (2000: 15) also mentions Armando Pequeno, a Brazilian capoeirista based in Paris who gave some workshops in Xalapa in 1994.

in 1999. This event can be understood as representative of the way that capoeira developed in Mexico for several reasons. First, none of the teachers at this event were Brazilian. Instead there were several Mexicans and one Argentinian. Secondly, among the attendees all three major styles of capoeira were already present: Banda do Saci representing capoeira Angola, Terreiro do Brasil representing capoeira Regional, and Longe do Mar representing contemporary capoeira. Finally, the internal structure of these groups corresponds to three major categories that still dominate the Mexican scene:

- Terreiro do Brasil, as the Mexican headquarters of a Brazilian group, lead locally by a Mexican instructor (*Tequila*);
- Banda do Saci as a local Mexican group, whose work is validated by a Brazilian *mestre* living abroad (*Curió*); and
- Longe do Mar as an independent Mexican group, not (yet) sponsored by any Brazilian *mestre*.

During the first 8 years of Mexican capoeira, no Brazilian teachers took up permanent residence in the country. This changed during 2000 with the arrival of *mestre* Pedrinho de Caxias, who stayed six years in Mexico before continuing his journey to Europe [see: Varela 2019: 117]. Shortly afterward, in 2001, Henrique Lemos Cordeiro, today known as *Contramestre Caverinha*, was invited by Longe do Mar to give a workshop in Mexico City, and became the first Brazilian capoeirista to settle in the country. Since then other Brazilian capoeiristas have visited the country, some merely passing through; others residing for a few months or even years before moving to the North. Yet almost none have settled down permanently.

The number of Brazilian *mestres* living and teaching in Mexico can be counted on the fingers of one hand (table 1). Despite this, capoeira continues to grow and develop. Although there is no detailed record of currently active students and teachers, this data is based on available information about existing groups, and Mexican *capoeiristas* who have achieved the highest graduations (*mestres* and *contramestres*), to provide an overview of Mexican capoeira today.

Estimating the exact number for the capoeira groups active in Mexican territory is difficult. A database developed in 2012 by *Contramestre Bateria* counted 154 organizations, while the information collected at capopedia.org.mx suggests the existence of 111 groups. Both of these numbers contrast with *Contramestre Caverinha's*, who estimated at least 250 active groups in 2018.⁹

9 Henrique Lemos Cordeiro [Guest] [2018] Divagar Radio [Podcast]. 21 February. Available at: https://mx.ivoox.com/es/divagar-formando-caveirinha-audios-mp3_rf_23934648_1.html (Accessed 8 June 2020).

Regardless of their exact number, the available sources allow us to place the groups into four categories according to their internal organization:

- Local branches of international groups overseen by Brazilians (living in Brazil or elsewhere, but not in Mexico) in which classes are taught mainly by Mexican instructors (e.g., Cordão de Ouro, Abadá, Sinhá, Ouro Verde, Terreiro Mandinga de Angola, etc.)
- Autonomous local groups created and directed by Mexicans, whose work is supported by one or several Brazilian masters (e.g., Banda do Saci, Longe do Mar, Capoeira é Vida, Jogar Diferente, Pé no Chão, Ginga no Gueto, etc.)
- Autonomous local groups created and directed by Mexicans that work independently (e.g., Arte do Povo, Colectivo Resistência na Capoeira, Cafres, capoeira UMALI, O.L.M.E.C.A., etc.)
- Autonomous local groups created and directed by Brazilian masters settled in Mexico (e.g., FICAG, Centro Esportivo Cultural Pura capoeira em Movimento, and Caçua)

The fact that most groups belong to the first three categories suggests that capoeira in Mexico, unlike diasporic capoeira, is not dominated 'by expatriate, self-exiled Brazilians', but by Mexicans who are sometimes affiliated to Brazilian groups but often do relatively independent work. It is remarkable, for instance, that the group with the largest number of affiliates is Longe do Mar, a local project lead by the first two Mexican *mestres*: *Mestre Cigano* and *Mestra Rosita*, who received their title from *Mestre Acordeon* in 2013 and 2017, respectively. This contrasts with the more 'advanced' glocalization scenarios observed in the North by Joseph [2008b] and Wulfhorts, Rocha and Morgan [2014] where non-Brazilian teachers remain working under direct supervision of Brazilian instructors in Canada and in Australia.

