

Received: 09/02/2020

Accepted: 10/16/2020

TOURISM, HERITAGE AND HEALTH: AN ANALYSIS OF THE RE-EXISTENCE OF CARIMBÓ BELENENSE'S TERRITORIALITY IN THE AMAZON "QUARANTINE"

TURISMO, PATRIMÔNIO E SAÚDE: UMA ANÁLISE DA RE-EXISTÊNCIA DA TERRITORIALIDADE DO CARIMBÓ BELENENSE NA "QUARENTENA" AMAZÔNICA

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Abstract

The present work seeks to analyze the implications and general tensions linked by the Covid-19 pandemic quarantine in the Brazilian Amazon to the territoriality of the Carimbó as a tourist attraction in urban Belenense. The procedures for the analysis involved bibliographic and documentary surveys, monitoring of secondary data in virtual institutional networks and carimbó groups, fieldwork with a guided observation script and the semi-structured interview conducted with members of carimbó groups. The results demonstrate that the restrictions to tourist spaces and the low impact "quarantine" in terms of social isolation in Belém imply constraints to the mediators of the territoriality of the carimbó, making evident the fragility of the tourist attraction and the persistence of the intangible heritage in the city maintained by do and re-existence of groups.

Keywords: Tourism. Territoriality. Carimbó. Covid-19.

Resumo

O presente trabalho busca analisar as implicações e tensões gerais vinculadas pela quarentena pandêmica de Covid-19 na Amazônia brasileira à territorialidade do carimbó enquanto atratividade turística no urbano belenense. Os procedimentos à análise envolveram levantamento bibliográfico e documental, monitoramento de dados secundários em redes virtuais institucionais e de grupos de carimbó, trabalho de campo com roteiro de observação dirigida e a entrevista semiestruturada realizada com integrantes de grupos de carimbó. Os resultados demonstram que as restrições aos

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espaços turísticos e a “quarentena” de baixo impacto em termos de isolamento social em Belém implicam em constrangimentos aos mediadores da territorialidade do carimbó deixando evidente a fragilização do atrativo turístico e da persistência do patrimônio imaterial nessa cidade mantidos pelo fazer e re-existência dos grupos.

Palavras-chave: Turismo. Territorialidade. Carimbó. Covid-19.

Introduction

According to Guattari (1992) and Deleuze and Guattari (1997), a temporal dimension reproduces the extension of corporeal and incorporeal universes instantiated and / or deterritorialized in existential territorialities constituted by the incorporation of processes, flows and shocks in which they are instituted in becoming. According to Raffestin (1984, 1993, 2009), it can be inferred that human territoriality is configured in the socio-spatial relationships that mobilize, in the daily lives of living subjects, codes and languages such as energy, information and work to the communication of a sense, an image and an enunciated and enunciating power of a territorial project whose existential meaning delimits and controls the material and immaterial world. In this way, the territoriality of the carimbó incorporates processes, flows and shocks in a becoming of re-existence and permanence mobilized in the daily life of Pará since the rooting of black slavery in Pará, passing through the outline as a cultural expression in Pará; for the prohibition, invisibility and criminalization (COSTA, 2010), for the attractive configuration as a tourist and the registration of Brazilian Intangible Heritage (BRASIL, 2014).

The territoriality of the carimbó is configured based on the communication of a sense and image that is expressed by cultural creation as a musical genre and dance with sonorous specificity of the carimbó drum and body movements of circular and rotating pairs (man-woman)¹ and is enunciated as territorial project by codes and languages by social relations of non-hegemonic and excluded groups, such as blacks, caboclos and mestizos² whose intentionality in the world reexistentializes the persistence of the carimbó no-pelo urban and paraense tourism. In the urban area of the city of Belém do Pará, this territoriality is clearly stated in the making of the carimbó groups, which are characterized by: more traditional “stick and rope” groups and more modern “parafolkloric” groups. The stamping of these groups in urban Belenense has a strategic relationship with the presentation articulation³ as attractiveness in complex, milestones and points, being this strategy by which the territoriality of the carimbó mobilizes processes, flows and shocks that keep the carimbó in the intraurban daily life of Belém.

In this direction, making carimbó in the capital of Pará presents itself as a demonstration of the relationship between heritage and tourist attractiveness in the Brazilian Amazon as a production of a reticular tourist space with a mere location and distribution of landmarks and flows (demand and supply). However, as inferred by Espeso-Molinero (2019), the tourist space must be understood by the inversion of this logic of appropriation of cultural elements and categorized to the understanding of what makes up the social construction of the multifaceted tourist image and not in stereotypes of intangible heritage arranged in the tourist programs of destinations and, in such a way, deepening the relations of the group's memory that instates the elements of this patrimony in the experience of a given tourist destination. In other words, as it is inferred by Delgado (2012), the relationship of culture with the diversification of destinations and tourist products, as well as, in the search for quality, differential and experimentation with the other, must consider the cultural attraction due to the differences in experiences and experiences that tension continuities and cultural discontinuities derived from the tourist encounter.

