

Brazilian Dance Festivals as Places of Tension

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Abstract

This text is a proposition to think historically about the artistic practice of dance in Brazil and its various transformations over time. It also recaptures and incorporates the functions the festivals have fulfilled, and still fulfill, in this process of building dancing in Brazil, going through structural, political, aesthetic, social and cultural issues, involving its constant creation.

Keywords: Dance festivals; aesthetics; distinction; art; culture.

1. Introduction to the subject

For some years I have been developing research in dance history dedicated to understanding the dynamics of the relations established between people, institutions and works of art in dance capable of constituting valorative processes, rather than the works or the artists themselves. As such, this analysis bias intends to revise the treatment of the artist and of their work as foundational milestones in the artistic processes and of consecration in the field they take part, starting from the verification that dancing takes part in different uses and relations before those strictly aesthetic-formal, seeing as the work and organization developed by persons and institutions interfere significantly in the production and circulation of dancing through actions that produce selections, intervening in its configuration and content. Indeed, I go by the premise that the dance work or artist which the researcher faces, does not begin or end in the scenic production or in the choices involved in the process of creation, there exist is a history of dancing before it reaches the artist proper. In this sense, the considerations presented in this text are not intended to provide an analytical archetype about the theme, but to provide some initial sketches and reflections on the matter in order to contribute to the comprehension of a widely adopted format for the concretization of a chain of production in dancing understood as art, which meets the circulation of scenic works at the same time it provides moments of social visibility in specific locations to artists and their work. To do so, I focus on the analysis of certain aspects found in dance festivals in Brazil.

In this regard, dance in Brazil is a historical tributary of a model anchored in the events as a means of distributing its production. This standard of event consists in the grouping and presentation of creative results for plural makers of dance in the same geographic space (or its surroundings) and of a determined duration, generally oscillating between 5 and 20 days. Such manner of organization offers a type of mold in terms of offer and circulation of dance works. Such assumption is reinforced when we realize that even today, the production and circulation of dance in Brazil is interlaced with festivals as an important means of exposition for the artistic manifestation we call dance in its many variations. In order to try and build an argument that happens to be more understandable, I opted to investigate two formats of dance festivals that happen in Brazil, trying to understand the premises that rule each one of them, pointing out elements in their configurations that interfere in the processes of value attribution to those who are part of them, and later highlighting points that single them out and those that bring them closer. To do so, the procedural proposition of the art historian Carl Emil Schorske (1988) of the diachronic and synchronic intercrossing in the historical analysis of art¹, was employed in this investigation as a resource for the comprehension of how these events were historically constituted in Brazil, and how we are heirs of said model of exhibition/consecration of dance works.

¹ The first one consists of a temporal vertical line (diachronic), which would be the investigation of what happened to its object, in this case the Festivals, in prior times in the same branch of cultural activity, the consolidation of a mode of exhibition and the evaluation of dance; the other is horizontal (synchronic), where one must analyze other faces of society that dialogue with its object in its time, in conflict or not.

The existence of big dance festivals, capable of reaching longevity in their activities, aggregating the recognition and adherence of diverse professionals is relatively recent and accompanies the organization of the field of dance as art in the country, consolidating itself in the 1980s. The format for the realization of these dance festivals in the country that at first managed to impose it widely, was lined under the aegis of competition. Due to the geographic dimension of Brazil and the difficulties of dissemination and circulation which depend on travel works and artists through the national territory, the proposition of these events is providing meetings between dance professionals that carry prestige in the national scene with amateurs from the region to travel to the places where these events take place, with the offer of courses, diversified dance presentations, the exhibition of videos; however, presentations aiming at winning prizes excelled in such events, awarded through what one may call direct reviews, attributed by a jury (formed by critics, choreographers, directors from companies or dance schools, teachers, dancers, or famous interpreters) which explicit their evaluations through a notice, which when added together establish a winner.

