

Discussing Civil Society, Identity, Participation and Organized Social Movements through a Cultural Phenomenon from Brazilian Amazon Rain Forest

Discutindo Sociedade Civil, Identidade, Participação e Movimentos Sociais Organizados através de um fenômeno cultural na Amazônia Brasileira

Discutir la Sociedad Civil, la Identidad, la Participación y los Movimientos Sociales Organizados a través de un fenómeno cultural en la Amazonía Brasileña

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Abstract

This article deals with the case of the city of Parintins which due to its folklore traditions has become in recent decades not only a tourist attraction but a different case. The aim of the article, therefore, is to investigate the various forms of civil society organization involved in the planning and realization of the Parintins Folk Festival. As well as relating their activities with the Theories of Organization and Social Theories regarding the forms of organization of Civil Society; and to evaluate the concern of these institutions and people who make the festival with the indigenous, cabocla, amazonian and parintinense identity. The methodology used was to conduct qualitative open interviews with managers and former managers of the identified organizations and with people who during the research process were identified as having knowledge and important information for problem solving and document analysis. Perhaps without realizing it, the people of Parintins organized around its folk festival greatly influence the public power, the planning, the public budget and the execution of public policies. And at the same time, it is clear to those visiting the city or attending the folk festival that they are a people of different customs and culture.

Keywords: Parintins Folk Festival, Civil Society, Social Movements.

Discutindo Sociedade Civil, Identidade, Participação e Movimentos Sociais Organizados através de um fenômeno cultural na Amazônia Brasileira

Resumo

Este artigo aborda o caso da cidade de Parintins que em virtude de suas tradições folclóricas tornou-se nas últimas décadas não só uma atração turística, mas um caso diferente. O objetivo do artigo, portanto, é investigar as diversas formas de organização da sociedade civil envolvidas no planejamento e realização do Festival Folclórico de Parintins. Assim como relacionar a atuação destas com as Teorias da Organização e as Teorias Sociais no que tange às formas de organização da Sociedade Civil; e avaliar a preocupação destas instituições e pessoas que fazem o festival com a identidade indígena, cabocla, amazônica e parintinense. A metodologia usada foi a realização de entrevistas abertas de caráter qualitativo com dirigentes e ex-dirigentes das organizações identificadas e com pessoas que no decorrer do processo de pesquisa foram identificadas como detentoras de conhecimento e informações importantes para a solução do problema e análise de documentos. Talvez sem perceber, o povo parintinense organizado em torno de sua festa folclórica influencia sobremaneira o poder público, o planejamento, o orçamento público e a execução das políticas públicas. E, ao mesmo tempo, deixa claro para aqueles que visitam a cidade ou que vão ao festival folclórico a certeza de que são um povo de costumes e cultura diferentes.

Palavras-chave: Festival Folclórico de Parintins, Sociedade Civil, Movimentos Sociais.

Discutir la Sociedad Civil, la Identidad, la Participación y los Movimientos Sociales Organizados a través de un fenómeno cultural en la Amazonía Brasileña

Resumen

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Este artículo aborda el caso de la ciudad de Parintins, que debido a sus tradiciones folclóricas se ha convertido en las últimas décadas no solo en una atracción turística sino en un caso diferente. El objetivo del artículo, por lo tanto, es investigar las diversas formas de organización de la sociedad civil involucradas en la planificación y realización del Festival Folklórico de Parintins. Además de relacionar sus actividades con las Teorías de la Organización y las Teorías Sociales sobre las formas de organización de la Sociedad Civil; y evaluar la preocupación de estas instituciones y personas que realizan el festival con la identidad indígena, cabocla, amazónica y parintinense. La metodología utilizada fue realizar entrevistas abiertas cualitativas con gerentes y ex gerentes de las organizaciones identificadas y con personas que durante el proceso de investigación fueron identificadas como poseedores de conocimientos e información para la resolución de problemas y el análisis de documentos. Quizás sin darse cuenta, la gente de Parintins organizada en torno a su festival popular influye mucho en el poder público, la planificación, el presupuesto público y la ejecución de las políticas públicas. Y al mismo tiempo, es claro para quienes visitan la ciudad o asisten al festival folklórico que son personas de diferentes costumbres y cultura.

Palabras clave: Festival Folklórico de Parintins, Sociedad Civil, Movimientos Sociales

1 INTRODUCTION

The concept of nation implies the idea of relating a nation to a specific territory under the sovereignty of a State which governs this triad. The implementation of state and government actions which aim to forge (or at least create) the image of being unique, homogenous or capable of being described by one adjective – French, Spanish, American, Brazilian, etc. is reoccurring. Nevertheless, the national states, especially the ones with great territorial extensions, house different people which can be differed by physical and cultural characteristics.

The sociocultural homogenization around Brazilians consists in a historical process which brings us back to the colonial period and that nowadays competes with the effects of the current economic world scenario characterized by the consolidation and expansion of capitalism, not only as a mode of production, but also as a civilizing process (IANNI, 2001). It is in this sense that under the Brazilian gentile there is a variety of people who have been losing their history and culture over the Brazilian nationality.

When analyzing the identities which are generated and reproduced, Della Porta and Dianni (2006, p.105) highlights the fact that

‘Identity emerges from the process of self-identification and external recognition. Actors’ self-representations are, in fact, continuously confronted with images which institutions, sympathetic and hostile social groups, public opinion, and the media produce of them.’

The quote above reminds the author of a situation he, himself, witnessed in a doctor’s waiting room in Manaus. The TV was broadcasting some news on the invasion of a public building in Manaus by some native indigenous who were reclaiming something. A man who was sitting right next to him said: ‘these native people don’t want to work! They all wear clothes and live in the city. They haven’t been indigenous in a long time and they want to be sponsored by the government without any work’. The problem is that anyone who gave this man, who was protesting out loud, a proper look, would describe him as an indian, even though he was wearing clothes.

Of course this is not an isolated case. As well as in the Amazon, across the country, the indian descendants are not recognized as such, and the same happens to Afro-descendants and mulattos. Although, I would venture to say that as a result of recent affirmative policies, there is growing cultural and ethnic identification around the country

Adding to this scenario of people and customs’ homogenization there is the project, in progress for years, which has been replacing ‘a national ‘economy’, composed by many ‘local economies’, by a ‘national’ economy located in the many different regions of the country’ (Benevides de Araújo, 1985, P. 128).

However, there is in Brazil, as well as in Latin America, different resisting collective actions to these homogenizing processes. This article aims to (a) rise, based on the theories of social movements and the civil society interpretation and ways of organization, a discussion on the question of identity, mobilization and social organization from an artistic and cultural expression, known as Parintins Folklore Festival – PFF; (b) present a summary of the social, economic and cultural characteristics of the city and the folklore festival; (c) Explain the role of the different civil society organization

Discussing Civil Society, Identity, Participation and Organized Social Movements through a Cultural Phenomenon from Brazilian Amazon Rain Forest

involved in the PFF; and (d) Describe how these organizations relate to the State institutions in order to guarantee the support for their activities and for the festival.

This is the final version of the text presented at the XXX Congress of the Latin American Studies Association (LASA), which took place in 2012, in San Francisco, California, United States of America, in the panel entitled “Identities in flux: Collective Action, Community Politics and Social Change”. For a proper interpretation of the data and information, the reader should keep in mind that this text was written in 2012. The research was carried out between 2009 and 2012, with field research carried out in November 2009. The methodology included observation on the spot. The study has a qualitative nature. The information was collected in semi-structured interviews with members of the management board of the organizations involved in carrying out the PFF at that time, with former directors of these and with people appointed by them whose memory and knowledge were pointed out as relevant.