As Soares and Vieira (2019) demonstrate, the production of public and cultural goods is important for the relationship between local and global, as a project to connect the historicity and roots of the tourist destination with the internationalization of the image and articulation with other networks of cultural facilities worldwide. The relevance of this discussion emerges strongly in the current context of health security caused by the pandemic of the disease COVID-19⁴ whose immediate prophylaxis incurred in the socio-spatial immobilization of human flows, which generated quarantines and lockdowns of entire cities, especially metropolises and megalopolises (FIOCRUZ, 2020). In global terms to tourism activity, organizations, experts and monitoring panels indicate that

the reduction around 70% of the demands for 2020, with some distinction for European countries such as Italy and Portugal (RICHEDE, 2020).

The obstacles and embargoes to the tourist activity range from significant setbacks in the demands of young travel and students that strongly affect transport, insurance and accommodation companies, to problems of countries with closed borders, absence of visa issuance even through operators and difficulties in acquisition and use of Personal Protective Equipment by travel companies. In the city of Belém, which is configured as an Amazonian metropolis with approximately 1.48 million inhabitants (BRAZIL, 2014), a tourist center and tourist distributor (PARÁ, 2011) and a central urban center for elections and patrimonialization classifications with low impact on aspirations and solutions of its city dwellers (CASTRO, TAVARES, 2016), the quarantine aiming at social isolation started in March (SESPA, 2020). Thus, the objective of this work is to analyze the implications and tensions linked by the Covid-19 pandemic quarantine in the Brazilian Amazon to the territoriality of the carimbó as a tourist attraction in the urban of Belém.

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The fieldwork was carried out with seven out of the twenty-eight groups that present the Carimbó identified in Belém, thus, there was an observation directed at spaces and moments of the Carimbó groups' actions using a descriptive script and notes of field considering the elements of the production of territorial structures and their representation by Raffestin (2009) taking into account the description of the material and immaterial territorial mediators directly linked to the enunciation of the meanings of territoriality using the following model: [A (LMP)] - --- R ---- [S (Sn / So)] (the desired intentions (P) of the political being, the social actor (A) in an effective relationship (R) as the general environment (S) - natural (Sn) and (So) social). Interviews were also conducted as an open and semi-structured script (MINAYO, 2002) whose sampling took place randomly among the members of 4 (four) groups from the central area and 3 (three) from the non-central area, totaling 22 (twenty-two interviews). The systematization with data analysis was guided by the assumptions of Gomes (1994) of demonstrative categorization through tables organized in analogous contents.

Relevance of Carimbó's territoriality to urban tourism

For Gastal (2013) the perception of the tourist image is constructed by the urban, according to Fortuna (2007) the existence of the image of the city is made by the everyday sounds of their ways of life. According to the author, this implies the dimensioning of what has been thought, reflected and theorized about the "image of the city" which can be thought of as sounds of the city, with which tradition and modernity overlap in "transition sounds" daily. Sounds that conform as a "kind of patrimonial reserve" (FORTUNA, 2007, p. 42) in which persistence and sound permanence reproduce transversal aspects of time in the urban that shape the city. Regarding the cultural inventiveness⁵ of carimbó, the relationship between sound and city and tourist image as an attraction is inherently a product and producer in the urban area characterized by: rhythm disputes between "real carimbó" called "pau e corda" (traditional from the interior of the state) and "parafolclórico" of the groups of dances and presentations (modern of the capital) that reflects the persistence for the right to the city of making the carimbó.

This sonorous transversality that shapes the city of Belém refers to the conflicts over which the cultural expression of the carimbó has engendered, since its enunciation and delimitation as territoriality communicates the power relations of non-hegemonic groups: blacks, caboclos and mestizos in Pará who articulated since the 19th century, territorial mediators with idiosyncratic codes and languages of curimbó drums made with trunks of Amazonian trees, circular bodily movements and emblematic clothing with round and long skirts, trousers and blouses with ruffles, aspects that converged to the daily life of the expansion area of the urban of Belém of that century.

The characteristics of this cultural inventiveness being articulated by non-hegemonic groups are reinforced by the constitutive aspects of the linguistics of the word carimbó of Tupi curi origin (wood, hollow stick) in 'bó (drilled, excavated) that refers to the curimbó drum whose position in presentations (SALLES, SALLES, 1969) lasts until today, that is: played lying on the floor with the whisk sitting on top and using the hands as if they were drumsticks. The tensions between the "pau e corda" and "parafolclórico" stamps as cultural relevance in Pará by non-hegemonic social groups reflect the adversities with which this practice was configured as a restricted practice in the rural world, with its prohibition and criminalization in urban Belenense in 1880 which delimited it to the non-central areas of that city and to the interior of the state, outlining differentials to this activity in the various paraense areas (COSTA, 2010).

According to Huertas (2014), the permissibility and popularization of carimbó in the city of Belém only occurred in the 1970s based on the strategies of carimbó groups, a fact that provided the intensification of the dissemination of this cultural expression and made it one of the best knowns in the world. Pará, aspects of the current dimension of these groups in Belém can be seen in table 1. Table 1 shows data from the sample of the seven groups analyzed, the four from the area closest to the Belém Tourist Complexes: The Baioaras, Frutos do Pará, Sabor Marajoara and Sancari, and the three from the most remote area: Flor da Amazônia, Charme Caboclo and Trilhas da Amazônia. The similarity between these groups in terms of experiences and experiences within the neighborhoods is emphasized: the diffusion, permanence and persistence of making carimbó in the city by circulating and integrating actions in schools, streets, churches and clubs, also, self-sustainability via promotions and events in general and presentations in tourist spaces, as well as between groups from the capital of Pará and groups from the interior of the state making energy, information and work of mediators of the territoriality of Carimbó interact.

