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Articles and essays

How the Identity of a Cultural São Paulo is Sold: a study of the aggregation of the identity of São Paulo

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Abstract

Identity is unstable and due to that, it can change with several factors such as society, age, social actors, politics and the media. A few years ago, São Paulo was the land of drizzle, and today the drizzle is insignificant comparing to what is happening in the cosmopolitan life of the city. Therefore, the objective of the present research is to investigate the identity of São Paulo for what it has to offer in means of cultural entertainment. Through a cabinet survey, the identities of the city over the years were analyzed; online data about how agencies and tour operators represent a capital on their websites were also used. The results of the collection were reproduced in two word cloud images, one being the description of "Sampa", and the other one with the most indicated attractions. Noting that entertainment in the city is already at the spotlight, since São Paulo is the capital of entertainment at Latin America.

Keywords: Cultural entertainment; Identity; São Paulo; Tourism.

Resumo

Como a Identidade de Uma São Paulo cultural é Vendida: um estudo da agregação da identidade de São Paulo, SP, Brasil

A identidade é instável e devido a isso pode mudar com diversos fatores como: sociedade, época, atores sociais, política e meios de comunicação. Antes São Paulo era a terra da garoa, e hoje a garoa se tornou mínima perto do que acontece na vida cosmopolita da cidade. Com isso, o objetivo da presente pesquisa é investigar se a identidade de São Paulo faz jus ao que ela oferece de entretenimento cultural. Por meio de uma pesquisa de gabinete, analisam-se as identidades da cidade ao longo dos anos, assim como, através de uma coleta de dados online, estuda-se como as agências e operadoras turísticas representam a capital nos seus sites, ou seja, para os turistas. Os resultados da coleta foram reproduzidos em duas imagens de nuvens de palavras, uma com os adjetivos da descrição de "Sampa", e outra com os atrativos mais indicados. Observou-se que o entretenimento na cidade já é destaque, sendo considerada a capital do entretenimento da América Latina.

Palavras-chave: Entretenimento cultural; Identidade; São Paulo; Turismo.

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Resumen

Como la Identidad Cultural de São Paulo es Vendida: un estudio agregado a la identidad de São Paulo

La identidad es inestable y puede cambiar su naturaleza debido a diversos factores tales como: sociedad, época, actores sociales, política y medios de comunicación. Antes São Paulo era la tierra de la "garoa" (una leve llovizna) y hoy en dia, año 2016, la garoa se ha vuelto mínima debido a variables de la Vida cosmopolita urbana. Con ello, el objetivo de la presente investigación es poner en manifiesto si la identidad de São Paulo corresponde con lo ella ofrece con respecto al entretenimiento cultural. Por medio de una encuesta de gabinete, se analizan las identidades de la ciudad a lo largo de los años, así como, a través de una recolección de datos online, se estudia cómo las agencias y operadoras turísticas representan la capital en sus sitios, o sea, para los turistas. Los resultados de la recolección fueron reproducidos en dos imágenes de nubes de palabras, una con los adjetivos de la descripción de "Sampa", y otra con los atractivos más indicados. Se observó que el entretenimento en la ciudad es importante y merece ser destacado, siendo la misma considerada la caporal del entretenimento de América Latina.

Palabras clave: Entretenimiento cultural; Identidad; San Pablo; Turismo.

INTRODUCTION

This paper aims at investigating how São Paulo is promoted by travel and tourism agencies and operators placed both in São Paulo and in other places, with focus on the cultural entertainment sector in order to identify whether the city is considered a cultural destination.

São Paulo is the fourth largest metropolis and the fourteenth most globalized city worldwide, where 90,000 events are hold every year. It has 15,000 restaurants of 51 types of cuisine, 125 museums, 164 theaters, 4 large venues for concerts and artistic presentations, and 280 movie theaters (Observatório do Turismo, 2013, p. 138). Although it offers several options of entertainment for the visitor, São Paulo is still associated with working, which reflects on tourism, since in 2015, for instance, the city received 45.1% foreign tourists coming to Brazil for business purposes, events and conferences, and only 9.7% traveled for leisure.

