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CARNIVAL AS A CONTESTED SPACE:

Social tensions at Recife's and Rotterdam's Carnival (2001-2020)

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Social tensions of Recife's and Rotterdam's Carnival (2001-2020)

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I would like to dedicate this thesis to my grandparents Baltazar and Cristina. It was our road trips through BR-101 that taught me how to ask questions and explore the world. I've never been sick of the road since then. If I came this far, living in four different countries in two years that felt like a rollercoaster, it is thanks to you. I love you two immensely!

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Vida longa à todas as agremiações carnavalescas latinoamericanas e caribenhas! Evoé!



Willy Djaoen at Zomercarnaval

*Today in London, New York, and Boston.
People holding their Carnival
They prance and parade
For the masquerade
With costumes for the festival
But now the thing grow in importance
Some folks saying it come from France.
So in case you forget
Or didn't know yet,
Is Enslaved Trinis start that fete.*

"My people thing"

Chalkdust, 1991.

Rituals of Power and Rebellion.

ABSTRACT

Although manifested and represented with different meanings and cultural expressions, carnivals carry the same value everywhere: a popular and autonomous event rooted in the ideas of freedom, elimination of differences and spontaneity. Today, the carnival is a global and urban phenomenon, with local features and peculiarities. It travelled the globe with the help of colonization and globalization processes and consequently blended with different cultural expressions, becoming a stage of global cultural fusion. While some scholars argue that carnival can be a place of social inversion, where norms and hierarchies are questioned, others argue that the festivities are just 'safety valves' granted by the elites as a tool for controlling the masses. By reflecting on these two main lines of thought, centered in the opposing ideas of carnival as a tool for transformation and carnival as a tool for maintenance, this investigation has encountered the nature of carnival in the intersection of both thoughts. Carnival is seen as a contested and conflicted space, where the social dynamics and the power structures encountered in societies are reflected and even augmented. To demonstrate this contested nature, this investigation used Recife's and Rotterdam's carnival as the two comparative case studies. By comparing north and south, this thesis aims to investigate what is the function of a carnival and what kind of conflicts it brings in opposing places of the global economy. Most importantly, it aimed to explore how common elements shared by both cities, such as multicultural backgrounds that created a carnival tradition, were influenced by factors that set them apart, such as the global inequalities. To understand how a carnival, rooted in the ideas of freedom and spontaneity operates in the twenty-first century, where rigid institutions like municipalities take responsibility for organizing and preserving these festivities, this thesis investigated the main social tensions that were evoked within the power dynamics of carnival. These thesis findings focused on four attributes of carnival: social cohesion, multiculturality, intangible cultural heritage and political participation.

Keywords: Zomercarnaval; Carnaval do Recife; Social Cohesion; Multiculturality; Intangible Cultural Heritage; Political participation

RESUMO

Embora se manifestem e representem com diferentes significados e expressões culturais, os carnavais têm o mesmo valor em todos os lugares: um evento popular e autônomo enraizado nas ideias de liberdade, eliminação das diferenças e espontaneidade. Hoje, o carnaval é um fenômeno global e urbano, com características e peculiaridades locais. Percorreu o mundo com a ajuda dos processos de colonização e globalização e, conseqüentemente, fundiu-se a diferentes expressões culturais, tornando-se um palco de fusão cultural global. Enquanto alguns estudiosos argumentam que o carnaval pode ser um lugar de inversão social, onde normas e hierarquias são questionadas, outros argumentam que as festividades são apenas "válvulas de segurança" concedidas pelas elites como uma ferramenta para controlar as massas. Ao refletir sobre essas duas linhas principais de pensamento, centradas nas ideias opostas do carnaval como ferramenta de transformação e do carnaval como ferramenta de manutenção, esta investigação encontrou a natureza do carnaval na intersecção de ambos os pensamentos. O carnaval é visto como um espaço contestado e conflituoso, onde as dinâmicas sociais e as estruturas de poder encontradas nas sociedades são refletidas e até aumentadas. Para demonstrar essa natureza contestada, esta investigação usou o carnaval de Recife e Rotterdam como os dois estudos de caso comparativos. Ao comparar o norte e o sul, esta tese visa investigar qual é a função de um carnaval e que tipo de conflitos ele acarreta em lugares diferentes e opostos da economia global. Mais importante, o objetivo foi explorar como elementos comuns compartilhados por ambas as cidades, como origens multiculturais que criaram um carnaval tradicional, foram influenciados por fatores que os diferenciam. Para compreender como funciona um carnaval, enraizado nas ideias de liberdade e espontaneidade no século XXI, em que instituições rígidas como os municípios se responsabilizam pela organização e preservação dessas festividades, esta tese investigou as principais tensões sociais evocadas nas dinâmicas do poder do carnaval. Os resultados desta tese enfocam quatro atributos: coesão social, multiculturalidade, patrimônio cultural imaterial e participação política.

Keywords: Zomercarnaval; Carnaval do Recife; Coesão Social; Multiculturalidade; Patrimônio Cultural Imaterial; Participação Política.

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2. INTRODUCTION

*I did a pirouette
I jumped out of the gate
Then I screamed out:
“Either go, crack or log”
On the street I do a dance step
That knots the legs
If the shoe gives a callus
I jump on one leg
And let people know
That I'm not normal
The world may end
I will still play my carnival
I don't want fantasy
I will dress as I can
One day I paint the face
The other I go as a woman*

*Dei uma pirueta
Pulei do portão pra fora
Depois soltei meu grito
Rachou se tora
Na rua eu faço passo
Da canela fazer nó
Se o sapato der calo
Pulo de uma perna só
E avise ao pessoal
Que eu não estou normal
Pode acabar-se o mundo
que eu vou brincar carnaval
Não quero fantasia
Vou me vestir como der
Num dia eu melo a cara
O outro eu vou de mulher*

Bagaceira, performed by Siba (2012)

The ‘theatre of the streets’, ‘theatre without walls’, or the ‘museum of the moment’.¹ There are many ways of describing the cathartic experience of a carnival, but none of them do justice to living it. In the above song, ‘the world may end, I will still play my carnival’ represents the *carnavalesque* call for a state of mind where nothing else matters, but to live in the now. This state of mind is not only personal, but also a collective response to social interactions that Durkheim described as ‘collective effervescence’ while observing rituals and rites of religions.² This term describes the excitement that builds up in focused crowds and the shared mood that occurs when certain micro-processes (rituals) of social interaction occur.³ For the individual, it is about forgetting oneself while becoming submerged as part of a group. Other group activities like football matches, religious rituals or political uprisings also offer experiences of collective effervescence. However, it is during carnival that the sharing of something far greater than the individual needs no reason or explanation: carnival is the celebration of the existence of joy itself. However, there is a social and political value in carnivalesque experience for the communities that

¹ Ruth Wüst. *The Trinidad Carnival: a medium of social change*. (In *Alternative Cultures in the Caribbean: First International Conference of the Society of Caribbean Research*. 1993), 149.

² Emile Durkheim and Joseph Ward Swain. *The elementary forms of the religious life*. (Courier Corporation, 2008)

³ Christian von Scheve and Mikko Salmella, eds. *Collective emotions: Perspectives from psychology, philosophy, and sociology*. (OUP Oxford, 2014), 299.

participate in it: for them, carnival is not just about merriment, colorful pageantry, revelry, and street theatre. Carnival is often born out of the struggle of marginalized people to shape a cultural identity through resistance, liberation, and catharsis.⁴ Alice Walker⁵ said that ‘resistance is the secret of joy’ and, in carnival, the opposite is also true: joy is the secret of resistance. As someone who grew up immersed in the carnival culture and learned all these life lessons of resistance, belonging and acceptance in those five February - sometimes March - days, I wonder myself how will the pandemic transform this so fruitful celebration. How long will the fear of collective enjoyment persist? What will be the implications for carnival nations like Brazil?

Figure 1: My mother and I at Carnaval de Olinda, 1994.



Source: personal archive.

The current pandemic caused something as human as celebrating encounters to become not only dangerous, but morally wrong. It is now known that public celebrations in February 2020, like carnival in Brazil and Europe and the Lunar New Year in China, accelerated the spread of

⁴ Keith Nurse. “Globalization And Trinidad Carnival: Diaspora, Hybridity And Identity In Global Culture,” *Cultural Studies*, 13:4, (1999): 662

⁵ Alice Walker (1944-) is an African American US novelist and poet whose writing explores racial and sexual politics as they affect African American women. She is the author of *The Color Purple*.

COVID-19 across jurisdictional boundaries.⁶ The pandemic showed us that the world we live in can survive (or must survive, at least for now) without joyful human encounters. However, isolation from social life is not ideal or natural; the anthropological phenomenon of bringing people together to simply celebrate is as ancient as civilization, and it is encountered in virtually all human cultures. Developing a calendar of festive days related to faith-based practices or that mark the seasons and agricultural cycles was part of most societies, producing and shaping the festive practices we have today.⁷ The Christian Carnival is a prime example of this social phenomenon since its inception: it originally served to celebrate the beginning of spring and to live hedonistically before the beginning of the liturgical season of Lent, the 40 days preceding Easter consumed by abstinence and fasting.

To some authors, the central idea of carnival is to present an 'upside-down' and utopic reality, by bringing forth what is repressed in daily life.⁸ By utopic, I suggest that during carnival one can experience genuine human desires of belonging, acceptance and freedom that are so difficult to achieve in 'real life'. On the other side of the same coin, some authors argue that carnival provides an escape valve granted by the elites to the working class to compensate for everyday inequalities and thereby helps maintain the social order.⁹ These two concepts are not necessarily incompatible, they only suggest different outcomes of the same idea of experiencing freedom. While one argument believes carnival frees to transform, the other believes that carnival frees to maintain. Instead of one concept denying the other, the latter observes carnival during and after the phenomenon while the first observes it only during it.¹⁰ In the following chapter, I will go into more depth on the different conceptualizations of carnival. For now, I want to introduce the main conceptual idea that forms the theoretical framework chosen to develop my empirical analysis throughout this thesis. Rather than reducing the central idea behind carnival to one of two main theories, I suggest that attributing agency exclusively to the elites or to the people is reductionist. In fact, it is more appropriate to say that carnival is a popular and political victory

⁶ Aurélie Godet. "Behind the Masks." *Journal of Festive Studies* 2, no. 1 (2020): 1.

⁷ Laura Ager. "Universities and festivals: cultural production in context." PhD diss., (University of Salford, 2016), 61.

⁸ Renate Lachmann, Raoul Eshelman, and Marc Davis. "Bakhtin and carnival: Culture as counter-culture." *Cultural Critique* 11 (1988): 115-152.

⁹ Max Gluckman. *Custom and Conflict in Africa*. (Oxford: Blackwell, 1965)

¹⁰ Carmo Daun e Lorena, 'Subsídios Para a Análise Da Festa: O Carnaval Visto Pelas Ciências Sociais', *Revista Lusófona de Estudos Culturais* 6, no. 2 (2019): 54.

that elites had to grant. The liminal character of carnivals is an outcome of social dynamics between these two social roles and their conflicts - not a unilateral creation of them.¹¹ Instead of looking for evidence of how carnival has contributed to changes or maintenance of the existing power structures, this thesis observes how often carnival is a reflection of the social tensions between people and the established power structures.¹² Throughout this thesis, carnival will be presented as a contested territory where political conflict and social contradictions are expressed. Like any contested space in society, carnival is very politicized, and it is on this political character of carnival, a disputed place where social norms are not simply inverted but rather put in conflict, that this study will focus.

Now that the universe of carnival was introduced, let's move to the twenty first century, where most of the world is integrated in the global economy and urbanization has reached a planetary scale.¹³ Today, carnival is a global and urban phenomenon, with local features and peculiarities. It travelled the globe with the help of colonization and globalization processes and consequently blended with different cultural expressions, becoming a stage of global cultural fusion. In Latin America and the Caribbean, the presence of enslaved Africans commonly marked this cultural fusion by creolization and syncretism.¹⁴ Most modern carnivals are born from popular culture and consequently are rejected and withdrawn by the elites until it is finally recognized and celebrated by the established power.¹⁵ In other words, carnival has generally been developed by urban communities as part of their popular culture in a bottom-up and autonomous manner, then rejected or neglected, until it is later assimilated by elites and governments in an effort to regulate and institutionalize it. Institutions act, as Foucault argued, through tacit or explicit regulations brought into effect via an apparatus. In the case of the state, this is reflected in general surveillance, regulation, and to a certain extent, distribution of power relations in each social ensemble.¹⁶ It can thus be said that processes of institutionalization can jeopardize the bottom-up and autonomous

¹¹ Carmo Daun e Lorena, 'Subsídios Para a Análise Da Festa: O Carnaval Visto Pelas Ciências Sociais', *Revista Lusófona de Estudos Culturais* 6, no. 2 (2019): 55.

¹² Abner Cohen, *Masquerade politics: explorations in the structure of urban cultural movements*. (Univ of California Press, 1993.)

¹³ Neil Brenner, *Implosions/explosions. Towards a study of planetary urbanization*. (Berlin: Jovis 2014).

¹⁴ Charles Stewart, 'Creolization, hybridity, syncretism, mixture.' *Portuguese Studies* 27, no. 1 (2011): 48-55.

¹⁵ Peter Burke, *The Translation of Culture: Carnival in Two or Three Worlds. in Varieties of Cultural History*. (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1997).

¹⁶ Michel Foucault, 'The subject and power.' *Critical inquiry* 8, no. 4, (1982): 792.

nature of carnival. As such events grow in complexity and size, accounting for issues like logistics, crowd control, and safety can turn spontaneous experiences into carefully planned and managed fun.¹⁷ However, it can also be the only means of guaranteeing the continued existence and sustainability of such festivals. Certainly, the regulation and incorporation of carnivals by governments makes the conflicts and contentions mentioned above even more evident. In a scenario of institutionalization, the disputes of carnival happen between two opposing sides in a power relation: carnival goers and grassroots carnival groups on one side, and governments and elite groups on the other, representing the established power. The focus here will be on carnival groups and municipalities by recognizing that these are the main stakeholders, whilst partygoers and the elites are secondary actors in the organization of carnival events. However, through some parts of this thesis, there will be also an emphasis on the media role as a third stakeholder in carnival's structures power. The following figure was made as an effort to draw the thesis narrative and to illustrate how the opposing nature of these main stakeholders can make carnival a contested space.

Figure 2: Master Thesis Narrative.



The main hypothesis of this thesis is thus: if carnival is an intrinsically spontaneous festivity organized in a bottom-up way in which social norms are contested and feelings of freedom and joy are experienced, then, institutionalizing it encourage social tensions between carnival groups and governments. Two very different carnivals are used as case studies to investigate the conflicts and tensions encountered when autonomous experiences of public liminality become institutionalized and managed by the public sphere: Rotterdam's Zomercarnaval in the Netherlands

¹⁷ Sunny Jeong and Carla Almeida Santos, 'Cultural politics and contested place identity.' *Annals of Tourism Research*, 31(3), (2004): 640–656.

and Recife's Carnaval, in Brazil. The aim of comparing carnivals in cities in the global north and south was to explore and draw on a spectrum of institutionalization experiences as well as to investigate what are the difference between the social tensions that arise in these opposing parts of the world. By comparing north and south, center and periphery, developed and emerging (or whatever other term one may use to showcase why some places were explored so that others could prosper), this thesis aims to investigate what is the function of a carnival and what kind of conflicts it brings in different, rather opposing places of the global economy. Most importantly, it aims to explore how common elements shared by both cities, such as multicultural backgrounds that created a tradition carnival, were influenced by factors that set them apart, like their unequal social and economic development. However, there will be a methodological effort to emphasize the structural differences between both cities as well as the historical circumstances that turned Recife into a representation of the world's periphery, and Rotterdam into a representation of the center.¹⁸

Research Question & Sub-questions

Can the institutionalization of a carnival help safeguard intangible cultural heritage? Inserting a carnival in a city's official agenda can help develop social cohesion between different social classes, cultures, or ethnicities? Can an institutionalized carnival maintain its political character, or does it turn into a co-opted space of control and discipline? These possible developments and their repercussions will be considered throughout this thesis, in each main chapter. However, by recognizing that carnival is a space of ambiguity and contradiction, instead of answering these questions in a unilateral manner, this thesis will focus on identifying what social tensions appear in each of these possible developments. This approach was chosen because the aim of this thesis is not advocating for or against the institutionalization of carnivals. Instead, this study recognizes that in the twenty first century, it is inevitable and necessary that urban cultural events at the scale of carnivals require public responsibility and elaborate planning. Furthermore, this research seeks to understand how a carnival rooted in the ideas of freedom and equality operates in the twenty first century, where rigid institutions like municipalities and enterprises take responsibility for organizing and preserving these festivities.

¹⁸ Nomenclature according to Raúl Prebisch's Dependency Theory and the World Systems Theory of Immanuel Wallerstein.

To investigate the effects of turning a popular and autonomous experience into an institutional event safeguarded by municipalities, this study will analyze the institutionalization of Rotterdam's and Recife's carnivals in the last 20 years to investigate the main social conflicts and tensions evoked during this process. The conflictual aspects focused on are illustrated in the following sub-questions:

- Does carnival create social cohesion or replicate segregation amongst different ethnicities and social groups?
- How are the social differences and separations encountered within multiethnic societies reflected in their multicultural performances and carnivals?
- How can institutionalization help safeguard or hinder the preservation of immaterial cultural heritage in carnival festivals?
- How can institutionalization processes jeopardize or protect the political character of carnivals?

Objectives & Relevance of the study

This study will assess the importance of carnivals to the social, cultural, and economic transformation of their communities as well as for the role of governments on guaranteeing the transformative potential of these festivities. Carnivals can act as showcases of popular culture of the community in which they are located. They can also be an integrative place where new forms of intangible cultural heritage are created, debated, and exchanged.¹⁹ Carnivals are known for their contribution to the cultural and economic development of urban centers by helping bind people to their communities and foster and reinforce group identity, which is central to the transmission of tradition.²⁰ These positive outcomes of carnivals are especially important for social minorities and low-income communities: for these communities, carnivals can act as citizenship shapers by providing means of work, education and access to culture. Studying carnival as a space of

¹⁹ Beth Perry, Laura Ager, and Rike Sitas. "Cultural heritage entanglements: festivals as integrative sites for sustainable urban development." *International Journal of Heritage Studies* 26, no. 6 (2020): 604.

²⁰ Donald Getz. "The nature and scope of festival studies." *International journal of event management research* 5, no. 1 (2010): 7-8.

multiculturalism, cultural heritage, citizenship, and community building can help in advocating for carnival as a cultural policy throughout the world. Also, it can give scholarship of what types of policies and decisions can help carnival achieve its social potential. This thesis calls for political actions to guarantee the continuity of carnivals as central to the cultural and social development of cities. In times of economic recession and other uncertainties, it is through bottom-up experiences like carnivals that governments can get closer to communities and create spaces of citizenship.²¹ Once institutionally acknowledged as a space for social and economic development, carnival can gain support to continue improving and expanding its transformative potential. However, by investigating the challenges and conflicts during processes of institutionalizing carnivals, this thesis also shows that institutionalization can be problematic in various ways and can go in opposite directions to the communities' needs and desires.

Sources and Methodology

To investigate the social tensions of institutionalizing a carnival event and to be able to answer the research question and sub-questions accurately, some methodological choices were made to develop and contextualize the investigation. First, the choice of case studies was made based on my current position as an Erasmus University Rotterdam postgraduate student as well as my personal background and empirical knowledge as an experienced participant of Recife's Carnival. This was seen as a great opportunity to explore how institutionalization of carnivals occurs in distinct parts of the world as well as to investigate the inequalities and differences between multicultural carnivals in the global north and south. This thesis was developed using two main methodologies: interviews and media coverage analysis. The semi-structured one-on-one interviews were held from February to May, using Oral History as a methodology of conducting historical research in which the interviewee narrates his/her personal experience of a place or event. Both in Rotterdam and Recife, Snowball Sampling, a method in which a few identified members of a rare group are asked to identify other members of this same or related group, was chosen to identify possible new interviewees.²² These methodological approaches provide the opportunity of understanding the history of both carnivals in detail from the people who

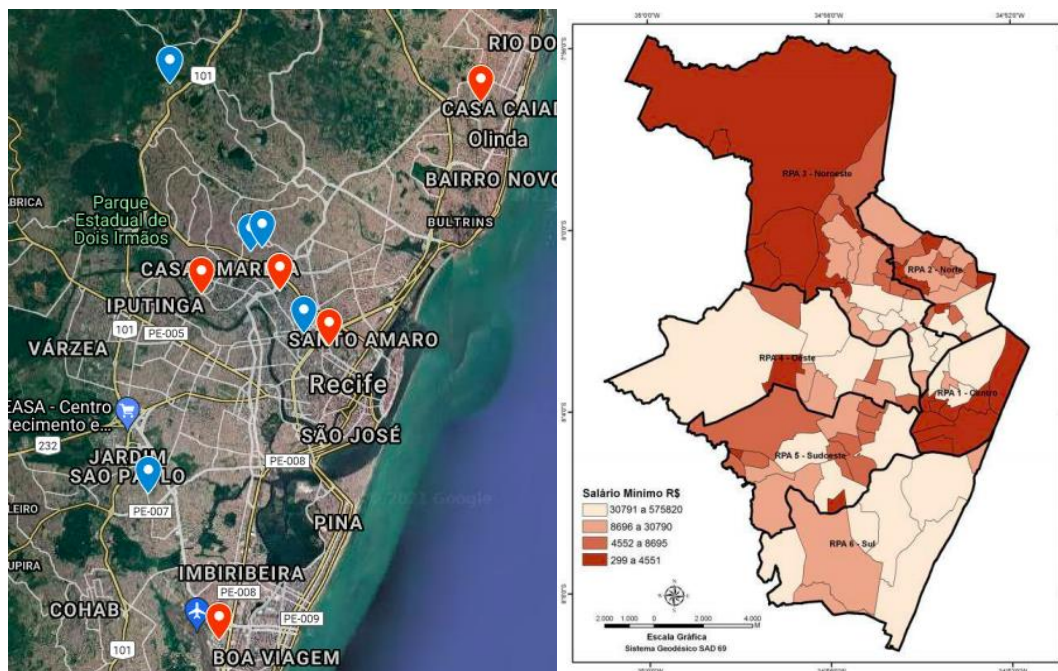
²¹ Fernando Duarte's Interview. Interview with Isabel. Personal Interview. Recife, February 8, 2021.

²² Mark S Handcock and Krista J. Gile. "Comment: On the concept of snowball sampling." *Sociological Methodology* 41, no. 1 (2011): 367-371.

experienced them. Not having a rigid interview script was also a key strategy to pick up and further explore fine points that would not have been observed otherwise. The aim was to let interviewees at ease, so they could tell their stories and testimonies freely.

Twenty-two interviews were conducted during this research: twelve with stakeholders from Recife's Carnival and ten with representatives from Rotterdam's Zomercarnaval. In Recife, the interviewee's profile was divided in two main groups representing either members and former members of the municipality or current leaderships of carnival groups (see figure 4). In the case of Recife, there was no intersection between the two profiles, in other words, there was no person that belonged to both groups at the same time. Also, each profile had very homogeneous social markers. In the case of carnival groups, four out of five interviewees lived in low-income neighborhoods of Recife. All representatives of municipality lived in either middle-class or high-income neighborhoods in either Recife, Olinda, or São Paulo. In the map below, carnival groups are represented in blue whereas representatives of municipality are represented in red. To give an idea of the interviewees' social and economic markers, the map was put in perspective with a graph indicating the medium of family incomes in Recife's neighborhoods.

Figure 3: Map of sources from Recife (left) and a map of the division of Recife according to family incomes (right).



Source: own elaboration and Atlas de Desenvolvimento Humano do Recife (2014).

The interviewees representing the municipality all worked at either of the two administrations that governed the City of Recife from 2001 to 2020: The Worker's Party (PT), from 2001 to 2012, and the Brazilian Socialist Party (PSB) from 2012 to the present. It is important to mention that although both parties are considered center-left in the Brazilian political spectrum,²³ they have been the main political opponents in Recife's political arena since at least 2012.²⁴ Taking this into account, questions related to continuities and ruptures of both administrations were asked to both leaderships of carnival groups and members of the municipality.

Figure 4: list of sources from Recife.

Profile	Role (or representation)	Name	Periodicity	Location
Carnival group	Maracatu Nação Estrela Brilhante	Arycleiton	2006 - 2020	Alto José do Pinho, Recife
Carnival group	Orquestra Harmonia	Maestro Diodato	1996 - 2020	Areias, Recife
Carnival group	Maracatu Fantástico a Cabra Alada	Valdson	1995 - 2020	Espinheiro, Recife
Carnival group	Guabiraba Frevo Orquestra	Thiago	2004 - 2020	Guabiraba, Recife
Carnival group	Orquestra Popular da Bomba do Hemetério	Maestro Forró	1990 - 2020	Bomba do Hemetério, Recife
Municipality	Concept and Visual Communication (PT)	Joana	2001-2010	São Paulo, SP
Municipality	Former Secretary of Culture (PT)	Fernando	2001 - 2011	Rosarinho, Recife
Municipality	Carnaval Curator (PT)	Junior Afro	2001 - 2012	Boa Viagem, Recife
Municipality	Carnaval Curator (PT)	Patricia	2001 - 2011	Casa Caiada, Olinda
Municipality	Former Mayor (PT)	João Paulo	2001 - 2008	Santo Amaro, Recife
Municipality	Infrastructure Manager (PSB)	Fabiana	2013 - 2020	Rosarinho, Recife
Municipality	Former Secretary of Tourism (PSB)	Ana Paula	2013 - 2020	Casa Forte, Recife

Both in Rotterdam and Recife, throughout the conversation, interviewees that represented carnival groups were asked about their relationship with the municipality or the production company, in the case of Rotterdam. The same question was also made the other way around, by asking members of municipality or production company how their negotiation spheres with carnival groups are and how does the communication with carnival groups is conducted. In Rotterdam's case, there was a lot of intersection between both carnival organizers and grassroots

²³ Kevin Lucas and David Samuels. "The Ideological "Coherence" of the Brazilian Party System, 1990-2009." *Journal of Politics in Latin America* 2, no. 3 (2010): 42.

²⁴ O Globo. 'PSB rompe com PT em Recife e anuncia candidato próprio.' Accessed in June 15, 2021. Available at: <https://oglobo.globo.com/brasil/psb-rompe-com-pt-em-recife-anuncia-candidato-proprio-5183921>

participants, since some participants were also former or current members of the Zomercarnaval Foundation. In the case of Rotterdam Zomercarnaval, the carnival's governance is divided between (i) the Municipality who responsible for authorizations, security, and structure; (ii) Ducos Productions, a production company responsible for the creative planning of the festival and (iii) Zomercarnaval Foundation, responsible for the direct contact with carnival groups. It was a conscious choice to only interview a member of Ducos Productions and the Zomercarnaval Foundation because the Municipality's role is rather technical than creative and their relationship with carnival groups is limited.

Figure 5: list of sources from Rotterdam.