The article is divided into four parts. The first describes the scenario where the object of study is developed, that is, a pinnacle of social, economic and cultural aspects of the city and the folklore festival, which corroborates to justify the choice of this phenomenon as research in applied social science, presenting the role of the different organizations involved in the PFF; the second, which links the social movements’ theoretical framework with the first part; the third stage, talks about the way these organizations are related with the State institutions to guarantee support to their activities; and there are the final considerations where issues on the possibilities of research of this phenomenon and some possible conclusions are presented to date.

The study is qualitative. The information hereby collected was done by means of semi-structured interviews with members of the direction or former directors of the organizations involved in the PFF.

2 SOME ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL ASPECTS OF PARINTINS IN 2012 AND GENERAL PRESENTATION OF THE PARINTINS FOLKLORE FESTIVAL.

Located 369km of the capital city, Parintins has a territory of 5,952.38 km² and a population density of 17.14 inhabitants/Km². However, about 68.5% of the population is concentrated in the city’s urban area. For a better understanding of how the population is composed, Table 1 shows the population’s distribution by sex, color or race in the urban and rural areas of the city¹.

Table 1

Population of the city of Parintins – AM by sex and residency

		Total	%	Homem	%	Mulher	%
Total	Total	102.033	100	52.304	51	49.729	49
	Branca	13.216	13	6.429	6	6.787	7
	Preta	2.364	2	1.367	1	997	1

¹ The Brazilian demographic Census works with auto declaration. Thus, the result of this picture is the way the interviewees recognize their color or race. It is clearly seen that only a few of them recognize themselves as indians or indian-descendants.

Discussing Civil Society, Identity, Participation and Organized Social Movements through a Cultural Phenomenon from Brazilian Amazon Rain Forest

	Amarela	356	0	167	0	189	0
	Parda	85.063	83	43.811	43	41.252	40
	Indígena	1.034	1	530	1	504	0
Urbana	Total	69.890	68	34.763	34	35.127	34
	Branca	11.144	11	5.334	5	5.810	6
	Preta	1.695	2	987	1	708	1
	Amarela	316	0	146	0	170	0
	Parda	56.293	55	28.080	28	28.213	28
	Indígena	442	0	216	0	226	0
Rural	Total	32.143	32	17.541	17	14.602	14
	Branca	2.072	2	1.095	1	977	1
	Preta	669	1	380	0	289	0
	Amarela	40	0	21	0	19	0
	Parda	28.770	28	15.731	15	13.039	13
	Indígena	592	1	314	0	278	0

Source: IBGE – 2010 Demographic Census

Table 2 brings various city data that go from GNP per capita to the Gini and the Human Development index, going through the number of vehicles in the city, as a way of helping to describe the city where the studied phenomenon happens. The data were gotten from different sources, and only the most current ones were used. It is worth mentioning that with almost 59,000 voters, Parintins competes with the city of Manacapuru for the position of second biggest Electoral College outside the capital city Manaus. This fact could be relevant to attract investments, public policies and attention from the state government. It makes the voters relevant in the state and federal legislative elections.

Table 2

Various data about the city of Parintins

Voters (2012)*	58,784
GNP per capita (2009)	R\$ 4,293.91
Budget Revenue – flow (2009)	R\$ 95,609,627.29
Committed Revenue – flow (2009)	R\$ 85,384,205.05
City's Holding Funds value – (HF) (2009)	R\$ 20,869,307.16
GNP at market price (2009)	R\$ 460,522,000.00
Incidence of Poverty (2003)	60.07%
Incidence of subjective poverty (2003)	70.24%
Gini Index (2003)	0.46
HDI 2000*	0.696
Automobiles (2010)	780
Vans (2010)	5
Buses (2010)	12
Motorcycles (2010)	8544

Source: IBGE (2012) , *PNUD (2012); ** Tribunal Regional Eleitoral do Amazonas (2012).

Parintins managed to be relatively highlighted in the national scenario due to its folklore festival which will hold its 47th edition in 2012. To sum up, the festival happens in an

Discussing Civil Society, Identity, Participation and Organized Social Movements through a Cultural Phenomenon from Brazilian Amazon Rain Forest

arena with capacity for 35,000 people, known as bumbódromo² and it consists of a 2-hour-presentation for each one of the folkloric groups (the teams Garantido and Caprichoso) during three consecutive days³. The show is assessed by judges coming from different states of the country chosen through common agreement between the two teams and the State Secretariat of Culture.

A lot of the social phenomenon happens for the teams are trying to be the festival's champion. It is because of this phenomenon that this festival is related to other aspects of the mobilization theory of the civil society.

It is all started by the principle defended by professor Sérgio Braga (2002, p.20) that says that 'the festival is food for thought' and that even though it is in its 47th edition, the party in Parintins was not born in 1965, in spite of having gone through massive changes. There is no reason as to cite the origin of 'Bumba meu Boi' (a typical party in the Northeast of the country) in Brazil in this discussion, however, it is important to say that 'the bumbás (better translated as 'bulls') have a permanent structure also seen in the characters on stage, and that the update of these characters, on the festival different editions, has been based on the representation of the Amazon, the indigenous and the mestizo, in the perspective of a popular culture'⁴ (Braga, 2002, p.23). The same author still highlights that 'there must be significant reasons as to why the 'cultural producers' of the Amazon Bulls' keep the traditions while going on new paths, gaining new sponsors, such as the cultural foment of public organizations, private companies, radio and TV broadcasting companies etc.

Of course that, with the festival's publicity, other interests came to scene, but this is not an important subject on this article, even though this fact has massive influence on what there is to highlight and that is basically divided in two situations: (1) the power of the festival to mobilize people; and, (2) the concern the institutions and the people who organize the festival with the indigenous, the mestiza, the Amazonian and parintinense identity.

When approaching the question on the power of mobilization the folklore festival holds over the civil society, we should firstly highlight that we are referring to a region, specially the state of Amazonas, where there is not the tradition of popular mobilization⁵.

² Popular term to refer to the "Centro Cultural e Esportivo Amazonino Mendes". The "bumbódromo" carries the name of the State of Amazon's former governor, who was responsible for its construction and opening. It happened during the first of his three mandates.

³ Traditionally, the festival happened on the 28th, 29th and 30th of June independently of which day of the week those were. However, with the festival's consolidation as a tourism attraction and with the economic importance attributed to the festival, it was established by a municipal law that from 2006 on, the festival would happen on the last weekend of June, with the shows starting on Friday and finishing on Sunday. It is important to highlight that the PFF happens simultaneously to the June Festival.

⁴ Even though they have been changing along the time, nowadays there are 21 items to be assessed during the presentations of both teams (Caprichoso and Garantido): the master of ceremonies, lead singer, percussion orchestra also known as marujada or batucada (drums, percussion and harmony which bring music and rhythm to the presentation), indian ritual, the stand-bearer, the ox owner (amo do boi), the farmer's daughter (sinhazinha da fazenda), folklore's queen, cunhã-poranga (beautiful girl in the Tupi language), ox dances' performance, songs and lyrics, the witchdoctor, tribes, tuxaua (the indian chiefs), typical regional character, allegories, Amazonian legend, the cowboys, the cheering crowd, choreography, organization and folkloric set. (BOI CAPRICHOSO, 2012).