The keywords that refer to São Paulo, according to Carvalho (2016), are "culture," "vanguard," "trend center," knowledge," and "global city." However, Saliba (2004) shows that words as "work," "time," and "progress" are also elements of the historical narrative, making it impossible for the city to be recognized for a single identity.

The research is aimed at verifying whether there is a current tendency to establish the entertainment as relevant cultural identity in São Paulo. For this purpose, descriptive texts on the city have been sought on travel and tourism agencies and operators websites, so as to verify how the city is divulged to tourists.

From this search, there is the hypothesis that the association of the city with culture is in the imaginary element with regard to São Paulo as destination. The relevance of this research is in the data survey, which confirms that São Paulo has been already seen as a place that offers cultural enjoyment options, appearing as a product of the cultural entertainment sector.

Firstly, documental study was performed, in addition to a posterior online Google research, for about one month, from August 16 to September 21, 2016, in which one looked for Brazilian and abroad travel and/or tourism agencies and operators that present São Paulo as one of their destinations. Thirty-two companies have been found – agencies and operators –and one sought to identify the words used to describe said destination and the attractive elements (in routes or as touring suggestion) that associate the city with the cultural entertainment sector. Research greatest difficulties refer to: language limitations (it is not possible to analyze agencies and operators whose website is not available in Spanish, English, Portuguese or Italian languages); online browser search (only agencies and operators available on Google were verified); and websites credibility, since it is not possible to be sure whether some travel and tourism agencies do not present the choice for São Paulo as destination, since traveling to the city may be traded outside the Internet.

IDENTITY

Defining identity is not an easy task, once it involves subject or nation characteristics and personal beliefs; then, its study involves psychology and sociology fields. Castell (2008) presents the identity as a source of meaning and experiences for citizenry, construed by social actors or dominant institutions. In an interview, Bauman (2005) declares that identity appears with communities, because those are composed of members with different ideas and who, at the same time, need a common ideal to make their union possible. Identity is a personal choice, but it may be influenced by third parties. For Gioielli (2005), this identity depends on the context of life and ideology that surrounds the individual, using Freud, Lacan and Althusser to confirm his hypothesis, since those authors state that identity and personality are not autonomous but construed in relation to the other in the dynamic, assumed with ideological structures and apparatus.

According to Castells (2008), power relations mark the social construction of identity and, as a consequence, there are three models that result in constitution of society, namely: legitimizing identity (dominant institutions of society, aiming to expand and rationalize its domination, and which applies in the theories of nationalism); resistance identity (leading to the construction of communities of actors devalued due to domination), and project identity, (with social actors redefining their position in society and producing new identities through cultural material).

This matter is used by the cultural industry, which turns identity into a state of homogeneity. The products of this industry disseminate an artificial and disposable culture, which goes through massification with alienated experience of identity, and this crisis occurs because of globalization and capitalist advance, interfering with the construction of identity. Therefore, to understand the cultural identity of the 21st Century, phenomena such as globalization, new communication technologies and metaphysics are essential (Gioielli, 2005).

With this brief analysis, it is possible to realize that there is not only a single definition for identity; after all, it is defined by the meanings of the world surrounding the subject, thus varying according to region, time, dominant

institutions, among other factors. For this reason, the different influences from each individual and the identity that may still be seen as an instrument of nation unification make group identity a delicate topic of discussion.

The identity of the Old São Paulo

Until recently, in the popular imagination, the city of São Paulo would not be entertainment destination for tourists or visitors. After all, the denominations that best defined it were: "land of drizzle," "city of traffic," "dangerous city," "city to make money," among others. Saliba (2004) presents a timeline with São Paulo's multiple identities, representing the faces and phases of the city: "bandeirante," which in 1938 referred to, according to the Laudelino Freire dictionary, a person native to São Paulo, paulista; "romantic," with the second generation of Romanticism (19th Century), emanating melancholy and nightlife; "progress," due to city's growth from 1870 to 1929; and "mobility," referring to speed and development of the city with its means of transportation – the last identity being used because of the belief in the superiority of the city, projected as a dynamic progress center, representing advance in a behindhand Brazil. Finally, the author comments on the 20th Century modernist identity, with chroniclers describing São Paulo as a disorderly and anarchic place, whereas the 1922 modernists erased this vision through the Modern Art Week.