In the 1980s, this festival format proliferated in several Brazilian cities, especially the Encontro Nacional de Dança (São Paulo / SP), Festival de Dança de Joinville (Joinville / SC) and the Festival de Dança do Triângulo (Uberlândia / MG). At the same time, however, there were – and still are – festivals that have adopted the competition mode as part of their activities, such as the Oficina Experimental de Dança Contemporânea (Salvador / BA), the Ciclo de Dança Contemporânea (Rio de Janeiro / RJ) and, starting in the 1990s, the Bienal de Dança do Ceará (Fortaleza / CE) and the Festival Panorama de Dança (Rio de Janeiro / RJ), to name a few. In these events, there is a predominance of works created by professional and amateur artists who are not linked to an aesthetic or specific patterns of movement, which presenting their creations and are willing to establish a community that dialogues about the possibilities of creation and survival of the craft, creating a social network (Barnes 1954 and 2010) for the dialogue between artists who exhibit their work, cultural producers, curators, programmers and dance critics. From this brief overview, it is possible identify an apparent dichotomy in the interests and *modus operandi* between the format of competitive and non-competitive festivals, a subject that mobilizes heated debates between different professionals in the country. However, as I shall demonstrate, when we look behind the observed differences, it is possible to realize the knots that bind both festival formats, which still exist today, through the presence of professionals who are treated like *experts*, oscillating between the figures of the producer, evaluator, curator, critic, programmer and jury. That said, I believe that a closer examination of the presence of these specialized professionals in dance events, which leads to a discussion of what type of professional participates and what role they play in the structure of the event, can help us qualify the analysis of the theme.

2. The dynamics of competitive festivals

The form of organization of competitive festivals during its first decades occurred guided by assumptions that triggered tensions between the participants. Starting with the Festival de Dança do Triângulo as an example which began in 1987, whose model of operation can be extended to other festivals until the mid-1990s the composition of the cast of the invited dance professionals, had a common feature: they were formed within companies or dance schools, "[...] always linked to this dance tradition: or jazz, which was very strong at the time, and classical ballet." (Torres, 2007) This predominance of technical training in classical ballet in the members of the evaluation committee is a tributary of the understanding that ballet is the art form of dance *par excellence*, and it has long been treated in Brazil as the foundation of all other dances².

However, by the end of the 1980s and beginning of the 1990s, this space of the festivals starts to be invaded by other forms of dancing. These are manifestations of dance that started to conquer more and more visibility and that did not partake of the technical and aesthetic assumptions of ballet, such as: popular dances, street jazz, street dance, Arabic dance, belly dancing, ballroom dance, contemporary dance, post-modern dance, free dances. After becoming present in other festivals, these dances joined a mode of organization that had not been conceived and structured to receive them, generating a mismatch between assumptions and expectations between the assumptions that rule the different dances and the model of exhibition and aesthetic treatment competitive festivals were based upon, causing “discomfort” in the organizers of these events, since these other dances deal with sociocultural and aesthetic differences that are not from ballet.

² A diagnosis of this conception can be perceived in the selection of the dance experiences that were elected by the first authors Who dedicated themselves to writing the history of dance in Brazil and their narratives, such as the works *História da dança* (1964) by Luis Ellmerich, *Pequena história da dança* (1986), and *A dança no Brasil e seus construtores*(1988) by Antonio José Faro, *História da dança* (1989) and *Nos passos da dança* (1985) by Maribel Portinari and *A dança teatral no Brasil* (1989) by Eduardo Sucena.

However, even in the festivals presenting this setting many choreographers and dancers continued to submit their work to these events, to the scrutiny of people, sometimes understood nothing, or very little about their dance practices, not being rare occasions in which members the jury had access to these dances directly through the festivals proper³. Faced with the insufficiency of the domain around the plurality of dances that were present at these events, there emerged the need to include or develop strategic nomenclatures in the context of competitive festivals to designate new and unknown forms of dance, which the "experts" did not know for sure what they were.

The tension arising from this scenario has its core in the process of clustering of singular doings, sometimes dissonant between themselves, in the same unifying category, submitting them to arbitrary classifications so that the "experts" can, in a way or another, evaluate them. The insertion of names like "free dance", "contemporary dance" and "street jazz" are symptomatic of this process, adopted in different moments to hold presentations in dance that do not fit the denominations then available. Agglutinated in the same nomenclature, plural forms of dance were submitted to similar treatments, incapable of recognizing the aesthetic difference being offered. Resulting from the mode of organization of festivals, these variations were identified by the "experts" as so trivial that, to their eyes, the formal similarities surpass them. This process of elaboration of "niches" denominated by styles aiming at the evaluation boosted another process, forcing the competitive festivals and their *modus operandi* to re-adequate themselves. This is the change in the cast of experts, who from the second half of the 1990s begin to have "different backgrounds" (Avellar, 2007), due to a demand that until then was external. According to the then critic of the newspaper Estado de Minas Marcelo Avellar, who starred in several dance festivals interspersing the function of critic and jury, when speaking about "different backgrounds," it refers to the fact that there are judges who have completed their training in dance schools or companies, other self-taught people and still other professionals with an academic degree, the latter being more flexible to innovations in dance.

