

THE POPULAR FESTIVALS: PRACTICES OF URBAN LIFESTYLE

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ABSTRACT

This article is the product of a doctoral thesis helded at the University of São Paulo and defended in 2010 where we researched the commodification of popular festivals, specifically the Party in Honor of Our Lady of the Rosary in the Catalão city of the interior of Goiás in the process of commodification identified as the reproduction of the urban place to capture festive practices spectacularizing them and then inserting them into the logic of the consumer / city. Thus the understanding of the urban planning and everyday life for the realization of the goods is essential.

KEY-WORDS: reproduction of urban consumption, popular festivals.

LAS FIESTAS POPULARES: PRÁCTICAS DE ESTILO DE VIDA URBANO

RESUMEN

Este artículo es producto de la tesis de doctorado realizada en la Universidad de São Paulo y defendida en 2010 donde investigamos la mercadificación de las fiestas populares, específicamente la Fiesta en Loar a la Nuestra Señora del Rosario en la ciudad de Catalão en el interior de Goiás. En el proceso de mercadificación indentificamos como la reproducción del urbano realiza la captura de prácticas festivas espectacularizándolas y posteriormente insertándolas en la lógica de consumo en la/de la ciudad. De esta forma la comprensión de la programación del urbano y de la vida cotidiano para la realización de la mercancía es fundamental.

PALABRAS-CLAVE: Reproducción del urbano, consumo, fiestas populares.

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According to authors such as Munford (1991) and Pollen (1975), the parties are cultural practices of most importance in the formation of human sociability, the consolidation of a way of life, identity and various forms of appropriation of space. Space-time play, joy and faith, in the case of religious festivals, the festival is also the space-time of exchange products in markets, an exchange that aims to profit trade. Joint strengthening of order and transgression, Dionysia and apollonian moment, the parties have persisted throughout history and the cities gain more prominence, more people gather and produce new and old breed shows. More than that, to continue playing cooptation practices that point to overcome the national programming.

If the parties are sociospatial practices they are important in understanding the geographic world's. The man throughout his existence appropriates the world around them and produces space through social practices that take place in a space-time. The relationship is established with the house, street, neighborhood, city and show the other socio-spatial practices through the use of the space-time that focuses on reproduction of daily life in modern society. In this process, man, through work, transforms the nature, life, relations of production and consumption, reproduce the space. Carlos (2001, p.13) to search in Lefebvre the arguments to treat this process. According to the author,

As pointed out by Lefebvre, social relations have real existence as a concrete presence in the media space in which they produce, effectively, a space, then signing up and doing. (...) That is, the social relations that construct the world is concretely realized as ways of appropriation of space for the reproduction of life in all dimensions, and they run away - despite encompass it - the world of work, surrounding and surpassing the production of objects, products and properties, because the production of life is not just about reproduction of properties, not involves only the reproduction of goods for the satisfaction of material needs: also is the production of humanity, of men.

"Making party" is a production practice of mankind, from the earliest times: the encounter, exchange, joy, faith. But in today's urban society, the programming strategies of everyday life and reach curtail practices festive, reproducing them in a new logic of the commodity. Often, these are quite popular processed elements and components that disappear or change shape and function, bases of festive world are (re) compiled. Many other parties have disappeared and continue transformed to a greater or lesser degree, in the spectacle of consumer society. But not fully captured, the parties are essentially the space-time of the meeting, the joy of using.

At the moment the capitalist reproduction, socio-spatial practices of men and women are co-opted and transformed by the consumer society, which, through the process of recovery, adds use value and exchange practices of everyday life that, until a certain moment of history, uses were: the coming and going through the streets, meeting, party, play. Today, you pay taxes to circulate through the streets, the encounter is increasingly constrained by the pace of modern life, the festivals are in the process of commodification, playing in the background is placed on the survival needs of the vast majority of workers.

Studies (Munford, Pallen and Lefebvre) show that from the earliest villages there is the practical use of space for festivals, religious, worship the gods, or profane to thank the good harvest or hunting or to ask for wealth, health, long life, fortune. There were also the parties held for the exchange of the few products in an economy marked by the production for subsistence, usually were fairs where people met to exchange not only the necessary properties for the survival material. The thesis is reinforced: the parties and exchange places - like fairs - are an important time-space constitution of sociality and urbanity of Man, where the encounter with the other allows the building of relationships characteristic of urban living. Other times, the party had a fair turned into a space-time of the party.