⁵ On a research on the NGOs' Brazilian Association's website, it was noticed there are no NGO associated to its headquarters in Amazonas, even though there are 19 in the north of Brazil (ABONG,

Discussing Civil Society, Identity, Participation and Organized Social Movements through a Cultural Phenomenon from Brazilian Amazon Rain Forest

This fact is the first one to make this sociocultural phenomenon relevant while object of analysis on mobilization and organization of the civil society.

The second fact is the number of civil society organizations involved in the annual production of the Parintins Folklore Festival. Yet a qualified research would be needed to know the numbers, the activities and the objectives of each one of them better, in this article there is an attempt to number some of the organizations/mobilizations essentially formed by city volunteers around the production of the Parintins Folklore Festival.

- a) Firstly, the two folkloric teams: Associação Folclórica Boi-Bumbá **Garantido** (AFBBG) which, according to its president, has 4112 partners (2800 of them are active, which means they are able and allowed to vote) and Associação Folclórica Boi-Bumbá **Caprichoso** (AFBBC) with about 1300 partners⁶. Both have formal legal personality and they hold elections at every two years so that the managers who will work as president and vice-president are elected. They are allowed to one re-election. Nowadays, in both cases, the elected presidents have the autonomy to structure and compose their group of directors.
- b) **Movimento Marujada** (Caprichoso) and **Movimento Amigos do Garantido** – established formally as Cultural Associations, they have been promoting parties and events in Manaus to raise funds for maintenance and actions of each team's folkloric association for about 20 years. Currently, the events are not as profitable as in the beginning of their activities and the main aim of both associations is to advertise the PFF and each one of the teams in Manaus. It is through these associations that inhabitants and visitors to the city of Manaus are able to get to know the PFF beforehand as well as whatever is new to that year: songs, choreographies, the items of each team Garantido and Caprichoso. These cultural associations are financially and administratively independent from both AFBBC and AFBBG. Nevertheless, their actions have to be aligned so as they have some kind of harmony when it comes to their program, allowing, for instance, the existence of a calendar in which the artists involved are able to participate of events both in Parintins and in the capital city, and above all, so that there are no conflicts when raising funds with public and private organizations;
- c) **Batucada** and **Marujada de Guerra** – These are the names given to the set of players who are part of the percussion orchestra and who are responsible for the rhythm and harmony found in the presentations of both teams Garantido and Caprichoso respectively. They can be compared to the percussion found in the samba schools. They are the ones responsible for the tunes heard during the three days of party as well as during the technical rehearsals in Parintins and Manaus from March to June. Composed by volunteers (except for the directors), both currently require great dedication, compromise and attendance of its members. The directors of the formal organizations (quoted before), who were interviewed, understand that the members cannot have legal personalities for they are one of the items to be assessed on the PFF. This way, the organization and coordination processes of the percussion orchestras is the Folkloric Associations's – which count with the Movimentos' help and support in Manaus - responsibility. This support has to do with the guarding and maintenance of the instruments,

2012). At the same time, the Department of Justice's website says there are 23 Civil Society of Public Interest's Organizations – OSCIPS and 24 Federal Public Utilities Organizations.

⁶ Estimated number taken from the elections' results for AFBBC President in 2012.

- distribution of the uniform and clothes worn by the members in their presentations as well as the organization of rehearsals and events;
- d) The official cheering crowds “**Raça Azul**” and “**Comando Garantido**” are also official items which are judged during the folklore festival and they are under the Folkloric Associations’ coordination, mainly for there is the need to create the choreography and the acting strategies happening on three days of the festival altogether when the cheering crowds become ‘galeras’ (the crowd) and through the use of accessories (flags, mosaic, clothes and small equipment such as candles and balloons) they all (the paying crowd, the guests, the performance and the items) tune in. For they know that the ‘items’ cannot be made of specific legal entities, the official cheering crowds depend on the formal structure of the folklore associations and the supporting organizations to set partnerships, raise funds and get sponsors. These cheering crowds are composed mainly by smaller cheering crowds (non official ones) which, during the festival, are coordinated by the official ones⁷; and,
- e) The ‘School of Arts Irmão Miguel de Pascale’ as known as ‘Escolinha de Artes do Caprichoso’ which exists since 1997 and holds a body of 560 children and teenagers and through which more than 5210 have graduated. After some years, Garantido’s directors opened in October 29th 2009 their own arts and folklore school. With the popular name of ‘University of Folklore’, the ‘Centro Educacional Paulinho Faria’ is still incipient. The school would have 320 children and teenagers from November 3rd 2009 (JORNAL DA ILHA, 2012). It was possible to see a difference of perception among the interviewees about the roles of these art and folklore schools. All the Garantido managers see the school as more of a social responsibility action so that the folklore associations provide educational and cultural activities for the children in the city. These schools have been of great attention to the teenage public due to the city’s needs. On the other hand, Caprichoso managers see the school of art as a center of initiation in arts, folklore and culture, which will be able to make future artists for Parintins, including the fact that the first results can already be seen, once they can be seen in the warehouses and at the AFBBC Arts Council. This last one has been an egress in this project, and it is also seen as a way of social responsibility.

The issue of the identity on this scenario which was just described here will be discussed in another section, according to the theoretical reference used.

3 IDENTITY, SOCIAL MOVEMENTS AND THEORETICAL INTERPRETATIONS.

⁷ The cheering crowds are a phenomenon that stands out during the PFF. In the current bumbódromo (the arena), 15,000 seats are available and they are almost all occupied by the members of the official and non official cheering crowds - 7,500 of these being available for team Caprichoso and 7,500 for team Garantido. The way to the arena is done by who arrives first and stands in a line. This ends up in having people waiting for more than 6h, sometimes through sun and rain, until the spectacle begins. There are rules which say that the blue (team Caprichoso) cheering crowd must not wear anything (clothes, accessories or equipment) that would remind people of the opposing team (team Garantido – red team) and vice-versa. Besides that, while the ‘opposite team’ is in the arena, the other cheering crowd must show respect by remaining quiet with no booing or applause.

Discussing Civil Society, Identity, Participation and Organized Social Movements through a Cultural Phenomenon from Brazilian Amazon Rain Forest

This article uses the theoretical reference written by Gohn (1977), for it considers that this author's effort allows us to understand, characterize and present the different paradigm embracing the social movements' theory, all that from a spacious and geographical criterion, to associate the theories to the specific realities that try to understand and explain things. Thus, this reference is adopted because, for one, it promotes and understanding that in Latin America, the adopted methodological posture was strongly influenced by theories which were created in other contexts, specially the European theory of New Social Movements. Also because it recognizes the series of changes which Latin America and Brazil went through since the 1970's before all the internal and external influences originated from the globalization process.

The first theoretical interpretations on the social movements defined them as non-rational and non-oriented in terms of institutionalization and formalization. Moreover, they are described as spontaneous, amorphous and their origin lies in social problems such as poverty, misery and exclusion (HANNIGAN, 1985).