Another significant difference between the Mexican case and the situation observed by Delamont and Stephens in the UK is the existence of several local teachers that have obtained the degree of *mestres* and *contramestres*. The number of Brazilian *mestres* permanently residing in Mexico is very close to that of Mexican *mestres* (table 1 overleaf) and surpassed by the number of *contramestres*, which reaches 15 just in Longe do Mar.

Let us reconsider the criteria used by Delamont and Stephens to distinguish between diaspora and glocalization. So far, the analysis of capoeira in Mexico has shown that it did not spread through, nor is it taught primarily by 'homesick' or 'nostalgic' Brazilian migrants. Instead, we find a proliferation of local groups where classes are taught by Mexican instructors, and sometimes do not have ties to any Brazilian

Table 1:
Mestres residing permanently
in Mexico (July 2020)

Brazilians		Mexicans	
Name	Group	Name	Group
Madona	Pura capoeira	Cigano	Longe do Mar
Manchinha	Cordão de Ouro	Rosita	Longe do Mar
Magayver	Cumbe	Guerreiro	Cordão de Ouro
Bartô	Porto da Barra		
Ganso	Terreiro do Brasil		
Date of elaboration: July 13, 2020			

mestre. According to the first criterion, these characteristics are indicative of glocalization of Mexican capoeira.

The second criterion is related to the use of Brazilian Portuguese versus the local language (Spanish). In this respect, two predominant uses of language within capoeira ought to be distinguished: first, during the class, language is used to give indications, or transmit oral knowledge; secondly, it is sung in the lyrics of the songs. Since most of the classes in Mexico are taught by and for Mexicans, Spanish has taken over Portuguese as the preferred language to give indications. However, the names of the movements (*esquivã, meia-lua*, etc.), the instruments (*berimbau, pandeiro, reco-reco*, etc.) and other technical terms (*mandinga, joga, axé*, etc.) are spoken in Portuguese – even in the cases that could be translated into Spanish (*media luna* instead of *meia-lua*, *güiro* instead of *reco-reco*, *juego* instead of *joga*, etc.). The tradition of giving nicknames in Portuguese also persists with few exceptions. These changes in the use of language are similar to the ones observed in Australia by Wulfhorts, Rocha & Morgan [2014].

In the singing, the preservation of the original language is more marked. In the *roda*, Mexican *capoeiristas* sing traditional capoeira songs in Portuguese. However, some exceptions are introduced in classes for didactic purposes. For example, during children’s classes, the instructor might translate the songs to Spanish, to make them more accessible, and I have composed a couple of ‘self-referential songs’ in Spanish to help my pupils distinguish between *quadras, corridos*, and *ladainhas* (i.e., diverse song-types). Except for the cases where lyrics were translated

for didactic goals, these changes in the use of language seem to be normal in the North, where diasporic capoeira teachers usually learn and teach in the local language. Thus, in the case of the second criterion, the argument for a glocalized capoeira in Mexico is inconclusive. Thus, let us consider the third criterion.

Although the glocalization of Mexican capoeira might not be clear in the use of the language, the reinterpretation of the practice to express local meanings is much more evident. Talking about the music, for example, Mexican *capoeiristas* have written numerous original songs – there are even music albums composed and recorded entirely by Mexicans. Despite being written in Portuguese, many songs refer to capoeira events in Mexico, such as the Encuentro Nacional de Capoeira (that has had a new musical theme every year since 2006) or other experiences of local capoeiristas. The songs sometimes syncretize capoeira with the local culture, as the *ladainha* entitled ‘Día De Muertos’ (Day of the Dead), which recalls one of the best-known Mexican traditions to pay homage to deceased legendary *mestres*.¹⁰