There was a time when party was part of the cyclical movement that took place against the linearity of life and such a move was directly lived. Cycles harvest, fertility, the seasons, and were celebrated and feted extraordinary moments of life,

but maintained their ties to the everyday practice of construction of the man and his works were not separated from everyday life. As argues Mumford (1991) and Pallen (1975), the realization of the parties is linked to the emergence of surpluses which, although reduced in principle, allow a division of labor whereby a portion of time spent idle and be dedicated to the celebrations in gratitude to the many gods the production. With the passage of time relations were becoming party and also acquired other elements that were included in its structure.

The links between parties and trade are then woven: the surpluses were exchanged between members of the same village or nearby places and this was also a time of celebration. The show continued as the place where is the exchange of products and where to find people, where we exchange information and ideas. Go to the fairs is an act that does leave the human sociability, as pointed out La Pradelle (1996), there are people who seek something more than simply buying a product. Thus, the fair itself is a party, the moment of encounter that persists for trading. In Catalão we observed that the fair is a major attraction of the Feast of the Rosary: people wait all year for the fair held during the festival, as we shall see later on statements chosen during the party.

Works of Man, festivals and fairs have always been moments of joy and exaggerations allowed, trade and customs different from those that mark the struggle for daily survival, they are changing the Dionysian routine that fascinate and provide moments of exaggeration. The exchanges were carried out amid the festivities, joining in the same space-time product of labor, resignation, long time and methodical to the euphoria, the brief and intense. Although not all the fairs were held in conjunction with the festival calendar, its realization has presented itself as a space-time marked by the break, even temporarily, as the time for some routine work, what has already provided a climate typical of the festivities.

Small villages grew, the surplus increased, “extended all dimensions of life, (...) the city became a symbol of the possible.” (MUNFORD, 1991, p. 13) There is no intention here to analyze the forms and processes of development of cities, but it

there are some elements that may help in understanding the persistence of these practices festive as the consolidation of the Catholic religion, and its relationship with the parties, as well as trade, the emergence of social classes and changes in production relations and power that has settled in classical city, some remaining to this day with transformations, such as the State.

During the Middle Ages festivals and fairs have played an important role in the production of space in cities exchange promoted mainly by traders who traveled the world in search of goods to supply the cities. No doubt these practices had a prominent role in the Revolution commercial reasons for some necessary conditions for the Industrial Revolution. The movement of currencies, products and ideas of the fairs were a meeting place and consumption, where the goods needed for survival were found in cities as well as concerts, music, theater performances, exhibitions of works of art etc. Go to the fair was a special moment that represented the spirit of freedom and the medieval city.

A new form of production - implying the alienation of the worker to intensive extraction of surplus value and ownership of the means of production and the land-(re) organized in a rational way the whole society from the nineteenth century, and one of the bases this (re) organization was the fragmentation that has invaded everyday life and broke pleasure and work, parties and everyday life and conceived the ordinary and extraordinary. This fragmentation is also favored by the separation between what is mass and what is high culture. According to Lefebvre, "the style is degraded in culture, which splits into everyday culture (mass) and high culture, which drags the breakup fragmentation and decay." (Lefebvre, 1991, p.43) The festivities, made goods, now aiming not only to satisfy the recreational needs of man have changed rapidly, as well as the goals of those who attended. The fairs accompanied this transformation and increasingly have been invaded by industrial goods, mass produced for mass consumption, this process was accompanied by a standardization, a change in consumer habits and customs.

Cox (1974) analysis of the party in modern society and argued that: "In the

industrial age we become soberer and industrious, and less playful and imaginative. Working hours reduced the festival to a minimum." (1974, p.16) The time has come to be determined according to the reproduction of capital. The use of space-time in an "unproductive" is condemned by the maxim "time is money."

The programming of society at various levels: economic - through the development of science and technology, which seeks to optimize the time and place of work and non-work, the political - the new role performed by the State that "glue" in the economic and he develops strategies for control, monitoring and facilitation of consumption, and the social with the production schedule of everyday life by reducing practices, planned, co-opted.