Table 1: The Constitution of the Groups that present the Carimbó in Belém-PA

GROUPS	LOCATIONS	PRODUCTIONS	PRESENTATION S	PROCESS	IMPLICATIONS
NEAR THE DOWNTOWN					
Os Baioaras	Organizer House and street rehearsals in the neighborhood of Canudos	Main: Presidents, Musical and Rehearsal Coordinator, Dressmaker, Dancers and Musicians. Fundraising for maintenance of materials and preparation of costumes and choreography: through projects in public notices, wages and carimbó Rodas.	Exhibitions in Belém: Tourist Complexes - Ver-o-Peso, Estação das Docas and Feliz Lusitânia. Music Venues - Apoena e Coisas de Negro Centers of Events - HANGAR and CENTUR, in Squares, Churches, Schools, Hotels and Airport.	Dance and music performance exhibition. Annually in Fairs and Festivals State, Nationals and internationals (PA, SP, PR and Portugal). And in the state throughout the year in public and private events (especially on festive dates - highlight Quadra Junina e Círio).	Articulation of residents and groups between neighborhoods in Belém and inland areas. Displacement of members from several neighborhoods in the two 1st groups. Pau & Corda Project - bring the community of Pedreira closer. Main financing via presentations in tourist spaces. Feasibility of equipment, clothing, sound and travel to presentations.
Frutos do Pará	Founder's house and rehearsal in a shed in the same location in the Telégrafo neighborhood				
Sabor Marajoara	Founder's house and club rehearsals in the Marco neighborhood				
Sancari	Álvaro Adolfo ticket and unreported rehearsals in the Pedreira neighborhood				
AWAY FROM DOWNTOWN					
Flor da Amazônia	A member's house and rehearsals at a school in the neighborhood of Sacramento	Main: Presidents, Musical and Rehearsal Coordinator, Dressmaker, Dancers and Musicians. Fundraising for maintenance of materials and preparation of costumes and choreography: through fees, raffles and bingo and Rodas de Carimbó.	Exhibitions in Belém: Ver-o-Peso, Estação das Docas and Feliz Lusitânia. Music Venues - Apoena e Coisas de Negro Centers of Events - HANGAR and CENTUR, Schools, Squares, Hotels and Airport.	Dance and music performance exhibition. Annually in Fairs and Festivals State, National and (PA, SP and MA). And in the state throughout the year in events and public and private (space on festive dates - highlight Quadra Junina e Círio).	Articulation of residents and groups between neighborhoods in Belém and inland areas. Displacement of members in the 2 groups in the Icoaraci District. Feasibility of equipment, clothing, sound and travel to presentations. Main financing via presentations in tourist spaces. Rodas, raffles and bingos to finance trips
Charme Caboclo	A member's house and rehearsals in the same place in the neighborhood of Pratinha				
Trilhas da Amazônia	A member's house and rehearsals in a samba school shed in Cruzeiro neighborhood				

Source: Based on information found in fieldwork carried out between the months of December 2018 and July 2019.

Two distinctive aspects indicated by chart 1 are outlined by the relationship between the importance of the Administrative District of Icoaraci⁶ and the production of the “Pau e Corda” chain, since, despite the district being a reference for the carimbó in Belém, all groups in the area non-central are defined as “Parafolkloric” with the “Pau e Corda” chain being identified in a single group in the central area⁷. This aspect takes on its dimension when it is observed that the relationship between carimbó chains “Parafolkloric” and “Pau e Corda” is based on the style of the carimbó artist - the one who leads the rhythm, the master ruler of the composition and of the musicians, the first appears as modern for introducing electronic instruments such as guitars, drums and double basses, and the second as traditional for being based only on stringed instruments and drums. Thus, the mediation of the territoriality of carimbó in urban Belenense refers to the sound transitions in the city and the confrontation between the modern and the traditional, and in the district pointed out as the most expressive of making carimbó, all the groups analyzed were identified as modern.

The importance of sonority and its transience in the urban space is revealed as a mediator of the territoriality of Belenense carimbó, also, by the subversion of the male domain among musicians and instrumentalists, as identified in a group in the central area and can be seen in the image of figure 01 that highlights the female presence among the musicians that accompany the percussion of curimbós. The urban belenense formed by the carimbó groups from the 1990s onwards became central as a tourist attraction, in particular, due to the relevance that Belém takes when inducing the state government to tourist activity with an emphasis on the articulation between culture and tourist events in Pará. This strengthened the conformation and integration of carimbó groups and cultural entities from several municipalities, emphasizing the relevance of maintaining the carimbó as a representation of the “being from Pará” as the following report indicates: “Carimbó is a mixture, right? ... so much that half of your body is the black man who is dancing and the other half is indigenous ... it is a mixture that represents our identity well” (VERBAL INFORMATION)⁸.