Thus, the competitive festivals began to absorb experts with different backgrounds to carry on the evaluation of scenic works presented in competitive festivals, with a predominance of the first and third cases. However, even with this alteration, we must highlight that these events did not have a collective of experts who detained knowledge in a specific dance. The majority of the juries who compose the evaluating commissions composed of a mix of *micro-experts* from the field of dance. That situation created, and still creates, diverse tensions between the participants and the judging commission, once that the festivals in competitive format release public notices with the possibility of participation in innumerable forms of dance, but does not allow an evaluation realized by experts in the specific scenic language to which each group is part of⁴.

Even the competitive festivals preaching that "the jury is someone from whom we demand competence to know how to separate the wheat from the chaff. Besides notorious technical knowledge on the matter, they also need to have some malice; they cannot simply sit there and keep writing 'I liked it, I didn't like it'." (Braga; et. Al. 1988:40), the diversity in the ways of doing dance have always been under the scrutiny of specific eyes, limiting the formation of the one who analyzes and emits opinions and evaluations about in the form of notes to different bodies and languages. Choreography of classical ballet or of repertory was evaluated by the same people who judged street dance and tap dance. This scenario made the dances that do not belong to the body shape or aesthetic knowledge held by the "experts" as an example, when reintegrating them into festivals, they began to be evaluated on an "aesthetic purpose" (Williams, 1992:122) which was strange to them.

³ For this reason, from now on I insert "quotes" in the word "experts" to refer to dance professionals in competitive festivals, when I treat of situations in which people with training in specific aesthetics evaluate dances from which they have no singular knowledge. A more thoughtful explanation about the matter involving street dance, may be found on the work Rafael Guarato (2008).

⁴ We can mention, for example, the inexistence until the beginning of the first decade of the current century, of an expert jury that had knowledge about many languages, especially when it refers to popular dances like Coco, Maracatu, Ciranda, Cavalo Marinho, not even a street dance, *axé* and *funk*, which are some of the several popular dances found in the urban environment in Brazil. That is, these dancers were never able, not even once, to count on scholars/experts evaluating their work. However, we must highlight that in the first decade of the current century, the Festival de Dança de Joinville started to compose its juries with evaluators trained strictly in the language they would produce their opinions, as well as, punctual festivals appeared dedicated to specific aesthetics.

Choreographers and dancers are treated like people who have a vocabulary dedicated exclusively to the aesthetic, using terms such as dramaturgy, creative arts, composition procedures, aesthetic effect. What interests us here is to recognize what the English literary critic Raymond Williams (1992) pointed out – that such terms are categorical concepts and not an obvious and neutral description. What the jurors take as basic requisites, agglomerates numerous problems and tensions, because the category of "aesthetic" deals with terms like "beauty", "harmony", "form", "rhythm", "conception", which are impartial, and these categories deal with general human insights that are not subject to applicable generalizations. In this condition, the criteria used in competitive festivals have become incompatible with the everyday practices of many dances that are present at their event

Assuming the importance of the final product, the scenic presentation as unique element to confrontation, competitive festivals situate the aesthetic finish in a privileged position when compared to the practice of dance linked to the subject's experience as a whole. When we add to this finding, the contribution of the French sociologist Pierre Bourdieu that "the aesthetic perception is characteristic of artists, acquired by contact with the works or systematic teaching" (BOURDIEU, 2003: 283), provides us the understanding that the evaluation process is guided in an attempt to objectification of subjectivities⁵. In the meantime the existence of awards at these festivals helps in the manufacture of an imaginary those who participate in them, whose principle is based on the competition by the rise in forged hierarchy on the practice of dance, featuring dynamics and meanings produced and replicated by the existence and continuity of own competitive events, willing to offer a kind of sieve that separates the "good" from the "not as good". Nevertheless, given that these festivals deal with an audience composed mostly of amateurs, the mechanism of competition and conferral of awards can be understood as a means of giving the participants an elementary assumption for the artistic field: selectivity. The opinions are always limited to production standards that guide the evaluation criteria which conform to a "law": competition for recognition among their peers.