The scheduling of the Society for consumption as a mode of reproduction, requires the articulation of economic and political in the sense of social co-opt to perform the cycle of consumption and everyday life is invaded by cooptation strategies and practices that ,through signs, pictures , speeches, seek homogenize behaviors, eliminate resistance, require a repetition, time clock, the representations and simulations in order to make consumers from the constant creation of new needs and review and transformation of values, culture, traditions of lifestyle.

The city, mixed level, both global and private space program of economic life, where the visit takes place, becomes a "good material, consumed according to the laws of reproduction of capital" (CARLOS, 1994); organize the laws use and ownership of urban land on the basis of private property and the interests of the exchange value you like totally subjugate use. As well material, urban space is goods and capital is fixed with use value and exchange-defined market and a specificity: urban space is also a condition for generalization of life. This fact puts this space as a place of dispute between exchange value and use, since it is the assumptions that are held for life - live, work, eat, party, but while this use is subjugated to the value exchange, in other words, they always have to be purchased once the land is private property, and when you do not pay anything directly, we do it in the form of taxes. According to Carlos,

The process of recovery, Allied Ace strategies of real estate developers, plays an increasingly more focused on the interests of big capital, which intervene in the urban, socio interfere with the practice and, therefore, the modes of appropriation of space life. (CARLOS, 2001, p.28)

Therefore, also the interests of private capital reorganize the space, through the rationalization of the use of time within the workplace and beyond, reaching the daily life in their various dimensions. This restructuring program will work, rest, walks, values, habits and aesthetic standards; one of its objectives is the realization of the cycle of capital and the sale of a new commodity: the scope of work, the rest, studies, entertainment - and through speeches, advertising, builds new programming needs rest and fun for the realization of consumption. So more and more people consume tour packages, events, shows, the city itself, which offers space for time "not working", the meaning of space-time outside the work place is resized by the programming that reaches the rides, culture, values, streets, squares, joy, and pleasure meet, now sold as commodities.

The socio-spatial practices are redefined, mediated by exchange value, held in programmed spaces such as shopping centers, exhibitions, parks, fairs and other events, the fun becomes "entertainment driven," tourism, which today, in the twenty-is an industry that grows and reaches cultural practices including them in the circuit of capital appreciation. The festive practices are also achieved by this logic: become a spectacle, where the Dionysian desire becomes a need, speech, chatter: become desired commodities and marketed in several ways. Trade in / stifle the party seeking its essence and its use to insert them into the universe of exchange, characterizing them as the only space-time consumption. But as Lefebvre points out, the circle is not closed completely.

This trade in/part of the celebration of the culture industry that grows every year and always need new, even if it is old (re) produced. Not just consumer goods materials invades our everyday lives, but what was once part of our dreams, our desires, our culture also acquires another meaning and comes to be produced in

series. According to Seabra:

It was then that goods are not only the products leaving factories DDAs but that fragments and moments of social existence also take place in the circuits of capital appreciation. (...) But in this respect, this theme is updated when you think about the meaning and achievements of cultural industry, since it carries is the production of subjectivity of the spectator, wanting to have you as a user. (...) In short, will require new forms of time use, such as value and use and exchange value. (SEABRA, 1996, p.82)

Thus, the parties-the joy, pleasure, relaxation, culture-are in the process of transformation into products that can be consumed primarily through images-from a TV broadcast or DVD, as with carnival - or through a simulacrum of living - as with the sale of “abadás” at Bahia’s Carnival. For the production of the viewer / user draws up to the "invented tradition" (HOBBSAWN: 1997:9) as the off-season carnival that attracts crowds throughout the country, or even the folklore of cultural practices that are disclosed by the media in order to attract tourists, emptying the contents of these first and putting other interests "strangers" in their reproduction. The invented traditions and folklore of cultural practices that are part of a process in which the city itself becomes a commodity, which needs to be consumed in new attractions, more leisure, which is increasingly programmed.

Granou (s/d, p. 52-53) speaks about programmed leisure in contemporary society.