The image a in figure 01 brings a dimension of the territoriality of Belenense carimbó as a spatial control project outlined by the discussion of gender roles in the repetition-innovation movement of cultural inventiveness⁹ and political action on the spatial boundaries of female making that until then restricted to the body of dancers. This modifies the traditional structure of carimbó also in the traces of the garments, since, even maintaining the pattern of long skirts, ruffled blouses and extravagant flower arrangement in the hair, revise the printed flower matrix, which was verified, to a greater or lesser degree, in clothing from the seven groups. Still in the image, the uniformed musicians with straw hats can be seen in the background, plus the right in the image the musicians with string instruments and the curimbó, which can be varied in number when conducting the carimbó.

Figure 1: Carimbó's Sonority and Transience in Belenense Urban Space





a) Instrumentalists from the Frutos do Pará Group in presentation. b) Musicians with two curimbós from the Charme Caboclo group. c) Perspective of a place that could be the reference center for the carimbó heritage in Icoaraci. d) Carimbó presentation area in the Estação das Docas tourist complex.

Source: a) Collection of the Group, 2018, kindly provided. b) Extracted from <http://bit.ly/2GFQdua> accessed on April 20, 2019 c) Freitas, 2019 d) Campos, 2019.

This is evident in image b, in which musicians from a group of carimbó with two curimbós displayed in a rustic wood pattern can be seen. This instrument corresponds to the idiosyncrasy of this singular string cultural expression in the carimbó. Exposed from the center on the right in the image b banjo image, it singles out the sound production of the carimbó, because, according to IPHAN (2013), this is usually made by hand with regional wood, pot bottom, vinyl disc and nylon (fishing) strings, the that makes this instrument give harmonic support and perform a percussive function. These instruments are maintained by all groups of carimbó aiming at the more traditional permanence of Carimbó's musicality, however both groups in the central area and those in the non-central area, to a greater or lesser extent, incorporate the sound of electronic instruments, mainly boxes, guitars and drums.

In instrumental terms, all the groups present in their musical ensemble some element different from each other and from the traditional configuration, with the exception of the group located in Pedreira that is musically formed as “more root” as the following emphasized in the following report: Belém for presenting a root carimbó, made of wood and string, that is, electronic instruments are not presented "(VERBAL INFORMATION)¹⁰. The introduction of electronic instruments refers to the relevance of the carimbó in making cultural and festive contemporary Belenense and the maintenance of “more root” elements indicates the permanence of interactions with groups from the interior of the state. The interactions and tensions derived therefrom in the daily life of Belen unfolded in the structuring of a project of greater territorial control of making carimbó, which was consolidated in 2014 with the institutionalization with the Institute of Historical and Artistic Heritage (IPHAN) of the registration of carimbó as Cultural Heritage Brazilian immaterial.

Image c in figure 01 shows a perspective of the São João de Pinheiro Railway Station building in the central area of the Icoaraci District, which has been defended by the State Department of Culture (SECULT), as a place that can be refunctionalized for the installation of a memorial. to the Carimbó Masters, as highlighted by the secretary's director: “our idea is that there is a memorial of the carimbó masters, not the carimbó memorial, because of course we have Carimbós. So that that space is territorially referenced as a memorial destined to Carimbó, not least because the space is small and it was not designed for that” (VERBAL INFORMATION)¹¹. The preserved structure of the station building verified in the image c corresponds to the intervention derived from legal agreements of counterpart of the private initiative to the state government, which subsequently transferred the building to SECULT.

The image d in Figure 1 brings a perspective of one of the tourist spaces referring to paid presentations: Armazém 3 of the Estação das Docas Tourist Complex. This warehouse is known as Boulevard das Feiras e Exposições where the Teatro Maria Silvia Nunes and the amphitheater of the Forte de São Pedro Nolasco are located. The Tourist Complex of Estação das Docas corresponds to

the restoration in 2000 of the port warehouses of Belém continuous to the Complex of Ver-o-Peso on the fluvial border of the historic center of the city following the proposals and policies of heritage and tourist urbanization of the area that brought together the Complexo Feliz Lusitânia (CASTRO, TAVARES, 2016). In this way, the Estação das Docas is configured in a logistical environment for the presentation of the groups, both for the centrality of complexes, points and tourist landmarks of the adjacent area, as well as for the centrality of circulation and public transport on the surrounding roads that integrate the neighborhoods of the city and its Metropolitan region.

The “Quarantine” and the tourist attraction Carimbó de Belém do Pará

The importance of the Estação das Docas and Ver-o-Peso complexes to the tourist attractiveness of the carimbó is due to two intra-urban aspects of Belém: the first linked to the ease of access and mobility of both the tourist and visitors and of the members of the carimbó groups who in general they use public transport to go to the presentations; the second linked to the growth in the city of 12% per year of the means of food between 2008 and 2016, intensifying the gastronomy segment with the city in the gastronomic circuit of the "Creative Cities" Program of the United Nations for Education, Science and Education Culture (UNESCO) (FADESPA, 2016). So, if on the one hand this locus serves the promotion of making carimbó, as reported by one of the interviewees: “Usually when we are hired to dance at Estação das Docas, I see it as a showcase, not to get shows, but to show for the people who go there and dance, are very participative” (VERBAL INFORMATION)¹², on the other hand, this locus in its extension houses bars, restaurants, cafeterias, breweries etc. that add typical paraense gastronomy, important elements in the relationship between cultural and the project to internationalize the image of a city to other locations (SOARES, VIEIRA, 2019).