D'Alessio (2008) states that after the Modern Art Week, and until 1945, there was rapid modernization caused by industrial growth. After this period, the city starts receiving art and cultural productions due to the creation of the *Museu de Arte de São Paulo Assis Chateaubriand* (Masp – São Paulo Art Museum) in 1947, the *Museu de Arte Moderna de São Paulo* (MAM – Museum of Modern Art of São Paulo) in 1948, and the *Bienal Internacional de São Paulo* (São Paulo Art Biennial), in 1951. Several barrooms, galleries, movie theaters and theaters also appear in the 1950s and the 1960s, creating the metropolis cultural air. Pires (2001) also mentions the fast and disorderly growth, adding that at the beginning of the 20th Century there is creation of parks for walks, recreational societies, movie theaters, besides the agitation of theatrical life.

The study of Bastos and Nova (2012) also offers notions about São Paulo's identity in the past. The authors studied two travel guides, one from 1924 and other from 1953, which, despite a mere 29-year difference between them, show a different city; the only thing they have in common is the purpose: inform on travel, accommodation, food and entertainment.

The 1924 *Guia Ilustrado do Viajante* (Illustrated Traveler's Guide), edited by Monteiro Lobato & Cia, was especially concerned with the functionality of the city, and indicates its architecture as worthy of visitation. It also refers to immigrants and their large number (2.5 million) in the city (Bastos & Nova, 2012, p. 519), dedicating a chapter to monuments, parks, gardens and entertainment, especially the Municipal Theater, where international shows could be appreciated. The guide also offers tips about restaurants, coffee shops, grocery stores, outdoor markets and markets, with mention of museums, libraries and educational institutions in the tenth chapter. Therefore, it is a guide that serves visitors and dwellers, bringing public and entertainment services.

The second guide, by Melhoramentos Publishing House, is the 1953 *Guia turístico da cidade de São Paulo e seus arredores* (Tourism guide of the city of São Paulo and its outskirts). Published a year before the IV Centenary of the city, it illustrates São Paulo's monuments and places of visitation, as well as nearby cities and neighborhoods not listed in the first guide, and focus on history, population density and growth, geographic data, and buildings, emphasizing the aspect of São Paulo as metropolis, but also addressing entertainment, such as nature sites and the neighboring seaside and climatic cities.

Such studies show that São Paulo's identity changes according to the period of time it is going through. São Paulo's first two identities phases presented great progress, and remained without changes until the 19th Century, then the bohemian identity appears due to the romantic movement. However, the progress identity returns in the 20th Century through the *bandeirante* image due to the strong advance that occurred in São Paulo in opposition to a stagnant Brazil. Another change occurs during the famous 1922 Modern Art Week, which adds a cultural identity to São Paulo, as presented in the 1924 guide: a dynamic city with options for entertainment. Nevertheless, this identity intensifies in the end of World War II, when the great museums of the city were created, as well as other entertainment options.

The identity of the Current São Paulo

According to Leonarde and Uvinha (2016), the new cultural identity associated with entertainment is not an exclusive change of the economy, but the authors also hypothesize that entertainment belongs to the routine of its dwellers. The survey *Cultura SP*: *hábitos culturais dos paulistas* (SP Culture: *paulista'*s cultural habits (Leiva, 2014)), conducted between April 11 and May 30, 2014, with almost 8,000 people in 21 cities of the state of São Paulo, deal with the cultural and leisure activities matter, and shows that 26% interviewees perform cultural activities in their free time in the capital. Regarding these activities, going to movie theaters is the most practiced one (61%); going to popular festivals corresponds to the second most practiced in the city (46%), and the third activity refers to concerts (45%); the most popular places are Ibirapuera Park (10%) and Masp (4%).

The research shows that, despite being a small percentage, at least part of São Paulo's population already lives the reality of having, knowing and enjoying the entertainment in the city. This is important because the dweller recognizes his/her city as a place with possibilities to enjoy free time; therefore, the tourism theory of a destination being consolidated when the dwellers perceive it in this way has been already established in São Paulo. Carvalho (2006) demonstrates that, in 2005, one of the capital's difficulties in having its identity as a tourism product was in the fact that São Paulo's dwellers did not see the city as a destination, not understanding its differentials as tourism attractions. Nowadays, more than ten years later, according to Leonarde and Uvinha (2016), entertainment is significant in city's daily life and for a considerable part of its population, impacting the economy and being another element of its identity.