This understanding of the Classic Theory does not represent any unity according to the views of the Chicago School (or Ecological School), the Mass Society Theory, the Socio-Political Approach, Functionalism and the Behavioral Theory, but it summarizes the general idea of the first analysis. This way, the interpretation for the Classical Theory becomes insufficient to analyze the institutions that were born with the purpose of supporting the efforts to set up social changes in many different areas, especially the ones connected to the civil rights in the 70's. That is how the Resource Mobilization Theory, which attributes similar treatment to the social movements, political parties, lobbies and groups of interest, gained more stage - once they are all players that fight for support, consumers and mainly resources. Based on the Utilitarianism Theory and on an economic view which interprets the people's actions as rational calculus on the cost and benefit of acting or not acting, the Resource Mobilization Theory sees the movements' leaders as managers or administrators of a group of interests and the success of a movement as a consequence of hierarchical organization (Gohn, 2006). To this line of thought, the origin of the social movements lies on the change of opportunities related to the availability of human, financial and material resources which can be raised by the better structured social institutions/organizations. However, to this perspective, the movements' success is also intrinsically related to the organizations and its leader's possibility of penetrating the political structures which are consolidated in this society (Hannigan, 1985).

In this article's previous section, there was an attempt to characterize the Parintins Folklore Festival as a social construction which comes from a job performed by many people and by a great number of organizations which are potentially composed by volunteers with common interests. The last ones undoubtedly fight for resources in many places such as the government, by the selling of products and rights - music, image and symbols - and the private companies by the means of sponsorships.

The people and the organization involved in the PFF are not deliberately working together to plan, organize and perform collective actions which rebalance strength when using public resources, common goods, rules, customs, laws and institutions inherent to that society's social and power relations. However, it is important to consider that such phenomena and changes may emerge as results of the actors' actions when involved indirectly and non-deliberately in the preparation of the PFF. Further on, the article will

Discussing Civil Society, Identity, Participation and Organized Social Movements through a Cultural Phenomenon from Brazilian Amazon Rain Forest

discuss the topics on the theoretical reference as well as some facts which gave the author this understanding about their indirect achievements.

Thus, in spite of the resources' main role when trying to achieve the objectives of the folklore festival in general and for each one of the teams in particular, this article's starting point is the understanding that the Resources Mobilization Theory is insufficient to explain the complexity of the relations that compose this social mobilization around the PFF, once it comprises concepts that go beyond protests, claims, and resources such as the ones related to culture and identity.

The theoretical paradigm connected to the so-called New Social Movements seems to provide more consistent guidelines for the case in study once the authors of this line of thought tried to 'create interpretative schemes that would emphasize the culture, ideology, the daily social struggles, solidarity among people from the same group or social movement and the identity process created with that' (Gohn, 2006, p. 121).

The relation between the five characteristics of the New Social Movements (NSM) identified by Gohn (1997), to which, we try to establish relation to the Parintins Folklore Festival (PFF), is as it follows:

3.1 The NSM's are a theoretical model which were built based on the culture, focusing their attention on the discourse as the expression of cultural practices;

The discourse is something which is extremely relevant in the PFF. It can be seen in different forms, however, two of them are highlighted: the first in the way the artists make *frames* to play around people's minds through the media and through the events that happen annually before the festival, using colors (red x blue), titles (boi do povão (less privileged people's team) x boi da elite (wealthy people's team)), besides the songs and lyrics that are part of the presentations themselves. The members of the organizations working with the folklore associations refer to the supporters and members of their opponent's association as 'the opposite', making it clear that there is an antagonistic relationship of 'us' versus 'them'. The same happens, in a broader way, with the language spoken in the festival, which reinforces the local identity, in a way that even though they see themselves as amazonenses (native from Amazonas, the state) or Brazilian, it is more common to see them defining themselves in the lyrics through the use of adjectives such as indigenous, caboclo, perrechê, parintinense, parintintim, tupinambarana creating a very clear counter-position to the foreigners, outsiders, tourists, white people, etc.

Therefore, the plot, the structure and the cultural aspects highlighted on the PFF reinforce the difference in the parintinense's identity in relation to other people, who could be foreigners, Brazilians, people from the capital city – people who know culture and different collective identities. The PFF's own structure requires that the teams use part of their daily presentations to talk about the 'typical regional character'. This way, there will be many songs and costumes on the PFF that will detail the function and the role of the Amazonian man, explaining some aspects of their culture.⁸

⁸ Some examples are team Garantidos's songs: "Cabocla Tecelã" and "Caboclo Ribeirinho". And team Caprichoso's ones: "Cabocla Ceramista", "Caboclo Mateiro" and "Canoeiro".

3.2 A second characteristic is the denial of Marxism as the theoretical field capable of explaining individual action, and thus the contemporary society's collective action.

The ox dance is a game, it is a thing, it is the most divine thing for the parintinense, that is why people are fascinated by it, because it is something that happened way back when we were kids, but it's still happening now. We are adults and the emotion is the same [...] why do people get impressed? Because of its strength. And I always say: the ox dance has the power of making Mr. Baranda, who is this great businessman in Parintins, carry a heavy bag around when needed because he has to do it, carry it on his shoulders and take it with him. So the ox dance evens everyone indeed, it makes it even because it is all about the emotion, there is no other way. (Goés, 2002, p. 187)

This quote is from Fred Goés, journalist, composer and member of the art commission from Garantido, during the seminar 'The Ox Dance at the University' which happened in the Instituto de Ciências Humanas e Letras da Universidade Federal do Amazonas from the 5th to the 8th of June 2001. What the journalist highlights is the fact that from the teams' set-up time to the final presentation on the Festival, even the most famous celebrities and important people such as politicians, businessmen, the elderly people who work for the teams, work together and mingle with the youngsters, artists, chargers and pushers to make whatever is needed so that the Festival happens. The journalist quotes the case of a very important businessman – the owner of some ferries, supermarkets, farms, hardware stores, hotel, among others – whose family besides being part of Caprichoso and is also in the politics in the city and who, when necessary, performs manual labor mingling and partying with his own employees, competitors and opponents in politics. This is a very clear example of how Marxism, as a theoretical field, is limited when it comes to explaining either the individual action or the collective action in the contemporary society.

This is not a unique example, because there is or there is not the involvement of many local entrepreneurs in the making of the PPF, in the design of the presentation of each team and in the managing of the various organizations involved. The possibility of the involvement being motivated by some commercial gain of these involved is not eliminated, but on the other hand, the emotional and cultural involvement is recognized.

3.3 New paradigm. New approach that eliminates the centrality of the specific, predetermined subject, and sees the participants in collective actions as social actors.

When reflecting upon this third characteristic in the context of the PPF, we can conclude that a popular party where people have fun is not, in any way, a protest or mobilization. However, it is not uncommon for the festival to be used so that the community, as whole, asks for better conditions and as a result ends up getting benefits which exceed the folklore festival interests.

The city of Parintins receives around 80.000 tourists during the 'ox dance party', and, among these tourists, there are authorities' entourages such as union ministers, ministers of justice, judges, state secretaries, governors of other states, senators, federal deputies, state deputies and mayors of other, besides representatives of big national and international corporations and multinationals CEO's. Most of them watch the presentations because they buy their tickets while others are guests of the State

Discussing Civil Society, Identity, Participation and Organized Social Movements through a Cultural Phenomenon from Brazilian Amazon Rain Forest

Government, the Legislative Assembly, the High Court of Amazonas and the Parintins' City Hall, and they watch the presentations from the state official cabin. It is in this moment, with so many important visitors, that, the local actors who are involved in the PFF, often present their claims, sometimes through statements on the News, sometimes in the meetings where they prepare the event, or during their teams' presentations, through songs, poems, and acting, most of the time in an almost subliminal way and sometimes in a very straight protesting way. It is very common to hear protests related to the environment and education, as well as protests related to the appreciation of the arts, the mankind and the agriculture.