Similarly, capoeira has served as inspiration, resource, and pretext for the work of contemporary Mexican visual artists, choreographers and musicians, whose work has resulted in exhibitions and performances with international visibility.¹¹ Some of these works have led to an

10 Available at <https://youtu.be/8PEcjhmOqQ> (Accessed 22 June 2020).

11 For example, *Quando eu aqui cheguei*, a choreography by Adolfo Flores Ochoa, presented in Germany and the United Arab Emirates in 2006.

exchange between capoeira and artistic genres that might seem incompatible, as in the case of *João*, an opera with a libretto by Adolfo Flores and original music by Carlos Allegretti, inspired by the Brazilian folk story of '*Riachão e o diabo*' (the stream and the devil).¹² Finally, local engagement with capoeira has led to innovations in sports, such as the movement system called Acromoving, developed by Javier Campuzano Yedra (*Contramestre Banano*) combining elements of capoeira, gymnastics and contemporary dance.¹³

Even in the case of capoeira Angola – considered by many to be more traditional and resistant to innovation – Gonzalez Varela [2019: 118-120] has documented how Mexican groups add 'elements of Mexican history and mythology to their songs', and include yoga retreats, traditional bath-ceremony (*temascal*), Neo-Chamanic ceremonies, and Neo-Aztec dances in their events and workshops.

These examples of cultural reinterpretation or creolization [Lipiäinen 2015] finally lead to the question of the 'authenticity' of Mexican capoeira. This is an interesting point of inquiry since most Mexican *capoeiristas* (including the *mestres*) lack the stereotypical markers of authenticity proposed by Griffith [2013; 2016], which became relevant for the black Jamaican *graduados* observed by Joseph [2018b] in Canada to gain a better position in the local capoeira-market. Despite this, many Mexican *capoeiristas* have obtained the titles of *mestres* and *contramestres*, considered as 'the ultimate marker of authenticity' [Griffith 2016: 43]. This could suggest that authenticity discourses in Mexico might rely less on stereotypical (e.g., ethnicity, gender or nationality) and more on charismatic (e.g., having an 'open' personality, or performing a beautiful *jogo*) and scientific markers (e.g., having the right 'credentials') [see: Griffith 2016]. Similarly, apprenticeship pilgrimages [Griffith 2013], domestic and touristic travel [Griffith 2016], and even imaginary travel, where 'a deterritorialized Brazil is (re)created through non-Brazilians' [Joseph 2008a] might play an important role in the overall authenticity experience of Mexican *capoeiristas*. The growing number of capoeira events (*eventos*) organized in Mexico before the pandemic, which sometimes involved up to three on the same weekend, points in this direction. An exhaustive exploration of this topic, however, falls beyond the scope of this article.

In conclusion, the proliferation of autonomous local groups, patterns

12 The full opera can be seen in the following link: <https://youtu.be/YE1zToROcZY> (Accessed 1 November 2020).

13 To view a playlist with Acromoving classes, visit: <https://www.youtube.com/playlist?list=PLcziyrrRNzHbHwqFFYZ1FhTMNWLgmr65U> (Accessed 1 November 2020)

of cultural reinterpretation, and the fact that the classes are taught in Spanish by local instructors instead of Brazilian migrants are strong arguments that Mexican capoeira has assumed distinctly glocal forms. Thus, as Wulforth and her team have emphasized, 'regarding capoeira as only diasporic can limit our understanding of the complex intercultural relations within capoeira' [2014: 1809].

NORTH-SOUTH DIVIDE, BODILY CAPITAL AND GLOBALIZATION PROCESSES

Testimonies from capoeiristas in other Latin American countries suggest that capoeira has undergone similar glocalization processes in the region. For example, David Briseño, *Professor Dourado*, claims that capoeira arrived in Panama through an Argentinean teacher and that the first *capoeirista* to settle in Nicaragua was from Venezuela.¹⁴ Similarly, Rubén Nanclares' documentary on the history of capoeira in the city of Medellín suggests that the practice there developed as part of a local, independent project lead by Colombian teachers.¹⁵ Thus, the notion of glocal capoeira might prove to be as useful to analyze the practice's globalization process in the region, as Delamont and Stephens' diasporic capoeira has been in European and North American contexts.