Profile	Representation	Name	Periodicity	Location	Background
Carnival Group	Leader of Cabo Verde Chegou	Cecilia	1985-2021	Rotterdam	Cape Verde
Carnival Group	Leader of Brasil Axé	Dey	2000-2021	Kolenkit District, AMS	Brazil
Carnival Group	Leader of Kingdoms Under the Sun	Rossini	2003-2021	Zuidoost, AMS	Aruba
Mixed	Former Carnival Queen and Heritage Specialist	Dyonna	2003-2021	Rotterdam	Curacao
Mixed	Ex-judge and Early Participant	Artwell	1982-2017	Aruba	St Vincent
Mixed	Former member of SZN and Dancer	Willy	1982-2021	Kruiskade, ROT	Curacao
Mixed	Former Carnival Queen and Project Manager at SZN	Laila	2004-2021	Schiedam, ROT	Curacao
Organizer	Ducos Productions	Claudia	1999-2021	Delfshaven, ROT	Netherlands
Organizer	Stichting Zomercarnaval Nederland	Karel	1984-2021	Feijenoord, ROT	Curacao
Observer	Researcher on Afro-diasporic Music / Decolonialism	Charissa	--	Den Haag	Aruba

The profiles of Rotterdam's interviewees were then divided in four different groups: carnival group members or leaders, persons that participate in the parade but also engage or engaged with the event's organization (mixed profile), organizers and observers. The latter one was a methodological choice of interviewing a scholar that participated on the carnival as an observer and gave relevant contributions to the debate on how the carnival display Antillean traditions. This was done based on the researcher's need of developing argumentation on this relevant debate. Also, it was an effort to bring someone with an antagonist point of view and a place of speech²⁵ to the discussion on the role and importance of the Dutch Caribbean community to the festival. Immigrant background (or the lack of it) was a prominent social marker in

²⁵ Djamila Ribeiro. *O que é Lugar de Fala*. (Belo Horizonte: Letramento: Justificando, 2017)

Rotterdam interviews. Nine out of ten interviewees were Dutch with an immigrant background, the vast majority from the Dutch Caribbean islands of Curacao and Aruba. This fact did not come as a surprise, considering that the Rotterdam Zomercarnaval has strong ties with the traditions and celebrations from the former Dutch colonies. It also represents the differences between the meaning of multiculturalism in Recife's and Rotterdam's societies. This important debate will be further developed throughout the thesis. Since only five interviewed people from Zomercarnaval lived in Rotterdam, and they all lived in neighborhoods with very similar economic indicators, a comparative map (see figure 3) was not included to Rotterdam's case. Also, the social and economic inequalities are not so evident between different interview profiles in Rotterdam's case like it is in Recife. It should also be mentioned that the Covid-19 pandemic has had a tremendous impact on this research in general, but especially on the conduct of interviews. It was upsetting not to be able to conduct interviews in person (all but two interviews were done online), but also extremely challenging to conduct interviews through different video call platforms. This was not least because a significant portion of the interviewees were not familiar with this type of technology. For that reason, the interviewing period lasted for much longer than expected, from February 5th to May 27th.

After exploring the experiences and viewpoints of the two main stakeholders of both events (municipality on one side and participants and carnival groups on the other), this study will explore how the media, as a third stakeholder, has covered carnivals for the last 20 years. Since the media can impact audience perceptions and influence public debates on both carnivals, the main objective here was to learn how media influenced public views on both carnivals over the years, as well as to analyze the media discourse on the carnival's most important episodes of tensions and conflicts. This research focused on newspaper editions from the months that prior to each event and the weeks after using a wide range keywords, mostly focusing on finding evidence of tensions on cultural heritage, community cohesion and social participation. It is important to note that there were some difficulties in the use of databases. In the case of Recife, the three most popular newspapers did not have an archive or database before 2014. In that case, the use of Nexis Uni²⁶ was vital to fill these information gaps. In Rotterdam's case, since Nexis Uni is Dutch and covers the most relevant newspapers from the Netherlands, it was possible to conduct all research via the

²⁶ Nexis Uni platform available at: <https://www.lexisnexis.nl/research/nexis-uni>

research database with no need for a complementary platform. Finally, the choice of using two methodological approaches was fundamental to grasp the most relevant debates around both events and to understand how different stakeholders and representatives reacted to the changes and transformations that each event went through in the last two decades.

Thesis Outline

This thesis comprises six parts: first, it introduces the main character of the research by bringing the reader to the universe of carnival as well as by presenting the lenses, resources, and methods that this thesis will use to study this phenomenon. Throughout the thesis, footnotes will provide the references for cited literature and further information to provide context to the reader. The introduction also outlines the main questions that will be answered throughout the thesis. The following chapter, Concepts and Contextualization, will present the theoretical discourse around the concept of carnival and will advocate for a concept chosen to guide this thesis from the title to the end. It will also travel through time to offer an overview of how carnival, as a phenomenon created by human culture, has a metamorphic nature that brings a sample of every culture and civilization it travels to. The carnivalesque vessel, as I decided to call it, also introduces to the reader the different types of carnivals that were developed by modern societies and still coexist.

The following chapters provide the main analysis of this study. Each chapter is dedicated to answering one of the thesis sub-questions in a comparative manner, using examples and stories from the case studies: Recife and Rotterdam. Some of its many characters will also be introduced: the interviewees of this investigation. The third chapter will deal with multiculturalism and the conflicts of inequality between different identities that arise in multicultural societies. The fourth chapter will tell stories of conflicts and tensions within power structures to illustrate how institutionalization can preserve or harm intangible cultural heritage in carnivals. The same format will be followed in the fifth chapter, where examples from Rotterdam and Recife will show circumstances in which carnival creates community cohesion or replicate inequalities and segregations. The sixth chapter will focus on the political character of both carnivals and the influence, negative or positive, that institutionalization has had on it. By telling stories from the carnivals of the north and the south, the last chapter will argue if this contested space is really

being disputed politically by the people that participate in it. This thesis will conclude by summarizing the key findings and answers to the research questions posed and bringing some personal reflections from the writer. Lastly, the limitations of this research will be stated and instructions on further directions for the research will be discussed, culminating in a final question: how can societies achieve carnival's full potential?

3. CONCEPTS AND CONTEXTUALIZATION

Definitions of carnival and the *carnavalesque* spirit

Figure 6: *The Fight Between Carnival and Lent*, Pieter Bruegel (1559).



Source: The Web Gallery of Art.

Conceptualizing carnival needs to take into consideration that there are two definitions available. One defines an event and the other, an idea. There is the annual ritualistic event that precedes the fasting period of Lent in Roman Catholic areas that involves different cultural expressions, customs, and traditions from Europe and the Americas.²⁷ And there is the carnivalesque spirit, a ritual and celebration of a world upside down, where the established behavior is suspended while the spirit of Carnival reigns temporarily. This suspension or inversion is a paradoxical social process that offers an opportunity to display common goals and shared values and provides a release from repressed feelings and frustrations.²⁸ It fosters ideas of denying norms, inverting social order, and providing a temporary opening for different alternatives and

²⁷ Aurélie Godet. "Behind the Masks." *Journal of Festive Studies* 2, no. 1 (2020): 3.

²⁸ Michelle Duffy. 'Festival and Spectacle'. In *International Encyclopedia of Human Geography*, edited by Rob Kitchin and Nigel Thrift, Oxford: Elsevier, (2009): 73–97.

possibilities to the ordinary or real world.²⁹ The *carnavalesque* was coined by Russian philosopher Mikhail Bakhtin in his work *Rabelais and His World*, originally written in 1940 and later published in 1965. It originally had the purpose of identifying the representation of carnival in literature. *Carnavalesque literature* is, in his view, literature that has been directly or indirectly influenced by different modalities of ancient or medieval carnival folklore.³⁰ He identifies the characteristics of carnivalesque by creating four categories:

- a. “The familiar” or elimination of differences,
- b. “The eccentric” or the exposing of the repressed,
- c. “The carnivalistic misalliances” or mixing of contrasts, and
- d. “The profanation” or the parody and blasphemy.³¹

In his *carnavalesque*, these categories represent established values and norms being inverted, mocked, or eliminated, creating an upside-down world where anti-hierarchism, the relativity of values, questioning of authority, syncretism and differing perspectives are permitted.³² Because of his clear description of behaviors, its use has been expanded from just a literary concept to explain the nature of carnival as a social phenomenon. The uses of *carnavalesque* were also incorporated to describe a type of protest, or a form of resistance that merges politics and aesthetics. *Carnavalesque resistance* as a political strategy is encountered in the discourse of the situationist international movement³³ in the 1960s. In *The Revolution of Everyday Life*, Raoul Vaneigem fueled the May 1968 student movement with what can be called Carnival Liberation theory.³⁴ That theory was also applied at the Carnival Against Capitalism, a cultural and political movement against the abuses of neoliberalism and globalization that had its peak in the 1990s.

²⁹ David Danow, *The spirit of carnival: Magical realism and the grotesque*, (University Press of Kentucky, 2014)

³⁰ Edson Carlos Romualdo, “Charge jornalística: intertextualidade e polifonia: um estudo de charges da Folha de S. Paulo.” *Eduem*, (2000), 57-64

³¹ Mikhail Bakhtin and Helene Iswolsky. *Rabelais and his world*. (Indiana University Press, 1984)

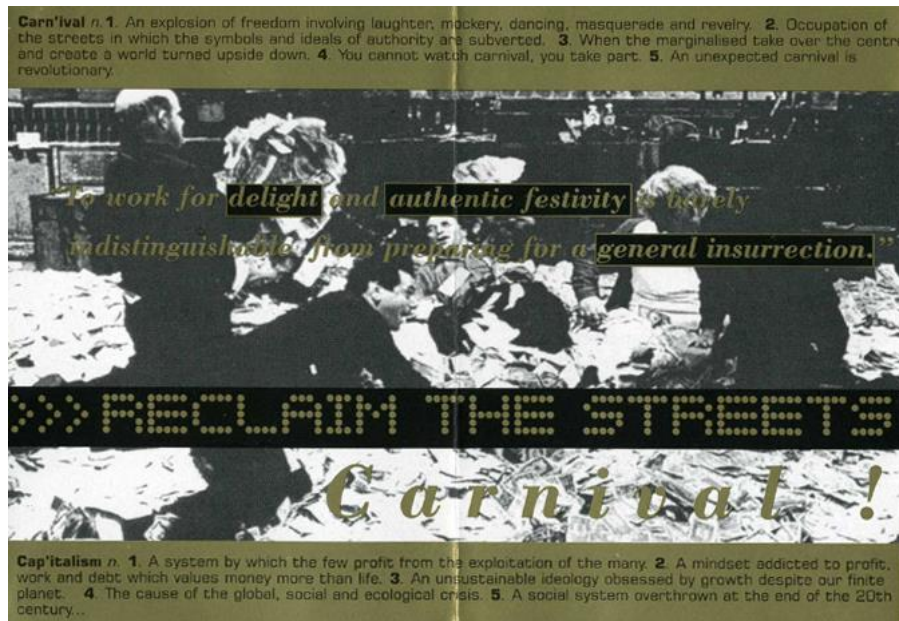
³² Renate Lachmann, Raoul Eshelman, and Marc Davis. “Bakhtin and carnival: Culture as counter-culture.” *Cultural Critique 11* (1988): 115-152.

³³ Revolutionary alliance of European avant-garde artists, writers and poets formed at a conference in Italy in 1957 (as Internationale Situationiste or IS). The IS developed a critique of capitalism based on a mixture of Marxism and surrealism. Situationist ideas played an important role in the revolutionary Paris events of 1968. It was dissolved in 1972.

³⁴ Claire Tancons, “Occupy Wall Street: Carnival against capital? Carnavalesque as protest sensibility.” *The Political Aesthetics of Global Protest: The Arab Spring and Beyond* (2011).

Carnival Against Capitalism had its most famous episode in the J18 protest, that occurred in June 1999 during the G8 Summit in Cologne.³⁵

Figure 7: Reclaim the Streets flyer for the J18.



Source: Wikipedia / Creative Commons.

“To work for delight and authentic festivity is barely
indistinguishable from preparing for a general insurrection”

Raoul Vaneigem, French Situationist

Although used as a revolutionary tool by the situationists, some authors argue that Bakhtin’s carnivalesque is "not directed against institutions, whose functions and forms are only usurped for a temporary period, but rather against the loss of utopian potential brought by dogma and authority."³⁶ In the mid-1960s, Max Gluckman raised a second viewpoint on carnival as an idea. He disagrees that carnival is a revolutionary tool when he argues that carnival and rites of inversion are not a serious threat to the established order because the idea under attack is never

³⁵ Gavin Grindon, "Carnival against capital: a comparison of Bakhtin, Vaneigem and Bey." *Anarchist Studies* 12, no. 2 (2004): 147-161.

³⁶ Renate Lachmann, Raoul Eshelman, and Marc Davis. "Bakhtin and carnival: Culture as counter-culture." *Cultural Critique* 11 (1988): 115-152.

really destroyed.³⁷ He sees it as a *safety valve* instead, intended to preserve and strengthen the status quo. As a mechanism endorsed by elites to dissipate revolutionary energy, serving the interest of stability and hierarchy.³⁸ In *Ritual Process: Structure and Anti-structure*, Victor Turner counterargues this argument by saying that public liminality (or social inversion) is often seen as dangerous by powers and elites and can never be regarded as a mere catharsis or safety valve. Rather, the new paradigms and models that are proposed and legitimated in the very hit of carnival and ritualistic performance emerge as a sort of popular and community creativeness.³⁹

The social anthropological ritual theory of Victor Turner describes rites of passage like carnivals with two fundamental characteristics: the *public liminality*, to designate the phase of inversion and ambiguity, and the *communitas*, a social organization that denies the current structure.⁴⁰ Communitas refers to a sense of spontaneous connectedness and belonging that arises out of a communal event in the state of suspension of the everyday.⁴¹ Turner's and Bakhtin's proposition is reaffirmed by Roberto Da Matta in his celebrated *Carnivals, Rogues and Heroes*. He contextualizes the public liminality and social inversion ideas in the context of Brazilian Carnival and Mardi Gras. He argues that in the Brazilian carnival, the streets become home for a few days, which subverts both the hierarchical code of the street and that of the home itself.⁴² Carnival is then the perfect inversion of Brazilian reality: it is an intrinsically street ritual in a country that fears its streets and a rite without an owner in a country that hierarchizes everything.⁴³ To summarize the prior definitions, although all authors agree that carnival is a rite of passage that creates a world upside down characterized by inversion of hierarchies and suppression of rules and accepted behavior, Gluckman's idea of safety valve disagrees with the outcome of this temporary social inversion. He argues that seeing carnival as a ritual of rebellion is problematic since carnivals have rarely succeeded in affecting more than momentary change.⁴⁴ However, it is rather

³⁷ Max Gluckman. *Custom and Conflict in Africa*. (Oxford: Blackwell, 1965)

³⁸ Aurélie Godet. "Behind the Masks." *Journal of Festive Studies* 2, no. 1 (2020): 9.

³⁹ Victor Turner, 'Frame, Flow and Reflection: Ritual and Drama as Public Liminality.' *Japanese Journal of Religious Studies*, Vol. 6, No. 4 (1979): 465-499

⁴⁰ Victor Turner, and R.D. Abrahams. *The Ritual Process: Structure and Anti-Structure*. (Foundations of Human Behavior, Aldine de Gruyter, 1995)

⁴¹ Michelle Duffy. 'Festival and Spectacle'. In *International Encyclopedia of Human Geography*, edited by Rob Kitchin and Nigel Thrift, Oxford: Elsevier, (2009): 73-97.

⁴² Roberto Da Matta and Ray Green. "An Interpretation of "Carnaval", *SubStance*, 11/12, 162-170. (1982):

⁴³ Roberto DaMatta and John Drury. *Carnivals, Rogues, and Heroes*. (University of Notre Dame Press, 1991)

⁴⁴ Aurélie Godet. "Behind the Masks." *Journal of Festive Studies* 2, no. 1 (2020): 9

naive to expect that carnival, a periodic public display, conceived, organized, and experienced by popular groups can promote and be responsible for a structural change in society's hierarchies and rules. At the same time, affirming that carnival is a representation of an 'upside down' world is more a reference to the intentions behind the ritual itself than to an outcome of it.⁴⁵

James Scott cautions against mistaking the intentions of the elites with the results they can achieve. Throughout different carnival episodes in history, what carnival tells us is not how it has contributed to the maintenance of existing hierarchies, but rather how often it was an arena for political conflict.⁴⁶ Le Roy Ladurie also tells the story of Romans, when a religious festivity in a small French town erupted into a popular revolt which ended with the massacre of many of the town's poorer citizens.⁴⁷ Arguing that carnival is a mere catharsis without any political and social power is also ignoring several episodes of popular resistance to maintain carnival as a people's event while the elites tried to embed it in the bourgeois culture and to maintain their social order. This thesis argues that the very nature of carnival lies precisely in the tensions it creates between opposite sides. It agrees with Abner Cohen's argument that in carnival, consensus and conflict do not cancel each other out.⁴⁸ Cohen argued that the 'ideal carnival' is the balance between these two forces. "If the festival is made to express pure and naked hegemony, it becomes a massive political rally of the type staged under totalitarian political systems. On the other hand, if it is made to express pure opposition, it becomes a political demonstration against the system. In either extreme case it ceases to be a carnival."⁴⁹ The whole idea is that carnival is a tug of war between different intentions and interpretations, in other words, a disputed space. A contested event that expresses ideas of conflict.⁵⁰ It is from this viewpoint that this thesis constructs its arguments and answers its main questions.

⁴⁵ Carmo Daun e Lorena, 'Subsídios para a análise da festa: o carnaval visto pelas ciências sociais', *Revista Lusófona de Estudos Culturais* 6, no. 2 (2019): 54.

⁴⁶ James C. Scott, 'Rituals of reversal, carnival and fêtes. In *Domination and the Arts of Resistance. Hidden transcripts*' Yale university press, New Haven (1990): 172-182.

⁴⁷ Emmanuel Le Roy Ladurie. *Carnival in Romans: A People's uprising at Romans (1579-1580)*. (Editions Gallimard, 1979)

⁴⁸ Abner Cohen. 'A polyethnic London carnival as a contested cultural performance,' *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 5:1, (1982): 34.

⁴⁹ Cohen, 37.

⁵⁰ Peter Jackson, 'Street life: the politics of carnival.' *Environment and planning D: Society and Space* 6, no. 2 (1988): 214.

The *carnavalesque* vessel: travels and cultural transformations of a festivity

The days in which societies pursue pleasure, escape from the socially accepted behaviors, and engage in anti-hegemonic conduct occupy an important place in human dynamics. It speaks to ancient human archetypes in calling for a moment to invert the status quo, to mediate between opposite ends of the social spectrum, and to create a shared, common, upside-down world—a Foucauldian heterotopia or lived utopia.⁵¹ These archetypes find expression in communities and groups through ritualistic events that act as fixed points against which time is structured and nature is reflected on. For example, to mark the season and agricultural cycles, civilizations created a calendar of festive dates.⁵² The first record of a *carnavalesque* ritual goes back to Ancient Rome, at the urban festival of Saturnalia. However, the connection between that mid-December festival and the pre-Lent celebration popularized in Medieval Europe is limited. The Saturnalia is often related to celebrating the mid-winter solstice. Carnival as we know it had its origins in the Middle Ages, as part of a cycle of discipline and release: a time of liberation from social constraints prior to forty days of abstinence in recognition of Jesus' fasting sacrifice in the desert.⁵³ It was only by workers, artisans, and members of higher classes. As the festivities lost their political and ritualistic features in late modern Europe, carnival began being relegated to the periphery while moral reforms were driven by industrialization, urbanization, decline of occultism and religion, and the rise of class consciousness.⁵⁴

⁵¹ Claire Tancons, "Occupy Wall Street: Carnival against capital? Carnavalesque as protest sensibility." *The Political Aesthetics of Global Protest: The Arab Spring and Beyond* (2011).

⁵² Alessandro Falassi, *Time Out Of Time: Essays On The Festival*. 1st ed. (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1987)

⁵³ Aurélie Godet. "Behind the Masks." *Journal of Festive Studies* 2, no. 1 (2020): 4.

⁵⁴ Godet, 4.

Figure 8: *Dia D'entrudo* by Jean-Baptiste Debret. Recife, 1823.



Source: Google Arts and Culture / Paço do Frevo.

While losing its space and value in European culture, carnival travelled to the New World and was transformed by the processes of forced and voluntary migration during the colonization of the Americas.⁵⁵ Carnival then took a new form in the colonial societies, where the combination of Amerindian and African tradition and rituals was syncretized with European carnival, now translated, and transformed by that forced cultural encounter.⁵⁶ Africa, from where the enslaved were transported to the New World, was already interacting with the West and with Christianity, and the synthesis between Christianity and African traditions so often noted had already begun in Africa itself.⁵⁷ This syncretism of African and Christian traditions could be encountered in most new celebrations of American carnival, from the southern United States Mardi Gras to the Caribbean islands of Trinidad and Tobago. While American nation states began to emerge at the

⁵⁵ Peter Burke, *The Translation of Culture: Carnival in Two or Three Worlds*. in *Varieties of Cultural History*. (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1997): 151.

⁵⁶ Aurélie Godet. "Behind the Masks." *Journal of Festive Studies* 2, no. 1 (2020): 4-5.

⁵⁷ Peter Burke, *The Translation of Culture: Carnival in Two or Three Worlds*. in *Varieties of Cultural History*. (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1997): 154.

end of European colonization, carnival was being policed to fit the bourgeois sensibilities as an effort to protect and maintain European cultural references and colonial social structures.⁵⁸

In his *Variety of Cultural History* Peter Burke defines this attempt to maintain European traditions as a 'masked white fear of growing Africanization'.⁵⁹ While elites tried to whiten American carnival, the emancipation of enslaved African and native Americans, although limited, made it viable to conduct their rituals and celebrations more freely and then create new cultural manifestations from Port of Spain to Recife and from New Orleans to Pasto. It became possible to draw a carnival culture across the whole continent.⁶⁰ Always displaying the extreme disparity between classes and ethnicities through role reversals that provide relief from the brutal social divide, as an opportunity for society to coexist.⁶¹ Brazil and other countries that received the forced African diaspora reproduced in its carnival the tensions developed in a multiethnic society built upon racial and social inequalities.⁶² During the colonization years there was an undeniable difference between the settlements in both American hemispheres. While the south developed several exploitation colonies and used enslaved labor to explore their raw materials, the north developed colonies of settlement and voluntary migration. Even after the independence of former European colonies, the economic development of Latin America continued to be one of export-oriented growth based on primary commodities. And it remains so today. These extremely different environments where Europeans established their colonies led to societies with different degrees of inequality.⁶³ It also resulted in the most recent experiences of carnival, that rose from waves of immigration from ex-colonies in Latin America and the Caribbean to European countries and North America.

⁵⁸ Aurélie Godet. "Behind the Masks." *Journal of Festive Studies* 2, no. 1 (2020): 5.

⁵⁹ Peter Burke, *The Translation of Culture: Carnival in Two or Three Worlds*. in *Varieties of Cultural History*. (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1997)

⁶⁰ Aurélie Godet. "Behind the Masks." *Journal of Festive Studies* 2, no. 1 (2020): 5.

⁶¹ Claire Tancons, "Occupy Wall Street: Carnival against capital? Carnavalesque as protest sensibility." *The Political Aesthetics of Global Protest: The Arab Spring and Beyond* (2011).

⁶² Peter Burke, *The Translation of Culture: Carnival in Two or Three Worlds*. in *Varieties of Cultural History*. (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1997)

⁶³ Kenneth L. Sokoloff and Stanley L. Engerman. "Institutions, Factor Endowments, and Paths of Development in the New World." *Journal of Economic Perspectives*, 14 (3), (2000): 217-232.

Significant populations of Latin American and Caribbean descendants in large urban centers like London, Toronto, New York, Rotterdam, and Paris, brought with them their celebrations and festivities. Caribbean and Latin carnivals in the Global North were formally settled in the late twentieth century.⁶⁴ London's Notting Hill Carnival, together with Zomercarnaval, Carnival Tropical de Paris and Berlin's Carnival of Cultures are examples of this phenomenon.⁶⁵ While this popularity of Tropical Carnivals in the Global North can be seen as a commodification of culture, it is also a response to a general need for integration, conviviality and belonging often found within migrant communities.⁶⁶ The act of organizing their own social events and activities was a way in which they could continue nurturing their traditions, interacting with each other and fostering a sense of belonging. In the case of Notting Hill, after the race riots of 1958, the urgency of creating community cohesion inside the Caribbean community became more evident.⁶⁷ The Trinidadian activist, Claudia Jones, created a carnival style event in the Town Hall as a protest and a statement to the British: 'this is our new home, and we are here to stay'.⁶⁸

Figure 9: Blue plaque in Notting Hill commemorating Claudia Jones.



Source: Wikicommons / Edwardx.

⁶⁴ Aurélie Godet. "Behind the Masks." *Journal of Festive Studies* 2, no. 1 (2020): 6.

⁶⁵ Ernest Taylor and Moya Kneafsey. "The place of urban cultural heritage festivals: The case of London's Notting Hill Carnival." *In Cultural heritage in a changing world*, Springer, Cham, (2016): 181-196.

⁶⁶ Aurélie Godet. "Behind the Masks." *Journal of Festive Studies* 2, no. 1 (2020): 6.

⁶⁷ Amidst racial intolerance and competition over resources, the white working class of the Notting Hill area, London, UK, launched an attack against members of the black community on August 30, 1958. Forced to arm themselves in defense, the confrontation lasted a week. In: <https://www.blackpast.org/global-african-history/notting-hill-riots-1958>

⁶⁸ BBC. The Street Party that Revolutionized Britain. Accessed in May 10, 2021. Available at: <https://www.bbc.com/culture/article/20200826-the-street-party-that-revolutionised-britain>

As the *carnavalesque* manifestations travelled through time and space, it repeated cycles and processes of genesis, social acceptance, regeneration, abandonment, and rediscovery. From medieval Europe to the Americas, carnival's place in societies has been contested and challenged. While investigating carnival and its different interpretations throughout the world and reflecting on the unresolved and indecisive relationship that societies have with their carnival festivities, Peter Burke identified some patterns. These patterns have four main phases: participation, reform, withdrawal, and rediscovery.⁶⁹ The phases exemplify how carnival is the stage for social contestations and affirm that once a carnival festivity is assimilated as a popular autonomous tradition, it begins to be morally rejected by elites, which in their turn withdraw from the authentic popular experience and create a parallel exclusive one – some sort of appropriation of *carnavalesque* culture without proper reflection on its social inversion aspect. The following phase is one of rediscovery of the popular and spontaneous carnival, or the recognition of its grassroots importance by the elites. Burke's reflections on how carnival's space is perceived and contested in different societies confirms this thesis' argument that carnival as an event is shaped in the tensions it creates. It is in the space of conflict that its cultural expressions and its catharsis occur and although it can be neutralized by those responsible for protecting social order, it always regains its status of contestation and its intrinsically disputed nature.