Mazzon and Vera's research (2008) also presents a São Paulo's identity, and it is conducted with focus on the city's business tourists. This research was carried out between June and July, 2006, at Guarulhos International Airport and Congonhas Airport. A total of 622 people were interviewed, and the main reason for traveling was business tourism or business tourism in conjunction with leisure tourism. Most of these tourists were male, company managers with a college degree, coming from the South (national) and Argentina (international) regions. When asked about the first idea that comes to mind when talking about the city of São Paulo, their answers were as follows:

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1)Business / Work / New Opportunity / Make Money - 34.6%;
2)Large city / Progress / Modern - 13.7%;
3)Traffic / Traffic jam / Transportation - 12.1%;
4)Culture / Education / Neighborhoods / Paulista - 5.1%;
5)Restaurants / Gastronomy - 3.2%;
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6) Go shopping / Entertainment / Leisure - 2.6%

It can be noticed that business tourists already identify São Paulo with its cultural, entertainment side. In his 2004 study, with a total of 1,183 respondents in business fairs at the capital, Braga (2005) also studied the profile of the business tourists and how they use their free time. His study data show that, although many of these tourists have free time (40.1%), they use it to rest and sleep (33%). Nevertheless, most of them (56.8%) know São Paulo's touristic attractions, and the most mentioned are historic-cultural activities (30.1%), nature activities (27.8%), and technical-scientific activities (12.3%). Such attractions are also those of interviewees' greatest interest, with 53.5% showing curiosity to know them, appearing as follows: historic-cultural activities (31.6%); nature activities (14.9%), city tour (14.7%) and concerts/ theaters/movie theaters (11.1%). Regarding the capital's identity, most of them see it as a business and service center:

- 1) Business city 37.1%;
- 2) Urban metropolis 20.2%;
- 3) Several contemporary entertainment options 11%;
- 4) Cultural and historic city: 10.8%;
- 5) Gastronomy 4.3%.

As a conclusion of his research, Braga (2005) considers that business tourists already consider São Paulo a city to enjoy free time, and the activities of greatest

interest of this group are artistic ones (20.2%). And, regardless of the fact that most consider São Paulo a place of business, the city offers excitement and several cultural and entertainment options, aimed at free time.

D'Alessio (2008) also associates the city's identity with business, considering it the capital of events; after all, there were 1,962 events in 2016, including gatherings, seminars and workshops, with more than 16 million visitors (Observatório do Turismo, 2017, p. 16). The author adds "multiple," "modern" and "metropolis of Brazilian diversity" to the list of adjectives for the capital.

ENTERTAINMENT AND CULTURAL ENTERTAINMENT

Entertainment

To define entertainment, we must firstly analyze leisure, which involves activities that oppose the obligations of everyday life, and therefore have the character of freedom, pleasure and free will. Leisure can be divided into three categories: (1) rest function (such as recovery from fatigue); (2) development function (possibilities of new knowledge); and (3) enjoyment, recreation and entertainment function (escape and avoidance of routine through entertainment, whether for sporting activities, games, travel, cinema, theater, reading novels, etc.) (Dumazedier, 2000).

Although this third function of leisure is a recent academic subject, entertainment has existed for a long time, manifested by medieval fairs; Rome's circuses; street theater, as in Shakespearean era; processions and religious festivals, and other popular or elite demonstrations. It appears with new social formations (Trigo, 2003). In his book, Trigo (2008) presents entertainment in the tourism sector perception as a still new industry connected to the new possibilities of technology, and seeking to seduce society.

For sociology and philosophy, with criticism of liberal capitalism, entertainment is representation and simulation, aiming at the stability of the dominant systems by alienation, generating profits for them and, for the masses, prefabricated forms of escapism and enjoyment. Debord (2008) interprets it as a spectacle, defined as an activity for the masses, being the result and design of the existing mode of production, model of the dominant life in society and a denial of real life.

Trigo (2003) agrees that entertainment is an enjoyable, easy, sensational, irrational, predictable usually paid activity, used as escape. The author, however, presents the importance of entertainment related to society, culture and economy, and also to cities, with movie theaters, theaters, music centers, shops, sports and recreational places that attract people during free time, becoming references.