In its own way and with specific functioning, competitive festivals meet a certain amount of responsibility for the maintenance of the artistic field considered autonomous, to be guided its opinions on the aesthetic legitimacy⁶ by entering tensions between candidate's artists, mediated by the opinions that seek to guide the "good dance".

Considering what has been exposed to far, our interest is not to treat the competitive configuration of festivals like something that is wrong, but to understand that for the artistic legitimization process in dance, whether amateur or professional, ballet or contemporary dance, such events support the assumptions that perform triage. Thus, the format of competitive festivals perform an educational role for those who are dedicated to the art of dance as a profession, strengthening in each of its issues when it comes to dance in the art condition, the sun literally does not rise for everyone. Mediated by the ratings given by "experts" - understanding that aesthetic perception requires mastery of knowledge that are not socially distributed universally - the dance intended as art endorses that it has its own assumptions and specific questions. This configuration of competitive festivals reinforces the understanding that there are natural ways that characterize the production and artistic perception of the dance.

⁵ I utilize the French sociologist Pierre Bourdieu to help in the comprehension of some relationships between artists, market, production, consumption, circulation and their interfaces as strategies of legitimization. However, no relation when being explained must be naturalized, for the conditions of the occurrence oscillate with the object. In this sense, for the development of the present reflection, we do not utilize in the same conditions the concepts applied by the sociologist, created to analyze the French society in the 1950s-1960s. While Bourdieu understands that the process of distinction through the art as a correspondent of the relations between class and fractions of class, in dance, incurs in mistakes, because the social segments, their family income and aesthetic backgrounds are plural, derailing the usage of the term class and all its historical symbology. We opted to treat the forms of tension, exclusion and distinction in terms of groups, quasi-groups and network, proposed by the anthropology of the Manchester School. It is this relation and the dialogue that we establish with Bourdieu's work, some of his reflections are pertinent when we talk about the working of the field of dance in Brazil and the role of festivals in this process.

⁶ Such concept is based on the thoughts of the sociologist Pierre Bourdieu Who utilizes it to refer to the process in which intellectuals and artists are free from the court and from the Church, and constitute a distinct social category of artists and intellectuals, that happens when they start to dominate the Field of form and style, coincidentally with the appearance of entrepreneurs and of theoretical disputes about the arts facing the market together with the art based on specific methods and techniques, speeches that dichotomize practices not always contrasting. For more details: Pierre Bourdieu (2003:99-182).

Indeed, competitive dance festivals serve as a space for socialization and knowledge exchange at the same time it is place of dance, having an intention of dance as an art, explained through its materiality (an existence subjected to socio cultural recognition of members of a society); symbology (adds codes and symbols that make sense to a particular audience); and a socio-political function (contributes to the target public, training and dissemination of expertise). Once holder of these elements, competitive festivals are no longer any place to become a place of dance, holder of a will in dance. Recognizing the competitive festivals as a place to dance, claims for us the perception of a process of control over the body, or at least to award limits and competence to their exposure when plaintiff to the artistic condition⁷. In this sense, it is significant to note that competitive festivals in Brazil occupy a certain position in the task of providing "official recognition" to artists and works. These festivals carried the burden of giving some of the dance makers consecration or not, and make modifications in aesthetic ways to provide "tips" of what should be improved. When being present in these events, artists and works in dance undergo a process of constant reworking, of pressures, fights, disputes, in which some new references are incorporated while others are abandoned⁸. With the processes of evaluation, one selects properties for classification, categories, methods, languages, styles, emitting notes that act in a relentless pursuit of distinction, but that do not objectively present themselves as a distinction (Bourdieu, 2007: 13), based on a dynamic in which the word of a few have an estimated validity, of those who are high up in the event hierarchy, the experts.