Given this panorama, it seems interesting to inquire why the same cultural practice would adopt a diasporic form that resists glocalization in some regions while rapidly glocalizing in others. In this section, I will outline one possible answer to this by relating the North-South divide with the migration phenomenon, and the concepts of bodily labor and bodily capital as defined by Wacquant [1995]. The concept of 'North-South divide' addresses the social, economic, and political division that exists between the so-called 'developed' countries (the North) and the supposedly 'less developed' countries (or the South). For De Sousa Santos [2006], the North includes those countries that benefited from capitalist modernity, while the South includes those that have suffered from its consequences – no matter their actual geographical location.¹⁶

14 David Briseño [Guest], (2018), *Divagar Radio* [Podcast]. September 4. Available at https://mx.ivoox.com/es/divagar-profesor-dourado-16-08-2018-audios-mp3_rf_28284342_1.html (Accessed 8 June 2020).

15 Rubén Nanclares (2018). How did capoeira arise in Medellín? Available at: <https://youtu.be/T3DHiPD39sA>. (Accessed 20 June 2020).

16 By relying on the North-South divide and the concept of bodily capital, my argument implicitly emphasizes the economic dimension to the phenomenon. However, it is not my intention to reduce the complexity of the globalization process of capoeira to an economic explanation. Further studies should enhance the scope of my analysis by adding other perspectives to achieve a more complete picture of this process.

The UK, Central Europe, Canada, and the United States belong to the global North, but so do Australia, Japan, and other potent economies. In contrast, Mexico, Brazil, and the rest of Latin America are part of the South, together with most parts of Africa and many Asiatic territories. According to Mimiko [2012], the North owns 90% of the manufacturing industries and controls four-fifths of the world income – despite hosting only one-quarter of the world population. Additionally, through a long history of colonialism (in all possible variants), the North has spread a powerful image that identifies it with the future while equating the South to the past [De Sousa Santos 2006]. Although the current ecological crisis would be enough to question its validity [Contreras Islas 2018], this image continues to play a guiding role in many social processes – including migration [see: Canales 2015].

A second central concept of my argument is bodily capital. Wacquant [1995], following Bourdieu, proposes that the work carried out by athletes on the body itself constitutes a form of capital that can be exchanged for other goods in the future. So-called bodily capital is accumulated thanks to the bodily work that transforms and reorganizes the athlete's body through countless hours of practice. From this perspective, *capoeiristas*, just like boxers, can be seen as 'entrepreneurs in bodily capital' [Wacquant 1995: 66] who are looking for the best returns for their investment.

Now let us bring these different dimensions together. As an effect of the North-South asymmetry, millions of inhabitants of the impoverished and 'underdeveloped' Global South abandon their countries every year looking for better living conditions and opportunities. For most of them, their preferred destination is the Global North that not only promises better economic conditions and wellbeing but also symbolizes the future in their colonized imaginations. This was the case for many Brazilians who migrated to the US and Europe in the 1980s, in middle of a period of economic crisis known as 'the lost decade' [Rocha et al 2015: 408]. Among them were many capoeira teachers.

For *capoeiristas* who belong to the most precarious sectors of Brazilian society – and there are many – migration appears as an opportunity to escape insecurity and violence, improve their quality of life, increase their economic income and even support the family and friends they have left behind. Paradoxically, although 'the career of capoeira teacher [has become] more attractive, especially for black and/or poor males without formal education' [Assunção 2005: 182], 'the oversupply of labor [teachers] and dearth of paying customers [students] make being a capoeirista an unsustainable profession in many of the areas where mestres grow up' [Joseph 2008b: 503]. Consequently, migrating to the North, where the labor market is less saturated and the potential access to paying clients is greater, appears for many Brazilian capoeiristas as an attractive option to exchange their body capital into economic income.