Hughes (2004: 73) states that entertainment is used by industrial cities that aspire to be recognized as cultural, once they do not have the 'sun and beach' attraction. Therefore, visitors will look for them for entertainment and accessible heritage, as in the cases of Rome and Paris, for instance.

Leonarde and Uvinha (2016), in their research on São Paulo's cultural identity, indicated that the growth of entertainment in the city made it to be a tourist attraction. In other words, tourism motivated by city's entertainment places,

whose tourists come from countryside and even from other states, aiming to know what is not offered by their places of origin. All the authors that follow the entertainment research line cited here point out that it is extremely connected to the Industrial Age and the power of cultural media.

Cultural entertainment

Hughes (2004) analyzes art associated with entertainment and states that both promote the enlargement of the mind and senses; however, art is related to appreciation, and entertainment, to escapism. Together, they encompass tourism segments as: sporting events, conferences, exhibitions, and even economy. Tourism provides an important opportunity for cultural and heritage organizations to attract visitors and increase revenue. Thus, it contributes to success and development.

Debord (2008) states that the spectacle (entertainment) is the moment at which goods completely occupy social life through media exaggeration, influencing everything that is experienced. And when culture becomes that product, it aims to be the main commodity of that entertainment society.

Trigo (2003) indicates that having fun has meaning, whether through sport, culture, tourism, education or entertainment, the last one attracting consumption and business opportunities and, nowadays, information, fun and experience are the differential of products and services. This cultural shift occurs during the industrial revolution, in the flow of post-modernity, at the same time as the problem of the homogenization of entertainment by the media (holders of large economic groups and global high technology) and mass tourism. Therefore, the media reflects these groups' goals and does not concern about that culture being complex, standardizing it.

According to Coelho (1989), it was with the earliest newspapers and novels that the mass culture appeared, having as characteristics: not to be produced by those who consume it; be a product of consumable capital; and the most striking, reification and alienation. The author argues that when mass culture is related to negative aspects, then one must use the term industrial culture.

Benhamou (2007) reflects that the cultural product also has a collective character, because it is an indivisible consumption, that is, several people can take advantage of it at the same time, concluding that the culture economy excluded the cultural industries because they are restricted to the arts field. However, the connection between this industry and arts is more intense than one might think, since it generates an economy of culture through cinema, books and music.

Pires (2001) emphasizes the importance of the connection between leisure and culture, especially in museums, cultural centers and historical centers that often do not offer a good reception for tourists for not considering culture as being leisure. Nevertheless, tourism activity that involves education is very important, both for the visitors, who will get knowledge at the end of the visit, and for these cultural sites, since tourists generate profits and divulgation for the places, proving the importance of such institution within the community and why it should continue existing and being respectfully considered.

It is noticed that there is entertainment with alienating character for the masses. Still, as Pires (2001) states, there is also a form of entertainment directed to knowledge and experience, which is found, for example, at museums. Thus, from the fact that the most visited attraction in São Paulo in 2014 was the MASP (Observatório do Turismo, 2014, p.1), it can be deduced that cultural entertainment in São Paulo explores the promotion of experiences and knowledge.

THE ENTERTAINMENT CULTURAL IDENTITY IN SÃO PAULO

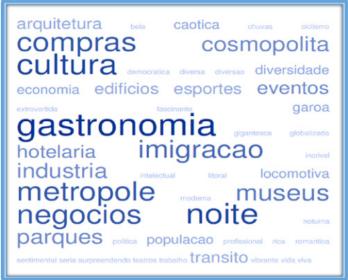
Divulgation made by agencies and operators

The study performed online research, for approximately one month, from August 16 to September 21, 2016, with agencies and operators from different places in Brazil and abroad that divulge São Paulo as destination on their websites. It is worth highlighting the relevance of the fact that the Internet, in 2015, was the main source of consultation for international visitors who came to Brazil, totaling 44% tourists (Brazil, 2016). There was collection of information on sites in Portuguese, English, and Spanish and Italian languages (sites in other languages were not considered). It was noted that great part of agencies and operators show the city's business and services aspect – the metropolis of Latin America –, but which also has many interesting attractions, abundant culture and several options of restaurants and shopping places. Thus, they show that despite having strong references related to services, business and economy, São Paulo is also the cultural center of the country.