The city of Parintins has been going through a process of urbanization and modernization for the past few years, which is not entirely related to the PFF. However, the whole planning of the party, which is done in conjunction with the private companies, the City Hall, the state government, the judiciary and legislative, the teams, the artists', artisans' and workers' unions as well as other parts of the civil society, has created great opportunities to discuss problems and solutions for the city and the local community. Besides, it is a great experience in terms of local government.

It is possible to find evidence of earnings that the city gained through the important influence the PFF has as a cultural and social phenomenon, one which provides economic activity and tourism.

Despite of all, there are points of view which question the benefits of the improvement of life conditions, such as the study done by Brito, Ribeiro e Souza (2010, 18-19), which disputes the economic gains the festival would bring to the city of Parintins through the finding 'that each year the local population mobilizes itself aiming to make a living within the three days of the event. There are different commercial goods being sold by street vendors and the owners of the handicraft stalls, as well as other activities which are peculiar to that period. It is important to highlight the fact that great part of these products is not produced in Parintins and they come from neighbor cities'.

If not inaccurate, the authors' point of view is partially correct. It is for a fact that many street vendors come from the most different cities in Amazonas and Pará to sell their products during the three most important days of the tourism movement created by the festival and that these products are not produced there either. Nevertheless, arguments such as the one that stands that people wish to make a living for their 365 days of the year with their earnings during the three days, especially for an informal seller, are very fragile. The intention of bringing Brito, Ribeiro e Souza's (2010) study is to show that there is a need to better investigate some evidence of economic gains possibly acquired by the city of Parintins, with a strong influence of the PFF role in that society and in Amazonas as a whole. Qualitative and quantitative studies whose focus are analyzing and comparing the other cities in Amazonas, especially the ones with a similar number of people, to Parintins', can bring important data and information on how the revenue and the resources which were made available by the State⁹ or by the partnerships with the federal

⁹ The analyses of the Multiannual Plans of the past administrations in the State of Amazonas as well as the analysis of the budget execution of these plans give us relevant information to analyze the government relations in the State and its cities. It is known that Manaus has advantages when it comes to receiving the results of tax collection, but we wonder how this distribution would work to the other cities if the capital city were an exception. Would it be equally interesting if this analysis were done by sectors of the Public Administration on the subject of how much the Secretariat of Culture is giving to the associations involved

Discussing Civil Society, Identity, Participation and Organized Social Movements through a Cultural Phenomenon from Brazilian Amazon Rain Forest

government for investments in the health sector, educations, and mainly, in civil constructions such as harbors, airports, cultural centers, paving of streets and urban equipment in general, were distributed, especially because many of these works were done with the aim of creating infra-structure to receive tourists. Besides, it is believed that there is no other city in the Amazonas' countryside with more investments in this area¹⁰, even though there are others with great tourism potential, yet these ones are related to the eco-tourism a bit more than the cultural tourism one¹¹.

Another important aspect to be analyzed, even being more difficult to be measured and analyzed is the one that represents the specific investments of the State Secretariat of Culture in the PFF and in the organizations that make it possible. This analysis must start from an economical and financial point of view to a vast sociological prism related to the historical, ethnical, social and cultural aspects of the cultural policy in Amazonas.

The State Secretariat of Culture – SEC has been run by the same director for 17 years. During this period, the state of Amazonas promoted with public revenue, internationally recognized cultural events such as the 'Amazonas Opera Festival', the 'Amazonas Jazz Festival' and the 'Amazonas Film Festival' and other events such as Carnival, Carnaboi (a mix between Carnival and the ox dance party), Christmas celebrations, the Parintins Folcklore Festival and the Cirandas Festival in Manacapuru (a typical dance competition) (SECRETARIA DE CULTURA DO ESTADO DO AMAZONAS, 2012). However, before the great diversity of Amazonas we question: why not investing in the research, list, promotion of the different people and indigenous ethnicities' culture in the Amazonas? If done so, how much are these investments? Why not valuing the local culture before the culture of other states and people? The question is even more stinging when it is known that there is interest, especially commercial interest, in this kind of cultural activity. The value of what is lost with the lack of public policies of preservation and promotion of the Amazonian culture in the state of Amazonas is inestimable. This is why the Parintins Folklore Festival is so important. Because, undoubtedly, it is this event, which is promoted by different organizations, individual efforts and the civil society as a whole that has guaranteed that the Amazonian culture is spread, especially when talking about the indigenous culture, because it is the PFF, through its music and lyrics, that has shown the whole country the indigenous vocabulary which is disappearing, the legends that are being forgotten, the disappearing rituals, the people that still live and the ones that are gone, the arts, the competence, and the abilities of the many different human characters that still live in the Amazon such as the fisherman, the witchdoctor, the person who makes 'farinha' (a type of flour made of cassava), the rubber tapper.

with the PFF in relation to the budget at the disposal of the most different associations, events and cultural manifestations.

¹⁰ The city of Coari holds a Petrobrás (the national Oil and Gas Company) natural gas plant and it is very likely that this city gets very high investments in infra-structure and civil engineering not only from the Amazonas Government but also from the Federal Government. It would be interesting to analyze how much the extraction industry could get from the government in terms of investments in comparison to the cultural industry.

¹¹ Eco-tourism is hereby understood as the one that aims at the admiration of natural beauties; as opposed to the cultural tourism which stands for the one whose main attractions are the specificities of the local culture such as the food, the traditions, the parties and festivals. It is important to highlight that there are many other events, some of them related to the teams (Garantido and Caprichoso), that started to attract tourists to Parintins, such as the 'alvorada do boi', 'boi de rua' (some kind of parade), launching and recording of CD's and DVD's, as well as the city's Patroness' party and carnival.

Discussing Civil Society, Identity, Participation and Organized Social Movements through a Cultural Phenomenon from Brazilian Amazon Rain Forest

Regardless the lack of investments in researches and promotion of the Amazonian culture as State public policies, the importance of the PFF role is recognized by the SEC itself, who most of the times hire the teams and other organizations connected to the PFF to make presentations in events which organize, sponsor or participate, the Amazonas State Government.

This new paradigm of social movements, which brings “the diffuse, non-hierarchical collective”, “in the fight against discrimination of access to the goods of modernity and, at the same time, critical of its harmful effects, from the foundation of its actions in traditional, solidary, community values ” is present in the way diffuse collectives operate within the various organizations that promote FFP. I am not only referring to material goods, but to immaterial goods such as artists' social security, identity, history, access to public resources and political decisions and having a voice. It is in this sense that the collective actions around the preparation of the FFP make the organizations that build it social actors.

3.4 Politics gains centrality in the analysis and it is totally redefined;

It is worth reproducing the quote in which Gohn (2006, p. 123) summarizes that politics

stops being a level on a scale in which there are hierarchies and determinations and starts being a dimension of social level, embracing all social practices (Laclau e Moufle). This perspective opened possibilities to think about the question of power in the civil society's public-sphere, on Foucault's terms, and not only in the State spheres (Offe, 198). It is important to highlight that the political dimension is mainly used in the micro-social and cultural scope (...).

With so many organizations participating of the formatting and planning of the party it is obvious that the power is divided, shared and certainly disputed and not only within the state institutions, but also, within the private corporations and most certainly in the net of organizations that compose the PFF of social movements' responsibility where micro-social-political relations occur. A qualitative study on these disputes would be very interesting, mainly because, increasingly, acting inside the institutions that are part of the execution and planning of the PFF seems to be a bridge to the political, executive, business, the public service, the third sector and not only inside each of them, but also in a transverse way, being able to make a member of a smaller organization such as one of the teams' arts direction or of a cheering crowd, who is a partner, become a president of the team, or even make one of the assessed items get elected for a public position, or still, make a member of the executive or judiciary get positions in different powers that be, in different spheres, or a businessman end up getting involved in the teams' operations.