In contrast, by offering a quality of life comparable to that of Brazil, and significantly lower economic remuneration for the same bodily capital invested, the idea of settling in the South is less attractive to Brazilian migrants. For example, as González Varela points out:

Mexico does not offer the same economic advantages as places in Europe or the United States; therefore, to make a living exclusively with capoeira is very hard. For this reason, Brazilian *mestres* tend to use Mexico only as a stopover on their way to visit other places, and few reside permanently in the country. [Varela 2019: 117]

Connecting the North-South divide with the concept of bodily capital can help us understand the predominance of the diasporic shape observed by Delamont and Stephens in the North. Similarly, we can partially explain the recurrent appeal to authenticity discourses¹⁷ [Joseph 2008b; Griffith 2013] as a tactic of Brazilian teachers trying to protect their actual position in the market. Simultaneously, it clarifies the virtual absence of Brazilian teachers that characterizes glocal capoeira in Mexico and other countries of Hispanic Latin-America.

This, of course, does not imply that glocal capoeira in Mexico and other regions of the South is somehow 'isolated' from the Brazilian diaspora. As stated before, Mexican capoeira groups frequently invite Brazilian teachers to give workshops in local capoeira events that become important foci for domestic apprenticeship traveling. For instance, even during the coronavirus pandemic, Longe do Mar's 22nd Encontro Nacional de Capoeira took place in a virtual format, with online classes held by renowned Brazilian *mestres* based in the US, Brazil and Europe.¹⁸ However, in recent years, the number of Mexican events in which the guests are local teachers is growing.¹⁹ Besides promoting local talents, the logistic of these events also indicate the difficulties that local groups have in raising the funds to cover the costs of inviting a Brazilian *mestre* [see: Gonzalez Varela 2019: 119]. Consequently, it seems like relying on diaspora teachers and engaging in a certain sort of authenticity discourse is a luxury good that appeals to students in the North, but one that the students in Mexico are often unable to afford.

17 Wonderfully condensed by Campos, Delamont and Stephens [2010] in the phrase: I'm your teacher, I'm Brazilian!

18 For information on this event, visit: <https://capoeira.org.mx/encuentro/> (Accessed 30 October 2020).

19 An excellent example is the annual event 'Ela joga capoeira' in which all classes are taught by Mexican female capoeiristas. Information on the event can be found at: <http://capoeira.org.mx/tag/ela-joga-capoeira/> (Accessed 30 October 2020).

I would like to close this section proposing the hypothesis that the accelerated glocalization of capoeira in Mexico (and possibly other regions of the South) – which contrasts with the diasporic shape predominant in the North – reflects a pattern in the globalization of other Southern practices that migrate in the form of bodily capital. Going back to the examples of glocalization and diaspora referred by Stephens and Delamont [2008], for instance, this could also be the case of tango. Within the field of martial arts, it could be interesting to test my hypothesis by analyzing the expansion of South Asian, Latin American, or African practices.

DOES THE SOUTH ANTICIPATE THE FUTURE?

When Delamont, Stephens, and Campos [2017] ask about the future of capoeira in the UK, they point out that Campos – a Brazilian teacher himself – ‘is very resistant to the idea that capoeira in the UK could ever glocalize and remain capoeira in any meaningful sense’ [167]. This resistance, common to other Brazilian teachers, often adopts the form of authenticity discourses that exalt an idealized ‘brazilianity’ that would get lost if capoeira were taught by non-Brazilians. Joseph [2008b] analyzes this kind of authenticity discourse as a strategy of Brazilians to secure their position in the Canadian market. She points out, however, that they create logical paradoxes by simultaneously affirming that capoeira, as they teach it in the North, is different from capoeira in Brazil²⁰ – thus conceding a deliberate loss of ‘authenticity’ to fit the expectations of their European and North American clients. Furthermore, she describes how Jamaican teachers in Canada fuse ‘capoeira drumbeats with Jamaican dancehall rhythms’ [Joseph 2008b: 507], while remaining reluctant to admit that they are transforming the practice.