Comparing Recife and Rotterdam

To achieve this study's objective of investigating the conflicts, tensions and contradictions encountered during the process of embedding a carnival into the official calendar of a city, it was fundamental to frame the study's discourse on the definition of carnival as a place of conflict itself. Then, this affirmation was contextualized through examples of carnivals and carnival's global experiences through time. The following part of this chapter will introduce Recife and Rotterdam, the two case studies of this investigation. First, it is vital to identify the similarities between both cities that set the scene for a carnival tradition to develop. The comparison of carnivals in Rotterdam and Recife recognizes the influence that movements of people have on the development

⁶⁹ Peter Burke, *The Translation of Culture: Carnival in Two or Three Worlds. in Varieties of Cultural History*. (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1997)

of carnivals with multicultural elements. In both cases, carnival traditions have travelled throughout the world through an immigration process. These movements of people, in their turn, were caused by the economic prosperity and social connections provided by being port cities. This research chose to investigate multicultural carnival experiences due to its propensity to bring up tensions and conflicts of a diverse society. Multicultural festivals are promoted as sites for ongoing dialogues and negotiation among different communities. The goal is to create a place in which differences are reduced and feelings of belonging to a group or community are heightened. Not surprisingly, tensions arise where certain ideals of community diverge from those of the everyday lived experiences.⁷⁰

Despite the similarities between the two cities, their differences are equally important. As discussed, Recife and Rotterdam were not developed in the same socioeconomic context. Because of this, the substantial difference between the Rotterdam and Recife carnivals must be considered; movements of people to the global south in the early sixteenth century, and to a European urban center in the late twentieth century did not have the same reasons, consequences, and effects. The choice of locations is not accidental and has methodological reason behind it. The decision to compare one multicultural carnival festivity in the global south with one from the global north recognizes that social contrasts and tensions behave in different ways in each part of the world. Carnival experiences, like any other cultural manifestation, are subject to the global inequalities that the capitalist economic model has created. And although one can find these tensions and contrasts in the experiences of both places, they will have substantial differences that call for investigation and comparison. Thus, the question is, what kind of multicultural societies were developed in Recife and Rotterdam? The following section will introduce the conditions that drove movements of people to Recife and Rotterdam, aspects of each multicultural society, the inequalities found within and between both cities and, of course, their carnivals.

⁷⁰ Michelle Duffy. 'Festival and Spectacle'. In *International Encyclopedia of Human Geography*, edited by Rob Kitchin and Nigel Thrift, Oxford: Elsevier, (2009): 73–97.

Introducing multiculturality in the global south: the case of Recife

Figure 10: Commemorative map of Pernambuco's Captaincy conquest by the Dutch West India Co. (1630)



Source: Nicolaas Visscher / Public Domain.

Recife was founded in 1537 in the state of Pernambuco, the oldest territory in Northeastern Brazil and the first economic core of Brazil as a colony, due to its important sugar cane industry. The city was born as a small fishermen's village limited to the old town of Olinda, Pernambuco's first capital. Due to its favorable physical characteristics - a narrow strip of sand protected by a line of reefs forming an anchorage - a harbor was developed.⁷¹ Like in many other port cities, the construction of Recife's port directly fueled the city's development and guided urban occupation, neighborhood development, as well as the emergence of its socioeconomic and cultural growth.⁷² From 1630 to 1654, the coast of Pernambuco was invaded and stood under Dutch rule as part of an occupation project of Northeastern Brazil by the Dutch West India Company. In 1654, the Portuguese and the people of Pernambuco mobilized and carried out the Pernambuco Insurrection to end Dutch occupation. During their time in Pernambuco, the Dutch settlers came to dominate all stages of sugar production, from planting sugarcane to refining and distribution. After the

⁷¹ IBGE. 2017.

⁷² Oliveira, Lilian Rodrigues de; Sônia Valéria Pereira y José Divard Oliveira Filho. "Relação porto / cidade: o caso do Porto do Recife, Pernambuco – Brasil". *Revista Contribuciones a las Ciencias Sociales*, (enero-marzo 2017).

departure of the Dutch in 1654 and with control of the African slave trade, The Dutch West India Company moved its sugar industry to the Antilles region, establishing the Dutch Antilles.⁷³

Unable to deal with the Antillean competition, the sugar economy in Pernambuco collapsed, starting a phase of economic crisis in Brazil until the gold cycle boom in the eighteenth century. Recife, a prosperous and vibrant port city with an emerging elite of merchants and aristocratic sugar barons, had to face a downturn in the early eighteenth century.⁷⁴ The rise and fall of Pernambuco's economy illustrates how the long process of commodity exploitation in Latin America, already explained in this chapter, cursed the continent to remain economically dependent on former colonizers followed by British and American Empires. This dependency resulted in the underdevelopment and impoverishment of Latin American society and the enrichment of European countries and The United States.⁷⁵ In the following centuries, although decadent, the sugar cane industry continued to dominate Recife's economy and influenced the dynamics of this large urban center in one central aspect: the long period of slave labor in the plantations created a society of white nobles and black commoners. Contrary to Gilberto Freire's assertion in his *Casa Grande e Senzala*⁷⁶, this mixed-race society did not create racial harmony, neither in Recife nor in any other Brazilian urban center.⁷⁷

Shifting to the present day, Recife's social contrasts remain evident and for more than 30 years Recife's urban center has been considered the most unequal city in Brazil. When it comes to concentration of income, Recife's GINI coefficient is 0.6894 - well above Brazil's 0.490 and a similar value to Namibia and South Africa.⁷⁸ With an estimated population of 1.6 million people (the last census from 2010 calculated 1.5 million), Recife has a population density of 7.040

⁷³ In the islands of Curaçao, Aruba, Bonaire, Sint Maarten, Sint Eustatius, Saba.

⁷⁴ Breno de Almeida Vaz Lisboa. *Uma Elite em crise: a açucarocracia de Pernambuco e a Câmara Municipal de Olinda nas primeiras décadas do século XVIII*. Master's thesis, (Universidade Federal de Pernambuco, 2011).

⁷⁵ Eduardo Galeano. *Open Veins of Latin America: Five Centuries of the Pillage of a Continent*. (25th Anniversary Edition. London: Latin America Bureau, 1971) : 9-170.

⁷⁶ Freyre, Gilberto. *Casa Grande Senzala*. (Rio de Janeiro: Maia & Schmidt, 1934): 517.

⁷⁷ In Brazil, 30,000 young people are killed each year, 77% of whom are black (blacks and browns). The country has the third-largest prison population in the world, composed mainly of blacks. Accessed in May 12, 2021. Available at: <https://www.amnesty.org/en/latest/campaigns/2014/11/young-black-alive-breaking-the-silence-on-brazils-soaring-youth-homicide-rate/>

⁷⁸ Curiosamente. Recife, a Capital Brasileira da Desigualdade. Accessed in May 12, 2021. Available at: <http://curiosamente.diariodepernambuco.com.br/project/recife-capital-brasileira-da-desigualdade/>

inhabitants/km².⁷⁹ The city has 94 neighborhoods located in wetlands, hills, plains and beaches in six political-administrative regions (RPA).⁸⁰ The urban geography of Recife exposes its social contrasts: within walking distance, one can go from a large conglomerate of skyscrapers housing corporate offices to stilt houses or *palafitas* in extremely precarious conditions (see figure 11). Around 115,000 people, or seven per cent of the capital's population live below the poverty line.⁸¹ Living in extreme poverty can also impact access to basic services: 40 per cent of Recife's citizens have no water supply or access to adequate sanitation.⁸²

Figure 11: Pina Neighborhood and its skyscrapers sharing space with *palafitas*.



Source: JC Imagem / Felipe Ribeiro.

In the 2010 demographic census, 764884 inhabitants were identified as *pardos* or brown (49.74%), 628735 white (40.89%), 125.580 black (8.17%), 15300 asian (0.99%) and 3187 indigenous people (0.21%).⁸³ Most white people in the municipality are of Portuguese descent, with a possible Dutch contribution. It is vital to understand the meaning of *pardos* in Brazil. It is the most common self-declaration in the country and represents a mixed ethnicity with a diverse range of skin colors and ethnic backgrounds. In the socioeconomic context, *pardos* and *pretos*

⁷⁹ IBGE, 2010.

⁸⁰ Guimarães, Maria José Bezerra, Marques, Neusa Maria, Melo Filho, Djalma Agripino, & Szwarcwald, Célia Landman. Condição de vida e mortalidade infantil: diferenciais intra-urbanos no Recife, Pernambuco, Brasil. *Cadernos de Saúde Pública*, 19(5), (2003):1413-1424

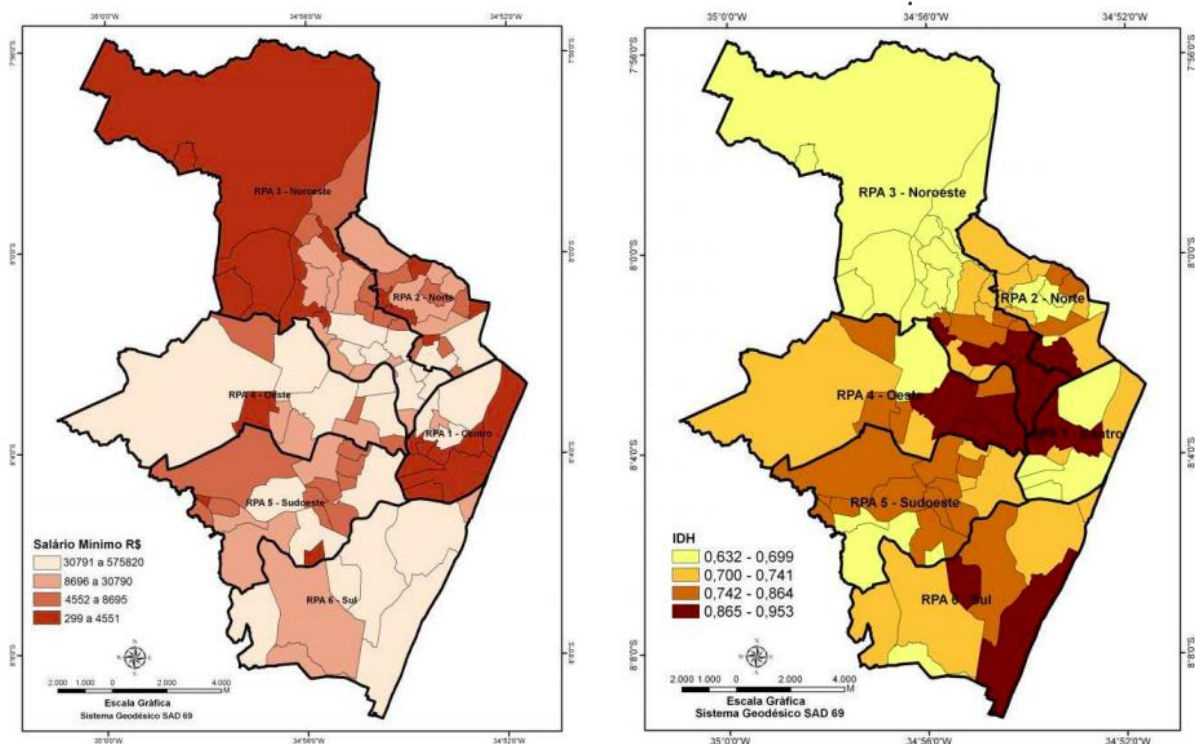
⁸¹ IBGE - Síntese de Indicadores Sociais. 2020.

⁸² IBGE – Indicadores Sociais Municipais. 2010.

⁸³ IBGE – Censo de 2010.

have little difference and some argue that the use of *pardos* for most of the population can represent a lack of racial awareness.⁸⁴ As a multicultural and multiethnic society, Recife is marked by racial inequalities: black and brown *recifenses* represent 75 per cent of the poorest 10 per cent, while of the richest 10 per cent, 56,5 per cent is white.⁸⁵ Territorially, inequality divides the city as follows: while the highest human development index and family incomes are encountered in the coastal area and in the expanded center of Recife, the lowest are usually found in the hills (or *morros*) and riversides.

Figure 12: Family incomes (left) and HDI rates (right) in Recife. Dark red represents the lowest income neighborhoods and light yellow the lowest human development index rates.



Source: Atlas de Desenvolvimento Humano do Recife.

Middle- and high-income families in Recife inhabit the expanded city center and the coastal neighborhood of Boa Viagem, while low-income families are concentrated in the outskirts of the city and the riverside areas (indicated as RPA 1 in Fig. 8). Although the socioeconomic indicators

⁸⁴ Verônica Toste Daflon. *So far, so close: blacks and browns and the Brazilian racial puzzle*. Phd Thesis (Instituto de Estudos Sociais e Políticos, Universidade do Estado do Rio de Janeiro, Rio de Janeiro, 2014)

⁸⁵ IBGE - Síntese de Indicadores Sociais. 2020.

of *morros* and riversides show levels of vulnerability, creating and experiencing popular culture is important in these neighborhoods. For example, the neighborhood of Bomba do Hemetério, located in the north of Recife, is identified as a cultural hub that attracts carnival associations dominated by indigenous and afro-descendent cultures. The carnival associations located there are not only means of earning a living and building connections to territory for several families, but are also a living intangible cultural heritage of Pernambuco's culture.⁸⁶ The area is the home of the oldest knowledgeable *maracatu* group, the Nação Elefante, founded in 1800 by the slave Manuel Santiago.⁸⁷ It is also where Maestro Forró, one of the interviewees in this thesis, found inspiration to start the Orquestra Popular da Bomba do Hemetério (OPBH) in 2002. The OPBH (see image below) is the final product of a Maestro Forró's community school, that research on *frevo* and other rhythms from popular culture and creates reinterpretations from it.⁸⁸

Figure 13: Maestro Forró and his Orchestra at Bomba do Hemetério, 2009.



Source: Maestro Forró and the OPBH / Beto Figueroa.

⁸⁶ André Luiz Maranhão de Souza Leão e Edilange Luiz Pereira. "A Cultura Carnavalesca Da Bomba Do Hemetério Como Recurso Econômico". *Desenvolvimento Em Questão* 16 (42), (2017): 484-517

⁸⁷ Fundaj. 2011.

⁸⁸ Maestro Forró. Interview with Isabel Albuquerque. Personal interview. Recife, March 11, 2021.

The same is true of the majority of the 498 carnival associations - *agremiações carnavalescas*⁸⁹- catalogued by the City of Recife; nearly all groups are in low-income neighborhoods. Pina, a neighborhood of social contrasts with most carnival groups as shown in figure xx is home to seventeen *agremiações carnavalescas*, followed by Casa Amarela and Ibura, with fourteen and twelve carnival groups.⁹⁰ These carnival groups are all a result of the syncretism of European, Amerindian, and African ethnicities. The three main cultural manifestations created by this process are *frevo*, *maracatu* and *caboclinho*. *Frevo* has strong European influences like Polka and brass bands and uses African-influenced martial arts like the *capoeira* in its choreography.⁹¹ *Caboclinho* is mostly influenced by indigenous practices and music and *maracatu* has predominantly African influences. These three cultural manifestations are the basis for several *agremiações carnavalescas*. Each category of *agremiações* in Pernambuco represents different social groups and values. These categories or cultural expressions are as follows:

Figure 14: lists of *agremiações carnavalescas*.

<i>Agremiação</i>	Cultural elements	Social status	Number
<i>Clubes</i>	Regional culture and mixed ethnicity	Middle class Urban worker and employee	18
<i>Bonecos</i>	Regional culture and mixed ethnicity	Urban worker and subproletarian employee	24
<i>Troças</i>	Regional culture and mixed ethnicity	Urban worker and subproletarian employee	18
<i>Blocos</i>	Elements of the carnival from Venice	Middle class, merchant teacher, employee	12
<i>Maracatu de baque virado</i>	Strong African ethnicity and religiosity	Urban subproletariat and day laborers	16
<i>Maracatu rural</i>	Mixture of various Indian and African elements	Rural workers and day laborers	64
<i>Caboclinhos</i>	Indigenous ethnicity	Urban workers and subproletarian employees	32
<i>Índios</i>	Indigenous ideology and mixed ethnicity	Workers, urban employees subproletarian employees	13
<i>Urso</i>	Medieval aspects of dancing bear	Urban workers and day laborers	14
<i>Boi</i>	St. John's dramatic traditions adapted to carnival	Rural workers and urban subproletarian	11
<i>Samba</i>	Afro-Brazilian and national expression	Different social classes	47

Source: Pinto, Thiago de Olivera. 1996.⁹²

⁸⁹ Popular carnival associations that present their repertoire of music, dance, and performance.

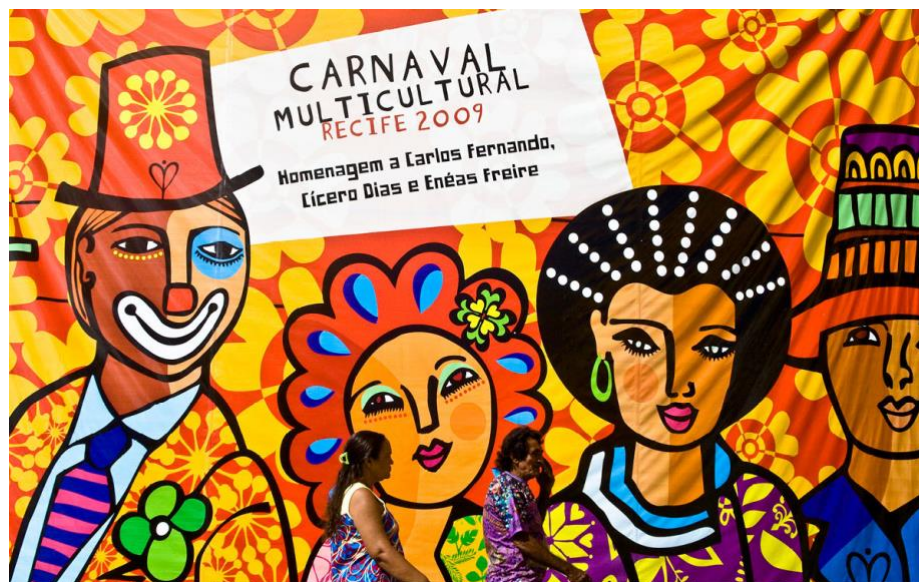
⁹⁰ Dados Abertos Recife. 2016.

⁹¹ Youtube. Frevo, performing arts of the Carnival of Recife, 2012. Accessed in May 17, 2021. Available at: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=dOjtXpl77E>

⁹² Pinto, Thiago de Oliveira. 'Musical Difference, Competition, and Conflict: The Maracatu Groups in The Pernambuco Carnival, Brazil'. *Latin American Music Review* (1996): 99-100.

Nowadays, the result of this multiculturalism found in so many different manifestations and practices of local popular culture makes the Carnaval do Recife stand out from the other major carnivals in Brazilian urban centers when it comes to cultural heritage, diversity and number of different cultural manifestations.⁹³ Recife's most popular festivity has occurred annually since the early twentieth century, but it was in 1955 that the Carnaval of Recife became part of the city's official agenda, through a Municipal Law that also guaranteed that representatives of cultural manifestations received public resources to fund their participation in the event.⁹⁴ The guarantee given by the municipality can be seen as the first evidence of attempts to make Recife's carnival central to the cultural heritage of the city. The 1972 Municipal Law, which guaranteed the promotion of Carnaval do Recife as a cultural event as well as a source of tourism development and revenue creation, is another important milestone.

Figure 15: *Carnaval Multicultural do Recife's* cenography by Joana Lira.



Source: Joanalira.com.br.

⁹³ Laure Garrabé. 'O carnaval do Recife entre seus pólos: uma leitura de seus processos de uniformização e singularização.' *Repertório: Teatro & Dança (Online)*, v. 2, (2012): 91.

⁹⁴ Augusto Neves Silva. 'Metamorfoses de uma festa: Histórias do carnaval em Recife (1955-1972).' *Revista Crítica Histórica* 6, no. 11 (2015): 198.

In the beginning of the twenty first century, Recife pioneered the Latin American Pink Tide⁹⁵ by electing João Paulo, a mayor from the Worker's Party (PT), two years prior to former President Lula's election in 2002. In 2001, João Paulo's administration started a new phase for the city's cultural scene by inaugurating the Secretary of Culture and creating the Commission of Cultural Cycles, a committee composed of activists and relevant actors of the cultural scene.⁹⁶ It was with the creation of the Carnaval Multicultural do Recife, that Recife's carnival became a public policy centered on three pillars: the democratization of the event, the presence of local and multicultural expressions and the decentralization of event venues. During his interview as one of this thesis' sources, João Paulo mentioned that this decision to decentralize carnival venues was done as an attempt to get closer to the periphery, where culture is mainly produced, in such way that could broaden and perpetuate Recife's culture through different forms of incentives for the carnival groups and their cultural manifestations.⁹⁷ When João da Costa (PT), the successor of João Paulo in Recife's municipality, was elected in 2008, the name Carnaval Multicultural do Recife was removed and changed to simply Carnaval do Recife. Besides that, João da Costa's administration did not leave important marks or significant measures on the cultural field and focused on the continuity of João Paulo's policies.

In 2012, a new chapter in Recife's politics was inaugurated with the election of Geraldo Julio, from the Brazilian Socialist Party (PSB), former ally and currently main political opponent of the Worker's Party (PT) in Pernambuco. Even though he changed the name and visual identity, the carnival policies during PSB's administration maintained the three pillars of Carnaval Multicultural do Recife. The decentralization, multiculturalism and democratization of Recife's carnival continued to be central in the event, acknowledging these pillars as the biggest legacy of João Paulo's rule. Although Geraldo Julio's administration preserved the format of Recife's Carnival, there were some significant shifts in its intentions. While João Paulo's vision was focused on developing culture as a citizenship builder and carnival as a stage for popular culture,

⁹⁵ A political wave and perception of a turn towards left-wing governments in Latin American democracies moving away from the neoliberal economic model at the start of the 21st century. The term first came into public discourse following the victory of Hugo Chávez in the Venezuelan presidential elections of 1998. Followed by several elections of leftists governments throughout Latin America. Available at: "pink tide." Oxford Reference.; Accessed 20 Jun. 2021. <https://www.oxfordreference.com/view/10.1093/oi/authority.20110803100328139>.

⁹⁶ Isabel Guillen. 'Inventário Nacional de Referências Culturais. Maracatu Nação' [online] *IPHAN - Instituto do Patrimônio Histórico e Artístico Nacional*, (2014), p. 83.

⁹⁷ João Paulo. Interview with Isabel. Personal Interview. Recife, February 19, 2021.

Geraldo Julio's was centralized on making carnival a stage for fostering tourism, innovation, and economic development.⁹⁸ When asked about changes to carnival organizations from one administration to the other, most of the thesis sources mentioned that the PSB government stopped making efforts of negotiation and collaboration with carnival groups and local communities. When it comes to the decentralization of Recife's Carnaval to the peripheries, although the main decentralized stages continued to exist, some practices of the peripheral neighborhoods were either discontinued or reduced significantly. For example, the frevo orchestras that were hired by the municipality to participate in small peripheral festivities and the *polinhos*, small self-managed decentralized stages in low-income neighborhoods, were two practices that were significantly reduced.⁹⁹ This introduction of Recife, its history, urban geography, and multicultural society aimed to contextualize the reader. The next chapters will give a further analysis of the relationship between carnival groups on one side, municipality on the other, and the media as a third actor to recognize the conflicts that arose from the last twenty years of Recife's carnival.

Introducing multiculturality in the global north: the case of Rotterdam

Figure 16: Rotterdam's Map from 1784.



Source: Pinterest / Michiel van den Broeke.

⁹⁸ This statement is according to the answers from Ana Paula's and Fabiana's interviews, who were sources in this thesis as representatives of PSB's administration, and João Paulo's and Fernando's interviews, who represented PT's administration.

⁹⁹ Maestro Diodato. Interview with Isabel. Personal Interview. Recife, February 11, 2021.

The second major city in the Netherlands, Rotterdam is situated at the Rhine-Meuse Delta, where sea, land, and river meet: the perfect geography for the largest seaport in Europe.¹⁰⁰ Rotterdam's waterfront history dates to the thirteenth century, when a dam was constructed between the river Meuse and Rotterdam to prevent tidal floods. Along the dam, fishermen, sailors, and tradesmen started a settlement. Just like Recife, Rotterdam's fortunes have always followed the port's development and expansion. A rapidly growing port attracted many workers and in 1920 Rotterdam already had more than half a million inhabitants.¹⁰¹ Thanks to its port, the city developed as an industrial metropolis with modern European qualities such as a vibrant city center of boulevards, squares, entertainment, and culture. However, on May 14th, 1940, the city center was bombed by the German air force, destroying much of it overnight.¹⁰² The bombing left twenty-five thousand houses destroyed, nine hundred people killed and eighty thousand homeless.¹⁰³ Rotterdam's reconstruction featured extensive development of a modern central district, making Rotterdam one of the few Dutch cities with a modern center rather than a historical old town at its core.¹⁰⁴ The port retained its importance in Rotterdam as it continued expanding out from the city to accommodate petrochemical and other industries and harbors for larger ships (see figure 17). Globalization and containerization grew Rotterdam to the world's largest port from 1962 to 2004, before Shanghai took its place.¹⁰⁵

¹⁰⁰ Port of Rotterdam. 2021. Accessed 20 Jun, 2021. Available at: <https://www.portofrotterdam.com/en>

¹⁰¹ Nico Tillie, Iris Dudok, Peter MJ Pol, Luc Boot, and Roland van der Heijden. "Quality of life in Remaking Rotterdam." *Remaking Post Industrial Cities*; Routledge: Abingdon-on-Thames, UK (2016).

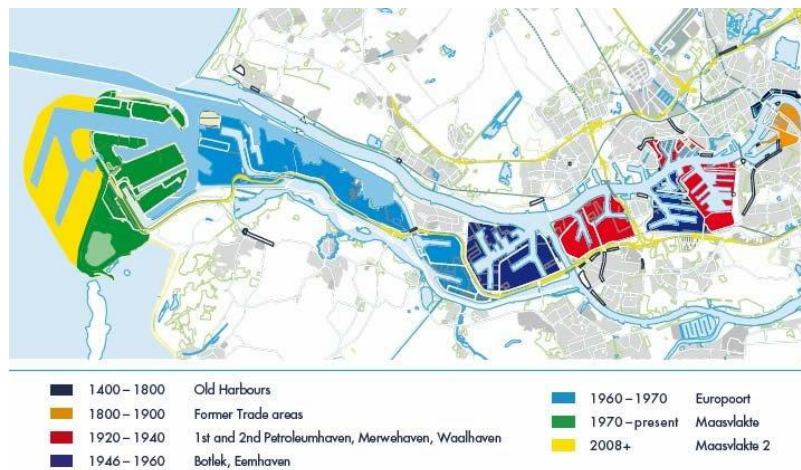
¹⁰² Peter Nientied, 'Hybrid Urban Identity—The Case of Rotterdam' *Current Urban Studies* 6, no. 01 (2018): 156.