Picture 3 – Some examples of people and their functions in the PFF and functions and positions outside the folkloric/cultural activity

PFF Function	Other functions and roles
Tony Medeiros – Amo do boi (the ox owner) – team Garantido (Individual item)	State Representative
Vanessa Gonçalves – Former Sinhazinha (farmer's daughter) – team Garantido (Individual item)	Member of the City Council in Parintins
Arlindo Júnior – Former singer of Toadas – team Caprichoso (Individual Item)	Secretary of Cultural Issues in Manaus; Member of the City Council in Manaus.

Discussing Civil Society, Identity, Participation and Organized Social Movements through a Cultural Phenomenon from Brazilian Amazon Rain Forest

Carmona Oliveira – Former team Caprichoso’s President	Businessman and Mayor Candidate in Parintins
João Pedro Gonçalves da Costa – Member of the Arts Commission – team Garantido.	Alternate Senator; Official Senator during titular senator’s leave.
Telo Pinto – President of the team Garantido	Secretary of Finance of Parintins
Márcia Baranda – President of team Caprichoso	Entrepreneur in Parintins
Israel Paulain – Master of Ceremonies – team Garantido	Member of the City Council in Parintins

Source: Author’s compilation.

Picture 3 brings some examples of people who played important roles in the PFF and previous or posteriorly, or even simultaneously also had a position or function in other relevant political, economical and social institution. It is not being said that these positions were achieved because of these people’s roles in the PFF or in any of the organizations responsible for setting it up, but there is the aim of hypothesizing the possibility of them having these roles based on their abilities projected by the festival. It also widened their personal relations, which were put together to other factors such as abilities, competence, social attitudes, personal and professional techniques and to the biggest social context such as social class, family history, personal and professional history and all that has made it possible for them to take these positions.

3.5 The social actors are analyzed by the theoreticians of NSM, prioritarily under two aspects: for its collective actions and for its collective identities created throughout the process.

This fifth and last main characteristic of the NSM Theory that Gohn (2006) presents in a very close way to Della Porta and Dianni’s (2006, 91) thought on identities is the one that says that:

We are not referring to autonomous object, or to a property of social actors: we mean, rather, the process by which social actors recognize themselves – and are recognized by other actors – as part of broader groupings and develop emotional attachments to them. These “groupings” need not to be defined in reference to specific social traits such as class, gender, ethnicity, sexual orientation, or the like, nor in reference to specific organizations (although they often get defined in those terms). Collective identities may also be based on shared orientations, values, attitudes, world views, and lifestyle, as well as on shared experiences of action.

The same way class is not a hindrance to be part of the social movements involved in the PFF, neither are the sexual, religious and ethnic preferences. Within the artists, managers and organizers of the PFF the successful work of homosexuals, whose work in these organizations is capable of conquering and keeping important spaces in the micro-social relations in the city, is reoccurring. The fact that even though this is a party with reference to many pagan cults, such as the witchdoctor’s acting when resurrecting the ox or the indigenous rituals, calls one’s attention for the teams also show a strong connection to the Catholicism, being Nossa Senhora do Carmo – the city’s patroness – highlighted in the presentations of both teams, despite the participation of members of many different religions in the organization of the festival.

Discussing Civil Society, Identity, Participation and Organized Social Movements through a Cultural Phenomenon from Brazilian Amazon Rain Forest

The entire cultural and folkloric production of the PFF commends the image of the caboclo, the fisherman, the indigenous of the most different ethnicities and regions, in a way that the whole cultural production is, in fact, relevant for the memory and discussion of the legends, the history and the reality of the different people who live in the Amazon. After having related all the theoretical aspects to an empirical view of the collective action around the PFF, we go back to the discussion on identity, as from the claim by professor Renan Freitas Pinto (2005, p.173) from the Philosophy Department of the University of Amazonas, who says that

the Amazon, particularly in its most recent history, has been illustrating how the construction of a Nation-State has been proposed, that is to say, how this construction involves the denial or even the elimination of the difference. This is how we go back to the indigenous societies, who built the greatest regional and national patrimony in terms of ethnical and cultural multiplicity: what is the real expression space that was assured to all of them? In fact, we constantly hear that they are a lost cause, that their future is irreparable.

Another local writer, an intellectual who is worried about the space given to the Amazonian original culture Márcio Souza (2010, p. 31), had, in 1977, the following thought, which is more current nowadays, than 30 years ago:

The Amazon dies by the white men's sins. 300 years ago, a conflict which threatened the integrity of the great valley, was established. A conflict we feel under our skin, which reveals itself on daily basis on the streets of our city, on the roads that open the deforestation way. And in these long years of conflict, our artistic expression seems to refuse to get to know this danger. Moved by the economical needs of the colony's company, instigated by the counter-reform's ideology, the Portuguese taught us to recognize the danger in what there is of the most original, a despicable enemy. Systematically banished of our artistic investigation, the most authentic and alive culture of the region, was kept in the memory of the ethnographic files. What was supposed to be a pillar, a ridgepole and a luminous road, became curiosity and folklore for the specialists. Few were the ones who glimpsed this universe, most preferred the safe road of annihilation over the unbridled importation of alienating aesthetic. The indigenous Amazon is a condemnation; it is a purgatory where entire cultures are shattered in silence and oblivion. And when this heroic and suffering entity stops existing, it will be necessary to find another name for the valley: we will no longer have the Amazon. But the Amazon is patient; it has already lived for the millennium. For the native indians, who suffer and die, these 300 years of 'civilized' presence are nothing but more centuries in the great gap of the millennia. Other threats have already crossed their path, only none of them had Christianity and the *napalm* bombs.

Obviously, the Parintins Folklore Festival is not going to rescue the ethnic patrimony that has been lost in the Amazon, however, once again agreeing with what professor Sérgio Braga said, 'the ox dance is food of thought', because its music, colors, rituals and practices have been working as a popular, interesting and accessible way to a certain knowledge, which leads North Brazilians and Amazonenses to recognize themselves as descendants of the different ethnicities that are becoming extinct around us. It is in this way that the June parties end up being some kind of resistance to a political project that aims to build a hegemonic nationality which is visibly, that is, physically impossible.

4 THE PFF ORGANIZATIONS AND THE STATE THROUGH THE INTERVIEWEES' EYES.

Discussing Civil Society, Identity, Participation and Organized Social Movements through a Cultural Phenomenon from Brazilian Amazon Rain Forest

This section was built from the interviewees' lines, through which we try to understand the evolution of the organizations which are responsible for the PFF and the relation between these ones and the State institutions.

In 1982, a city ordinance recognized the folkloric teams as nonprofitmaking utility service entities. From this moment on, the ox dance organization began to stop being managed by families and became part of the community, allowing this last one to interfere in the managing of the teams, even if, up until today there are common conflicts with family groups interests that think of themselves as the owners of the ox dance. This is a feeling that comes from the connection of these people with the party since their youngest years of childhood.

In 1983, Parintins' City Hall opened the 'Tabladão do Povo' (something like 'People's Stage') where the presentation of the teams started to happen and in 1988, the Amazon State Government inaugurated the Bumbódromo (the big arena where the party happens) was opened with capacity for 35,000 people.