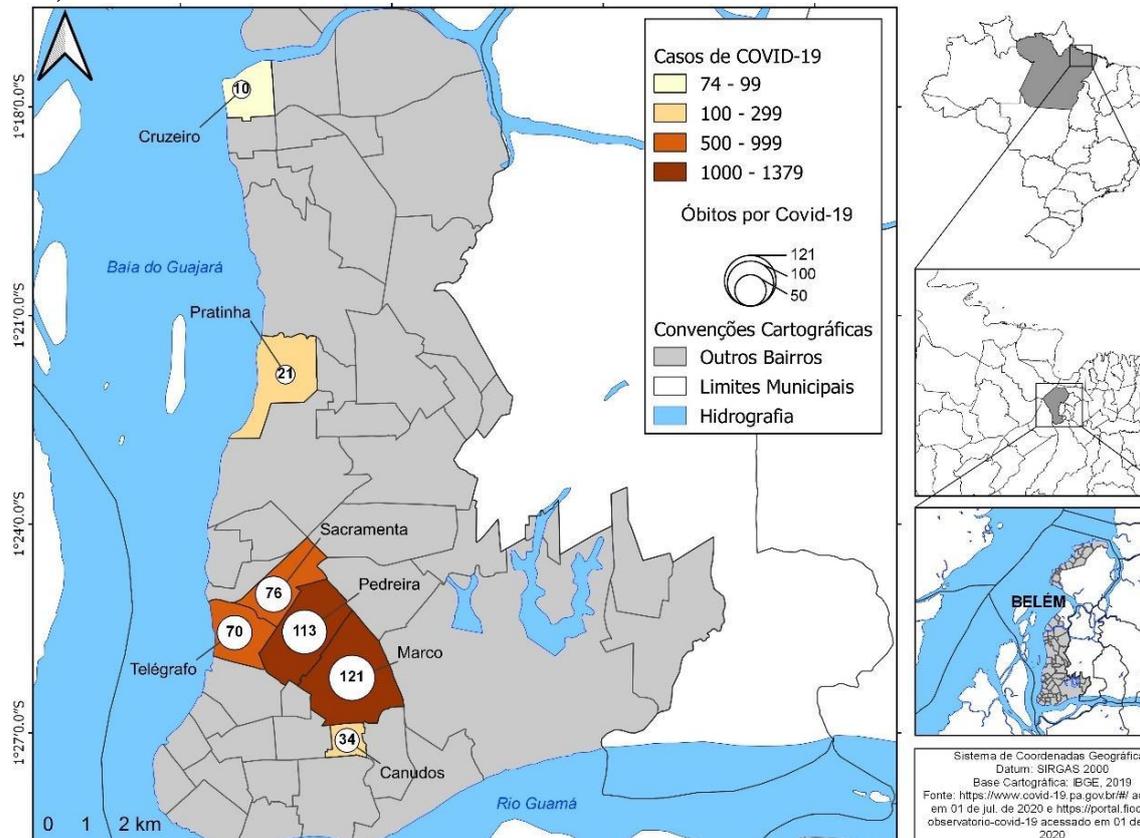
As inferred by FAPESPA (2016), Belém plays a predominant role not only as a tourist attraction, but in the entire public and private sector of the Pará tourist activity, being the nucleus of the Belém Tourist Pole of the state government with centrality in products and equipment of this activity and in stimulating and generating jobs (with a projection of 2.8 informal for every 1 formal), mainly in the sectors of accommodation, hospitality, transport and food. The accuracy of this relation of the territorial production of the tourist activity in Pará, which even with economic retractions since 2015 reached the figure of R \$ 700 million in 2018 according to DIEESE¹³ and the centrality of Belém is more explicit given the fact that 54% of the production and the city's GDP stems from the service sector. In this direction, the sectors, equipment and means linked to the tourist activity that grew the most in a decade in Belém correspond to those that, according to Riched (2020), suffered the most and will suffer with the reduction of 70% of the world tourism demands resulting from the disease Pandemic COVID-19 in 2020.

The expansion of this pandemic to the city of Belém has been delimited since March 18, when the official bodies confirmed the first case of the disease, eleven days after the first confirmed case in the city of Parauapebas in southeastern Pará. Since then, Belém has become the epicenter of the disease in the state, with dissemination to the interior after the 14th epidemiological week (NMT, 2020). The impacts of COVID-19 in Belém and its Metropolitan Region (RMB) affected state quarantine protocols that began on March 23 with the suspension of non-essential activities and road circulation regulated by Decree No. 609 of April 16. However, still in April, the system of the 1st Regional Health Center (1st CRS) responsible for public health management in Belém and RMB suffered a collapse¹⁴ forcing the establishment of lockdown in the RMB between 07 and 24 of that month by Dec. N° 729 of May 5 (FIOCRUZ, 2020, NMT, 2020). Even so, the confinement did not decrease, nor did the disease curve in Bethlehem occur, with the spread of infection spreading to more vulnerable localities and social groups, with 22,697 cases and 2003 deaths in the state on May 22 (SESPA, 2020).