It is worth highlighting that immigration is also much mentioned in the capital description, and some ancient identities are still used, such as "Locomotiva Brasileira" (Brazilian Locomotive) and "Terra da Garoa" (Land of Drizzle). It was also verified that Brazilian North and Northeast sell more event packages for enjoyment in the capital, especially concerts; European countries, as England and Ireland, point out that São Paulo does not present Brazil's expected natural beauty, but there is still much to know. In operators and agencies at cities as Buenos Aires and Santiago, the most offered packages to Brazil are related to beach and sun destinations, since they are also large Latin capitals without beaches. It is deduced that these tourists seek destinations different from their daily life, such as Brazilian beaches.

With this research, there was a cloud analysis of the words most used to describe São Paulo (Figure 1), as well as the most commented attractions (Figure 2). It is concluded that, through these agencies or operators, São Paulo still has a business, financial center, metropolis identity and, precisely for being a metropolis, it offers different entertainment options, which have already been used to promote the city as a center with culture, gastronomy, parks, shopping places, etc., and deserve to be known and experienced.

Figure 1 – Most used words to describe São Paulo¹



Source - elaborated by the author

Figure 2 – São Paulo's most divulged attractions



Source - elaborated by the author

^{1.} Architecture, shopping, culture, economy, buildings, sports, events, drizzle, beautiful, chaotic, rain, cycling, cosmopolitan, diversity, democratic, diverse, enjoyment, outgoing, fascinating, gastronomy, huge, globalized, immigration, hospitality, amazing, industry, intellectual, coast, locomotive, metropolis, modern, museums, businesses, night, nocturnal, parks, politics, population, professional, rich, romantic, sentimental, surprising, theaters, traffic, work, vibrating, life, live.

Divulgation made by tourism bodies

There are three websites that help in promoting São Paulo as destination. *Cidade de São Paulo* website, administered by SPTuris (*São Paulo Turismo*), presents the capital as "Piratininga virou São Paulo: o colégio é hoje uma metrópole" (Piratininga turned into São Paulo: the school is today a metropolis), narrating the main historical facts that make São Paulo to be the intellectual nucleus and economic center of the country, besides the growing industrial park that attracted immigrants.

Since 2011, the website uses the *Marca São Paulo* (São Paulo Brand) as identity, which transmits the possibility of living unique experiences in the city; after all, it surprises (the unexpected element is part of the daily life of the metropolis).



Figure 3 - Marca São Paulo

Source - Cidade de São Paulo website²

The SPTuris website (*São Paulo Turismo*), city's official tourism and events company, has the mission of positioning and promoting the city as the business, knowledge and entertainment capital of Latin America, highlighting its vanguard and cultural character. Less focused on the tourist, the site was developed from the previous *Cidade de São Paulo*, and redirects the visitor to the portal regarding information about events and tourism. The logo of the site brings the name of the capital followed by "events, culture, business" (Figure 4).



Figure 4 - SPTuris Identity

Source – *SPTuris* website³

^{2.} Available at: http://www.cidadedesaopaulo.com, on October 1, 2016.

^{3.} Available at: http://www.spturis.com, on October 2, 2016.

The São Paulo Convention & Visitors Bureau (SPCVB) is a non-profit entity that seeks to increase the volume of business and the consumption market Vin the city through tourism, supporting the improvement of services and attendance to visitors. Its website is called *Visite São Paulo* (Visit São Paulo)⁴, and identifies the capital as beautiful, rich, intellectual, democratic, lively, sporting, cultural, sentimental, romantic, modern, serious, extroverted, and professional. The website concludes that it is difficult to choose just one adjective for the cosmopolitan metropolis, which has different races and is a cultural and hotel center in Latin America, international capital of events and gastronomy, headquarters of large academic centers and several entertainment options, with the campaign: "Venha a São Paulo, é tudo de bom!" (Come to São Paulo, it is really great!)