¹⁰³ Nico Tillie, Iris Dudok, Peter MJ Pol, Luc Boot, and Roland van der Heijden. "Quality of life in Remaking Rotterdam." *Remaking Post Industrial Cities*; Routledge: Abingdon-on-Thames, UK (2016).

¹⁰⁴ Peter Nientied, 'Hybrid Urban Identity—The Case of Rotterdam' *Current Urban Studies* 6, no. 01 (2018): 156.

¹⁰⁵ Nientied, 159.

Figure 17: Historical development of Port of Rotterdam.



Source: De Gijt et al. 2010.¹⁰⁶

In the 1980s, Rotterdam entered a post-industrialization phase with other economic clusters emerging in the city, like the service and creative sectors.¹⁰⁷ Nevertheless, Rotterdam's society still maintained the character of an industrial city, being predominantly a city of workers where middle and upper classes were a minority. To counterbalance this, a market-oriented urban policy also developed to promote Rotterdam as a city that invests in modern architecture.¹⁰⁸ From the 1980s onwards the cultural, urban, and economic climate of the city changed, shifting to a city with high-rises and modern developments like Central Station, Market Hall and Erasmus Bridge (see figure 18).¹⁰⁹ The city's remodeling has become a strong aspect of Rotterdam's identity: in 2016, the city celebrated the 75 years of its renewal after the bombing in the cultural event *Viert de Stad*.¹¹⁰

¹⁰⁶ J. G. Gijt, J. M. van Kleef, P. Taneja, and H. Ligteringen. "Development of container handling in the Port of Rotterdam." (2010).

¹⁰⁷ André Ouwehand and Wenda Doff. "Who is afraid of a changing population? Reflections on housing policy in Rotterdam." *In Geography Research Forum*, vol. 33, no. 1, (2013): pp. 116.

¹⁰⁸ Jan Buursink. "The cultural strategy of Rotterdam." *Cybergeo: European Journal of Geography* (1999).

¹⁰⁹ Peter Nientied, 'Hybrid Urban Identity—The Case of Rotterdam' *Current Urban Studies* 6, no. 01 (2018): 158.

¹¹⁰ Rotterdam Festivals. Accessed in 20 May, 2021. Available at: <http://www.rotterdamviertdestad.nl/>

Figure 18: Rotterdam around Erasmus Bridge.



Source: Flickr / Udo Schuklenk.

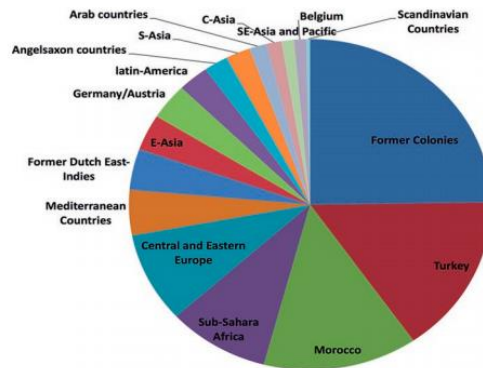
Its resilience and adaptiveness also helped Rotterdam become a superdiverse urban center and its multiculturalism can be considered the most evident aspect of Rotterdam's society today. However, it was not always like this and while it has always been an international city, its residents were mainly Dutch until the late twentieth century. It was only in the 1960s with the harbor expansions that international immigration started to grow while workers from Spain, Cape Verde, Portugal, Morocco, and Turkey moved to Rotterdam. A second wave of migration occurred as people from the former Dutch colonies in Suriname and the Antilles came to Rotterdam in the 1980s after both countries were granted independence. In the 2000s, a third migration wave started as students and workers from Central and Eastern European countries also started to migrate.¹¹¹ All these movements of people changed Rotterdam's demographics significantly and consequently, the city became such a symbol of diversity for the rest of the Netherlands that in 2009, Rotterdam became home to the first mayor in the Netherlands of Moroccan descent.¹¹² According to the 2012 Intercultural Cities Index, the largest minority groups in Rotterdam are from Suriname, Turkey, Morocco, The Antilles/Aruba, and Cape Verde. The remaining immigrants are from other EU countries as well as other western and non-western countries. Today, people with

¹¹¹ Peter Nientied, 'Hybrid Urban Identity—The Case of Rotterdam' *Current Urban Studies* 6, no. 01 (2018): 160-161.

¹¹² Nico Tillie, Iris Dudok, Peter MJ Pol, Luc Boot, and Roland van der Heijden. "Quality of life in Remaking Rotterdam." *Remaking Post Industrial Cities*; Routledge: Abingdon-on-Thames, UK (2016).

Muslim background represent thirteen per cent of the city's population.¹¹³ People born in Rotterdam whose parents are also Rotterdam natives only make up nine per cent of the population, making Rotterdam a majority-minority society, as the native population represents less than half of the city's population.¹¹⁴

Graph 1: percentage of Rotterdam's population groups in 2017.



Source: Crul, M. R. J., Scholten, P., & van Laar, P. 2019.

This demographic transformation called for policies that not only guaranteed social welfare for migrant communities, but also countered marginalization and segregation. The Minorities Policy was introduced in 1983, focusing on the integration, emancipation, and expression of multicultural identities.¹¹⁵ Since then, multiculturalism has gained momentum and the debate on integration of minorities, especially Muslims, dominates the political arena. However, nationalist and populist representatives with an anti-immigration agenda, and other conservatives can be found in the Parliament and the city council, opposing mostly non-western immigration. On the other side of the political spectrum, multiculturalism is celebrated and connections between social problems and the growing number of immigrants dismissed.¹¹⁶ Instead, it is argued that ethnic non-

¹¹³ Council of Europe. Intercultural Cities Index. Rotterdam: Results of the Intercultural Cities Index. 2012. <https://www.coe.int/en/web/interculturalcities/rotterdam>

¹¹⁴ Peter Scholten, Maurice Crul, and Paul van de Laar. 'Coming to terms with superdiversity: The case of Rotterdam.' *Springer Nature*, (2019): 1.

¹¹⁵ Marga Alferink. 'Post-Colonial Immigrants and Identity Formations In The Netherlands.' *In Post-colonial immigrants and identity formations in the Netherlands*. Amsterdam University Press, (2012): 109-114.

¹¹⁶ André Ouwehand and Wenda Doff. "Who is afraid of a changing population? Reflections on housing policy in Rotterdam." *In Geography Research Forum*, vol. 33, no. 1, (2013): pp. 121.

western minorities, mostly first generation, were often provided with lower quality of education and lower incomes; a sign of inequality between ethnicities.¹¹⁷

Rotterdam trialed different strategies to fight social and ethnic segregation, like creating socially mixed neighborhoods under the slogan “Rotterdam, undivided city” which in the beginning aimed at preventing income-based housing segregation by creating ethnically mixed neighborhoods.¹¹⁸ However, the focus of this policy can be seen as a response to market interests of upgrading the housing stock and providing better housing for the middle and upper income groups in the city.¹¹⁹ To some, this controversial housing policy of social mixing is racist because it favors rich, highly educated people and most likely white.¹²⁰ Racial and social inequalities between generations of immigrants and Dutch people have endured even with political efforts to tackle them. According to the municipality of Rotterdam, around ninety thousand immigrants in Rotterdam still have difficulties with the Dutch language and thus, cannot function in the traditional Dutch labor market.¹²¹ This impact is evident in Rotterdam’s unemployment figures: immigrants comprise two thirds of the registered unemployed persons in 2014 (see figure 19). Part of the population argue that immigrants themselves are the ones to blame for their slow integration.¹²² It is important to acknowledge that integration policies must continue through generations of immigrants to achieve their objectives. Also, to achieve their goals, these policies need to be two-sided and better represent the newcomers.¹²³

¹¹⁷ Peter Nientied, ‘Hybrid Urban Identity—The Case of Rotterdam’ *Current Urban Studies* 6, no. 01 (2018): 160.

¹¹⁸ André Ouwehand and Wenda Doff. “Who is afraid of a changing population? Reflections on housing policy in Rotterdam.” *In Geography Research Forum*, vol. 33, no. 1, (2013): 117.

¹¹⁹ Ouwehand, 118.

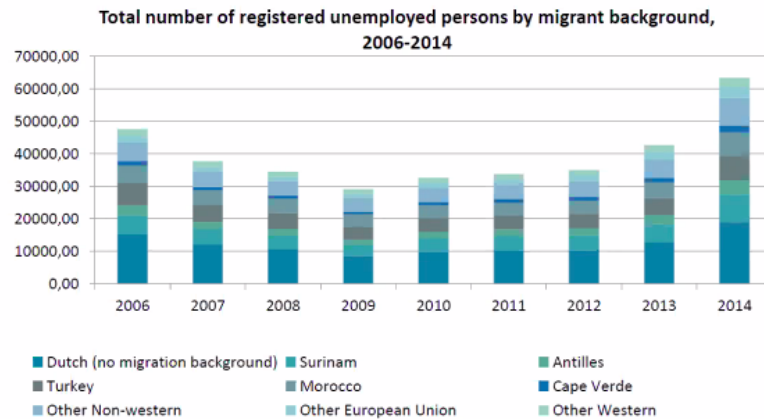
¹²⁰ De Kruif, Frank. “Monumententegen onwetendheid”; Rotterdam en de slavernij; De koloniale handel was het fundament van koopmansstad Rotterdam, blijkt uit onderzoek “. NRC Handelsblad. Accessed in June 1, 2021. Available at: <https://www.nrc.nl/nieuws/2020/11/04/monumenten-tegen-onwetendheid-a4018526>

¹²¹ Municipality of Rotterdam. Accessed in June 1, 2021. Available at: <https://www.rotterdam.nl/werken-leren/>

¹²² Council of Europe. Rotterdam: Results of the Intercultural Cities Index.

¹²³ Council of Europe. Rotterdam: Results of the Intercultural Cities Index.

Figure 19: registered unemployed persons by migrant background.



Source: Louise, S., 2019.¹²⁴

Despite the integration policies, immigrants in the Netherlands never ceased to display some of their culture in their new home. In the 1960s, Dutch Caribbean immigrants that migrated to study and work, started to organize their carnival festivities in the Netherlands.¹²⁵ The first official Antillean Carnival was held in Utrecht in 1982 (see figure 20). When the Minorities Policy was introduced in 1983, its focus was promoting equality before the law, promoting multiculturalism and the emancipation of ethnic communities, and improving the social and economic situation of minorities.¹²⁶ The policy provided funding for events like the Antillean Carnival as a vehicle for bridging the gap between immigrants and the society that received them. In 1984, the first official Antillean Carnival, now known as Rotterdam Zomercarnaval, was organized in Rotterdam with funding from the Minorities Policy.¹²⁷ The municipality soon took the responsibility of organizing the Antillean Carnival because it saw it as an opportunity to brand the city as multicultural and to bring immigrants closer to the Dutch community. According to Karel Willems, one of this thesis' interviewees and president of the Zomercarnaval Foundation, the Minorities Policy influenced Rotterdam's carnival to adhere to the 'melting pot' philosophy.¹²⁸ This new multicultural philosophy opened the carnival to other non-Caribbean carnival groups,

¹²⁴ Louise Sträuli, *Public Spaces in a Superdiverse City*. Masters Thesis. Erasmus University Rotterdam, (2019): 43.

¹²⁵ Marga Alferink. 'Post-Colonial Immigrants and Identity Formations In The Netherlands.' *In Post-colonial immigrants and identity formations in the Netherlands*. Amsterdam University Press, (2012): 109-114.

¹²⁶ Virginie Guiraudon, Karen Phalet, and Jessika ter Wal, 'Monitoring Ethnic Minorities in the Netherlands', *International Social Science Journal* 57 (1 March 2005): 76.

¹²⁷ History of Zomercarnaval. Zomercarnaval.org, 2021.

¹²⁸ Karel Willems. Interview with Isabel. Personal Interview. Recife, April 14, 2021.

from Suriname and Cape Verde and transformed the Antillean Carnival into Rotterdam's Zomercarnaval.¹²⁹ Other ethnic groups started to participate in the festival, including those from nations with no carnival tradition such as Morocco and Turkey.

Figure 20: "Awesome Antillean Day: Carnival floats goes six hours through town."



Source: Personal archive of Willy Djaoen (shared with researcher).

The Zomercarnaval soon took the shape of an immigrant multicultural festival and became the perfect representation of Rotterdam's superdiversity. In 2001, the event was awarded by the Prince Claus Fund, a Dutch fund established in 1996 for the promotion of culture and arts in developing countries.¹³⁰ Zomercarnaval, as a Dutch event, was eligible for a prize destined to developing countries because it "builds bridges between the different cultures and, at the same time, allows different cultures to merge into one connection" said Karel Willems, president of the Zomercarnaval Foundation. Rotterdam's Zomercarnaval is not an isolated case of immigrant carnivals, it is part of a global phenomenon of multicultural carnivals that takes part in many global

¹²⁹Zomercarnaval.org. History of Zomercarnaval. Accessed in June 3, 2021. Available at: <https://www.zomercarnaval.org/>

¹³⁰ Door L. Oomens. "Ontwikkelingshulp voor Rotterdam ; Zomercarnaval wint Prins Claus Prijs". Algemeen Dagblad. December 12, 2001. <https://advance-lexis-com.eur.idm.oclc.org/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:48KV-0220-0150-X3GC-00000-00&context=1516831>.

cities like London, Toronto, and Berlin. As previously explained, these carnivals were organized by diasporic Caribbean communities to create a connection with their ancestral past in their new country. Then, they often incorporated carnivalesque traditions from other immigrant communities from South America, Africa, and Asia. It is estimated that there are over sixty overseas Caribbean carnivals in North America and Europe.¹³¹ In Rotterdam, the Zomercarnaval has twenty-five nationalities represented in the parade every year.¹³²

Figure 21: Bolivian carnival group at Zomercarnaval.



Source: Flickr / Qsimple, Memories For The Future Photography.

Because of its eligibility for the Minorities Policy fund, Zomercarnaval ceased to be a bottom-up organized cultural expression from its second year, and it has since been further institutionalized by the municipality of Rotterdam since then. However, its governance has changed throughout the years. In its first years, the volunteer committee Zomercarnaval Rotterdam Foundation (SZCR) organized the event with public funding and shared the responsibility for the carnival with the municipality. As the event grew, the municipality started to feel a need for a more professionalized management and in 1995, Zomercarnaval Rotterdam Foundation ceased to

¹³¹ Keith Nurse. "Globalization And Trinidad Carnival: Diaspora, Hybridity And Identity In Global Culture", *Cultural Studies*, 13:4, (1999): 674.

¹³² Karel Willems. Interview with Isabel. Personal Interview. Recife, April 14, 2021.

organize the event.¹³³ The responsibility was transferred to Ducos Productions, a Dutch event production company with experience in the field of large-scale public events and festivals.¹³⁴ Ducos is still the main party responsible for the carnival's management and production. Now, the company shares Zomercarnaval's creative programming with the Zomercarnaval Foundation and the event's infrastructure and logistics with the municipality. According to Claudia Raven from Ducos Productions, the municipality takes care of the event's permits, security, and part of its sponsoring.¹³⁵ In 2012, Dunya, a performing arts festival was held in Rotterdam since 1977, was merged with Zomercarnaval under the name of Rotterdam Unlimited, a five-day summer festival that worked as an umbrella for several events.¹³⁶ In 2015, the whole of Rotterdam Unlimited was cancelled for the first time since 1983 due to a storm and Zomercarnaval ceased to happen for the first time in thirty years.¹³⁷ The event was back on the streets on the following year until it was cancelled again in 2020, this time due to the global pandemic.

Now considered one of Rotterdam's main event, Zomercarnaval is three years away from its fortieth anniversary. This rather invented tradition, a reflection of Rotterdam's multicultural society, was officially designated national heritage since 2016. The 2015 carnival queen and cultural heritage specialist, Dyonna Bennet, campaigned for the inclusion of Zomercarnaval as part of the National Inventory of Intangible Cultural Heritage in the Netherlands.¹³⁸ The event has been seen as of great importance to Rotterdam's community as a promoter of social cohesion. Nevertheless, like many carnivals, it is also a stage for contestations and social conflicts. The following chapters will investigate how Rotterdam's enduring social tensions and divisions are reflected in its street carnival.

¹³³ Marga Alferink. 'Post-Colonial Immigrants and Identity Formations In The Netherlands.' In *Post-colonial immigrants and identity formations in the Netherlands*. Amsterdam University Press, (2012): 109-114.

¹³⁴ Ducos Productions. 2012.

¹³⁵ Claudia Raven. Interview with Isabel. Personal Interview. Recife, April 19, 2021.

¹³⁶ Keunen, Yvonne. "Zomercarnaval fuseert". AD/Rotterdams Dagblad. 27 april 2012 vrijdag. <https://advance-lexis-com.eur.idm.oclc.org/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:55H3-8461-JC8W-Y42C-00000-00&context=1516831>.

¹³⁷ "Niet lullen maar poetsen bij hulp aan Zomercarnaval". De Havenloods. 5 augustus 2015 woensdag. <https://advance-lexis-com.eur.idm.oclc.org/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:5GKP-PVB1-F001-G143-00000-00&context=1516831>.

¹³⁸ Van onze Rotterdamse. "Zomercarnaval nu immaterieel erfgoed". De Telegraaf. 29 juli 2016 vrijdag. <https://advance-lexis-com.eur.idm.oclc.org/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:5KBG-0741-DY2H-831X-00000-00&context=1516831>.

4. TENSIONS BETWEEN SEGREGATION AND SOCIAL COHESION

A cohesive society can be seen as one that promotes equality of status and opportunity, guaranteeing that people's circumstances are not a barrier that prevents them from achieving their objectives. From a sociological point of view, social cohesion can be defined as the degree of consensus among members of a social group about the perception of belonging to a common project or situation.¹³⁹ Equality, inclusion, social connectedness, common social values, social order, and place attachment are some of the elements of this cohesiveness.¹⁴⁰ When these elements are encountered in a community, people can develop a better sense of citizenship and belonging. Communal activities for cultural and creative expression, like carnivals, have the potential to contribute to social justice and cohesion among vulnerable territories or unequal societies. It provides opportunities to showcase diversity and multiculturalism, promote tolerance and contribute to a community's well-being.¹⁴¹ In the case of immigrant festivities, it is an opportunity to decrease social distances and celebrate the otherness. To Cecília, leader of carnival group Cabo Verde Chegou, Zomercarnaval is a chance for immigrants to teach important lessons about tolerance and cultural identity to the Dutch society. "With Zomercarnaval, they learn that we must taste each other's food, that we must mix, that we must be friends. That the immigrant is not only good for cleaning but that he/she can also shine in the street, like a king and a queen."¹⁴² Coincidentally, the same idea was also declared by a carnival participant from Recife during a promotional video: "During carnival, a maid can be a queen, and a street sweeper, a king."¹⁴³

These two testimonies, that are so connected with the concepts of 'upside-down' world and social inversion that Bakhtin's carnivalesque has conceived, is not an evidence that carnival can end inequalities, since carnival might bring people together culturally and aesthetically but does not do it politically or economically.¹⁴⁴ It is rather a demonstration that such events can provide

¹³⁹ Rita Maria Ferrelli. "Cohesión social como base para políticas públicas orientadas a la equidad en salud: reflexiones desde el programa EUROsociAL." *Revista Panamericana de Salud Pública* 38 (2015): 272.

¹⁴⁰ Ernest Taylor, and Moya Kneafsey. "The place of urban cultural heritage festivals: The case of London's Notting Hill Carnival." *In Cultural heritage in a changing world*, Springer, Cham, (2016): 183.

¹⁴¹ Michelle Duffy, and Judith Mair. 'Festival encounters: theoretical perspectives on festival events.' *Routledge*, (2017): 73-83.

¹⁴² Cecília Lima Lopes Sleeuwen's interview. 2021.

¹⁴³ Carnaval do Recife – Video Promocional. 2008. Centro de Documentação Guerra Peixe.

¹⁴⁴ Aurélie Godet. "Behind the Masks." *Journal of Festive Studies* 2, no. 1 (2020): 11.

opportunities for minorities or vulnerable communities to express their culture and can become a mechanism for social change and community resilience.¹⁴⁵ However, since carnival is a disputed space, opposing sections of society use it to present and celebrate different values and identities. Thus, while it is a space where people can contest social hierarchies, other groups of people can use it to replicate the inequalities and segregations of a society and therefore, decide who belongs and who does not. According to Durkheim, the fewer the divisions of labor in societies, the greater the bond between individuals and a social group. The social (and most times, also racial) division of labor that came from modernization can weaken this bond and the autonomy that individuals acquire in modern society.¹⁴⁶ Thus, the more unequal a society is, the less cohesive is its carnival. For example, in Salvador, largest city of Northeastern Brazil and Afro-diasporic capital of the Americas, carnival trucks or *trios elétricos* present evidence of the city's social and racial apartheid: a cord carried by black workers, separates a white elite that pays dearly to be inside the cord, from a black and brown working class.¹⁴⁷ As the image below illustrates, each side of the cord experiences carnival in a very different way. By introducing the social tensions that are potentially stopping Rotterdam's and Recife's carnival from providing social cohesion, this chapter will explore this contrasting aspect of carnival: as democratic as it is segregating.

Figure 22: isolation cord in Salvador's carnival.



Source: Residência Universitária UFBA.

¹⁴⁵ Michelle Duffy. 'Festival and Spectacle'. In *International Encyclopedia of Human Geography*, edited by Rob Kitchin and Nigel Thrift, Oxford: Elsevier, (2009): 73–97.

¹⁴⁶ Rita Maria Ferrelli. "Cohesión social como base para políticas públicas orientadas a la equidad en salud: reflexiones desde el programa EUROsociAL." *Revista Panamericana de Salud Pública* 38 (2015): 272.

¹⁴⁷ Atlantico Online. Salvador, The most African city in the world. Accessed in June 15, 2021. Available at: <https://atlanticoonline.com/en/salvador-the-most-african-city-in-the-world/>

Is not all fun and games in Rotterdam's Zomercarnaval?

The stigmatization and criminalization of immigrant communities at Zomercarnaval

Figure 23: spectator and young participants at Zomercarnaval in 2016.



Source: De Volkstrant.

Although Netherlands is not known by its crime rates, for many years, Zomercarnaval was branded as a quarrelsome event in Rotterdam. According to Artwell Cain, one of this thesis sources and one of the oldest participants of Zomercarnaval, since the first years of the festival, it was already stigmatized. “The media and Rotterdam’s society were always looking for people who were involved in problems, fights, quarrels, and violence. In those days, people were very negative... they were always looking if people had a fight.”¹⁴⁸ An analysis of the carnival’s media coverage also confirms this statement. Specially during the early 2000s, local and national media has branded Zomercarnaval as an immigrant festivity of quarrels and violence. And, its participants and organizers, as people involved in suspicious activities. To introduce a very symbolic example, 2004 De Volkstrant’s article by Ron Meerhof had the following headline: “Caribbean Carnival has a history of rustling; Antillean folk festival in Rotterdam in twenty-year history is continuously plagued by quarrels, drug connections, and financial malpractices. Rivalry between carnival

¹⁴⁸ Artwell Cain. Interview with Isabel. Personal Interview. Rotterdam, April 30, 2021.

groups leads to threats”.¹⁴⁹ The article is set in a manner that makes readers create different types of preconceptions and misjudgments. It starts by saying a narrow-minded declaration that “drug use, quarrels and financial misery are part of the event’s tradition.” Then, it connects unrelated information like the withdrawal of Unilever’s Solero sponsoring with a disqualification of carnival queen candidate for carrying heroine. Lastly, it associates the success of the carnival sponsorship in its early years with an allegedly money laundering operation controlled by one of its founders, who, in the author’s words, “have fooled the municipality for years”.¹⁵⁰ In this same year of 2004, the Labor Party proposed stricter rules for immigration of young Antilleans, and the compulsory registration of Antilleans already in Rotterdam.¹⁵¹ The results of this type of political and media discourse are both influencing and reflecting society’s views: in 2006, with the approach of elections, Rotterdam citizens of Dutch descent were asked on their views on immigrant integration. From the Rotterdam voters, sixty-two per cent argued that it was regrettable that mosques were increasingly dominating street image. And a large majority also supported that “criminal Antilleans should be deported.”¹⁵² It is evident that the targeting and stigmatization of Rotterdam’s Zomercarnaval in the early 2000s was part of a general political speech against integration policies. However, in the following years, the attempts to give the carnival a bad press did not disappear from the media.

Most of the other headlines in the last twenty years that covered episodes of quarrels, killing, stabbing, drug dealing and other crimes that happened during the festival gave special emphasis to the immigrant background of the felons, even if it is an avoidable type of information. In all cases, outlaws are of a very young age and are involved in passionate crimes or minor felonies like drug abuse or drug dealing. It must be noted that this does not come as a surprise, since young males of immigrant descent are overrepresented in crime statistics. No journalist is telling a lie when covering these stories. However, is their role as communicators to reflect on the reasons why the

¹⁴⁹ Meerhof, Ron. "Caribisch carnaval kent geschiedenis van geritsel ; I Antilliaans volksfeest in Rotterdam in 20-jarige geschiedenis voortdurend geteisterd door ruzies, drugsconnecties en financiële malversaties Rivaliteit tussen carnavalsgroepen leidt tot bedreiging". *de Volkskrant*. July 31, 2004. Available at: <https://www.volkskrant.nl/nieuws-achtergrond/caribisch-carnaval-kent-geschiedenis-van-geritsel~b2e7a353e/>

¹⁵⁰ After extensive investigation, no public evidence was found on the authenticity of the last information.

¹⁵¹ Peter Scholten, Maurice Crul, and Paul van de Laar. ‘Coming to terms with superdiversity: The case of Rotterdam.’ *Springer Nature*, (2019): 101.

¹⁵² Peter Scholten, Maurice Crul, and Paul van de Laar. ‘Coming to terms with superdiversity: The case of Rotterdam.’ *Springer Nature*, (2019): 101.

members of these immigrant communities are related with such illegal activities. Otherwise, by stigmatizing, this type of journalistic coverage can help perpetuate the social injustices that this same community must endure. For example, it is important to know that of the Antillean male youngsters, eleven per cent are registered as being suspected of a crime.¹⁵³ But also, that young male of Dutch Caribbean descent is usually one of the main demographics of unschooled youngsters. And there is a clear cause-consequence relation between these two facts. Almost a quarter of the pupils of Antillean descent are enrolled in a form of special education, which is five times more than pupils of Dutch descent, what can be partly explained by the considerable share that entered the Dutch school system at a later age due to recent migration.¹⁵⁴ On the other hand, there is a part of this demographic that counterargue this picture: an equally large group of Antillean-Dutch are found on the highest, pre-academic tracks.¹⁵⁵ Putting these stories in context by explaining the social, economic, and cultural circumstances behind it is as important as the story itself. Also, debating on what kind of social and educational policies needs to be applied to change these social patterns is more of a priority than debating on whether young male immigrants should be eligible for stricter immigration rules or should be more targeted by the police.

Figure 24: Demonstration against firearm violence among Antilleans in 2010.



Source: ANP.