The socioeconomic vulnerability in the RMB is outlined by: chaotic conditions of public transport; finds problems and restrictions on equipment, medicines, beds and specialized technical personnel of the 1st CRS; structural precariousness of housing and number of people per household, for 1/3 of the economically active population being autonomous; and for 14.5% of this population has a family income of 1/2 minimum wage, this creates greater complexity in the epidemiological control of this disease, fundamentally, with regard to maintaining social isolation (NMT, 2020, UFPA, 2020). This affects the neighborhoods of all the carimbó groups analyzed here, with emphasis on those in the non-central area. The spatial dimensioning of epidemiology in these neighborhoods can be seen on Map 01, with a greater focus on the Marco and Pedreira neighborhoods

that were planned as residential neighborhoods and that today are the locus of the circulation and distribution network that horizontally interconnect the entire territory from Belém and the RMB along two major roads: Avenida Almirante Barroso and Avenida Pedro Miranda, where a large part of the city's public transport circulates, therefore, districts that diffuse flows¹⁵.

Map 1: Epidemiological Impact of COVID-19 in the neighborhoods home to the Carimbó groups in Belém-PA, June 2020.



Source: Based on fieldwork and data extracted from <https://www.covid-19.pa.gov.br/#/> accessed on Jul 1. de 2020 and <https://portal.fiocruz.br/observatorio-covid-19> accessed on Jul 1. 2020.

On Map 01, the spatialization of the geoepidemiological aspect of the COVID-19 pandemic reflects official data that, according to UFPA (2020) and NMT (2020), in addition to the delays and differences between the data released by the State and Municipal Secretariats, are underreported up to twenty times in relation to Belém, as well as, it does not take into account the expressive increase of deaths due to respiratory diseases in RMB. In this context, the low adherence to social isolation even with decrees reached a maximum of 59% in the last week of confinement and 49% in the week following the end of that period (NMT, 2020), rates well below the minimum necessary for crisis management, which placed the city of Belém in early June in first place among the Brazilian cities with the highest number of deaths per hundred thousand inhabitants. To a certain extent, this shows the vulnerability that members of carimbó groups show in some posts on their social networks: “considering that many of our carimbó masters and masters are over 60 years old ... we came through this note officer, ask [...] to keep their men and women from the risk group, away from the streets and isolated from other family members ”(VERBAL INFORMATION)¹⁶.

In the transcript of the excerpt from the report of the group based in the neighborhood of the telegraph, considered one of the peripheral neighborhoods of Belém (UFPA, 2020), two relevant aspects about the groups in Belém: a) the average age of the members of the groups over 60 years , especially, among musicians, masters and seamstresses; b) the difficulty of keeping all members of the groups in isolation, therefore, the emphasis on trying to keep at least “the risk group” isolated. Until the beginning of June, there were two deaths among members of the carimbó groups, one in each study area, as described in Chart 1. All groups stopped their activities on March 20, and two groups had presentations at the Estação das Docas scheduled that week when due to the pandemic the space suspended all cultural activities to be restarted from June 30th.

Table 2 shows in the first line the data of cases and deaths by Covid-19 specific to the neighborhoods that host the seven groups of carimbó under analysis, totaling 4322 cases and 445 deaths on June 30 of that year, when the city of Belém reached 19,621 cases, 1,907 deaths and 10.31% lethality on a curve that reflects the rise in the general data of Pará, which total 108,067 cases and 5,004 deaths (SESPA, 2020), based on official data without considering the indicators of underreporting and other deaths for causes linked to COVID-19 as demonstrated by NMT (2020). Through this table it is possible to identify two central impacts when making carimbó of the groups in Belém engendered by the pandemic of COVID-19 from the need to demarcate the prohibition of agglomerations described in the official decrees of quarantine and confinement: a) one of an economic and self-financing of groups and b) another of a daily nature of the groups' internal and external experiences.

In terms of economic impacts, the tensioning of the direct and pre-established financial funding of the carimbó groups is configured, on the one hand, by the cancellation of carimbó Rodas, raffles, bingos and the like, which normally have their peak during the June season and work self-financing for intra-urban commuting, state and national travel, conservation and acquisition of instruments and making of clothing as highlighted in this excerpt: “behind the scenes, people don't know what the groups really go through to be able to do a presentation ... to get a costume, for example, has to do promotions, raffles, sell something, add a budget to be able to buy ...” (VERBAL INFORMATION)¹⁷. On the other hand, due to the suspension of on-site cultural activities in tourist complexes and concert halls, with emphasis on the Estação das Docas Tourist Complex in the central area and the Espaço Cultural Coisas de Negro in the non-central area.