3. Non-competitive festivals: what changes?

Starting in the mid-1990s, competitive festivals were gradually losing their representation as the body of legitimization and consecration of dance in Brazil. This situation can be read as "[...] a rebellion against institutions and the representations that become 'non-credible'. It refuses the non-meaning"(Certeau, 2005: 33). This occurred both by increasing questions and clashes between artists/public and "experts" about the final grades, but mainly by the inability of these events to ensure a professional status for the artist in dance, based on the diagnosis that very few winners from competitive festivals managed to sustain their careers in dance, demonstrating a certain fragility of these events to ensure recognition and legitimacy in the field.⁹

Coexisting with this reality and stemming from it, creators and producers of dance festivals have adopted the discourse that the dance understood as art invalidates the submission of their productions to events with competitive format, understanding as an outrage the use of comparative procedures to evaluate disparate processes of creation. With this finding, there emerged the need for events that possessed as the center of their actions, the providing of spaces for discussions about dance, covering issues ranging from education, production, creation, passing by circulation and consumption. This event format adopts, as a prerogative, the recognition that the differences in the processes of creation, the specificities of the bodies and subjectivities involved in the works make it difficult to maintain evaluative parameters. One of the factors that provide peculiarity to noncompetitive festivals is the organization of a program that excels in offering to the public the work of dance professionals.

⁷ The present reflection uses the conceptual contributions of the anthropologist and historian Michel de Certeau, for whom the "place" consists in something organized, keeper of elements distributed and that interfere in the relations, instituting a "self", capable of providing destiny, and indicating stability, even a stability composed of moments of instability. In his counterpoint, the "space" appears to us when there is the interference of the subject that acts, because "the space is a practiced place" where mobiles intercross. Thus, the space needs, for its apparition, the action of the historical subject, that interferes in the established relation with the place. Check that in: Michel de Certeau(1984). For a better understanding of the concept here proposed of "places of dance", refer to the text: Rafael Guarato (2015).

⁸ The volume of artists that have initiated the way towards professionalization through festivals is significant, and now they enjoy the professional legitimacy in the Field of dance as art in Brazil, including those who are vinculated to contemporary dancing, as is the case of Grupo Cena 11, a street grupo directed by Bruno Beltrão, Mário Nascimento, Vanilton Lakka, Wagner Schwartz and Renato Cruz.

⁹ In this process, it is worth to highlight publications by the dance critic Helena Katz in the newspaper O Estado de São Paulo, whose contents aim at stimulating the discredit of competitive festivals. However, the main argument presented by Katz resides in questioning the formative, educational potential of these events, different from the arguments presented here. About Katz's critical texts, refer to Helena Katz. 02 ago. 2006. As diferenças entre festivais e eventos com torcida escolar. *O Estado de São Paulo*. São Paulo; _____. 16 mar. 1995. Dança é repensada em Uberlândia e Joinville. *O Estado de São Paulo*. São Paulo. p. 2. _____. 23 jun. 2013. Competir e educar, o desafio do festival. *O Estado de São Paulo*. São Paulo. p. C3; _____. 13 jul. 1999. Festivais ousam e inspiram em Minas e no Sul. *O Estado de São Paulo*, São Paulo; _____. 11 jul. 1996. Uberlândia abre festival com inovações. *O Estado de São Paulo*. São Paulo.

In this sense, a structure is organized that supports monetary compensation to artists and their works that make up the agenda of these events. We do not mean to go on about details that would expand the purpose of this text, so we will limit ourselves to showing that such festivals that call themselves non-competitive, anchor their structure and realization in parameters of selectivity, as outlined in competitive festivals. Although there is no declared competition, noncompetitive festivals operate under the aegis of selection of papers to be presented through two procedures: through a curatorship or agenda, formed by *experts* in the field or by persons accompanying the national and international production of dance, enabled thus to nominating artists and companies that make up the program of the event, such as: Bienal Internacional de Dança do Ceará, Festival Panorama de Dança no Rio de Janeiro, and Fórum Internacional de Dança in Belo Horizonte. The second mechanism expands a little more the possibilities of participation by artists, by publishing notices for the registration of interested people. However, such registration does not guarantee the right to make or participate in the programs, especially if the festival provides payment such as the Festival Internacional de Dança do Recife, and the derivatives events of the selections of the Programa Rumos Dança from Instituto Itaú Cultural. In all these events, limited to their specificities, artists and their works are pre-evaluated by a commission, responsible for extracting the works worth of composing the official schedule.