With the Bumbódromo, the PFF gained great and huge equipment and started to face difficulties, because Parintins did not have, and maybe, still does not have the expertise in some services that are necessary for the execution of a big festival, such as professional ticket selling process, using modern tools such as online selling and posterior collection of the tickets on the festival's venue or even home delivery; the event's organization itself, in the sense of decorating, signaling and structuring the venue's surroundings so as to receive the paying crowd and the guest authorities; security; the selling of food and beverage in adequate standards and different ones as well for different places; elaboration and managing of the teams' websites; raising funds; among others.

This way, many expensive contracts are closed annually with companies from Manaus and some other cities, in a way that only marginal services and profits, of small economic importance, are left to the local people. Currently, this situation is not that serious, for after 24 years of this transformation - whose milestone is the bumbódromo (the big arena) - having gone by, that there was the insertion of some local suppliers in the process, what does not impede that old and new challenges stick to the process as well.

From 1988 on, the ox dance or the PFF, grew and needed to learn how to generate revenue throughout the years to support the party, the folklore magic and the rivalry. This was not an easy learning process; in fact, it has been a long learning journey.

As an example, there is the creation of this movement called Marujada Movement (MM). Currently happening in Manaus, it started in 1985 in Parintins through an articulation of the so-called young wing of team Caprichoso, composed by members who were about 20 years old and who were interested in participating more actively in organizing and managing the AFBBC, but who, at the same time, were facing resistance from the elderly who were in the administration of the team. Many of these youngsters had moved to Manaus in the middle of the 1980's to find better professional qualification – especially college degrees – and better jobs.

In Manaus, they started to get together to sing and keep their hometown's traditions alive. However, parties with stereo sounds were not so fun and some players from the 'marujada' (the percussion orchestra) used to be invited to give some rhythm to the

Discussing Civil Society, Identity, Participation and Organized Social Movements through a Cultural Phenomenon from Brazilian Amazon Rain Forest

gatherings which started to attract visitors who were willing to pay to come to the party. Realizing that there was an opportunity of getting some financial support and with the aim of buying musical instruments for the percussion orchestra, they started to organize themselves. In 1990, they resorted to Manaus City Hall to ask for support and were given the advice that they should register as a Social Association in order to have a business identity (called CNPJ in Brazil)¹² and could finally become a legal entity capable of celebrating partnerships.

After the initial bureaucracies got past, the movement started to get formal as a cultural association and the events promoted by the Marujada Movement throughout 1990 got really big, with rented spaces, box office, tax collection, suppliers payment, etc. At the same time, people who were connected to the team Garantido, started to organize themselves and they started the Friends of Garantido Movement (Movimento Amigos do Garantido) with the same purpose.

In the end of 1990, when the teams were doing the festival with budgets close to the R\$2 million, the supporting movements ended up contributing, according to members of the direction, with values up to R\$600,000.00 for team Caprichoso in the culmination of years in Manaus (1998, 1999 and 2000). In this period, the supporting movements established in Manaus were important sources of revenue for the teams in Parintins. Azevedo (2002, p. 68) presents tables with the revenues for Garantido and Caprichoso in 2000. According to the author, in this year, the teams' budgets were respectively between R\$ 2,278,231.60 and R\$ 2,368,632.70 and the collection of money with events in the capital city Manaus was of R\$ 125,000.00 for the MAG (team Garantido) and R\$317,660.79 for the MM (team Caprichoso).

Currently, the situation is different from the one in the end of 1990. It is estimated that the budget for each one of the teams for the PFF in 2012 is around R\$10 million. Most of these resources are raised by the folkloric associations via State Government or specialists in raising funds' type of companies. They work with companies such as Bradesco (bank), Coca-Cola Company, Volvo, Natura, Petrobrás, Correios, Trip Airlines, among others, besides some other resources included in the State's and City's budget.

The raising of resources via events in Manaus has dropped significantly, basically for two reasons: the 'boi' (teams) events in the city lost their space for different music styles such as forró, country, samba, electronic music and pop rock; and, the raise in the prices to go to the PFF, such as the transfer Manaus-Parintins-Manaus either by plane or boat, accommodation, and tickets which are relatively expensive if compared to other national destinations.

Therefore, the performance of the hereby so-called supporting movements is no longer a relevant source of raising funds for the teams. 'The events that happen in Manaus get to be in deficit, and at times it is necessary that the associations support them financially in Manaus'. In this sense, there is a consensus among the interviewed directors that the role of these movements is to serve as an instrument of publicity of the PFF in Manaus.

¹² The National Register of Legal Entities is the legal entities' inscription on the Federal Revenue of Brazil. This register creates a number which is needed for companies to close contracts, open bank accounts, hire staff and register their activities in the city hall.

Discussing Civil Society, Identity, Participation and Organized Social Movements through a Cultural Phenomenon from Brazilian Amazon Rain Forest

Because the capital of Amazonas is the door for Brazilians and foreigners to the Amazon, mainly because of the Manaus Free Trade Zone (ZFM)¹³, the promoted events have a very important role in the PFF structure, for they make it possible for keeping a kind of a small taste of what Parintins really is in Manaus, which is enjoyed by Parintinenses who live in Manaus; Manauaras (people who are born in Manaus) who like or want to understand and know the festival better, with its music and rituals; and national and international tourists, who are temporarily in Manaus to get to know a little bit of the folklore festival.

The publicity effort has demanded creativity from the movements. The Marujada movement (MM), for instance, has explored its online possibilities, with the still incipient experience of a web radio and the study of a possible web TV channel.

Despite the high billing they had in the past, the supporting movements did not get to make a patrimony. Both work in rented rooms in the Secretariat of Culture building and its estate consist of some furniture and musical instruments, photographic cameras and camcorders.

Another changing point is that the voluntary work around the movements became extremely difficult, once the need of people of different ages working for themselves leaves them with little time for voluntary work in the cultural association.

After the Bumbódromo opening, the PFF grew and started to strongly influence the community daily life, helping the city to get the attention and resources needed. According to one of the interviewees, there is a saying in the city that says 'the ox dance is the greatest mayor the city has ever had', for besides the folklore associations have gotten all they wanted throughout the years, such as the 'carral dos bois' (something like a 'cattle shed', it is the name given to the venues where the people go to see the rehearsals); warehouses that work as workshops; the phenomena strongly influenced the making of infra-structure works in plazas, roads connecting the urban area to the rural one, harbors, airport, a retaining wall in front of the city to protect it from the phenomenon of the falling layers of sand; schools and hospitals were better equipped when compared to the ones in many other cities in the countryside of Amazonas.

On the other hand, there is on one part of the interviewees the understanding that from when the Bumbódromo was built on, the State started to 'interfere and highly influence the actions' of the organizations responsible for the PFF. However, the presidents of the associations still have a say and active participation in the organization of the PFF, including in what concerns public safety and health campaigns.

The complaints that the Secretariat of Culture (SEC) forces so that there is some kind of equality in the way the resources are raised and distributed among the associations were common. This situation may generate a phenomenon known in administration as '*free rider*'- an organization that would hitchhike on the other one's performance. This way, an organization which is momentarily going under management trouble ends up benefiting from the other one's performance, whose management is more effective at that moment. What does not impede that the situation is inverted in a posterior moment, once

¹³ It is the West Amazon's tax incentives' policy which attracted more than 400 companies to the city of Manaus, especially electronics, mechanics and motorcycle industries, which gave the Manaus Industrial Pole a total sales of US\$41 billion in 2011.