¹⁵³ Peter Scholten, Maurice Crul, and Paul van de Laar. 'Coming to terms with superdiversity: The case of Rotterdam.' *Springer Nature*, (2019): 62.

¹⁵⁴ Scholten, 62.

¹⁵⁵ Scholten, 62.

While the Dutch media and politicians might have helped create misconceptions and stigmatization of immigrant communities and their festivities, on the last years, the communities itself have undertaken the hard work of fighting stereotypes and calling for policies that can change their group's social patterns. For example, in 2010, the violence amongst the Antillean community resulted in the Stop the Violence movement, that has taken the streets of Rotterdam to raise awareness to the social vulnerability of youngsters of Dutch Caribbean descent and their involvement in violence (see figure 38). The Antillean community, concerned about firearm possession among young people from its midst, used the campaign as a platform to call for attention to psychiatric problems of young people, emancipation through education and combating domestic violence.¹⁵⁶ Simultaneously, conservative political parties aimed their discourse on demanding the police to check for weapons possession based on ethnicity.¹⁵⁷ Although most of the city council was not in favor of this plan, it reflects how part of the Dutch society feels about this community. Acknowledging Rotterdam's superdiverse and multicultural profile, it is even paradoxical to grasp that there is space for this anti-immigration discourse. However, this political standpoint not only finds echo in part of the media, political class, and Dutch society, but also reinforces social tensions between immigrants and their cultural expressions.

To conclude, it is well-known that carnivals, as well as any type of festivities involving large gatherings of people and drug and alcohol use, are susceptible to set the scene for quarrels and disorder. In fact, as this thesis stated in the sub-chapter "Definitions of carnival and the carnivalesque spirit", it is part of carnival's cathartic nature to bring such events and feelings. Claiming this is not an attempt to justify any felony that might take place in these spaces. Instead, it is a claim that this type of behavior is expected, and the gravity or recurrence of the felonies has more to do with the social vulnerability of these communities than with their ethnic background or their cultural expressions and celebrations. To make justice to the event's coverage, there is more evidence of good press than bad press. In general, the event is seen as a city branding and, as mentioned several times before by this thesis, a perfect symbol of Rotterdam's super-diversity.

¹⁵⁶ Van onze verslaggever. "Antilliaanse gemeenschap wil geweld jeugd halt toeroepen". Trouw. September 11, 2010. Available at: <https://www.trouw.nl/nieuws/antilliaanse-gemeenschap-wil-geweld-jeugd-halt-toeroepen~b2eb9c34/>

¹⁵⁷ Van onze verslaggever. "Antilliaanse gemeenschap wil geweld jeugd halt toeroepen". Trouw. September 11, 2010. Available at: <https://www.trouw.nl/nieuws/antilliaanse-gemeenschap-wil-geweld-jeugd-halt-toeroepen~b2eb9c34/>

Then, the framing of Zomercarnaval as a quarrelsome event by part of Rotterdam's society stands in the way of its potential for social cohesion and community building. It also helps reinforce social patterns and inequalities between different ethnicities in Rotterdam.

In the country of carnival, is the party for everyone?

The inequalities and segregations found within Recife are reflected in its carnival

Unlike Rotterdam, Recife is notorious for its social contrasts and for the violence that is a byproduct of its severe inequality. As mentioned before, Recife is considered the most unequal capital in Brazil according to its GINI coefficient of 0,612.¹⁵⁸ As a result of the social tensions created by this inequality, Recife has also occupied leadership in violence rates. In 2018, Recife was considered the 22nd most dangerous city in the world according to data from Mexican organization Seguridad, Justicia y Paz, with a medium of 54,43 homicides for each 100 thousand inhabitants.¹⁵⁹ Generally, what gets to the headlines in Recife and in Brazil is not when a homicide is reported, but when none is.¹⁶⁰ This endemic violence is visibly reflected in Recife's and Pernambuco's carnival. Different from Rotterdam, the headlines on violence during carnival do not tell names or episodes, instead, it presents rates. "Carnival in Pernambuco is less violent: on the days of festivities there were 34 homicides, a 45 per cent reduction compared to 2019." Says a headline from carnival of 2020 (see figure 39). This type of headline will never be a reason for celebration, it is, and it will always be a social tragedy. Nonetheless, it is also for this reason that carnival is so important to Pernambuco's society. For a week a year, people from Recife and Olinda can forget the burden of their social conditions and the inequalities that ravage their society. The carnival in Pernambuco is as much a celebration as it is an outburst.

¹⁵⁸ G1. 2020. Recife tem maior desigualdade entre capitais em 2019 e PE fica em terceiro no país em concentração de renda, diz IBGE. Accessed in 15 June, 2021. Available at: <https://g1.globo.com/pe/pernambuco/noticia/2020/11/12/recife-tem-maior-desigualdade-entre-capitais-em-2019-e-pe-fica-em-terceiro-no-pais-em-concentracao-de-renda-diz-ibge.ghtml>

¹⁵⁹ Azevedo, Amanda. Recife é a 22ª cidade mais violenta do mundo, segundo ONG Mexicana. JC Online. Accessed in 15 June, 2021. Available at: <https://jc.ne10.uol.com.br/canal/cidades/policia/noticia/2018/03/07/recife-e-a-22-cidade-mais-violenta-do-mundo-segundo-ong-mexicana-330506.php>

¹⁶⁰ Miranda, Ana Maria. Cidades de Pernambuco não registraram nenhum homicídio em 2019. NE10. Accessed in 15 June, 2021. Available at: <https://interior.ne10.uol.com.br/noticias/2020/01/03/cidades-de-pernambuco-nao-registraram-nenhum-homicidio-em-2019-181956>

Figure 25: Carnival of Pernambuco is less violent in 2020.

28 quinta-feira

Recife - 27 de fevereiro de 2020

COMPROVAÇÃO

Os estudantes selecionados em segunda chamada para o Programa Universidade para Todos (ProUni) têm até amanhã para comprovar as informações fornecidas no ato da inscrição.

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Carnaval de PE menos violento

Nos dias de festividades foram registrados 34 homicídios, 45% de redução em relação a 2019

MATHEUS MOURA

Com o fim do Carnaval 2020, foi registrado que o Estado de Pernambuco obteve o menor número de violência em seus últimos 16 anos. Das 0h do sábado até a meia-noite da última terça-feira, foram registrados 34 homicídios, um total de 45% de redução em relação ao mesmo período em 2019, quando 62 pessoas foram assassinadas.

Esse resultado mostra que, desde que foi implantada a atual metodologia de coleta e análise dos homicídios no Estado, em 2004, a festividade não havia registrado um número mais baixo de Crimes Violentos Letais Internacionais (CVLIs).

Em comparação aos outros carnavais, considerando o mesmo recorte, o ano de 2020 teve uma redução de violência substancial. No ano de 2018 (62), 2017 (79), 2016 (50), 2015 (66), 2014 (54), 2013 (48), 2012 (53), 2011 (52), 2010 (70), 2009 (69), 2008 (48), 2007 (69), 2006 (77), 2005 (63) e 2004 (66).

Comparado aos dois carnavais menos violentos da série histórica (2013 e 2008, ambos com 48 CVLIs), a diminuição é de 29%.

Também houve uma redução histórica em relação aos Crimes Violentos contra o Patrimônio (CVPs), sendo o Carnaval com menos roubos dos últimos 7 anos. No mesmo período, foram registrados 674 CVPs, contra 1.135 no ano de 2019 - a diminuição foi, portanto, de 41%. Em 2018 foram 1.301, 2017 (1.418), 2016 (1.247), 2015 (925) e 2014 (735). "Os resultados mostram que o planejamento operacional para o Carnaval, iniciado em agosto de 2019, foi bem feito. Foram mais 95 mil postos de trabalho ativados em todo o Estado, com um investimento de R\$ 10,2 milhões do Governo do Estado", diz o secretário de Defesa Social, Antonio de Pádua.

"É preciso salientar que, além de proteger vidas e pessoas da violência, as forças policiais, com sua presença nas ruas, acompanhando quase três mil blocos e agremiações e prendendo quem praticou crimes, levou tranquilidade e sensação de segurança aos foliões e também àqueles que preferiram curtir o período no litoral ou distante dos polos", completou o gestor lembrando que em torno de 600 prisões em flagrante foram realizadas durante a Operação Carnaval 2020.

Coletivos

Entre mais um destaque positivo não foi registrado assalto a coletivos, contra nove do ano anterior, no período carnavalesco.



ALEXANDRE AROCHA

Policamento ostensivo resultou em 600 prisões em flagrante

Source: Folha de Pernambuco.

Violence also affects national and international tourists who visit the carnival. In 2005, Recife's Carnival reached the headlines of The Guardian when a subeditor from the British newspaper, Chai Hong Lim, told her story of violence during her carnival in Recife's neighbor city, Olinda. "I was shot at Carnival (...) but it left me loving Brazil".¹⁶¹ There is no bigger representation of Bakhtin's *carnivalistic misalliances* than the contradiction found in this sentence.¹⁶² However, Chai is far from being the biggest target of Recife's carnival violence. As like in the rest of the year, young black male are the main targets of civil and especially state violence. It is also during carnival that the armed wing of the state shows all its most violent and repressive power, costing the lives of many young people, like Denis Henrique Francisco dos

¹⁶¹ Hong Lim, Chai. 'I was shot at Carnival'. The Guardian. Accessed in 17 June, 2021. Available at: <https://www.theguardian.com/travel/2005/mar/31/brazil>

¹⁶² Mikhail Bakhtin and Helene Iswolsky. *Rabelais and his world*. (Indiana University Press, 1984)

Santos, thirteen-year-old killed with baton jabs by State Military Police in carnival of 2008.¹⁶³ The reason will not be included in this text, as nothing can justify such violence. But his story and his name are being told here, since in most times these young boys lose their lives being treated as indigents and being deprived of their human right for justice. This intervention is necessary to make it clear that the right to carnival in Brazil is not democratic, neither it creates social cohesion within the Brazilian society. To quote Brazilian anthropologist Roberto da Matta in *Carnival as a rite of passage*, “it would be naive to suppose that Carnival only neutralizes and reverses the oppositions and social positions of daily life, abolishing its contrasting dimensions. In reality, carnival inversions end up provoking confidence in order.”¹⁶⁴ This quote could bring us back to the debate on whether carnival is a ‘safety-valve’ or an ‘upside-down’ world, but it has already been said here that both cases can be true. In fact, the stories and examples brought so far have been confirming that carnival is the constant opposition of these two conflictive forces.

It is also on this oppositions that the democratic nature carnival of Recife is set. Everyone has the right to participate on carnival, but some are more welcome than others. And the segment of society that can have their lives taken while exercising the right to play carnival, is also the one that gives up on the celebration to make ends meet. Several low-income families use the carnival as an opportunity to generate extra revenue. Some manage to combine work and play, like the maestros Thiago and Diodato, both sources of this thesis. To Thiago, his talent as a *frevo* saxophonist is a means of financial aid. Since he was sixteen years old, he has been playing in different orchestras until he created his own, Guabiraba Frevo Orquestra. “It is a source of income. But it is fun too. I consider myself a reveler. Being in carnival is a unique energy” said Thiago during his interview.¹⁶⁵ Diodato, who has been a *frevo* musician for at least twenty years longer than Thiago, has played since the early 1990s. “Carnival to me means everything, because I am multi-instrumentalist, composer, conductor, and singer. It is very meaningful to me professionally and personally. It is my source of income” declared Diodato.¹⁶⁶

¹⁶³ TV Globo. PMs acusados de matar garoto a golpes de cacetetes em Recife. Accessed in June 15, 2021. Available at: <https://extra.globo.com/noticias/brasil/pms-acusados-de-matar-garoto-golpes-de-cacetetes-em-recife-445970.html>

¹⁶⁴ Roberto Da Matta, ‘O carnaval como um rito de passagem.’ In *Ensaio de Antropologia estrutural*

¹⁶⁵ Maestro Thiago. Interview with Isabel. Personal Interview. Recife, February 23, 2021.

¹⁶⁶ Maestro Diodato interview. Interview with Isabel. Personal Interview. Recife, February 11, 2021.

Figure 26: frevo orchestras are the means of extra income for several brass musicians.



Source: G1 / Thays Estarque.

Other families work during carnival with the occupation that is available to them. It is the case of João Carlos and his wife Carla, who walks through the carnival hotspots from five in the morning to midnight collecting soda and beer cans for recycling. “I count on the help of bars that keep their cans for me”, said João during an interview to *Diário de Pernambuco*. At the end of the four days of carnival, he manages to gather an average of 180 to 200 kilos of recyclable material. Each kilo is worth less than three reais, an equivalent to half a dollar.¹⁶⁷ With a national unemployment rate of 14,7 per cent, informal workers like João Carlos represent almost 40 per cent of Brazil’s working class.¹⁶⁸ Together with taxi drivers, uber drivers and *ambulantes* or street vendors, recyclable collectors are part of the working class that needs the carnival to make ends meet. It is on carnival that these informal workers can guarantee their thirteenth salary and having the luxury of not using this opportunity is not something they are entitled to.

¹⁶⁷ *Diário de Pernambuco*. 2014. Fazendo um extra na festa. Accessed in June 15, 2021. Available at: <http://www.impresso.diariodepernambuco.com.br/noticia/cadernos/politica/2014/03/fazendo-um-extra-na-festa.html>

¹⁶⁸ Alvarenga, D., Silveira, D. 2021. Desemprego sobe para 14,7% no 1º trimestre e atinge recorde de 14,8 milhões de brasileiros. G1. Accessed in June 15, 2021. Available at: <https://g1.globo.com/economia/noticia/2021/05/27/desemprego-atinge-147percent-no-1o-trimestre-diz-ibge.ghtml>

Figure 27: recyclables collector, João Carlos da Silva, and his handcart.



Source: Diário de Pernambuco.

It should be noted that even though many workers use the carnival holiday to generate extra income, Recife's carnival is far from being a middle-to-high class event where a working class only participates to serve the upper ones. In fact, working class carnival has its own dynamics, locations, and participants. In the geography of Carnaval do Recife, there is a clear separation between the 'carnival of the rich' and the 'carnival of the poor'. The historic center of Recife and carnival's main stage at Marco Zero is largely dominated by the middle classes, while the audience of the already mentioned Pólo das Agremiações, where carnival groups and associations parade and compete, is formed by the residents of the peripheral neighborhoods that would go to cheer for their carnival groups and associations.¹⁶⁹ There are clear inequalities between the level of funding that both areas receive from the municipality. In the last years, the City of Recife has decreased investments in the Pólo das Agremiações whilst Marco Zero continued receiving a millionaire budget and a setlist of national and international artists. Arycleiton, from Maracatu Estrela Brilhante, mentioned in his interview that he witnessed the carnival group Maracatu Encanto do Pina parading with no lighting on the walkway.¹⁷⁰ In the same year, carnival's main stage at Marco Zero inaugurated a new technology, using LED light. To Fabiana Ramalho, manager of the carnival infrastructure, the motive behind the new stage was the necessity of

¹⁶⁹ Rafael Moura de Andrade. "A política multicultural no carnaval do Recife: democratização, diversidade e descentralização." Master's thesis, Universidade Federal de Pernambuco, (2016), 32.

¹⁷⁰ Arycleiton Rodrigues. Interview with Isabel. Personal Interview. Recife, February 5, 2021.

modernize Recife's carnival. "The LED has a very dynamic facade. It can provide more visual content and adapt it to the presentations. Each concert had its own LED pattern." mentioned Fabiana during her interview.¹⁷¹

Figure 28: *Pólo Marco Zero (left) and Pólo das Agremiações (right) in Carnival of 2020.*



Source: Prefeitura do Recife.

Besides the Pólo das Agremiações, there are also other decentralized stages that are mostly targeted to working classes. Since João Paulo's rule, the city's peripheral neighborhoods also counts with different event venues. The idea behind it is to strengthen the democratization of Recife's carnival, as one of the three main pillars of Carnaval Multicultural do Recife.¹⁷² However, the intention behind this policy still calls for debate: is the decentralization of venues a veiled attempt to gentrify the city center by leaving the peripheral population at their own neighborhoods? When asked about this, Ana Paula Vilaça, one of this thesis sources and former Geraldo Julio's Secretary of Tourism, has simply answered: "the decentralization is an attempt to avoid big audiences in the city center".¹⁷³ As argued in the beginning of this chapter, carnival brings people together culturally and aesthetically, but does not economically or politically. In a society where there is no social cohesion like Recife's, it is naïve to argue that carnival can generate any kind of cohesion. Instead, carnival replicates the usual segregations and inequalities encountered within the city

¹⁷¹ Fernanda Ramalho. Interview with Isabel. Personal Interview. Recife, February 26, 2021.

¹⁷² Rafael Moura Andrade. "A gestão pública do carnaval do Recife." *Políticas Culturais em Revista* 9, no. 1, (2016).

¹⁷³ Ana Paula Vilaça. Interview with Isabel. Personal Interview. Recife, February 11, 2021.

5. SOCIAL TENSIONS AT MULTICULTURAL CARNIVALS

Multiculturality is a concept that involves the interactions and separations happening simultaneously between various groups of societies that live in the same place, but share different beliefs, ethnicities, gender roles and economic status.¹⁷⁴ In the twenty-first century, it is rare to encounter societies where the multicultural life does not happen in practice. Even in societies that do not have different ethnic backgrounds, there are more than just one cultural display represented in beliefs, religions, practices, and many other moral and material differences. A multicultural attitude is of prime importance for living harmoniously in a world with swift global interactions and cultural exchanges.¹⁷⁵ Currently, the question is not if either a society is multicultural or not, but rather how multiculturality manifests in a society. Taking into consideration the two case studies of this thesis, both Recife and Rotterdam can be considered multicultural and diverse cities. Their different past is mainly what defined which kind of multicultural society has developed in each territory. In either situation, these societies created inequalities and social tensions between the different cultures that have met in both places.

In the case of Recife's society, such as many other Latin-American urban centers, multiculturalism was developed during its colonization, when Amerindian, European colonizers, and enslaved Africans built the foundation of colonial society. The basic relations of these groups were essentially economic, in which different groups enjoyed unequal esteem and power. The fact that these different groups came from different geographical origins meant that in part the distinction between them was an ethnic one.¹⁷⁶ The Dutch society, in the other hand, as a former metropolis, has gone through a process of political change, economic modernization, and an achieved social welfare that was mostly possible due to the gains and profits of centuries of colonization. During the colonial period and after the achievement of political independence, some individuals from the colonies and former colonies migrate to the metropolis to find a better life and to occupy the work positions that the receiving society does not want to perform. There is

¹⁷⁴ Nilüfer Köşker and Nurettin Özgen. Multiculturalism Concept and Its Reflections on Education: The Case of Turkey. *Review of International Geographical Education Online (RIGEO)*, 8(3), (2018): 572.

¹⁷⁵ Köşker, 572.

¹⁷⁶ John Rex, and Singh Gurharpal. 'Pluralism and Multiculturalism in Colonial and Post-Colonial Societies'. Edited by Matthias Koenig. *International Journal on Multicultural Societies (IJMS)* 5 (2), (2003): 110.

therefore a question of how they enter metropolitan society and how these societies place them.¹⁷⁷ In any case, the arrival of colonial and post-colonial migrants usually involves processes of class struggle and class compromise, mostly accompanied by other non-colonial immigrants from other economically dependent countries.¹⁷⁸

In carnival, as a cultural manifestation, cultural differences and separations are constantly reflected and contested. Especially to Africans in the Diaspora, either in colonial Brazil or in the Netherlands Antilles, carnival has become a space to engage, rethink, redefine themselves and act out the contradictions of their stories. Africans, translocated to the Caribbean, North or South America, and in a later scenario to Europe as post-colonial immigrants, have consistently used carnival performance to defy, mock, reject and interrogate the Western individualism for centuries.¹⁷⁹ The similarity between the Afro-diasporic cultural manifestations practiced in different regions of the Americas constitutes for Lélia Gonzalez what she called Amefricanity. The legacy and form of cultural resistance, the passage of ancestral knowledge from one generation to another and the black subversion of the codes of hegemonic culture (religion, language, clothing, etc.) subsidize, according to Gonzalez, the political-cultural category of Amefricanity.¹⁸⁰ There are representations of this political-cultural category in some of the performed cultural expressions of Rotterdam and Recife's carnival and the next part of the chapter will introduce how these expressions are currently performed in these spaces, what place they occupy in each carnival and what transformation they went through and what conflicts or social tensions are encountered. In both carnivals, these performances are entangled with other cultural expressions and sometimes, this multicultural aspect, although highly celebrated, is also contested. By introducing these examples, this chapter aims to deliberate on how the already introduced social and mostly racial inequalities encountered in Recife and Rotterdam are also reflected in their carnivals.

¹⁷⁷ Rex, 113.

¹⁷⁸ Rex, 114.

¹⁷⁹ Esiaba Irobi. 'What they came with: Carnival and the persistence of African performance aesthetics in the diaspora.' *Journal of Black Studies* 37, no. 6 (2007): 902.

¹⁸⁰ Alex Ratts and Flávia Rios, *Lélia Gonzalez*. (Retratos do Brasil Negro, 2010)

Who gets to open Recife's carnival?

The racial inequalities reflected in the cultural expressions of a multicultural carnival

Figure 29: Naná Vasconcelos and the Nações de Maracatu of Recife in 2015.



Source: Flickr / Fundarpe.

The carnival opening is an event inside Recife's Carnival schedule that, as the name indicates, marks the beginning of the city's most important celebration. The inauguration occupies a privileged space in the carnival schedule, and it happens every Carnival Friday evening at Marco Zero square, in the heart of Recife Antigo.¹⁸¹ The concert has been part of the official schedule for several years, but from 2002, the event was introduced in a new format. With the inception of Carnaval Multicultural do Recife, the cultural policy that guided Recife's Carnival during João Paulo's administration (2001-2008), *maracatu nação*, one of Pernambuco's main cultural expressions, was chosen to be the spotlight of the carnival opening night.¹⁸² *Maracatu nação* (also known as *maracatu de baque virado*) is a cultural expression based on theater, role playing and

¹⁸¹ Recife Antigo is located near the port of Recife. In the historical section of Pernambuco's capital.

¹⁸² Isabel Guillen. 'Inventário Nacional de Referências Culturais. Maracatu Nação' [online] IPHAN - Instituto do Patrimônio Histórico e Artístico Nacional, (2014), p. 83.

percussion that has its origins in the Coronation festivities of the Kings of Congo.¹⁸³ Because of its strong connection with African ritualistic and religious elements, it can be considered one of main representations of Afro-Diasporic culture in Brazil and as such, it has gone through a long history of racism, discrimination and religious intolerance. Thus, it must be acknowledged that the institutional decision of having *maracatu nação* groups in the main stage of the carnival's inauguration is not just a creative decision, but rather a political victory of years of campaigning for the visibility and recognition of this cultural expression.¹⁸⁴ To conduct the percussion of the various *maracatu* groups that were chosen to participate, the city of Recife invited the world-famous Pernambuco percussionist Naná Vasconcelos, who led the event masterfully until his death in 2016.¹⁸⁵

In 2018, former mayor Geraldo Julio (2013-2020), announced the discontinuity of *maracatu*'s participation in the carnival opening.¹⁸⁶ The procession with more than 500 percussionists and the Voz Nagô female choir was going to be replaced by a *frevo* orchestra and a performance by artists with national visibility (see figure 23). The municipality argued that in that year, the Carnival Friday would happen on the 9th of February, coinciding with the anniversary of *frevo*, another important carnival expression from Pernambuco.¹⁸⁷ Therefore, the carnival inauguration would celebrate *frevo* as a cultural expression instead of maintaining the tradition and giving tribute to the legacy of Naná Vasconcelos. The decision was received with a lot of controversy and did not please the members of *maracatu* groups, the family of Naná and the Afro-Brazilian community in general. When asked by Folha de São Paulo if this was disrespectful with the *maracatu* groups, Eduardo Vasconcelos, former Secretary of Culture answered: “On the day of our official opening,

¹⁸³ Isabel Guillen. “Rainhas Coroadas: História E Ritual Nos Maracatus-nação Do Recife”. *Cadernos De Estudos Sociais* 20 (1). (2011): 44.

¹⁸⁴ Isabel Guillen. ‘Inventário Nacional de Referências Culturais. Maracatu Nação’ [online] *IPHAN - Instituto do Patrimônio Histórico e Artístico Nacional*, (2014), p. 83.

¹⁸⁵ Naná is considered the best percussionist in the world according to DownBeat Magazine. Vasconcelos won the Percussionist category in the DownBeat Critics Poll every year from 1983 to 1991. Additionally, he won the Percussionist category in the DownBeat Readers Poll in 1983, 1984 and 1987. Available at: <https://downbeat.com/news/detail/in-memoriam-nanaacute-vasconcelos>.

¹⁸⁶ Folha de São Paulo. 2018. No Recife, maracatu dará lugar ao frevo durante a abertura do Carnaval.

¹⁸⁷ February 9th of 1907 was the first time frevo was mentioned as an ascending cultural expression of Pernambuco by the local newspaper Jornal Pequeno.

we will be celebrating 111 years of a rhythm that highly represents Recife's culture. And, for this reason, we decided after many internal meetings to pay a real tribute to *frevo*."¹⁸⁸

Figure 30: "In Recife, maracatu will give place to frevo during carnival opening"



Source: Folha de São Paulo / Bernardo Dantas.

Whoever follows the cultural policies of dissemination and promotion of Pernambuco carnival expressions can argue that, when compared to other cultural expressions, *frevo* is not lacking in affirmative actions to its dissemination. An extensive campaign to showcase *frevo* as Recife's intangible cultural heritage started in the beginning of the 2000s, when the cultural expression was reaching its centenary. As part of Frevo's 100th anniversary commemorations, Recife's municipality demanded the Ministry of Culture the registration of Frevo as Intangible Heritage of Brazil.¹⁸⁹ In 2007, Frevo was recognized as Brazil's Intangible Cultural Heritage by the Institute

¹⁸⁸ Folha de São Paulo. 2018.

¹⁸⁹ Luciana de Holanda, "Registro do patrimônio cultural imaterial: mais uma estratégia de agregação de valor à oferta turística?" (2008)

of National Historical and Artistic Heritage (Iphan) and only after five years of campaigning, also achieved the recognition of Intangible Cultural Heritage of Humanity by UNESCO.¹⁹⁰ The outcomes and consequences of this heritagization are significant. Most importantly, it resulted in the implementation of *Paço do Frevo* (see figure 24), a cultural center for the safeguard and dissemination of the carnival expression, announced in 2011 and inaugurated in 2014.¹⁹¹ The conflict between *maracatu* groups and the municipality was not about the endorsement of *frevo*, but rather against a unilateral decision of ignoring the importance behind the presence of an Afro-diasporic cultural expression at the main stage.

Figure 31: *Paço do Frevo, Recife.*



Source: G1 / Paço do Frevo.