The hypothesis proposed here is to recognize a common trace to any and every dance festival, when trying to connect themselves to the concept of art understood as an autonomous field of production. This trail is the provision of screening mechanisms, able to exclude at the same time it includes, acting as a segregation aiming to aggregate. The procedures of choice are secured by the organizations of these events when they lean on instances that promote the selections, highlighting in this process the professionals linked to the critic, curatorship, university researchers, schedule. On some occasions, dance artists also participate in these processes, usually those who share certain concepts with those professionals. Added to the procedures of selection, the festivals that call themselves professional (non-competitives) also replicate a principle of preference found in competitive festivals, it is the requirement of something new. According to that assumption, the main non-competitive dance events in the country demand that the people interested in appearing, unprecedented works, as explained in an interview by the producer of Quasar Cia. De Dança, Vera Bicalho: Then you have a repertoire that never went to that city, or that already went in that city, but it is so big that it presented itself one Day. And then you can't go back with that same show that you presented. That notion of that exclusivity is hard because... what about the theater projects that happen for six months? That's not justified, it's not justified. So we fight against that, we try to argue. But it's not easy at all. (Bicalho, 2014) This requirement is perceived empirically also by the artist/performer Ricardo Marinelli, who explains that: Thinking about circulation, how can your works have a chance of being in the places where the people are interested by the work you're already doing. We live in a culture of novelty, it needs to be new, it needs to be something you haven't done yet [...] the new, that which has not been seen yet. The festivals want to know what you have that is new, what you started this year. Sometimes you have never been in the city; you've never done any work in that city. So, that culture of what's new. (Marinelli, 2011). When asking of the makers of art the constant need for the introduction of new products, non-competitive festivals are governed by a dynamic that tends to demand from national artists and works the maintenance of a calendar of creation, submitting the process to the frequency of its occurrence. For the then dance critic Marcelo Avellar (2008), this is possible because "we think that the world is the dance festivals – an ironically widespread practice, because even if the events for professionals and amateurs are distinct, the public usually considers them both as if they were 'the' market". This understanding of the festivals as privileged spaces for consecration in a "dance market", induces the professional segment to adequate itself to a calendar of creation, which is annual, forcing the product to provide new elements to be present at the events.

Aside from this interference in the pace of artistic production, the demand for formal innovations promoted by festivals bring in its wake internal contradictions to the field, as well as deviations and ruptures promoted in dance works that do not depend only on the artists, possessing close ties with the social-formal relations involving the public, institutions and persons exercising authority in the field. This complexity of relationships that interfere with rhythm and dance production in order generally is jettisoned in analyses in studies that are content to describe or investigate artists and their works under the aesthetic/creative prism. Such treatment is due to the very justification of the selections operated by festivals, anchored in an order of the aesthetic, pronounced by a speech intended to be "neutral", conceiving art as something missing from their historical relations that make it possible, making abstractions of the conditions social, economic, cultural and political, not letting it appear that behind lectures coexist conflictive relations between different instance that compete with each other.

When faced with festivals in our research, we noted that the specifically aesthetic tract induces thinking dance as provides an immediate perception, as if it were readily endowed with sense, neglecting that these meanings are constructed in different ways, at different historical moments and by people who have many material things. When we notice the presence of a particular artist or work in non-competitive festivals, whose dynamic acts by invitation or selection via public notice providing for payment cache in monetary form, opens up the possibility of recognizing a complex network that is interwoven and mutually reinforcing, in which It is built sharing forms of concepts, assumptions and understandings of what is understood as dance as art at that time and made arrangements able to transform aesthetic values in financial values.

However, it is noteworthy that these constantly made designs never have homogeneous acceptance by the members of the dance as art field, being in constant competition with other existing assumptions within the field. This finding makes urgent the understanding that the selection processes take on a condition of being at the same time constituted and constituent assumptions, concepts and recognition of networks between those who it agree or somehow make use of its prerogatives or places where it disseminates¹⁰. This dynamic accompanying the signings and invitations made by non-competitive dance festivals and the principles governing, can be elucidated with the help of reflections art historian Ernst Hans Gombrich (1995), according to which “[...] the artistic communication differs very much from throwing grenades, it is not enough to have a good thrower: you must have, on the other side, a properly tuned receiver.” (GOMBRICH, 1995: 399) That is, there is no innocent eye, the interpretations that guide the decisions of curators, critics and programmers are accompanied by reality, predilections and conventions forged in the daily social life.