Figure 5 - SPCVB Identity



Source - Visite São Paulo Website

Cidade de São Paulo website shows that, because it is a metropolis and has had a great flow of immigrants, there are options for all tastes, reflected on its multiple faces. It is interesting to note that the SPTuris Identity involves three identities of São Paulo (events, culture and business), and that the capital's tourism body has already identified culture as its tourist representation. The SPCVB also emphasizes the multiple identities of São Paulo, a city that offers everything. São Paulo's official tourism websites identify cultural entertainment as one of the multiple leisure alternatives in the city, and it is important to note that they focus on the range of options and on the unique, multiple and differentiated city's characteristics.

FINAL CONSIDERATIONS

The study of São Paulo's identity is a delicate subject for involving different areas of knowledge and, thus, opinions that are opposite to each other. For anthropologists, entertainment is alienating. For tourists, in turn, this phenomenon, when well-structured and executed, assists in the financial support of the institution, in addition to promoting culture and new ways of knowledge.

The issue is delicate because, as it was studied, identity is connected to meaning, and it refers to the dominant social actors and institutions, that is, to a social construction, present in that society and at that moment, changing according to these aspects. And São Paulo, despite being less than 500 years old,

^{4.} Available at: http://www.visitesaopaulo.com, on October 2, 2016.

has already gone through several moments, with societies that have followed these changes.

The city witnessed *bandeirantes'* activity; a fast and intense progress; the arrival of immigrants from different places, besides the Modern Art Week, which directed the capital to art and cultural production. In other words, identity is related to what identifies the city, its moment and events.

Currently, the metropolis still acts as Brazil's service and business center. Even so, São Paulo's dwellers perform several cultural and leisure activities in the city, such as going to the movies, popular festivals and concerts, demonstrating that entertainment is present in their routine. And not only for the inhabitants of the capital, but also for its largest segment of tourists: the business tourist, who already knows it and perceives it as a cultural place with enjoyment and leisure. Some seek and want to know the historical and cultural attractions of the city, as it is showed by the research of Braga (2005) and Mazzon and Vera (2008). Thus, Paulo's entertainment, culture and history identity is in the imagination of these tourists, even if they visit the city for business purposes.

The capital's official tourist agencies identify these entertainment offerings as involving unique experiences and for all public tastes, it being difficult to find only one definition for the city due to its cosmopolitan character. Events and businesses that drive local tourism are also highlighted, showing that the city is the cultural capital of Latin America.

In this sense, the hypothesis that the identity of cultural entertainment is already in the imaginary element of the city is proven. For the credibility of the statement, the present research analyzed tourist agencies and operators to know how they describe São Paulo as destination. Thus, it was noticed that the city's gastronomy is very divulged by such means, and the city is promoted as the cultural center of Latin America; nightlife is also one of the most used aspects to express the identity of São Paulo. Business, metropolis, traffic and even the drizzle identities are still present in this research. After all, São Paulo is a business capital, a metropolis of intense traffic, but also a cultural capital.

This current perception of cultural capital already makes São Paulo a reference of entertainment and heritage, as shown by the data of the Institute of Economic Research Foundation (FIPE) and the Ministry of Tourism, where São Paulo was the fourth most visited destination for leisure purposes in 2015, demonstrating that although doing business is still the main motivation to visit São Paulo, events and conventions (45.1%), and leisure (9.7%) also present significant levels of interest (Brazil, 2016).

Entertainment should be used to allow enjoyment and relaxation, provide knowledge and assist in the growth and continuity of institutions and places that promote it. Therefore, one's choice as to the type of entertainment must be of own will, and not imposed by the mass culture media, which unfortunately often produces a kind of culture that does not cause reflection.

The importance in continuing the research on São Paulo's identity regarding entertainment is the possibility to find out whether, due to its cultural reference character, tourists flow has increased, as well as whether visitors have more access to cultural entertainment attractions. Moreover, this entertainment identity may be strengthened since experiences and knowledge activities provided by the city play an important role for tourism economy.

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Vitória Nonato Massini: defined the research problem and objectives; developed the theoretical proposition; performed the literature review and theoretical foundation; carried out data collection and data analysis; prepared the tables, graphs and figures; critical review of the manuscript; performed the calculations and projections; wrote and formatted the manuscript to the RTA rules.

Alexandre Leonarde: defined the research problem and objectives; developed the theoretical proposition; chose the methodological procedures; critical review of the manuscript; formatted the manuscript to the RTA rules.