According to Arycleiton, leadership of Maracatu Estrela Brilhante, the *maracatu* groups had to fight to keep a presentation on Thursday, a day before their usual presentation on the carnival opening, but with less visibility than the Carnival Friday.¹⁹² In the years that followed, *maracatu*

¹⁹⁰ Raquel Pereira Canaan. "Diseño y patrimonio cultural, alternativas para la valoración: Paço do Frevo, Recife, Pernambuco, Brasil." *Base Diseño e Innovación* 4 (2019): 93.

¹⁹¹ Canaan, 99.

¹⁹² Arycleiton Rodrigues. Interview with Isabel. Personal Interview. Recife, February 5, 2021.

groups never got their place back at the carnival opening and continued with their procession on the pre-carnival Thursday.¹⁹³ In this episode of dispute for a privileged space at the Carnaval do Recife, is important to understand that the presence of *maracatu* at the main stage of the carnival inauguration was, as mentioned before, a political victory and a strategic political decision for the dissemination and promotion of Afro-Diasporic cultural expressions. When ignoring this achievement, the City of Recife ends up sending a message of a false dichotomy that to praise one cultural expression, other expressions need to step away. When asked about this episode during his interview as a source for this thesis, Junior Afro, cultural producer, historian, and former carnival curator replied: “when the municipality tried to take *maracatu* away saying it was *frevo*’s turn, it’s a lie, because *frevo* has been in a prominent position for a while already. It is evident that *maracatu* suffered and still suffers racism. *Frevo* is also black, but *maracatu* has a more explicit relationship with African matrices.”¹⁹⁴ When Junior Afro talks about *frevo* occupying a privileged position compared to other cultural expressions, he is not advocating against the famous rhythm, he is calling for equality of policies for all cultural manifestations.

Geraldo Julio’s administration lacked an understanding of what that position in the main stage of Recife’s Carnival meant to *maracatu* as an Afro-Diasporic cultural expression that suffered and still suffers racism and intolerance. And even if important steps were taken during Geraldo Julio’s rule, like the inclusion of *maracatu* in Brazil’s Intangible Cultural Heritage list of the Institute of National Historical and Artistic Heritage (Iphan) in 2015, it lacked continuity. The safeguarding recommendations that followed the inclusion of *maracatu* in the heritage list have not been executed. There was still no response to their claims for better conditions to the *maracatu* groups headquarters, where they build instruments and customs and conduct rehearsals. Also, the creation of Casa do Maracatu, a space that could host various activities developed by the carnival groups and by the Association of Maracatus Nação in Pernambuco – AMANPE, is still only an idea.¹⁹⁵

¹⁹³ G1. 2020. Nações de maracatu se reúnem no Marco Zero do Recife para celebrar a força da cultura Africana. Available at: <https://g1.globo.com/pe/peernambuco/carnaval/2020/noticia/2020/02/20/nacoes-de-maracatu-se-reunem-no-marco-zero-do-recife-para-celebrar-a-forca-da-cultura-africana.ghtml>

¹⁹⁴ Junior Afro. Interview with Isabel. Personal Interview. Recife, February 9, 2021.

¹⁹⁵ Isabel Guillen. ‘Inventário Nacional de Referências Culturais. Maracatu Nação’ [online] *IPHAN - Instituto do Patrimônio Histórico e Artístico Nacional*, (2014), p. 168.

To conclude, this episode of dispute for the carnival opening simply represents an old conflict between municipality and maracatu groups that claim a central space in Recife's Carnival and throughout the rest of the year. The achievements of maracatu, such as the participation in the carnival opening and the inclusion of maracatu in Iphan's list, is a consequence of years of resistance and campaign for affirmative policies. The same is true for all other cultural expressions from Pernambuco. *Troças* and *clubes de frevo*, *maracatus nação* and *rural*, *caboclinhos*, *índios*, *escolas de samba*, *bois*, and *afoxés* are all part of the same ecosystem of entangled cultural expressions that composes the history of Pernambuco's cultural identity. The development of these cultural expressions, institutionally represented by carnival groups and associations, needs to be integrated and participatory. Some reflections taken from this episode is that the inequalities and mostly, the power relations encountered in Recife as a multicultural city are reflected in the institutional decisions and in the negotiation spaces of Recife's carnival. The municipality's deliberation on which place maracatu occupies at the event, without any consideration of the historic and social achievements of these cultural expressions, demonstrates that Afro-diasporic cultural expressions still are socio-political representations of resistance and contestation of the white hegemonic culture like Lélia Gonzalez argued. Thus, they must continue disputing their place at the Carnaval do Recife.

Zomercarnaval: Antillean or 'melting pot'?

Discordances on the display of West Indies traditions at Zomercarnaval

Since its first edition, the city of Rotterdam has seen in the Zomercarnaval an opportunity to present Dutch Worker's city as a fun, multicultural and international place. As mentioned before in this thesis, the Ethnic Minorities Memorandum enabled that Rotterdam's Carnival was eligible for public funding already in its first editions. Rotterdam's institutional strategy of promoting multiculturalism enabled the existence and further development of the festival but has also influenced its creative vision since the beginning. The so-called Melting Pot philosophy, aimed at attracting more immigrant communities to the festival, was reinforced by the city of Rotterdam, which insisted on the participation of all ethnic groups, including those with no tradition of

carnival.¹⁹⁶ In this manner, while still making efforts to maintain its Antillean character, the carnival also had to aggregate and combine other carnival and folkloric expressions from the main immigrant communities of Rotterdam.

It is undeniable that this new configuration has given Zomercarnaval an identity, creating singularities that distinguished it from other Caribbean carnivals like London's Notting Hill, Toronto's Caribbean Carnival, or Tropical Carnival de Paris. Zomercarnaval's cultural blend combined the most prominent immigrant groups from Rotterdam, turning the festival into a perfect representation of Rotterdam's superdiverse society, where minorities are the majority.¹⁹⁷ It also reassures the transformative nature of carnivals, which gain different translations and reconfigurations each time it travels, as discussed in this thesis sub-chapter "The carnivalesque vessel: travels and cultural transformations of a festivity." However, while this new national tradition is being developed, it might be forgetting something on the way.¹⁹⁸ Did the reconfigurations of cultural expressions create a disconnection between Zomercarnaval and its Antillean origins? What is hidden behind the choice of turning the 1982 grassroots Antillean Carnival into a multicultural festival? The next few pages will elaborate on this debate.

To understand the debate over the place of the Antillean islanders in Dutch society, a short introduction will be given. The political organization of the Dutch Caribbean is as follows: while all islands are part of the Kingdom of the Netherlands, Aruba, Curaçao and Sint Maarten are independent countries within the Dutch Kingdom. Bonaire, Sint Eustatius, and Saba on the other hand, are considered special municipalities within the Netherlands (see figure 25). Aruba was the first island to gain the status of a country, in 1986. When the Netherlands Antilles was dissolved in 2010, Curaçao and Sint Maarten gained a country status whereas the BES islands (Bonaire, Sint Eustatius, and Saba) were turned into Netherlands municipalities. The fact that no island has ever reached complete independence enabled Antillean islanders to have a circular rather than unilateral

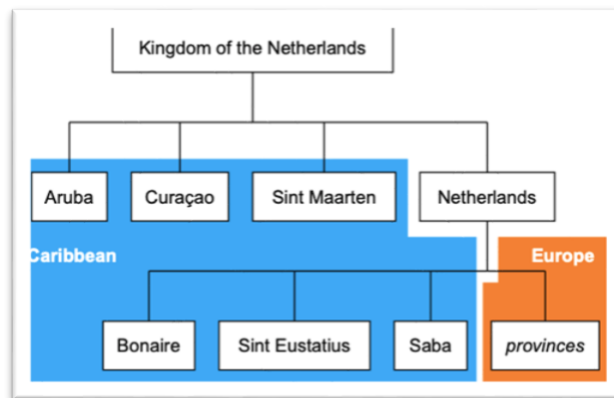
¹⁹⁶ Marga Alferink. 'Post-Colonial Immigrants and Identity Formations In The Netherlands.' *In Post-colonial immigrants and identity formations in the Netherlands*. Amsterdam University Press, (2012): 111.

¹⁹⁷ Peter Scholten, Maurice Crul, and Paul van de Laar. 'Coming to terms with superdiversity: The case of Rotterdam.' *Springer Nature*, (2019): 6.

¹⁹⁸ "Zomercarnaval is nieuwe nationale traditie". *Rotterdams Dagblad*. July 28, 2005. <https://advance-lexis-com.eur.idm.oclc.org/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:4GRP-95J0-0151-153N-00000-00&context=1516831>.

migration to the Netherlands. Migration fluxes increased in the 1960s, with the recruitment of students, workers, and nurses to the Dutch job market and in the 1980s, due to the closure of oil refineries in the Caribbean islands.¹⁹⁹

Figure 32: Countries and special municipalities from the Kingdom of the Netherlands



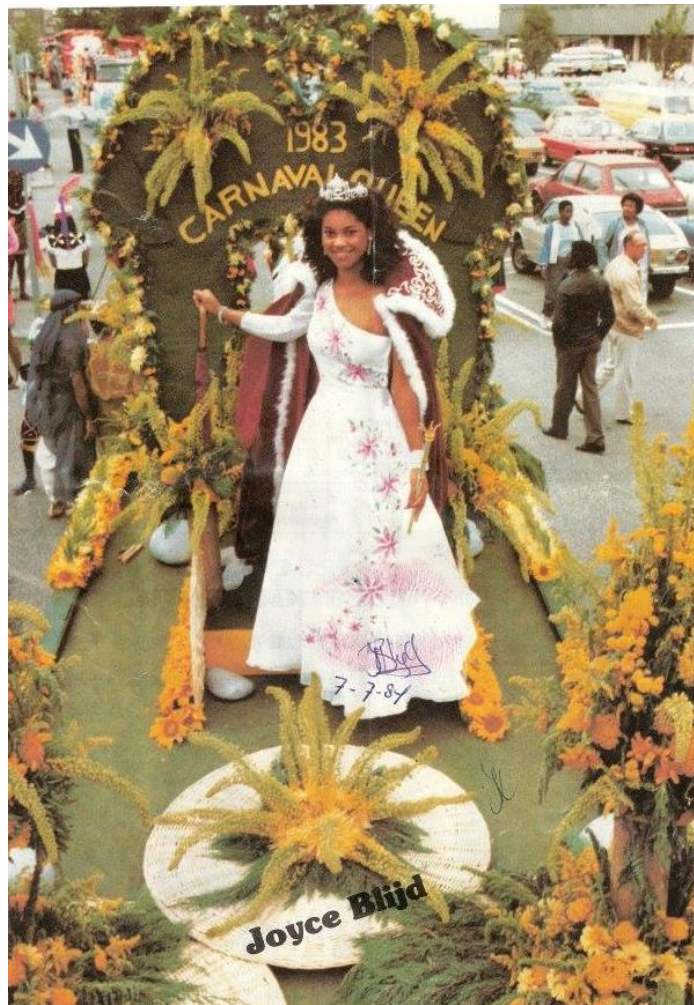
Source: Wikimedia Commons.

The Antillean tradition of celebrating a carnival began as early as 1890 when European elites brought their carnival traditions to the Antilles. Until the 1950s, carnival celebrations were focused on masquerade balls organized by European elites. Then, this setup changed when other Caribbean islanders, mostly from Trinidad and Tobago who had moved to Curacao and Aruba to work at Shell refineries, brought new carnival traditions to the Netherlands Antilles. Unlike Trinidadian's, Curaçao and Aruba's carnival had a less political character. However, it was after a black empowerment revolt in 1969 that the carnival became a national event in Curaçao, with a parade, a Tumba contest (the Curaçao/Aruba version of calypso music), the crowning of a carnival king and queen and the burning of Rei Momo.²⁰⁰

¹⁹⁹ Marga Alferink. 'Post-Colonial Immigrants and Identity Formations In The Netherlands.' *In Post-colonial immigrants and identity formations in the Netherlands*. Amsterdam University Press, (2012): 109.

²⁰⁰ Alferink, 110.

Figure 33: Carnival Queen from Rotterdam's carnival of 1983.



Source: Willy Djaoen's personal archive (shared with researcher)

Since the second year of Zomercarnaval, both the *tumba* contest and the carnival queen crowning were incorporated into the festivities. However, both activities were secondary, happening days before the parade and mainly practiced and visited by Antilleans as an introduction to the carnival. In 1997, after the carnival's organization was transferred from the Zomercarnaval Foundation to Ducos Productions, the *tumba* contest disappeared from the event with the argument that it was 'too costly to maintain' even though it was highly popular among Antillean participants.²⁰¹ The Queen Election has also been maintained in the Zomercarnaval until now, however, when financial tightness reaches, it is the first activity to be cut out. In 2002, there was

²⁰¹ Alferink, 113.

no Queen Election and the parade had to go on with the previous year's queen.²⁰² In 2004, the threats to discontinue the election came back, but at the last minute the event was saved by corporate sponsors.²⁰³ There is not a consensus between the Dutch Caribbean community about whether Zomercarnaval remains Antillean or not: while some argue that their traditions are being distorted, others celebrate the changes and argue it still has an Antillean character. "There are some people that used to say that the Antillean people need to have a special place, or that the festival has to be Antillean. But nowadays this does not have too much space anymore. The older generations might, but the younger generations do not have this problem." said Karel Willems, president of Zomercarnaval Foundation, when asked about the importance of maintaining the Antillean origins of the festival.²⁰⁴ Willy Djaoen, professional dancer from Curacao and early participant of Zomercarnaval added that the multicultural shift was a positive thing and that the Antilleans enjoy the cultural exchange.²⁰⁵ Another early participant and former queen election judge also argued that the festival is still an Antillean carnival in its essence.²⁰⁶

In her article "Scenes of Enjoyment, Memories of Subjection", Clarissa Granger, a researcher on Caribbean Afro-diasporic Music and Decolonialism, wonders on the meanings behind Afro-Caribbean cultural practices and performances of previously colonized groups at Zomercarnaval. She argues that the display of Caribbean carnivalesque cultural practices out of historical and cultural context, can be done in a careless manner.²⁰⁷ During her interview as a source for this thesis, Charissa questions if there is still any trace of West Indies Carnival in Zomercarnaval. She mentions the mischaracterization of the Jab Jab²⁰⁸ in the festival as one example (see figure 24 and 25).

²⁰² Tatiana Waterink. "Alles draait om het dansen". *Rotterdams Dagblad*. August 13, 2002. <https://advance-lexis-com.eur.idm.oclc.org/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:48KK-SYN0-0151-11R4-00000-00&context=1516831>.

²⁰³ "Verkiezing koningin Zomercarnaval gered ; Rotterdam". *Algemeen Dagblad*. June 23, 2004. <https://advance-lexis-com.eur.idm.oclc.org/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:4CP4-HTR0-0150-X2FK-00000-00&context=1516831>.

²⁰⁴ Karel Willems. Interview with Isabel. Personal Interview. Recife, April 14, .2021.

²⁰⁵ Willy Djaoen. Interview with Isabel. Personal Interview. Rotterdam, May 11, 2021.

²⁰⁶ Artwell Cain. Interview with Isabel. Personal Interview. Rotterdam, April 30, 2021.

²⁰⁷ Francio Guadeloupe, Paul Van Der Laar, and Liane Van Der Linden. *Rotterdam, Een Postkoloniale Stad in Beweging*. 2020.

²⁰⁸ The word Jab was derived from the French word "Diable" meaning "devil". It is a satirical representation of the evil inflicted by the white colonialist on the slaves. To complete this imagery, Jab Jab was outfitted with goat horns, thick chains, and other artifacts to tell the story of the day. The ex-slaves, being of little means, participated in these festivities by smearing themselves with the ashes of burned cane, and oil or grease. Available at: <https://caribbeanentertainmenthub.com/the-ascendance-of-jab>

Figure 34: *The Revelations of Angels and Jab Jab, Zomercarnaval of 2019.*



Source: Awókey Entertainment.

She argues that it is a disservice to just casually include a reference and not explain what is behind that expression. “It comes from somewhere, people’s struggle, people’s joy, overcoming, creativity and world view. If you just assume the visuals of it without the context you do a complete disservice of what carnival can be.”²⁰⁹ To Charissa, the Police Steelband represents a contradiction and even an offense to Caribbean past. Steel percussion is an instrument invented by Afro-Caribbean people, who, for a long time, were persecuted and harassed for playing it by that same kind of repression force that now plays it at Zomercarnaval.²¹⁰ Charissa’s view is not isolated. Multicultural festivals like Zomercarnaval are often criticized for dealing superficially with concepts of identity, culture, and diversity. Such festivals are also criticized because they seem to ignore how a festival might contribute to addressing issues of social justice, such as economic and social equity.²¹¹

²⁰⁹ Charissa Granger. Interview with Isabel. Personal Interview. Rotterdam, April 16, 2021.

²¹⁰ Frank De Kruif. 2020. “Monumententegen onwetendheid”; Rotterdam en de slavernij; De koloniale handel was het fundament van koopmansstad Rotterdam, blijkt uit onderzoek”. NRC Handelsblad. Available at: <https://www.nrc.nl/nieuws/2020/11/04/monumenten-tegen-onwetendheid-a4018526>

²¹¹ Michelle Duffy. ‘Festival and Spectacle’. In *International Encyclopedia of Human Geography*, edited by Rob Kitchin and Nigel Thrift, Oxford: Elsevier, (2009): 73–97.

Figure 35: Jab Jab, Caribbean Tradition from Grenade.



Source: Facebook / The Nutmeg.

This is the conflicted relation behind the mischaracterization of traditions in multicultural immigrant carnivals: if a new cultural expression is being displayed somewhere else, then, does it need to be faithful to its origins? According to Charissa's viewpoint, there is a responsibility on displaying manifestations that represent the history and struggles of a previously colonized community, especially if it is being displayed in the metropolis that has once colonized this community. One thing is true: the Curacao and Aruba communities did not stop facing social injustices and inequalities by the time the carnival was embraced by the city. In fact, there is evidence of stigmatization and criminalization of these communities during the festival. Like the constant connection of crime and violence rates with the presence of Dutch Caribbean immigrants, either during the carnival or any other day of the year. To conclude, this thesis admits that there is not answer on whether the changes on Dutch Caribbean traditions have faced in Zomercarnaval are either positive or negative. Probably both, simultaneously. However, this thesis defends that the simple fact that a former colony's festivity was appropriated and transformed into a festivity of several other cultures reflects the legacy of the former metropolis' colonizing conduct.

6. CARNIVAL AS A STAGE FOR INTANGIBLE CULTURAL HERITAGE

Figure 36: Frevo, UNESCO's Intangible Cultural Heritage and cultural expression from Recife.



Source: Museu da Cidade do Recife / Acervo PCR.

By giving meaning to the knowledge from the past in the present, and valuing or using the learnings from the past, communities develop what is called intangible cultural heritage.²¹² Intangible cultural heritage are the immaterial elements of cultural heritage that are fundamental to shape collective identity and social memory. It is a concept that encompasses the cultural expressions and traditions that a group of individuals preserve in respect of their ancestry for future generations.²¹³ Examples of intangible heritage are the knowledge behind the ways of crafting, performing arts, oral traditions, festive events, rituals, music, and social practices.²¹⁴ Carnivals, as one of the world's most notorious popular celebrations, is recognized as an intangible form of cultural heritage to several cultures and territories. In total, sixteen carnivalesque expressions have received UNESCO's recognition.²¹⁵ In carnival, different traditions and expressions cohere and

²¹² Susan Legêne, Bambang Purwanto, and Henk Schulte Nordholt. *Sites, Bodies and Stories: Imagining Indonesian History*. (NUS Press, 2015): 159-179.

²¹³ Raquel Pereira Canaan. "Diseño y patrimonio cultural, alternativas para la valoración: Paço do Frevo, Recife, Pernambuco, Brasil." *Base Diseño e Innovación* 4 (2019): 92.

²¹⁴ UNESCO. 2021. What is Intangible Cultural Heritage?

²¹⁵ UNESCO. 2021. Browse the Lists of Intangible Cultural Heritage and the Register of good safeguarding practices.

collide, and eventually transform themselves in a new representation of immaterial heritage, making it an integrative place for heritage creation.²¹⁶ Even though intangible cultural heritage is a bottom-up social creation, it usually requires an institutional approach to guarantee its protection. In fact, the only existence of the intangible cultural heritage as a concept is an institutionalized answer to a diagnosis of crisis in the preservation and transmission of culture and traditions.²¹⁷ Aiming to create and consolidate instruments and mechanisms that lead to the recognition of the intangible portion of heritage, the Organization of Nations United for Education, Science and Culture (UNESCO), established the “Recommendations on Safeguarding Traditional and Popular Culture” in 1989.²¹⁸ Later in 2003, UNESCO organized the first Convention for the Safeguarding of Intangible Cultural Heritage, to introduce general provisions for a more holistic view of culture, embedded in socio-cultural practices, knowledge and events.²¹⁹

These recommendations and general provisions for the safeguarding of intangible cultural heritage work as guidance to local governments to act for the recognition and public support of communities that guard heritage. However, how must this institutional support be given? What are its limitations and most common missteps? How can it achieve its objectives? In their 2018 report “Reshaping Cultural Policies: Advancing creativity for development”, UNESCO argues that the strengthening of cultural expressions should be integrated into sustainable development frameworks (see example in figure 30), focusing on promoting human rights and fundamental freedoms through transparent and participatory processes. The agency also believes that to tackle global inequalities and intolerance, there should be a balanced flow of cultural goods and services between global north and south.²²⁰ The integration of promoting intangible cultural heritage with other social development measures is fundamentally important because protecting and promoting intangible heritage is intrinsically about developing the community that protects it. Therefore, when the needs and desires of these communities are neglected, consequently, their creative and cultural potential is also affected. This evidence shows how the institutional promotion of

²¹⁶ Beth Perry, Laura Ager, and Rike Sitas. "Cultural heritage entanglements: festivals as integrative sites for sustainable urban development." *International Journal of Heritage Studies* 26, no. 6 (2020): 604.

²¹⁷ Jin-Kyung Park, Hyae-Syn Tae, Gwang Ok, and Sun-Yong Kwon. “The Heritagization and Institutionalization of Taekkyeon: An Intangible Cultural Heritage” *The International Journal of the History of Sport*, 35:15-16, (2018): 1561

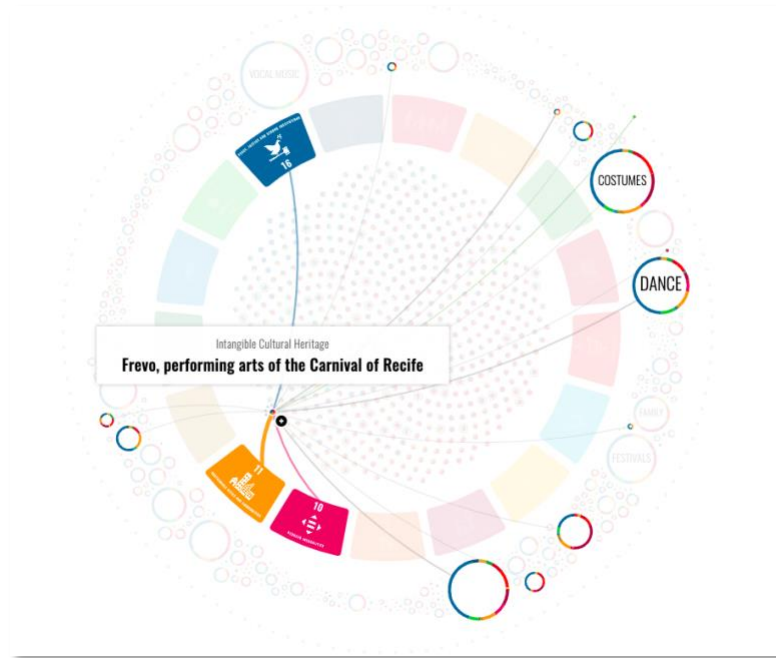
²¹⁸ UNESCO. 1989. Recommendation on the Safeguarding of Traditional Culture and Folklore.

²¹⁹ UNESCO. 2003. Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage.

²²⁰ UNESCO. 2017. "Re | Shaping Cultural Policies: Advancing Creativity For Development".

intangible heritage needs to take in consideration the community's creative freedom, their social norms, and most of all, their needs.

Figure 37: Frevo and the Sustainable Development Goals.



Source: Unesco.org

Thus, the development and institutionalization of cultural expressions constantly need the joint action of governments as supporters and communities, as guardians. Since communities are simultaneously heritage producers and keepers, they are also the protagonists of this process. However, the imbalance encountered in the power dynamics between these two stakeholders constantly causes communities to give in to the demands and limitations imposed by the governments. Carnivals, as places for intangible cultural heritage creation as well as a contested space, act as a stage for conflicts between the two stakeholders. By using examples from Recife and Rotterdam's carnival, the following part of this chapter narrates on how these power dynamics affects the relationship of communities and governments. And how the lack of negotiation spaces between them can impact cultural heritage promotion.

Are those without papers not entitled to participate?

The bureaucracies of a party and the undermining of intangible cultural heritage.

The entrance of Recife's carnival in the second millennium was marked by expressive social and economic gains, especially for the carnival associations. That is because the carnival allowance, which financially supports the participation of carnival groups and rewarded those who won the competition at the famous *Desfile de Agremiações* (associations parade) received a significant increase in 2001, during João Paulo's rule. The Carnaval Subvention, created on April 28, 1992, and represented in Law N° 15.627, is a financial support given by the city to traditional carnival associations.²²¹ To receive the subsidy, the association must follow certain conditions: if they are not participating in the parade, then, they must prove to have one hundred years or more of foundation and to be headquartered in the state of Pernambuco. For most carnival groups, the allowance's readjustment was fundamentally important, since there was no increase for almost ten years. Whereas in the same period, the Brazilian minimum salary readjustments reached two hundred and twelve percent.²²² This allowance is not a help or a privilege. It is, above all, a right for the communities that lead carnival groups and guard the cultural expressions of Recife's heritage.

Most of these groups are in low-income neighborhoods and the cost of the parade is paid, for the most part, by the community itself. In the case of more famous associations, paid performances or music and dance classes for the middle-class people also help with their financial sustainability.²²³ However, no group member, not even the board, gets paid for parading during carnival. When asked for the reason of executing such a huge amount of work for free, the answer that probably most group participants will give is simple: "I do it for love." In the case of Arycleiton, Maracatu Estrela Brilhante's leadership, the answer was: "The Estrela is my religion." This love story with the carnival parade is far from being something unexpensive. Ary has

²²¹ Jusbrasil. 2016. Dispõe Sobre Subvenções Das Agremiações Carnavalescas, Associações, Além Da Participação Destas Entidades Em Eventos Da Cidade E Dá Outras Providências. Accessed in June 20, 2021. Available at: <https://cm-recife.jusbrasil.com.br/legislacao/270285/lei-15627-92>

²²² Tabela de Salário Mínimo de 1994 a 2021. Accessed in June 20, 2021. Available at: <https://www.contabeis.com.br/tabelas/salario-minimo/>

²²³ Isabel Guillen. 'Maracatus-nação e a espetacularização do sagrado' *Religião e Sociedade*. 39 (1) (2019): 147-169.

mentioned that even though their allowance went from one thousand reais to sixteen thousand reais per year (eight thousand is paid prior to carnival and the other half, after carnival), it is still not enough to pay for their parade.²²⁴ The carnival allowance is, most of all, a recognition of the love and appreciation that these groups have for Pernambuco's popular culture.