What provides the maintenance of this situation is supported by the dynamics of dance as art, in the festivals to count with the participation of professionals, forge and reinforce their interest in artistic autonomously by means of targeted selection and gestated by people's own field. That said, the analysis of the relationship between production and circulation, consumption of art and market demand that we care to realize how they are reproduced in Art instance, conflicts, tensions in the socio-cultural environment of the subjects involved, making the festivals privileged spaces of asymmetry¹¹. The presence of certain artist at a festival or its reappearance in several festivals, do not just count on your creative uniqueness, but points us to a recognition network between different professionals (curators, critics and programmers) that contribute to secure its legitimacy, contributing for circulation of his work. When we encounter in our studies of dance festivals or about artists and works that were at some point in his career in the spotlight these events, makes disturbing figure out how to engender any given time, certain shares of aesthetic assumptions, theoretical, emotional or relationship of condescension among persons exercising authority in the field. Anchoring its existence and importance of the principle of autonomy of the field which need to be selected, it is up to us as researchers dance, understand how and according to which the concepts and power relationships are those choices. As important as recognizing a certain festival program, it is to take it as a symptom of broader selection processes in which other way to do dance as art were priced out of visibility, justified second choices and theories that exert a certain hegemony in a given time and space and specific groups. If our explanation so far is consistent, we can infer that non-competitive festivals professionals congregate ambiguously at the heart of its operation, competition mechanisms. There is a double competition which is not presented as such: competing, groups, artists and companies to compose the schedule of these events; and even more harmful way, introducing competition of the artist himself, with his previous work seeking to meet the demands of the festivals.

¹⁰ Exposed in these terms, I think that the dynamic of dance festivals and their place occupied as support for the legitimization and artistic consecration in Brazil, shows itself to be complex enough to unmake the supposed argument between the propositions of Arthur Danto and George Dickie about the “world of art”; acting in a way of the same importance, the relations between persons, institutions, and the cognitivist elaboration of theories in its register in the history of art.

¹¹ Asymmetry between the growth in demand of different dances in relation to the perfecting of the jury in the case of competitive festivals; asymmetry between the expectations of professionalization and the festival as incapable of being a marketplace in dance, as much as in the competitive festivals as in those that not declare themselves competitive; asymmetry between forms of dance that carry much more functional than formal value and that are submitted to strictly aesthetic analyses. More details about the concept of symmetry in culture and art can be extracted from the work: Raymond Williams (1992).

By this bias, incurs a false problem dealing with Manichean so the distinction hitherto maintained between competitive and non-competitive festivals, given that the mechanisms of selectivity and competition are maintained in both. What if you are in Brazil, they are festivals that are differentiated by the shape that perform among those who make up their schedules, differentiated as amateurs and professionals¹². Through inserted dance works or awarded at festivals, we can trace a ballast to recognize aesthetic currents and social differences in the distribution of knowledge and processes that legitimize. The dance festivals in Brazil occupy a place in this process, assisting in the promotion of consecration, contributing to secure production at the same time jettison other in a constant process that contributes significantly to shaping of a legitimate culture of dance as art in Brazil. All this panorama enables us to speak of a culture of dance festivals, understanding why the constitution of groups of people who share ways of speaking, knowledge, value systems, ways of doing things in dance and its relation to these events. The intention here is to enhance the debate on the different functions that meet the dance festivals, taking into account the relations of competition or struggle for power within the field, be it symbolic, aesthetic, economic or political. Thus we enable us to realize that it is not because the competitive festivals lost expressiveness nationwide that its forms of domination, legitimization and consecration disappeared. It is presented as relevant to take into account the variations of the dance, it is this articulation of dynamic relationships that it intersects with other forms and society.

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¹² This generalization demands an observation: the constation is done when taking as an object of analysis the great and famous festivals that currently happen in the Country, mentioned in the text. However, there exists a variety of small festivals that oscillate between competition and non-competition, meeting the specific needs of the amateur dance makers.