Despite its intrinsic paradox, authenticity discourses would serve to prevent non-Brazilian *capoeiristas* attempting to teach before experiencing the ‘authentic’ Brazilian shape of the art, which would require traveling to Brazil as an apprenticeship pilgrim [Griffith 2016] for several months – an unaffordable requirement for many students. The astonishing absence of high ranks among the students observed by Delamont and Stephens in the UK (where local *professores* or *contramestres* were rarely observed) could derive partly from this sort of market strategy.

20 In general, Brazilian teachers themselves usually claim that the capoeira they teach in Europe is less violent than its Brazilian variant [Stephens & Delamont 2008: 66; Joseph 2008b: 508].

However, in other regions of the North like the US, Canada and Australia, non-Brazilian teachers have started to give classes under the supervision of their Brazilian *mestres* [see: Joseph 2008b; Wulforth, Rocha & Morgan 2014]. Although these northern teachers – at least according to the existing literature – seem so far to be pursuing independent capoeira projects, their existence might be announcing the beginning of a transformation in the actual diasporic shape of capoeira in the North. Ultimately, as noted by Delamont and Stephens [2008], the proliferation of non-Brazilian teachers can be considered as a first moment of glocalization: ‘Once teachers indigenous to the UK, Japan and Germany emerge, and hybrid forms evolve, capoeira will become more glocal’ [61-2].

If we accept that the glocalization of diasporic capoeira is announced by the proliferation of these northern teachers, then the glocal capoeira of the South might anticipate the future of the North, playing a sort of poetic inversion to the temporal paradox imprinted in the North-South divide by colonial thought. Following this line of thought, studying the development of capoeira in southern regions (like Mexico) could provide valuable information concerning the challenges and conflicts, and also the opportunities, that current practitioners and teachers of diasporic capoeira might find in the process.

There are many different challenges that emerging glocal teachers in the North will probably have to face. However, perhaps the most relevant one has to do with navigating through the authenticity market of the practice to achieve a high degree of legitimacy [Griffith 2016]. In this sense, the studies conducted by Lube Guizardi and Ypeij [2016], as well as Owen and De Martini Ugolotti [2019] suggest that acquiring legitimacy becomes all the more difficult the further a *capoeirista* falls away from stereotypical markers of authenticity [Griffith 2013]. In another work, I have studied the strategies followed by the two Mexican *mestres* with an independent capoeira-project to gain legitimacy within the field of the practice despite lacking the above-mentioned stereotypical markers [Contreras Islas 2021]. Since most *capoeiristas* in the North are also lacking these kind of markers, it might be in their own interest to learn about the experiences of their southern peers.

Among the strategies followed by Mexican *mestres* to gain legitimacy, it was particularly important to receive their titles from living capoeira legends such as Acordeon, Suassuna, Marcelo Caverinha, and Curió. Even when these Mexican *mestres* would pursue independent projects (like Longe do Mar), their legendary godfathers have been helpful to prevent disqualification, since undermining their work would be seen as an affront to their lineage, as observed by Griffith [2016]. Thus, it would be helpful to teachers of the North looking to initiate independent projects to look for the support of great masters – even if

these are not based in Brazil, like João Grande or Acordeon. Similarly, my analysis of the Mexican case [Contreras Islas 2021] has shown that great Brazilian *mestres* are more likely to support the independent work of non-Brazilian teachers who represent a capoeira-community with a high standard of capoeira. In such cases, a great *mestre* might praise the teacher with a high degree as a way to legitimize the work of the community as a whole, even if it is an independent project.

While dedication to a capoeira community is fundamental, having good individual skills does count too. A brief look at the first years of Mexican capoeira shows that having the ability to play at the same level of Brazilian teachers is important in order to be recognized as an equal – and to take part safely in *rodas* and *eventos* where other teachers might try to test your skill.²¹ In this respect, it is important to note that most Mexican capoeiristas have achieved that level or proficiency *without* traveling to Brazil, which bursts the myth of apprenticeship pilgrimage [Griffith 2016] as necessary to become a professional *capoeirista*, like some diasporic teachers in the North seem to sustain. Instead, Mexicans have attained these results by attending to local events, *rodas* and classes. Considering the number of capoeira festivals celebrated in the US, Canada and Europe, northern *capoeiristas* should be able to obtain similar results attending local events.