Table 2: Restrictions and implications of COVID-19 in the making of the carimbó groups in Belém-PA

FEATURE	NEAR THE DOWNTOWN	AWAY FROM DOWNTOWN
NEIGHBORHOODSCOVID-19 (JUN. 30 *)	Urban area of the neighborhoods: 11.56 Km ² Total Population: 192,209ha CASES: 3,509 - DEATHS: 338 DEATH IN GROUPS: 1	Urban area of the neighborhoods: 6.12 Km ² Total Population: 78,646ha CASES: 813 - DEATHS: 107 DEATH IN GROUPS: 1
PRESENTATIONS IN TOURIST SPACES	CLOSING of Tourist Complexes. CLOSING of Concert Hall APOENA. RESTRICTIONS on the June and June Festivals to Círio de Nazaré.	CLOSING of Concert Halls Casa Cultural Coisas de Negro. PROHIBITION OF PUBLIC AND PRIVATE EVENTS AND CEREMONIES
OF EXPERIENCES IN THE NEIGHBORHOODS GROUP HEADQUARTERS	ABSENCE of trials and restrictions on local interactions between groups. SUSPENSION of Rodas de Carimbó inside and outside the neighborhoods. RESTRICTIONS on the adhesion of new members to the groups.	ABSENCE of trials and restrictions on local interactions between groups. SUSPENSION of programs in the neighborhoods: at private parties and celebrations of festive dates. SUSPENSION of raffles and bingos. RESTRICTIONS on the adhesion of new members to the groups.
OF LIVES IN THE SOCIAL NETWORKS OF THE GROUPS (Interviews, debates and Presentations)	SANCARI: Roda de Carimbó - only musicians / April and Jun. SABOR MARAJOARA: Chat - Cia das Artes / April and in Projeto Nós Aqui and Tu Daí / May and the Group's Birthday Presentation / June. FRUTOS DO PARÁ: Partic. in Virtual Folklore Festival - CIOFF Brasil / April and Chat about Culture with CIOFF Brasil / May.	NOT IDENTIFIED In none of the Groups
VIRTUAL PRESENTATIONS 1 #TeAquietaEmCasa 2 Embalandoartenarede	SABOR MARAJOARA GROUP 1- Only musicians / April FRUTOS DO PARÁ GROUP 1 and 2 - Only with musicians - April / May	GRUPO FLOR DA AMAZÔNIA 1 - Only with musicians - april/may

* <https://www.covid-19.pa.gov.br/#/> accessed on 15, 26 jun. and July 1. de 2020 and <https://portal.fiocruz.br/observatorio-covid-19> accessed on Jul 1. 2020. Source: Fieldwork carried out between 2018 and 2019. Virtual data from social networks and indirect contacts with members of the carimbó mai groups. / jun. 2020. SESPA (2020), UFPA (2020) and NMP (2020).

Estação das Docas assumed centrality in the exhibition and maintenance of the carimbó, even with the heritage of this cultural activity, as it is the only tourist space outside concert halls to promote weekly carimbó presentations, as reported by one of the interviewees: “I see the record ... not much has changed, because no government helps group ... it has even removed some places ... that had a group show. In Orco de Icoaraci there were presentations, I don't remember the day, but there were presentations ... in the Complexo Ver o Rio there were on Thursdays” (VERBAL INFORMATION)¹⁸. These presentations took place every Friday in Armazém 3 financed through the cultural project Pôr do Som of the state government whose programming is offered free of charge to the public, in this sense, between March and June there are 14 weeks of suspension and budget restrictions for groups that they normally worked at the financial limit.

If in the central area the Estação das Docas is the main spatial reference for all groups of carimbó groups, in the non-central area the referred place corresponds to the Espaço Cultural Coisas de Negro, a concert hall located in the Icoaraci District that has become in a tourist spot to the carimbó heritage in Belém, according to reports of interviewees with the one from this section: “many people who come to Belém from other states, known ... and always ask for a place where you can dance carimbó. A place that I know has a carimbó is at Estação das Docas, has the APOENA Bar and Coisas de Negro” (VERBAL INFORMATION)¹⁹. This venue was founded with the intention of spreading the carimbó as a root and its mescal with other musical rhythms, in space, Rock20 and only later the space became a diffuser to make carimbó and locus of fundraising groups via payment for presentations.

In Table 2, it is clear that activities in the tourist area “Coisa de Negro” have been suspended, therefore, in the last three months, no carimbó group had access to the income from the fees generated from that space. In the same table, it is possible to verify that only two groups from the central area and one from the non-central area managed to finance carimbó presentations based on virtual proposals articulated by two government notices²¹: Festival #TeAquietaEmCasa of the State Secretary of Culture (SECULT) and the Festival embalandoartenarede the Municipal Secretary of Culture (SMC-FUMBEL). Each of the three carimbó groups only participated in the virtual festivals and only one group was selected in the two notices for which they produced videos of the presentations and made them available on the virtual platforms, all of which were held between April and May. In the month of June between the 21st and 27th epidemiological weeks when the peak of the carimbó presentations should occur due to the parties and festivals of the June court, the evolution of COVID-19 in Belém doubles in official data. Between the 25th and 27th epidemiological weeks, the last fortnight of the June 2019 Belenense court, the headquarters districts of the Central Area groups presented 3,509 cases and 338 deaths (variation of 628 deaths and 40 deaths in the referenced period) and the headquarters neighborhoods of the groups From the Non-Central Area, they presented 813 cases and 107 deaths (variation of 128 deaths and 16 deaths in the referenced period). The evolution of the neighborhoods of Marco (1,379 cases and 121 deaths) and Pedreira (1,312 cases and 113 deaths) stands out because they occupy the first places in number of cases and deaths in relation to the general data of Belém (SESPA, 2020).