Figure 38: Maracatu Estrela Brilhante percussion during the Desfile das Agremiações.



Source: Leia Já.

Until 2014, carnival groups did not have to prove many fiscal responsibility requirements to participate at the parade. The curatorship was more holistic, considering the social and cultural importance of each group. According to Junior Afro during his interview, his priority as a carnival curator was to create visibility to the city's associations.²²⁵ Since the lack of some measurements had several fiscal consequences to the city of Recife, a decree that established and regulated the procedures for the distribution of allowances to carnival associations was signed by then mayor Geraldo Julio in 2015.²²⁶ To Ana Paula Vilaça, former Secretary of Tourism in Geraldo Julio's administration, the measurement was a form of organizing accountability for inspection by the

²²⁴ Arycleiton Rodrigues. Interview with Isabel. Personal Interview. Recife, February 5, 2021.

²²⁵ Junior Afro. Interview with Isabel. Personal Interview. Recife, February 9, 2021.

²²⁶ Leis Municipais. 2018. Estabelece e regulamenta procedimentos sobre recebimento de subvenção às agremiações carnavalescas, associações e a participação destas entidades em ações culturais da cidade e instituindo regras e critérios para sua contratação. Accessed in June 20, 2021. Available at: <http://leismunicipa.is/hdqe>

Public Prosecutor's Office and the Court of Auditors. She also adds that it was a positive thing to the associations, since it helped with their professionalization and could increase their chances of future private presentations.²²⁷ In the years following this new measure, some cases of withdrawal of some carnival groups proved this argument to be wrong. The lack of formalization jeopardized the participation of some of Recife's oldest associations like Batutas de São José, Destemidos and Vassourinhas.²²⁸ It also stopped informal and peripheral carnival groups from participating at the parade or any other event organized by the city of Recife.

In 2019, Batutas could not make it to the association's parade, and Recife could not sing to its famous anthem "Eu quero entrar na folia meu bem / Você sabe lá o que é isso? / Batutas de São José, isso é parece que tem feitiço". During an interview to local newspaper Jornal do Commercio, Severina Ramos, vice-president of Batutas de São José made a sad testimony about the difficulties that the group is encountering: "the only thing we can say is that Batutas is bankrupt". She declared that all the money that the group receives is for debt payment and that the City Hall has never paid their award from winning the parade of 2017.²²⁹ Founded in 1932, Bloco Carnavalesco Misto Batutas de São José lives a "chicken and egg" situation: they need to parade to pay for their debts, however, they do not fit the fiscal measurements to parade. The lack of greater incentives from the public authorities and labor debts put at risk the survival of an association that wrote many *frevó* songs and gave great contributions to Recife's carnival.²³⁰ Unfortunately, due to their non-participation in 2019 their title as Recife's oldest *bloco carnavalesco misto* in interrupted activity is already lost.²³¹

²²⁷ Ana Paula Vilaça's interview. 2021.

²²⁸ Junior Afro. Interview with Isabel. Personal Interview. Recife, February 9, 2021.

²²⁹ JC Online. 2019. Batutas de São José fora do Carnaval. Accessed in June 20, 2021. Available at: <https://jc.ne10.uol.com.br/canal/cidades/jc-na-folia/noticia/2019/02/16/batutas-de-sao-jose-fora-do-carnaval-2019-371583.php>

²³⁰ Gaspar, L. Batutas de São José (bloco carnavalesco). Fundação Joaquim Nabuco, Recife. Accessed in June 20, 2021. Available at: <http://basilio.fundaj.gov.br/pesquisaescolar>.

²³¹ In the sub-chapter "Introducing multiculturalism in the Global South: the case of Recife", this and other types of carnival associations are introduced.

Figure 39: *Batutas de São José*, one of Recife's most traditional association.



Source: Fundação Joaquim Nabuco.

Although the whole point of these imposed bureaucracies is to professionalize carnival groups and prevent any case of tax avoidance and fiscal negligence from the municipality, it has been forcing informal groups to participate in schemes of either lending or borrowing National Registry of Legal Entities numbers.²³² Maestro Diodato, who has been running a *frevo* orchestra since the 1990s, said that he borrows his registration number so that old carnival associations can participate in the parade.²³³ On the other side of the coin, Maestro Thiago, who also runs a *frevo* orchestra, has frequently been hired by the City of Recife to play in the city's peripheries and in other public events. During his interview for this thesis, he said that to participate, he had to use a production company that would work as a middleman to organize his documentation and enable his participation in public events. The production company kept a high percentage of his payment and constantly delayed it. "If the City Hall paid three thousand and five hundred reais, they would keep one thousand to themselves. Nevertheless, it is not interesting for me to professionalize, it is too bureaucratic."²³⁴ After all, what is the purpose of imposing bureaucracies and fiscal

²³² Or in portuguese Cadastro Nacional da Pessoa Jurídica (CNPJ).

²³³ Maestro Diodato interview. Interview with Isabel. Personal Interview. Recife, February 11, 2021.

²³⁴ Maestro Thiago. Interview with Isabel. Personal Interview. Recife, February 23, 2021.

impediments to grassroots carnival groups? By investigating the many outcomes, the conclusion is that there are more disadvantages than benefits. To the carnival groups that do not fit the requirements, there are two options: cease to participate in the carnival or participate using intermediaries. In both situations, they do not reach the municipality's objective of professionalizing carnival associations. Which goes back to the point that to safeguard intangible cultural heritage, public policies must take into consideration the needs and difficulties that communities encounter when trying to express their cultural expression. Creating measurements that hinder informal groups can make traditional carnival associations, like Batutas de São José, never reach their centenary. Who is going to pay the price of a disappearing heritage?

Who is safeguarding Rotterdam's Zomercarnaval?

Constant financial issues can put the recent tradition in danger.

What started in 1983 with a group of students of Curaçao and Aruban descent, has now grown into a tradition that has become the one hundredth subscription in the National Inventory of Intangible Heritage.²³⁵ In 2016, Rotterdam Zomercarnaval joined other Dutch festive traditions like the Acht van Chaam competition and the International Four Days Marches Nijmegen in Netherland's National Inventory of Intangible Cultural Heritage.²³⁶ Although Zomercarnaval had only thirty three years of history at the time, the event became a heritage for its great importance for the cultural identity of Rotterdam as a superdiverse city. The carnival has been placed as a Dutch intangible heritage thanks to cultural heritage specialist and runner-up carnival queen from 2015, Dyonna Benett, who has supported the Zomercarnaval Foundation through the whole process of petitioning for the subscription. With Curaçao and Dominican roots, she has participated in the Zomercarnaval since she was fifteen. In 2015, she attempted the carnival queen position for the first time as the frontwoman of Rotterdam's carnival group Passionada.²³⁷ Dyonna argued that it was very symbolic to include Rotterdam's carnival in the Inventory since the list was 'very white

²³⁵ Van der Kaaij, Meindert. 2016. Zomercarnaval is levend erfgoed. Trouw. Available at: <https://www.trouw.nl/nieuws/zomercarnaval-is-levend-erfgoed~b96f4022/>

²³⁶ AD. 2016. Zomercarnaval is erfgoed, met dank aan Amersfoortse. Available at: <https://www.ad.nl/amersfoort/zomercarnaval-is-erfgoed-met-dank-aan-amersfoortse~aeb09779/>

²³⁷ Keunen, Yvonne. 2015. "Zomercarnaval erfgoed". AD/Rotterdams Dagblad. Available at: <https://www.dyonnabenett.nl/zomercarnaval-erfgoed/>

Dutch'. "Why are we (immigrants) not on it? We have been excluded for so many years! We are also Dutch. Being in this list is a mechanism to give more value to the event" said Dyonna during her interview for this thesis.²³⁸ According to Dyonna, making it heritage can also help the younger generation of immigrants understand that Zomercarnaval is not only an event, but a tradition that their parents brought to their new home.²³⁹

Figure 40: local newspaper on Zomercarnaval's 1984 edition.



Source: Willy Djaoen's personal archive (shared with researcher).

Dyonna's affirmation is not isolated. Most participants also agree that although the carnival is very recent, it is already a tradition that should be safeguarded. To Laila Blancheville, member of Zomercarnaval Foundation and president of the queen election, Rotterdam's multicultural carnival could not better represent this immigrant city, therefore, it is Dutch heritage.²⁴⁰ When asked if Zomercarnaval is creating a Dutch culture or just displaying other cultures, former carnival queen judge, Artwell Cain, says that the carnival is creating a new culture, because it is presenting other ways of communicating and of being in Rotterdam and consequently in the Netherlands.²⁴¹ What

²³⁸ Dyonna Benett. Interview with Isabel. Personal Interview. Rotterdam, May 27, 2021.

²³⁹ AD. 2016. Zomercarnaval is erfgoed, met dank aan Amersfoortse. Available at: <https://www.ad.nl/amersfoort/zomercarnaval-is-erfgoed-met-dank-aan-amersfoortse~aeb09779/>

²⁴⁰ Laila Blancheville. Interview with Isabel. Personal Interview. Rotterdam, April 26, 2021.

²⁴¹ Artwell Cain. Interview with Isabel. Personal Interview. Rotterdam, April 30, 2021.

Artwell's statement means is that Zomercarnaval's recognition as heritage is an achievement to Netherland's immigrant society. It is a public acknowledgment that Dutch nationals with an immigrant background are not only part of Dutch culture but can be the protagonists of it.

The hope, for most carnival participants, is that this institutional achievement can help Zomercarnaval resolve one of its oldest issues: its financial sustainability. The financial issues are not a recent problem for Zomercarnaval: since the early 2000s, the event has suffered difficulties to pay itself. In 2002, a newspaper story affirmed that the event could end its activities or move to another city. In that year, Guus Dutrieux, director of Ducos Productions, declared during his interview to Rotterdam's *Dagblad* that if the municipality does not guarantee a subsidy, the carnival would be cancelled. By that time, he argued that the municipality imposed too many requirements and the costs were increasing significantly. At the same time, attracting sponsors was becoming more challenging.²⁴² Claudia Raven, creative director of Ducos Productions explains that the event's cost used to be shared in equal parts between catering, municipality, and sponsors. But since the 2008's financial crisis, the corporate sponsorship has been very low. "The golden years were during the 1990s, when ice-cream brand Solero was the carnival's main sponsor. When the brand withdrew its sponsorship, other trademarks like Ortell Mobile and Fernandes²⁴³ joined, but none of them sponsored for too long."²⁴⁴ Claudia states that since it is a free event, it is hard to do any kind of market research to understand who the carnival's audience is. Therefore, it is difficult to market it to brands.

Figure 41: Zomercarnaval's logo during Solero's sponsorship.



Source: Vectorlogo.net

²⁴² Rotterdam's *Dagblad*. 2002. "Zomercarnaval dreigt Rotterdam te verlaten". Available at: <https://libguides.eur.nl/nexisuni>

²⁴³ Soft drink brand from Suriname that also has operations in the Netherlands.

²⁴⁴ Claudia Raven. Interview with Isabel. Personal Interview. Recife, April 19, 2021.

The queen election is the carnival tradition that was most harmed by Zomercarnaval's financial tightness in the early 2000s. As mentioned in the previous chapter, the event that happens prior to Zomercarnaval to choose that year's ambassadress did not happen in 2002 and was almost cancelled in 2004 due to lack of sponsorship.²⁴⁵ Zomercarnaval's budget cuts are not an exclusivity of the early 2000s. In 2009, Zomercarnaval had to give up on an average of fifteen to twenty per cent of its budget due to declining sponsorship and lack of public subsidy. The same situation happened in 2015, when Ducos Productions had to pay more than 180 thousand euros of its own savings due to the carnival's declining funding and sponsorship. During an interview for *De Telegraaf*, Ducos' creative director Claudia Raven argued that the financial struggles of Zomercarnaval are not sustainable: "This year (2015) we have written 35 funds for the Summer Carnival for a total amount of 350,000 euros. We have been awarded 35,000 euros. The event will cost more than a million. Consider, for example, the costs for road safety and security".²⁴⁶

The struggles of Zomercarnaval are not exclusive to financial issues. The logistics of the event is also a big problem: the participant's and organization's most common complaint every year is regarding the lack of an official place where the floats can be assembled. 2014 was the first time Ducos Productions had to publicly go to the media to ask for a shed or warehouse to storage the floats, and it happened again in 2018 and 2019.²⁴⁷ When asked about this issue, Guus Dutrieux mentioned that the lack of a space threatens the whole event, since the floats need to be assembled at least a week before the parade. "In recent years, the Summer Carnival has had to go to great lengths to find a suitable space. It is a fight every year, but now the day is getting very short. The shed should have been open last Monday." said Ducos Productions director to *De Telegraaf*.²⁴⁸ According to Rossini, founder of the Kingdoms Under the Sun carnival group, the constant incertitude of whether there will be a warehouse or not has a huge impact on Zomercarnaval. "In the last years, they (the municipality) have been creating more restrictions that can harm the event.

²⁴⁵ Waterink, Tatiana. 2002. "Alles draait om het dansen". *Rotterdams Dagblad*.

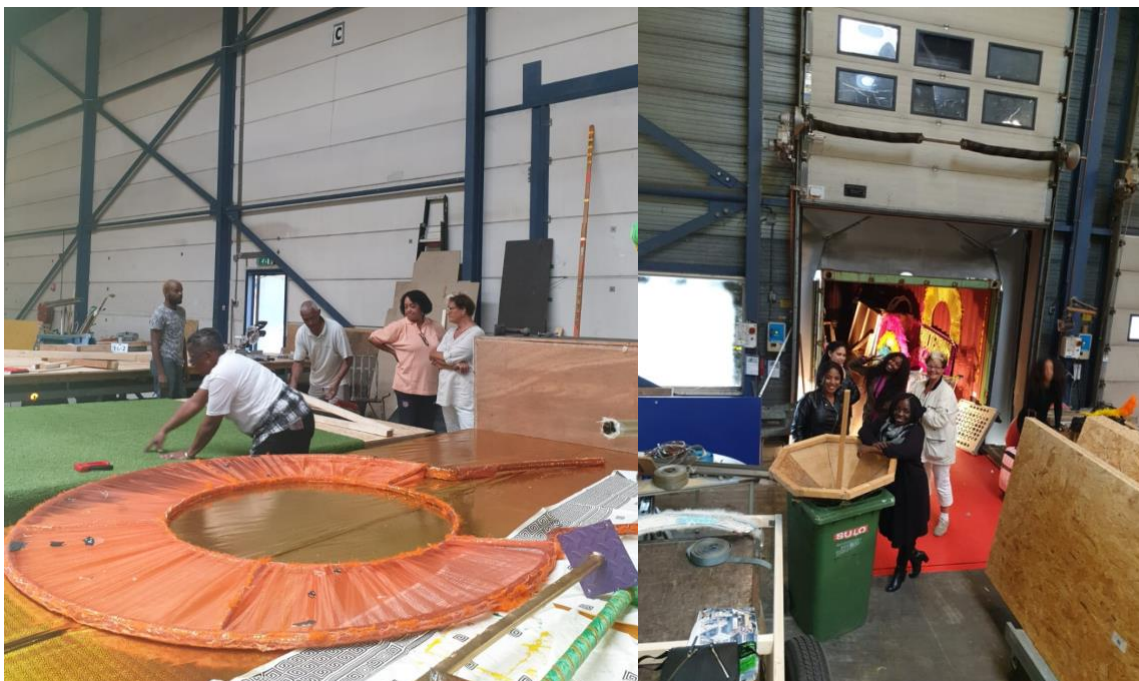
²⁴⁶ Frankenhuys, Gerda. 2015. "Zomercarnaval moet fors gaan bezuinigen; Tekort door minder subsidies en sponsoring". *De Telegraaf*.

²⁴⁷ AD/Rotterdams Dagblad. 2018. "Noodkreet van Zomercarnaval". Available at: <https://advance-lexis-com.eur.idm.oclc.org/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:5S8M-P6F1-DYRY-X4PM-00000-00&context=1516831>.

²⁴⁸ *De Telegraaf*. 2019. "Zomercarnaval hangt aan zijden draadje". Available at: <https://advance-lexis-com.eur.idm.oclc.org/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:5WDY-17M1-DYTV-D167-00000-00&context=1516831>.

The government used to provide these sheds, but now it has stopped. The municipality does not want to pay for the float warehouses anymore. For next year (2022), they (the municipality) are already telling us (group leaders) that there will be no floats because they are cutting back the financial aid for the festival” said Rossini, during his interview as a source to this thesis.²⁴⁹ According to Dey Cruz, founder of Brazil Axé carnival group, every time the warehouse is in a different place, and in 2019, the event did not provide a warehouse at all. They had to count with the solidarity of someone who offered a space.²⁵⁰

Figure 42: Zomercarnaval's participants building their floats at a warehouse.



Source: Dey Cruz's personal archive (shared with researcher).

To carnival groups, these warehouses are more than just storage space. It is a meeting place where all groups can gather and collaborate, as they build their floats together. Since they go in these sheds every day in the weeks prior to the event, these warehouses become a space for community building for the carnival groups. Dey Cruz explained that unlike Rio's carnival parade, the float construction is collective, and the groups follow each other's progresses. "It does not generate more competition; we work with solidarity. This process lasts for about a month,

²⁴⁹ Rossini van Wijk. Interview with Isabel. Personal Interview. Rotterdam, April 30, 2021.

²⁵⁰ Dey Cruz. Interview with Isabel. Personal Interview. Rotterdam, May 5, 2021.

sometimes less. Several times, we would spend the whole night together finishing the floats” declared the carnival participant.²⁵¹ Thus, the warehouse is not only logistically important, it is the heart and the brains of Zomercarnaval, where carnival groups build their beautiful creations from scratch, but also develop bonds with each other. Not investing in this space is betting against the festivity. To give an end to these financial struggles, Claudia Raven mentioned that Ducos Productions is thinking about having a try-out of an indoor paid event in 2022. “It would be healthier financially,” said the creative director.²⁵² Nonetheless, to most carnival groups, the event would then cease to be a carnival. An indoor parade would lose all its character and would change the nature of the event. Then, the question is not if the event is under threat or not. It is about how Zomercarnaval will be transformed into something else to fit the limitations that its financial situation imposes.

The question is, if the municipality is not willing to invest in this event, what was the point of making it an intangible cultural heritage in the first place? As mentioned in the beginning of this chapter, promoting heritage calls for institutional measurements, public investment and most of all, a careful look for the needs and desires of the heritage-guarding communities. Additionally, the decision of not subsidizing Zomercarnaval and leaving the responsibility of sponsoring it to private capital is to make the event hostage to market trends and decisions. Such as the bureaucratic measures in Recife’s carnival, the financial struggles of Zomercarnaval not only limits the creative freedom of this event but also can have negative consequences to the whole community that participates in it. Therefore, what does the future look like for Zomercarnaval? Its inclusion in Netherland’s National Inventory of Intangible Cultural Heritage was an important step. However, is not enough to guarantee that the carnival is safeguarded.

²⁵¹ Dey Cruz. Interview with Isabel. Personal Interview. Rotterdam, May 5, 2021.

²⁵² Claudia Raven. Interview with Isabel. Personal Interview. Recife, April 19, 2021.

7. THE POLITICAL CHARACTER OF CARNIVALS

Figure 43: “Even forbidden, look after us.” Censored Jesus Christ during Beija Flor's parade of 1989.



Source: Agência O Globo / Ricardo Leoni

The above image is one of the most symbolic pieces of evidence of the *carnavalesque* protest. In 1989, the samba school from Rio de Janeiro, Beija-Flor, made history in the Marquês de Sapucaí *sambódromo* with a parade loaded with political discourse, addressing urban issues such as social vulnerabilities in the *favelas* and the invisibility of homeless people. When planning to display a homeless Jesus Christ, the samba school was censored by the City of Rio and the Catholic Church. Instead of withdrawing the statue, Beija-Flor paraded with a Jesus covered in black plastic, as a sign of protest due to a court injunction.²⁵³ The parade revolutionized not only the aesthetics of samba schools' parade, but also the political character of it. Beija-Flor and its conflict with the Catholic Church and the City of Rio is a clear illustration of this thesis title: the use of carnival as a space for contestation. To Beija-Flor, a homeless Jesus brings attention to the vulnerability of homeless population. To the Catholic Church, it is an offense to their beliefs.

²⁵³ O Globo. Há 30 anos, a Beija-Flor revolucionava o carnaval com 'Ratos e urubus'. 2019. Accessed in June 20, 2021. Available at: <https://oglobo.globo.com/cultura/ha-30-anos-beija-flor-revolucionava-carnaval-com-ratos-urubus-23434100>

Throughout this thesis, it was investigated how the relations of power encountered within societies find an echo in the carnival, turning it into a disputed space where different narratives, visions and beliefs are contested. On one side, there is the inversion character of carnival, where social rules and hierarchies are questioned or suspended. On the other, there is the established power, either controlling its crowd and stopping any kind of carnivalesque rebellion or using carnival as a strategy for maintenance and control. In carnival, social contradictions are exposed and questioned and constant tensions and disputes between different classes and cultures of how and by whom this space is used. Although carnival does not absolutely affirm or overturn current orders, it provides a space to engage in dialogue with them, not simply by mirroring political and social realities but also by offering a means to challenge them.²⁵⁴ Carnival's relevance as a means of communication is directly related to a society's social and political environment: the greater the discrepancy between the real and the wanted world, the higher will be the impact of carnival as a political stage.²⁵⁵ Consequently, the chances of suppressing carnivalesque protest are also higher. This was the case in many situations throughout carnival history.

In sixteenth-century France, the carnival in the city of Romans was a stage for class struggle and political revolution: the revolt corresponded to a peasant and anti-noble awakening against the tax exemption and other privileges given to the noblemen. The peasants and urban working classes used *carnivalesque* protest to clash with the nobility and fight chronic social inequality.²⁵⁶ In the new world, the carnival also presented its political character. The example of Trinidad and Tobago's famous carnivalesque festivities shows that the former enslaved Afro-diasporic people sought through carnival to passively resist the dominance and mobilize the common folk for political action. A recognition of the threatening effects of lower-class mobilization during carnival is that the island's elite tried to ban the popular carnival several times. And for five years, it was able to succeed, banning carnival from 1941 to 1945.²⁵⁷ Even so, carnival persisted and once again manifested itself as the greatest demonstration of the struggle for class and race emancipation on

²⁵⁴ Jeremy DeWaal. "The reinvention of tradition: form, meaning, and local identity in modern Cologne carnival." *Central European History* 46, no. 3 (2013): 495-532.

²⁵⁵ Ruth Wüst. "The Trinidad Carnival: a medium of social change." *In Alternative Cultures in the Caribbean: First International Conference of the Society of Caribbean Research*, (1993): pp. 149-159.

²⁵⁶ Emmanuel Le Roy Ladurie. *Carnival in Romans: A People's uprising at Romans (1579-1580)*. (Editions Gallimard, 1979)

²⁵⁷ Hollis 'Chalkdust' Liverpool. "Rituals of Power and Rebellion: the carnival of Trinidad and Tobago (1763-1962)". *Research Associates School Times Publications and Frontline Distribution Int'l Inc*, (2001).

to an excess of control and regulation or due to a strong social cohesion that the event inspires, or both. The case of Zomercarnaval is one example of a carnival without much evidence of political protest. The reasons behind the alleged neutrality of the event call for an investigation. The origins of the event, as was mentioned before in this thesis, are one of the reasons: different from its main inspiration, the Notting Hill Carnival, that was inceptioned as a mobilization against race intolerance and has a history of fighting against poor housing conditions and claiming for public spaces,²⁵⁹ Zomercarnaval was born out of a desire for cultural expression of immigrant communities in the Netherlands. Although the event has suffered stigmatization and intolerance, it has been embedded as an integration policy since its second year.²⁶⁰

Rotterdam's carnival has also been developed under a lot of control and regulation. When compared to other carnivals in the global south and even to other Caribbean carnivals in the global north, the event does not leave much space for spontaneous behavior. During most of the event's editions there are rules, searches and safety checks conducted by the police.²⁶¹ There is also norms on alcohol use in the streets and drug use is strongly prohibited and its control is reinforced. "Everyone is welcome in the city to celebrate Rotterdam Unlimited. But our message is: keep it cozy! (...) The event is a true celebration, and we certainly want to keep it that way. And to ensure that, we have established rules." It is a message from the police department from Zomercarnaval of 2013.²⁶² The event's schedule is also very strict. While carnival in the Caribbean and Latin America might change the routes and start a few hours later than planned, in the Netherlands that is unthinkable. Police and emergency services require a strictly observed route and timetable.²⁶³ When comparing to the West Indies carnival experiences, Charissa Granger argues that in the Netherlands, there is a different way where people take space, since the spaces are really

²⁵⁹ Ernest Taylor, and Moya Kneafsey. "The place of urban cultural heritage festivals: The case of London's Notting Hill Carnival." In *Cultural heritage in a changing world*, Springer, Cham, (2016): 181-196.

²⁶⁰ Marga Alferink. 'Post-Colonial Immigrants and Identity Formations In The Netherlands.' In *Post-colonial immigrants and identity formations in the Netherlands*. Amsterdam University Press, (2012): 109-114.

²⁶¹ "Weer fouilleren tijdens Zomercarnaval". AD/Rotterdams Dagblad. 27 July 2006 Thursday. <https://advance-lexis-com.eur.idm.oclc.org/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:4KH2-PN00-TX38-72P4-00000-00&context=1516831>.

²⁶² "Politie gaat fouilleren tijdens feestweekend; Ook strenge controles op drinken van alcohol op straat". De Telegraaf. 14 juni 2013 vrijdag. <https://advance-lexis-com.eur.idm.oclc.org/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:58N5-9YH1-JC8W-Y1BS-00000-00&context=1516831>.

²⁶³ Marga Alferink. 'Post-Colonial Immigrants and Identity Formations In The Netherlands.' In *Post-colonial immigrants and identity formations in the Netherlands*. Amsterdam University Press, (2012): 112.

controlled, policed, and organized. “And even if you want to do a grassroots thing, there is so much paperwork that you cannot just take the streets. It is the Netherlands” argues Charissa.²⁶⁴

The event’s organization is also very top-down, giving not much space for creative freedom or spontaneity. In the next years, Ducos Prodcutions wants to reduce the duration and length of the parade and even test an indoor event.²⁶⁵ In the participants and carnival groups side, there is also not much interest in political engagement. Although there is criticism on how the event is held, much carnival groups do not get involved in advocating for changes in the carnival or in using the parade as a political platform. To Cecilia, from Cabo Verde Chegou (see figure 45), the organization is there to make the carnival happen. “I don’t want to criticize the carnival. They (the organization) are helpful, but I never explored how much they earn or how much they help the groups... I am not earning on this; I spend on it. I am here to parade and represent my country” claims the Cape Verdian immigrant.²⁶⁶ Cecília has a very important point. At Zomercarnaval, representing their countries is already the biggest political contribution all participants can do. As immigrants, to be able to display their culture and contribute for a more tolerant, multicultural, and cohesive society is already a political act.