Discussing Civil Society, Identity, Participation and Organized Social Movements through a Cultural Phenomenon from Brazilian Amazon Rain Forest

the changing of directions could happen every two years. On the other hand, these measures impede that the Folklore Associations have structures which are way too different from one another.

Another reoccurring complaint is that the State tries to promote bureaucratization of the Folklore Associations' management, especially by imposing bureaucratic procedures in the associations' retail. This point should be better studied, for, it is necessary to know exactly what the source of the governmental resources is for these organizations, if for instance, they are originated from partnerships, public-private partnerships or directly from the public budget, because it is from this point that we can understand the accounting and bureaucratic rules used by the folklore associations when it comes to use this resource.

It is important to highlight the degree of understanding that there is between the organizations that set up the teams' presentations (the *boi-bumbá*). Yet there are conflicts, the group negotiations tend to be increasingly the rule in managing the PFF. As examples, there are the events in Manaus, whose contracts on the use of space, sound and lightning service, stage structure and security are negotiated together by the two teams as a way of minimizing the rise in costs before the drop in the 'ox dance' product in the entertainment market in Manaus. This way, the teams and their supporting movements have a very close relation when it comes to who manages the PFF, yet it is still necessary to keep the rivalry of the folklore. In a way, all the interviewees understand that there should be more integration among the involved ones.

The free rider phenomenon may also appear in a different context, a wider and more serious one. And it is reflected in the interviewees' answers.

The interviewees recognize the Parintinense as a man of a different culture from the Amazonense. 'Even while speaking', says one of them. 'The Amazonense has a detached, sloppy view of its land, whereas the Parintinense has a very strong relation as if it was a religion. Maybe, us, Parintinenses have inherited it from Paraenses for we are right next to them', says another one. That is until that one of them realizes what is easily noticed 'nowadays, the culture of the entire Amazonas is represented by the ox dance of Parintins' and another one analyzes 'some people do not like it when we say that the culture of Parintins represents the cultural identity of the Amazonas. They get angry, but it is the truth'.

On the item "C" of this section, a little bit of the acculturation acceleration process in the State of Amazonas was presented. The Parintins Ox Dance is seen as a kind of resistance to this process.

The free rider phenomenon shows up again, once without investing in the maintenance and strengthening of its own culture, the Amazonas State uses the two teams for such. Amazonastur, the state company which is responsible for promoting the tourism in the State and which counts with its own body of technicians with lots of Parintinenses connected to the Parintins Folklore Festival, always takes the two teams to all the events and fairs it is part of worldwide.

Almost all of the official events sponsored by the State of Amazonas have presentations of both teams from Parintins (actually from members of the Marujada Movement and the

Discussing Civil Society, Identity, Participation and Organized Social Movements through a Cultural Phenomenon from Brazilian Amazon Rain Forest

Friends of Garantido Movement, which perform pocket presentations of music, danced, costumes and some items of the PFF).

These facts have secured the PFF as the Amazonas trademark in cultural terms. What is definitely a pity before the immense cultural diversity of the Amazonas.

Therefore, the State of Amazonas has been a free rider in this process, for it has benefitted from it. One of the interviewees says 'it ends up being cheap for the State. But unfortunately, the recognition does not come in the form of support or resources. Every year, for instance, we have to go beg for the sambódromo¹⁴ for the events' season. Unfortunately, the ox dance is seen as what represents the culture in Amazonas and as opposed to it, what is on the radio is the forró (a music style from the Northeast of Brazil). In order to play 'boi' (the songs) we have to buy the radio spot in the radio broadcasting system or bribe them'¹⁵.

One director raised the following question: the international adventure movie festival in Manaus got an investment of R\$4 to 5 million of the state budget. The ox dance teams got directly R\$1.3 million and they have to hear the government say everywhere that they spent R\$30 million to make the festival happen'. The same person explains it is likely that the expenses are high, once the State needs to supply Parintins - with the things they do not have - during the festival: enough number of firemen, civil and military policeman with their transport, accommodation, food and equipment. The same happens to health professionals such as doctors and nurses, members and employees of the Legislative Assembly, executive and judiciary, besides the decoration of the public authorities' cabins with lots of guests and refreshments.

In this moment, when the 'government headquarters transfers itself to Parintins' and the spectacle happens, thrills and is broadcasted live, via TV, to the national territory, this is the moment when the involved actors and even the local power bargain their politics in search of new support and resources.

Finally, there is the need to realize that, as one of the interviewees says, 'the PFF removed the Amazonas culture from isolation, more than the ZFM'. From 1999 up until now, the discourses have deepened when it comes to the Amazon culture. And the mission of both teams extrapolates what is written in the associations' statutes and embraces situations such as 'how to maintain the Amazonas and Amazon self-esteem; the indigenous cultural identity, and the caboclo's as well; being a strong community identity element'.

5 CONCLUSIONS

The national states need to create the national feeling in its population, but the fact is that when establishing itself in a territory and absorbing all the population existing in it, under the same political project of a nation, there will always be the mark each one of the regions prints on their population. This mark could be physical or genetic, but invariably it will be cultural. It will be carved in the people and it will be transmitted through subsequent

¹⁴ Sambódromo is the name given to the main Convention Center in the city of Manaus. It was built to hold the samba schools parade during carnival. It is also rented or lent to cultural, religious and sports events, including the PFF's pre-season in Manaus that happens from March to June, yet this last one needs to be negotiated every year so it may happen.

¹⁵ Jabá is what it is called the tradition of informally paying radio announcers or radio/TV programs' producers to broadcast songs, ideas or news interesting to someone or to a group who is not able to invest formally in advertising.

Discussing Civil Society, Identity, Participation and Organized Social Movements through a Cultural Phenomenon from Brazilian Amazon Rain Forest

generations. This creates identifications and differences. It makes people feel more similar to each other and more different from others.

What happens nowadays is that, even though there is freedom and rights, there is also a hegemonic project in process, making the Brazilian culture and traditions more similar to each other and even more globalized. This way, when the population of a city starts a mobilization, even outside the borders of its city, they start to print a mark, to accept their differences and specificities, they risk making their roots and traditions change into tourist attractions. And they will become tourist attractions with its guaranteed place on the media – either the written one or on TV -, which brings great challenges to a city and to a population. Amongst them there is the weight of starting to represent the most diverse millennial culture of the Amazon.

The complexity of the modern social relations has accepted many organizational forms so they can achieve different objectives. This article showed the case of the city of Parintins which, in awe of its folkloric traditions, became in the last decades, not only a tourist attraction but also a different case, if not in Brazil, at least in the State of Amazonas. This specific situation has challenged the population of the city and the city and state authorities to rethink the ways of planning, governing and managing the public policies.

Maybe, without realizing it, the way the Parintineses, organized themselves around their folkloric party, ended up greatly influencing the public power, the planning, the public budget and the execution of the public policies, mainly when increasing the participation and the importance of the culture in relation to other sectors of the public administration. And, at the same time, it shows those visiting the city or the ones who come to the festival that they have different customs and different culture.

The power relations, the identity issues, the way of governing and the styles of managing are interesting questions to be researched about the city of Parintins and any other academic research that talks about these subjects, will have to, necessarily, take into account the role of the folklore festival in the city and the civil society organizations that make it possible annually and continuously.

Carried out from a complex network of public, private and civil society organizations, the Parintins Folk Festival allows civil society to organize itself to act collectively, whether to claim rights, demand changes, participate in decisions, or simply express themselves culturally. An increasingly complex phenomenon, diffuse and difficult to analyze how it is made or its results.

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