In the meantime of the Belenian court, only two groups made virtual presentations which were not financed, and in the court period, the exhibitions usually have more audience, frequency and fundraising, according to reports like the following: “presentations mainly in June, which is when it's more frequent, so we don't share all the money, we put it in an account and then we pay for things we need ... it's to pay for clothes, instruments, trips, etc.” (VERBAL INFORMATION)²² and “we perform throughout the year, but the peak is during the June period, we usually travel, we make several presentations during the week ... stop to look ... people they are hypnotized” (VERBAL INFORMATION)²³. Therefore, the virtual exhibitions, especially those of the financing of the public notices, consisted of little representation in the general context of making Belenense carimbó and, despite being composed only by the musicians of the groups, when observing them the home space of the groups became problematic in terms of the distance (of 1.5 to 2 meters between the members and the use of masks (absent among the members).

Final considerations

The impacts and implications of the pandemic quarantine of COVID-19 to the fragility of the carimbó as a cultural attraction to the tourist space needed to be better observed and more analyzed, especially those reflected in the vulnerability of the carimbó groups and their makers, even more, in the long term . Fundamentally, with regard to the low momentum of the Belenense quarantine in

terms of social isolation and flexibilization of displacement and opening of the service and trade sector, still at the peak of the first wave against the guidelines of the World Health Organization, as well as the absence of testing. appropriate indexes. The pandemic situation of COVID-19 imposed measures of social isolation in Belém that immediately affected the capture of financial resources from the territoriality of the carimbó with the cancellation of presentations and shows in complexes and points in urban tourist areas, intensified with the cancellation of the court junina, the time of the greatest number of presentations by these groups and interactions with groups in the interior of the state.

The mitigating measures to these cancellations were provided by two government notices aimed at general cultural producers, without any specific action to the carimbó heritage or to the conversation of the tourist attraction. This fact becomes more emblematic because it is a cultural asset, that is, institutionalized intangible heritage that should attention to safeguard, but limited to the selection in public notices directed to cultural producers in general and with the level of technological production and sanitary conditions. distancing and sanitation that hinder access to the socioeconomic plots of the carimbó groups in Belém, which was demonstrated in the sample of the seven groups analyzed, among which only three managed to make a presentation in these notices. Subsequently, it will be necessary to observe substrate elements of underreporting, mismatch between the databases on the disease, levels of recovery, immunity and sequelae of those already infected, all elements of imprecision in the healthiness of the tourist environment necessary for the displacement and permanence of flows, especially, taking this dimension of the pandemic in Belém and the problems and restrictions of equipment, medicines, beds and specialized technical personnel for the management of public health, all this corroborates to projections that the transmission of the virus and contagion of the disease will be prolonged in this Amazonian portion.

Such factors will affect the long-term economic restraint, the thermometer of which should be felt in the restrictions on more cultural activities, parties and festivals in Pará, as has already been happening with the Festa do Sairé (attraction of Santarém, Municipality Inducer of International Tourism) that occurs annually in September and the Círio de Nazaré (largest Catholic festival and attractive tourist center in Pará) held annually in October, both expressive moments of multifaceted construction of the Amazonian intangible heritage and the making of stamp. Thus, the relations of the territoriality of the carimbó in the mediation of tourist attraction make explicit in the context of pandemic quarantine the fragility of culture and its makers in the tourist space and, in the case of Belém, how the carimbó groups are tied to informal and autonomous parcels the stimulation and generation of jobs generated by the tourist activity.

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NOTES

1 In this regard, see Salles and Salles (1969) and Gabbay (2010).

2 In this regard, see Gabbay (2010) and Costa (2010).

3 Field notes, fieldwork, jan. from 2018 to Jul. 2019.

4 Coronavirus Disease 2019 disease, first identified in December 2019 in the city of Wuhan, China. (WHO, 2020)

5 Here, based on Wagner's (1981) assumptions of inventiveness as an imminent characteristic of cultural creation.

6 For more details, see Neve et al (2015).

7 Field notes, field work carried out between 2018 and 2019.

8 Member 1 of the group Os Baioaras, Fieldwork, carried out in Canudos, sea. 2019.

9 Here taking into account the assertions of Wagner (1981).

10 Member 1 of the Pratinha Group, Fieldwork, held at Pratinha, abr. 2019.

11 Speech by Úrsula Vidal, Secretary of Culture of the State of Pará during Sectorial Listening to Afro-Brazilian, Native, Traditional and Popular Cultural and Artistic Expressions, Teatro Gasómetro, abr. 2019.

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16 Extracted from <https://bitly.com/XN1rk>, accessed June 18, 2020.

17 Member 1 of Trilhas da Amazônia, interview held in Belém, Jan. 2019.

18 Member 2 of Trilhas da Amazônia, interview held in Belém, Jan. 2019.

19 Member 1 of Sabor Marajoara, interview held in Belém, Dec. 10. 2018.

20 Field notes, field work, carried out between 2018 and 2019.

21 Extracted from virtual data from social networks and indirect contacts with members of the carimbó mai groups. / jun. 2020.

22 Member of Frutos do Pará, interview in Belém, Mar. 2019.

23 Member 1 of Flor da Amazônia, interview held in Belém, Apr. 2019.



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