Figure 45: Cecilia during the Cabo Verde Chegou parade.



Source: Flickr / Gerard Stolk.

²⁶⁴ Charissa Granger. Interview with Isabel. Personal Interview. Rotterdam, April 16, 2021.

²⁶⁵ Claudia Raven. Interview with Isabel. Personal Interview. Recife, April 19, 2021.

²⁶⁶ Cecília van Sleuwen. Interview with Isabel. Personal Interview. Rotterdam, May 19, 2021.

Is everything political in Recife's carnival?

As Recife's carnival becomes more controlled, its long history of political protest resists

Figure 46: Frevo at Recife. Pierre Verger, 1947



Source: Google Arts and Culture.

Shifting to the global south, the *carnavalesque* protest has a higher impact as a political stage to societies. That is because when the social tensions are higher, and the inequalities are more evident, people's willingness to react politically to injustices is also more evident. In Recife, carnival was and still is an extremely potent space for political protest. For instance, let's consider the history of *frevo*, one of Pernambuco's main cultural expressions and intangible cultural heritage of humanity. *Frevo* was born in the early twentieth century, when Recife's urban working class was growing, intensifying their struggles, and finding new ways of organizing. The popular mass, composed of salaried workers and workers in mechanical and manual activities, organized their festivities according to their working groups, called clubs.²⁶⁷ These clubs usually gathered

²⁶⁷ Rita de Cássia Barbosa de Araújo. *Festas: máscaras do Tempo. Entrudo, mascaradas e frevo no Carnaval do Recife*. (Recife: Fundação de Cultura do Recife, 1996)

people from the same profession, occupation, or even the product they produced.²⁶⁸ Their clubs names were, for example, lumberjacks, brooms, shovels, etc. These groups would gather during carnival to the sounds of marching bands and capoeira dancers. The carnival gathering parties were not the antithesis of work: it was in these moments that the working-class clubs would organize themselves politically and create bonds among members of the group.²⁶⁹ *Frevo* becomes, above all, a working-class mass. Together with other urban cultural expressions like *maracatus nação* and *afoxés*, *frevo* becomes a space of political resistance for the working class.

In the late twentieth century, these expressions not only maintained their characteristic of resistance, but conquered new audiences. As Peter Burke argues in the *Trajectories of Carnival*, these manifestations are appropriated and incorporated by the middle classes and become the mainstream of Recife's carnival.²⁷⁰ However, this does not mean that these cultural expressions lose its capacity of political discourse. Instead, the political character, the satire and the *carnavalesque* protest becomes a central aspect of *frevo*'s nature. The same is true for other cultural expressions. There are several *frevo* carnival groups or *blocos* from the middle classes that have political engagement as its main purpose. For example, the middle-class carnival group Grêmio Líteo Recreativo Cultural Misto Carnavalesco Eu Acho é Pouco, founded in 1976, in opposition to Brazil's Military Dictatorship.²⁷¹ Currently, the group does not hide its opposition to President Jair Bolsonaro and its sympathy to the Worker's Party and Brazil's political leader and former President Lula (see figure 49). Most middle-class and working-class carnival groups also follow the same political orientation, in favor of leftist and progressive political agendas, turning Recife and Olinda's carnival policies, a political agenda of the left. Prior to the presidential election of 2018, almost one hundred carnival groups took the streets in opposition to then presidential candidate Jair Bolsonaro.²⁷²

²⁶⁸ Araújo, 341.

²⁶⁹ Araújo, 347.

²⁷⁰ Peter Burke, *The Translation of Culture: Carnival in Two or Three Worlds*. in *Varieties of Cultural History*. (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1997).

²⁷¹ Eu Acho É Pouco. Accessed in June 22, 2021. Available at: <http://www.euachoe Pouco.com.br>.

²⁷² Mídia Ninja. Em Pernambuco, blocos de carnaval vão às ruas contra o fascismo. Accessed in June 22, 2021 Available at: <https://midianinja.org/news/em-pernambuco-blocos-de-carnaval-vao-as-ruas-contra-o-fascismo/>

Figure 47: *Eu Acho É Pouco*, one of Pernambuco's most politically engaged carnival groups.



Source: Brasil de Fato.

As mentioned in the previous chapters, PSB's administration was marked by the implementation of regulations and norms that served to create more control on Recife's carnival. In the last ten years, new bureaucratic policies, that went from regulating the distribution of carnival subsidies to regulating the occupation of public spaces have emerged. For instance, in 2014, the municipality created new rules that limited the itinerary and schedule of carnival parades during the weeks prior to carnival. According to the City of Recife, the rules were done in accordance with more than seventy carnival groups, during a public meeting. Some of the rules were the requirement of an ambulance, the avoidance of public transport corridors and the time limit of six hours of party.²⁷³ The requirements were received with a lot of protest from several carnival groups that did not feel included in the decision. Thirty representatives of different groups

²⁷³ G1 PE. Novas regras limitam roteiro e horário de blocos nas prévias do Recife. 2014. Accessed in June 22, 2021 Available at: <http://g1.globo.com/pernambuco/carnaval/2014/noticia/2014/01/novas-regras-limitam-roteiro-e-horario-de-blocos-nas-previas-do-recife.html>

held a protest in front of the City Hall against the new measures. “We want to discuss these measures with Geraldo Julio, because we believe that the mayor doesn't want to end the neighborhoods carnivals. To give an idea, more carnival groups parade during the weeks prior and after carnival than during, because it's cheaper. We're in mourning”, concludes José, the president of twenty-two-year-old carnival group Deixa Falar. “These measures represent a military dictatorship. These groups were created during the dictatorship for the expression of the people” adds him.²⁷⁴ No measures that created limitations for the free speech and participation of carnival groups were as emblematic as the case of *Empatando Tua Vista*. To some, the episode was considered a form of control and political censorship, aimed to silence dissenting political speech. In 2014, to raise awareness and criticize the real estate speculation and verticalization of Recife, a group of urban activists decided to make a satirical *carnavalesque* protest in the form of a carnival group. the group *Empatando Tua Vista* (Blocking Your Sight) used costumes in shape of skyscrapers as a satire to the market housing policies that have taken the city in the last years (see figure below).

Figure 48: *Empatando Tua Vista's* high rises at Recife's Carnaval.



Source: direitosurbanos.wordpress.com

²⁷⁴ G1 PE. Blocos do Recife protestam contra novas regras para desfile nas prévias. 2014. Accessed in June 22, 2021 Available at: <http://g1.globo.com/pe/paranaiba/carnaval/2014/noticia/2014/01/blocos-do-recife-protestam-contra-novas-regras-para-desfile-nas-previas.html>

The group was linked to the social movement Ocupe Estelita, also against real estate speculation, specifically in an old wharf in the city center. It gained public recognition as a dissent voice in opposition to PSB's administration and it even became famous due to a viral video on Facebook, in which the group made a satire of the then mayor Geraldo Julio.²⁷⁵ In 2017, prior to their fourth carnival parade on a Carnival Saturday, the “high rises” were apprehended by the state police in the residency of one of the organizers.²⁷⁶ The act was seen as an abuse of power and a public scandal, since it was an invasion of privacy and a clear attempt to persecute protest and silence political speech. The carnival group asked for the state of Pernambuco to recant the case, as the action was considered “arbitrary, truculent and dictatorial” by the group members.²⁷⁷

Figure 49: Empatando Tua Vista in confront with Pernambuco's Military Police, 2017.



Source: Diário de Pernambuco / Empatando tua vista.

By excluding the possibility of a dissent speech in carnival, governments not only behave in an autocratic manner but also ignore the strong attachment between carnival and ideas of democracy

²⁷⁵ G1 PE. Vídeo do movimento Ocupe Estelita faz sátira a prefeito do Recife e viraliza. 2015. Accessed in June 22, 2021 Available at: <http://g1.globo.com/pernambuco/noticia/2015/05/video-do-movimento-ocupe-estelita-faz-satira-prefeito-do-recife-e-viraliza.html>

²⁷⁶ Blog de Jamildo. 2017. Troça Empatando Tua Vista entra com processo no MPPE contra PM. Accessed in June 22, 2021 In: <https://m.blogs.ne10.uol.com.br/jamildo/2017/03/03/troca-empatando-tua-vista-entra-com-processo-no-mppe-contra-pm/>

²⁷⁷ G1 PE. 2019. Major da PM é punido com prisão por causa de apreensão de fantasias durante carnaval de PE. Accessed in June 22, 2021. Available at: <https://g1.globo.com/pernambuco/noticia/major-da-pm-sera-punido-com-prisao-por-causa-de-apreensao-de-fantasias-durante-carnaval-de-pe.ghtml>

and free speech. The politicization of carnival provides a communication channel between state and society; consequently, it also adds new layers to the contested meaning of the event. Carnival's participatory nature and decentralized structure permits joiners to observe and reconsider norms on their own terms, without having to seize control of central organization in the process.²⁷⁸ From Trinidad and Tobago's enslaved Africans in the 19th Century, to the more recent cases of Claudia Jones' carnivalesque protest after the race riots of 1958's Notting Hill, carnival has been celebrated as a form of political resistance. In both cases, the showcasing other anti-hegemonic identities, and ideas. By creating more spheres of control and regulation and silencing free speech, Recife's municipality can harm one of the main aspects of Recife's carnival: its *carnivalesque* protest. Above all, the attempts are ineffective. Because in carnival, as a space of dispute, the more attempts to curb political satire, the more it will cause revolt in carnival participants.

²⁷⁸ Jeremy DeWaal. "The reinvention of tradition: form, meaning, and local identity in modern Cologne carnival." *Central European History* 46, no. 3 (2013): 495-532.

8. CONCLUSION

Answering questions and summarizing findings

Throughout this thesis, the universe of carnival was investigated through its social dynamics and power structures. The first objective was to understand these dynamics and power relations by reviewing the different concepts that several scholars have attributed to the festivity. By reflecting on the two main different lines of thought, that are centered in the opposing ideas of carnival as a tool for transformation and carnival as a tool for maintenance, this thesis encountered the answer it was looking for at the intersection of both. To find this answer, different experiences of the carnival ritual throughout history were investigated and several times, the festivity was being performed as a means of participation, identity creation and popular resistance.

From this perspective, carnival has, therefore, a distinctly political essence and its profound nature reflect the class struggle. The liberating nature of this ritual can make it look like a utopic event where equality, freedom and autonomy are manifested. This is not entirely wrong, regarding the fact that carnival participants use the space to perform and express their desires, needs and worldviews. However, there is nothing harmonious in this. Efforts of building utopias, new ways of existing, participating and expressing that can alter power dynamics are never harmoniously accepted by current power structures. And carnival is found neither outside nor on top of the dynamics of power: as a popular manifestation, carnival is at the heart of the social conflicts, and as such, it is a manifestation crossed, limited, and oriented by such conflicts. Therefore, carnival's nature is a disputed one, in which different actors aim for sometimes opposing outcomes.

To demonstrate this disputed nature, this investigation used Recife's and Rotterdam's carnival as two cases and presented stories and testimonies to tell episodes in which these carnivals were used as a stage for social tensions and conflicts. To understand how a carnival, rooted in the ideas of freedom and spontaneity operates in the twenty-first century, where rigid institutions like municipalities take responsibility for organizing and preserving these festivities, this thesis investigated the main social tensions that were evoked within the power dynamics of carnival

events. The conflicts were presented in the four main chapters and were divided into two groups of four questions. The first group investigated how inequalities and separations are performed in carnival: can carnival help create social cohesion, or does it replicate segregations? How are these social inequalities reflected in the event's different cultural expressions? The second group focused on learning about two aptitudes of the *carnavalesque*: its capacity to be a space for heritage creation and its competence for political protest. The questions asked were if institutionalizing these events can either help or jeopardize these two competencies. In each chapter, a comparison was made between both multicultural carnival experiences that were used as case studies.

Rotterdam's carnival demonstrated more capacity to be a space for social cohesion when compared to Recife's. Although there are clear separations and stigmatizations of Zomercarnaval's participants, at least during the event, these inequalities are not as evident as in Recife's carnival. Neither in Recife nor any Brazilian city, carnival can be seen as a space for social cohesion. The democratic and spontaneous character of carnivals in the global south cannot be confused with any kind of elimination of social and racial inequalities. In fact, these inequalities are augmented during carnival. A little part of the working class that relates to cultural expressions are protagonists of the carnival. However, the physical and social geographies of the party are made up in a manner that different classes and ethnicities do not share the same spaces or do not live the same experience.

When it comes to how these inequalities are reflected in the multicultural character of the events, both in Rotterdam and Recife there is a false dichotomy that to some cultural expressions to be displayed, others must lose space. In Recife, this is evident in the episode of maracatu losing its place at the carnival opening. In Rotterdam, the Antillean expressions ceased to be the main event so that the carnival could become a melting pot of all migrant cultures. In Rotterdam's case, some Afro-Caribbean traditions were discontinued or mischaracterized, even though there is a clear protagonism of the Antillean community at Zomercarnaval. By putting all immigrant backgrounds in the same 'melting pot', it appears like the struggles of post-colonial immigrants for recognition and expression are taken for granted. In both cases, the space conquered by the Afro-diasporic cultures were political victories and when these were withdrawn, the society of Recife and Rotterdam send a message that perhaps it is not the moment yet for the prominence of

Afro-diasporic cultural expressions. Thus, disregarding the historical responsibility that both societies have with these communities.

In the case of cultural heritage protection, Rotterdam's Zomercarnaval heritage is only resisting because of the carnival group's engagement and motivation. Although the event is institutionalized and has a subscription at the Dutch Inventory for Intangible Cultural Heritage, not much is done for the development and promotion of carnival groups. In fact, since the early 2000s, the event has been suffering budget cuts and its lack of financial sustainability can jeopardize the carnival in many ways. For many years, carnival groups have been fighting for basic structure, like a space for building floats. However, it can also be the case that Rotterdam's carnival is too recent and the policies for protection will come with time, as well as its public recognition as cultural heritage.

In Recife, carnival groups have gained more support when compared to Rotterdam. At Carnaval do Recife, traditional associations are entitled to a subsidy even though bureaucratic measures hinder their access to this funding. It is important to note that the fact that Recife has more heritage protection policies can mean that: (i) there is a public recognition that heritage is created by low-income communities and their financial struggles need to be attended to maintain heritage; (ii) Recife's carnival is an older and established event, with more public recognition and more time to apply and test policies; (iii) financial problems and lack of sponsorship do not hit Recife's carnival as it does in Rotterdam. Its carnival tradition of almost two hundred years is already matured and established as a central part of Recife's society.

The last chapter, regarding the political character of both carnivals has found that there is a big discrepancy in the use of carnival as a space for protest and political contestation. Zomercarnaval has shown little evidence of being on a political stage. The excessive control and regulation of the use of space might have created limitations for people to execute their creative and political freedom. Participants are less keen to engage with protest and political discourse when compared to Recife. In the case of Recife, since the social tensions and inequalities are more evident, so it is the political engagement. As *Carnival in Romans* has shown, the bigger it is the social differences between classes, the more willing the lower classes are to engage in political

protest. In conclusion, carnivals are more susceptible to be a political arena in Latin America as carnivals in the global north tend to be more controlled and regulated.

Limitations of the study and further research

No writing process is neutral or detached from the writer. I use this space to acknowledge that my personal experiences, my political views, and my social markers have a profound impact on my object of study. My involvement with a very political carnival has influenced my view on carnival as a rather contested space. If I was a person with little connection to the topic, I might have had a different opinion on the meaning of carnival. As a multifaceted and resourceful event, carnival can take different shapes and connotations and none of them is wrong. Carnival takes its meaning from its signifier.

I also acknowledge that there were some limitations to this research. There were some disparities between interview approaches. In Recife's case, I did not manage to get interviews with other mayors besides João Paulo, from the Worker's Party. No mayor from the following administrations has answered my contacts. Also, only two members of Geraldo Julio's rule were willing to be interviewed (Ana Paula and Fabiana), while I could interview four different municipality members from João Paulo's rule (Fernando, João Paulo, Junior Afro and Patricia). This might have caused a biased view on how the carnival management was conducted. In the case of Rotterdam, no interviews with municipality members were held. However, the carnival's management is almost completely centered at Ducos Productions and the Zomercarnaval Foundation. Nevertheless, it would have been important to acknowledge how the City of Rotterdam takes responsibility for the carnival and what is their viewpoint on the event.

I recognize that my language barrier, the lack of previous knowledge about Rotterdam's context and the fact that I only learned about Zomercarnaval in September 2020, when I moved to the Netherlands and started this investigation is very contrasting with the fact that I am an experienced participant at Recife's carnival. Therefore, I have tried to tackle these limitations by exploring the universe of Zomercarnaval from my place of speech, as a Latin American immigrant

who arrives in this new country with the repertoire of the struggles from Latin America and a speech marked by efforts of decoloniality.

On the other hand, I had access to many sources and managed to interview key stakeholders from both Zomercarnaval and Recife's carnival. Adding Zomercarnaval to my research made me travel through the world of carnival. In fact, throughout this research, to be able to travel from Recife to Rotterdam, I had to pass through the Netherlands Antilles, the island of Trinidad and Tobago, the neighborhood of Notting Hill in London, the islands of Cape Verde and countless other multicultural carnivals on the globe.

Now, I have a clearer idea of the different meanings and shapes carnivals take in different places. I also understand how social dynamics and power relations play a part in carnivals and I can see the connections and similarities amongst them. There are several further steps for this research. For now, I suggest that this research still left some unanswered questions on the role of institutions for carnivals. Although I advocate for the embedding of carnival in the public sphere, I do not go into depth on how governments can use carnivals to their highest potential, as a transformative policy for citizenship building.

As I focus on demonstrating how the social dynamics and structures of power act in carnivals and how excessive control and regulation can be harmful to these autonomous and spontaneous cultural manifestations, I make a plea for more negotiation and participation spheres within the carnival organization. In further research, guidelines, and instructions on how carnivals can achieve their transformative potential are needed. In the meanwhile, I end this thesis by reintroducing its front cover 'Sombras do Frevo' by the French photographer Alexandre Berzin. Frevo performance is a perfect representation of what a carnival is: half dance, half fight. A space for the dispute of utopias. A hiatus that creates a new possibility within the impossible.

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10. APPENDICES

APPENDIX A: Interview Structure Carnival Groups – Recife

1. Personal questions: name, age, place of birth, profession
2. What is your story and relationship with carnival?
3. How did your group participate on the last 20 years of Recife's carnival?
4. How is your groups relationship with the municipality?
5. Were there any conflicts between your group and the municipality?
6. Did you see any changes from one administration to the other?
7. What are the future and current challenges of communities and cultural manifestations in the Carnival of Recife?

APPENDIX B: Interview Structure Carnival Organizers – Recife

1. Personal questions: name, age, place of birth, profession
2. What is your story and relationship with carnival?
3. How were you part of the organization and institutionalization of Recife's carnival?
4. How is your relationship with carnival groups?
5. How is the municipality's relationship with carnival groups?
6. What were the main changes from your administration to the previous/following one?
7. What are the future and current challenges of the municipality in managing the Carnival of Recife?

APPENDIX C: In-depth Interviews Further Questions - Recife

Interview with Ana Paula Vilaca

1. How was the relationship between municipality and the communities from the decentralized poles?

2. What is the impact of the carnival allowance to carnival groups?
3. What were the main motivations on creating new fiscal requirements to the carnival allowance?
4. What is the main legacy of PSB for culture and carnival?

Interview with Arycleiton Rodrigues Silva

1. How is Maracatu Estrela Brilhante part of your daily life?
2. How would you introduce Estrela Brilhante to someone?
3. How was the municipality, state and federal government supporting Estrela Brilhante on the last years? during the pandemics?
4. Is Estrela Brilhante closer to the City of Recife, Pernambuco's Government, or the Federal Government (Ministry of Culture)?
5. What is your relationship with other Maracatus?

Interview with Fabiana Ramalho

1. What were the motivations behind the new Marco Zero stage?

Interview with Fernando Duarte

1. What were the motivations for creating the Carnaval Multicultural do Recife as a new cultural policy for Carnival?

Interview with João Paulo

1. What were the motivations for creating the Carnaval Multicultural do Recife as a new cultural policy for Carnival?
2. How was this concept built?
3. What were the objectives behind the Carnaval Multicultural do Recife?
4. What did you want to do differently from other administrations?
5. What were the challenges at that time to create such cultural policy?

Interview with Lindivaldo Junior Afro

1. What is your trajectory inside the City of Recife?
2. How were you part in the construction of Carnaval Multicultural do Recife?
3. What is the impact of the creation of the Cultural Cycles Committee?
4. What is the impact of a curatorship for carnival groups, popular culture and for Carnival?
5. Would you say there is a disregard of Maracatu in relation to Frevo?

6. What is the impact of the new fiscal requirements for carnival groups?
7. How were carnival groups before PT administration and how are they after? And currently, with PSB?

Interview with Maestro Diodato

1. What is your relationship with the itinerant orchestras project, from the municipality?
2. When Frevo became an intangible cultural heritage, what has changed for you?

Interview with Valdson Silva

1. Why did A Cabra Alada choose to have its headquarters in Recife Antigo?
2. Did the municipality already give any support to your group?
3. How does the municipality insert your group inside the carnival programming?
4. How do you engage with the Desfile das Agremiações?
5. Is Maracatu receiving the recognition it deserves?

APPENDIX C: Interview Structure Carnival Groups – Rotterdam

1. Personal questions: name, age, place of birth, profession
2. What is your relationship with carnival?
3. What is your story with Zomercarnaval?
4. What is the contribution of Zomercarnaval to Rotterdam?
5. What was the impact of putting the festival on the city's official agenda?
6. Do you believe that the festival is safeguarded? Or is it under threat?
7. Do you believe the festival represents Rotterdam's cultural heritage?
8. The importance of the festival for the Antillean Community? And other communities?
9. How do you see the relationship between the Municipality of Rotterdam and the event?
10. What are the current and future challenges of the event?
11. Do you have criticism to the events organization?
12. What is missing on Zomercarnaval?
13. Do you consider that Zomercarnaval creates culture or only reproduces cultures from other countries?

APPENDIX D: Interview Structure Carnival Organizers – Rotterdam

1. Personal questions: name, age, place of birth, profession
2. What are your responsibilities at Zomercarnaval?

3. What is the contribution of Zomercarnaval to Rotterdam?
4. What was the impact of putting the festival on the city's official agenda?
5. Do you believe that the festival is safeguarded? Or is it under threat?
6. Do you believe the festival represents Rotterdam's cultural heritage?
7. The importance of the festival for the Antillean Community? And other communities?
8. How do you see the relationship between the organization and the event?
9. What are the current and future challenges of the event?

APPENDIX E: In-depth Interviews Further Questions - Rotterdam

Interview Artwell Cain

1. What was behind the desire of doing a Carnival in Utrecht?
2. How was that experience of being a judge in the carnival queen election?
3. How is the carnival queen an Afro-Caribbean tradition?
4. Differences between Zomercarnaval and the West Indies Carnival?
5. How do you think the Dutch community feel about Zomercarnaval?
6. How does the Dutch Caribbean community feel about Zomercarnaval?
7. Do you think that culture is being created or just displayed in Zomercarnaval?
8. Do you think that the Zomercarnaval collaborated for a better relationship between the Antilleans and the Dutch society?
9. How do you see the current relationship between the Dutch Caribbean immigrants and the Dutch society?

Interview Cecília Lima Lopes

1. How did you arrive in Rotterdam?
2. What is the history of Cabo Verde Chegou?
3. What is your relationship with other groups?
4. How is the dynamic of the Cape Verdian community in the Netherlands?
5. How is the history of the Cape Verdian community with the Zomercarnaval?
6. What are the lessons that the Dutch learn from the event?
7. Do you have criticism to the events organization?
8. What is missing on Zomercarnaval?
9. Do you consider that Zomercarnaval creates culture or only reproduces cultures from other countries?

Interview Charissa Granger

1. What is your relationship with Zomercarnaval?
2. What are the main differences between Zomercarnaval and the West Indies Carnival?
3. When you talk about Zomercarnaval doing ‘wake work’, what do you mean?
4. How do you believe that the Dutch Caribbean community feels about Zomercarnaval?
5. Do you consider that Zomercarnaval creates culture or only reproduces cultures from other countries?
6. What is missing for Zomercarnaval to create culture?

Interview Claudia Raven

1. How is the governance in Zomercarnaval?
2. Who Ducos Productions responds to?
3. Who is Zomercarnaval’s main sponsor?
4. How is the contact of Ducos Productions with the carnival groups and the immigrant communities during the event’s organization?
5. Does the audience / carnival group have criticism to the event? What is their main criticism?

Interview Dey Cruz

1. How did you arrive in Rotterdam?
2. What is your relationship with Brazilian carnival?
3. What is the main difference between Brazilian carnival and Zomercarnaval?
4. Does your group receive any support from the organization?
5. What is the issue behind the lack of a place to build the floats?
6. What makes you participate at Zomercarnaval?
7. Do you consider that Zomercarnaval creates culture or only reproduces cultures from other countries?

Interview Dyonna Benett

1. Why is the queen election important?
2. Why is the Zomercarnaval part of the Intangible Cultural Heritage of the Netherlands?
3. I read that you constructed a heritage care plan together with the Board. Would you be part of the board?
4. How is the heritage care plan being conducted? What are the changes it is providing?
5. Do you feel that other sons of Antillean immigrants like you have a connection with Zomercarnaval? As for their own cultural heritage? And the sons of other immigrants?

Interview Karel Willems

1. How did the Zomercarnaval Foundation was born?
2. Can you explain to me how the governance of the Zomercarnaval works?
3. What is the contribution of Zomercarnaval to Rotterdam?

Interview Laila Blancheville

1. Why is the queen election important?
2. Main differences between Curacao Carnaval and Zomercarnaval?
3. How can a brand recognize the opportunity of investing in Zomercarnaval?

Interview Rossini Van Wijk

1. Who are the Kingdoms Under the Sun? What does it stand for?
2. How does the Kingdoms Under the Sun participate in the ZC? Parading? Competing?
3. What sort of music and/or expression do you display? Where is it from?
4. How is your relationship with other carnival groups?
5. How is your networking with carnivals from abroad?
6. What should be done by the Municipality to protect Zomercarnaval?

Interview Willy Djaoen

1. Do you think that something has changed in the Antillean Integration since you arrived?
2. What was the Antillean Community aiming when they created a carnival in the Netherlands?
3. Do you see Zomercarnaval as a representation of West Indies culture in the Netherlands?
4. Do you think that the melting pot concept is a negative thing?
5. Do you believe that the Dutch Caribbean immigrants suffer discrimination?
6. Do you see the current relationship between the Dutch Caribbean immigrants and the Dutch society as one of equality?
7. Do you think that the ZC collaborated for a better relationship between immigrants and the Dutch society? Why?
8. Differences between Zomercarnaval and the Curacao Carnaval?