Today, leisure is basically a separate activity, isolated, strange both to work as family life or social life. That's what we do when we” evadimos”. But in the same way, this activity is not 'free' or 'free'. It is instead a time to isolation and over-consumption on. The 'his' leisure, others think for themselves, and all predicted (...). And this production of leisure which is only made to 'your' pleasure, is for those who own and control the means of production time for a valuation of its capital. And, for him as for any other capitalist production leisure is not meant production of use values-leisure, it is only the support of a production of exchange value, surplus value.

The festive practices are increasingly curtailed by the House schedule, often alien to the interests of those involved. That process is very common in popular festivities when the interests of "outside" the community that produced them and end up interfering (re) defining them, putting the tradition in the background before the interests of promoting goods and entertainment. The people who produce the party workers to become a major industry and are alienated from the crops they grow.

The insertion of the festival circuit in the production of surplus value - that makes the use of time and space of the popular party, usually a job without pay, which further increases the gains from industry of leisure, as we shall see with Catalão parties. The work done by groups or communities involved in the production of festivals and that was done in free time now goes through the process of cooptation and transformation into a source of over-Valis. The party as a commodity reproduces the alienation and exploitation of labor that goes on inside the factory. The farm breeds and reaches sociospatial practices of identity construction, which is possible thanks to the programming of leisure, a terrorism that reaches everyday life.

The parties represent, within this new logic, a large trade, following the logic of capital for which "time of modernity and recovery time: time is money." (SEABRA, 2002, p.3) What was once just a practice time of neglect acquires the characteristic of "need built" to meet the reproduction of capital, a space-time is played by the logic of exchange value as opposed to the use for life. The cultural industry and tourism grow considerably in the world; are sources of jobs and income, so do a lot of people, money, information and statements that belong to the reproduction of other circuits of capital, as the media. According to Carlos (2001:180),

The reproduction, at present, takes place through the programming of everyday life - as a possibility of introduction of routine - that arises invaded

the world of goods, producing uniformity in the form of appearances differentiated of things and generating of leisure time as an organization of consumer society. This is because the relationship between production process and the development of productive forces created in the modern world, new possibility of accumulation, which in its current phase binds increasingly to the production of space-production that puts a new perspective, where new values of exchange gain value in use by extension in space, the exchange value.

The, parties as sociospatial practices that are part of everyday life, are co-opted by the extent of exchange value in the process of reproduction of space, the life that now has the consistency and programming and features. There is a process of transformation of relationships, forms of use of space-now played as a commodity - as well as socio-spatial practices. According to Debord (1997), the ordering of space is the manufacture of a world and with that capitalism makes a spectacle of yourself and the relationships that happen there. This relationship weakens everyday life and the intensified exploitation of the worker, the simple-man men and women who works hard in capitalist society and do not have access to the wealth produced - that is their sociability, their socio-spatial practices mediated by relations of strangeness of alienation, of spectacle.

The spectacle within society corresponds to a concrete manufacture of alienation. Economic expansion is mainly the expansion of this specific industrial production. What grows with the economy moving by itself can only be the very alienation which was in its original center. The man separated from his product produces more and harder, every detail of their world. thus finds himself ever more separated from his world. The more your life will be your product, the more he is divorced from life. (DEBORD, 1997, p. 24-25)

The show would then be a greater manifestation of the reproduction of alienation which achieves, in modern society, the space-time outside the workplace

and increasingly impoverished relations now mediated by estrangement, not to recognize the product of labor, separating man's life and building relationships of sociability, humanity, as the festivities. So, we are subject to the impositions of order far? In the mixed level programming? Are we doomed to a mediocre everyday life and little creative? No.

The routine is not only the misery of the reproduction of capital. Although constrained, everyday life is also the place of wealth, the possibility of transformation, is the realization of life, continuity, the meeting, the party in its sense of use. Co-optation is played with, too, the meaning changed, subverted. According to Lefebvre (1991, p.42-43), the study of everyday life illuminates two tables:

First Frame: misery of daily life, the drudgery, the humiliations, the working-class life, the lives of women that weighs on every day. The child and childhood had resumed. The elementary relations with things, with the needs and money, as well as merchants and merchandise. It is the realm of numbers. The immediate relationship with the real sector is not dominated (health, desire, spontaneity, vitality). The repetitive. The survival shortages and lengthening of scarcity: the domain of economy, abstinence, deprivation, repression of desires, of petty greed; Second table: everyday greatness, with its continuity. Life that perpetuates itself, established on this ground. The practice misunderstood: the appropriation of the body, space and time, of desire. The house, the house. The drama that I do not know can reduce the number. The tragic latent every day. Women: its importance (oppressed, 'objects' of history and social life, and yet, 'subject' essential foundations, foundations). The creation of a practical world-sensitive from repetitive movements. The meeting of needs and assets; possession, even more rare than the property, but powerful. The work and the works (the ability to create a work from everyday life, its ups and downs - the possibility of making a work of everyday life for individuals, groups, classes). The reproduction relations essential, the aforementioned feedback between culture and productive activity, between knowledge and ideologies, the

birthplace of the contradictions between these terms, the place of struggle between the sexes, generations, groups, ideologies. The conflict and enter the appropriate non-appropriate, between formlessness and chaos of subjective life of the world (of nature). The mediation between these terms and therefore the range where deep come to life at the time of his birth, the antagonisms that explode levels 'higher' (institutions, superstructures). "

The two tables show that there is a clash between the co-option, the programming of life and celebration and reproduced in everyday use, the dream, the desire, the appropriation of space for life. Also show that the co-optation is reproduced as the overcoming, the subversion of order imposed, which in practice breaks down and turns the ideology of the ruling class trying to plan everything for the logic of the commodity. The most important is that we observe the daily practices are not simply controlled and programmed: they show the richness of the dialectical movement. The party, for example, even when constrained by ideology and set apart from everyday life of individuals who participate in it, playing up denying the full schedule, while persisting practice of gathering, sharing is not reduced to commodity exchange.

Thus, the party, fantasy, utopia continue to be part of everyone's life and have an important role in building, in search of a better society. The party, which is becoming a commodity and spectacle - and you can't be naive to believe otherwise - still retains features essential to life, like meeting and desire, the ability to change the use of the city. Lefebvre (1991, p.43) notes that:

[...] The party does not disappear entirely from everyday life: meetings, banquets, festivals, although not regain their former range, the thumbnails are nice already. This is what motivates the design of a revival of the festival twice in a society characterized by poverty and by the end of urban life.

Persistence, even transformed, the parties, against the elements keep the richness of everyday life that even in the face of rapid changes of modern society,

which changes the meaning of many socio-spatial practices, and illuminate the persistence, endurance of life, before use programming perverse exchange value for profit. The urban construction, has then an important element in the party to overcome the everyday rational consumer society.

But in the city today is the attempt to transform the folklore and popular culture into a commodity through the spectacle, which values practice hitherto regarded as "characteristic elements of delay," the old and outdated, or "black thing" or of "people who do not like working." This demonstrates the ability of the reproduction of capital is to modify values and habits, today these same practices, undervalued at another time, are presented as folkloric and a beautiful show, as with Congada of party the Rosário in Catalão. But these same practices persist, keeping the possibility of the Feast in the broadest sense of the term.

Another feature of the ongoing spectacle of process is the appreciation of the party to make others see, and what the other wants to see is not always the tradition and community values that makes the party, but a beautiful image, the simulacrum of meaning of that practice. Make the party to the other implies changes that may affect deeply the sense of some practices. The carnival and even some religious parties already make up this circuit in Goiás spectacular and the process happens quickly in areas that receive industries in the process of spatial desconcentration, and the interests of the other, the estrange, than to have the resources to support party are not always the same community that makes the party.

But many parties still retain the sense of the meeting, pleasure, leisure, tradition and, sometime, somehow continue the impositions of spectacle and commodification. There are still in the process of cooptation of these practices play in the form of denial of rationality that has co-opted, showing that all is not static and subject to the decisions of the global level, the interests "strangers." During this research presented here is observed the spectacle of the Party in Honor of Our Lady of the Rosary, but also seek to waste, construction daily, through socio-spatial

practices, resistances, of wealth, the party as space-time lifetime achievement and keeps possibilities other uses of the city.

The fact that popular festive practices persist in today's society, even transformed, demonstrates that the strategy of capital rationalizes the extreme life and practices in order to direct them to the consumer fails, always demanding new strategies and creating always new ways of denial. Cracks show that life does not let co-opt through and therefore become the revolution can always to break the current capitalist logic. The impossible is always in the process of achieving

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