Although most northern instructors currently teach under the supervision of their Brazilian superiors, it might be a matter of time before some of them can become independent, giving birth to local groups that will compete for a niche in the market, as happens with Brazilian *mestres* and *contramestres* all the time [e.g., Delamont, Stephens & Campos 2017: 46-7]. When this occurs it will not change the organization of the capoeira-market in the North, but probably accelerate the glocalization process. As observed by Joseph [2008b], the search for new niches could intensify cultural reinterpretation and syncretism, actively transforming the way of teaching and performing the art. As another possibility, northern capoeira teachers could take the practice to regions where the market is not yet monopolized by the Brazilians, including other parts of the South (like *instrutor Japão* did in Mexico), or to less attractive regions of the North (like small towns or peripheral quarters). In any case, this will lead diasporic Brazilian teachers to rethink the authenticity discourses, and reevaluate their positioning in the market. For example, since the first Mexican *mestres* received their graduation, many small local groups have asked for their supervision and support, instead of appealing to the often too busy – and too expensive – Brazilian superstars. However, the transition

towards higher degrees of glocalization could increase the perception of training with diasporic teachers as a luxury good.

Finally, the Mexican experience teaches us that far from the tragic death of ‘authentic’ capoeira, glocalization, reinterpretation and creolization [Lipiäinen 2015] become interesting opportunities for artistic creativity to flourish, as seen by the intense cultural production of songs, albums, and plastic and scenic work by Mexican adepts. The glocalization process in the North could bring new songs, stories, documentaries, and plays that capture the adventures of the diasporic teachers, and the lessons that their pupils have assimilated. Without attempting to transform the capoeira practice itself, glocalization could create new artistic and physical expressions by taking capoeira elements and merging them with local culture.

CONCLUSION

Including the experiences of capoeiristas in the Global South in our examinations of capoeira as a global phenomenon challenges the, at present, taken for granted assumptions that capoeira operates as a diaspora. The concept of glocal capoeira better captures the peculiarities of the development in Mexico than the notion of diasporic capoeira used by Delamont and Stephens. This article has demonstrated that it is a valuable analytical resource for understanding the globalization of capoeira and other cultural expressions from the global South. I have also shown that the glocal capoeira found in Mexico might to some extent contribute to anticipate the future development of diasporic capoeira of the North, as the number of non-Brazilian teachers starts to grow.

Exploring other cases of glocalization in the South should provide valuable information to improve my analysis. It might also prove useful to generate hypotheses and outline scenarios for the development of diasporic capoeira in the coming years. Finally, it would be interesting to apply the theoretical lens of this article for analyzing the globalization process of other practices that originate in the South and travel in the form of bodily capital, to see if they follow similar patterns to the diaspora-glocalization divide observed in capoeira.

Acknowledgements

I thank DAAD and Conacyt for financing my research. I am thankful with my fellow capoeiristas *Mestre Cigano*, *Mestra Rosita*, *Contramestre Bateria*, *Instrutora Cupim*, and *Sabiá*, for helping me with the historical reconstruction of Mexican capoeira, and with Dr. Sara Delamont, Dr. George Jennings and the editors and reviewers of this journal for the valuable comments provided during the preparation of this manuscript.

21 The first encounters of Mexican and Brazilian capoeiristas in Mexico were often very violent. Some testimonies about it can be found in: Alejandro Ruíz [Guest] [2017], Divagar Radio [Podcast], September 28. Available at: https://mx.ivoox.com/es/divagar-treinel-espanador-da-lua-audios-mp3_rf_21141846_1.html (Accessed 8 June 2020).

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cardiffuniversitypress.org

Journal DOI

10.18573/ISSN.2057-5696

Issue DOI

10.18573/mas.i11

Accepted for publication 25 June 2021

Martial Arts Studies

Journal design by Hugh Griffiths

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