

Market, politics and culture in “lower” Amazon rain forest: long and short circuits of culture

Mercado, política e cultura na “baixa” Amazônia: circuitos longos e curtos

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Abstract *This article discusses the circuits of culture present in the space of “lower” Amazon – the most consolidated Western occupation area in the region – having as reference three population groups, understood as social trajectories, which differ among themselves by their economic and cultural spaces mode of occupation. It is observed how two of these social trajectories more actively participate in the circuits of culture, while the third one appears to be more reserved in relation to them. One seeks to interpret these relations of approaching and distancing from the intersubjective social experience involving them.*

Keywords: *Circuits of culture; Amazon rain forest; Cultural production; Social trajectory; Cultural market*

Resumo *O artigo discute os circuitos culturais presentes no espaço da “baixa” Amazônia – a área de ocupação ocidental mais consolidada da região – tendo por referência três grupos populacionais, compreendidos enquanto trajetórias sociais, que se diferenciam, entre si, por seu modo de ocupação econômica e cultural do espaço. Observa-se como duas dessas trajetórias sociais participam mais ativamente dos circuitos culturais, enquanto a terceira mostra-se mais reservada em relação a eles. Procura-se interpretar essas relações de aproximação e distanciamento a partir da experiência social intersubjetiva que os envolve.*

Palavras-chaves: *Circuitos culturais; Amazônia; Produção cultural; Trajetória social; Mercado cultural*

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Introduction

What is the impact of the circuits of culture on the production of new localisms in the Amazon rain forest region of more traditional territorial occupation – the one of floodplains of the major rivers and of the Brazilian state Pará estuary? In what way the different layers of the Amazon population relate to these circuits of culture and, more specifically, how do they participate in them and how do they work to establish them? We start from these questions to understand the system of exchange and circulation of cultural goods and information in the most inhabited part and ancient colonization in the Amazon rain forest, the estuarine floodplain – the Brazilian Marajó archipelago with the estuaries of Amazon and Pará rivers – and its most important extensions: the northeast of Pará, lower Tocantins and the lower Amazon. As it is the most traditional space occupation in the region, cultural exchanges made in it are more intense and have peculiar dynamics, favored by the media and communicative tissues there present, as well as exchange and consumption networks already consolidated. This space, which here we call “lower” Amazon rain forest, is an important meeting and cultural hybridization place: the world of meetings among numerous indigenous peoples and also the world of historical ethnocides, the world of the riverine and quilombo Amazon, the black Amazon of the several experiences of colonization and consolidation of the Portuguese State, of the 1835 civil and rubber wars, and also the Amazon that gathers the musicality of the Caribbean and which experiences what is tacky and other sensitivities marked by the idea of artifice.

Initially we have developed a number of mapping and analyses of the massive, communitarian and popular communication structures in the region (CASTRO 2012a; 2012b; 2013) and we have sought to identify not only the conventional media dynamics and strategies, centered on the traditional action by the big companies and economic agents, but also the alternative strategies that characterize the communicative and cultural scene in Pará. Then, we have undertaken a mapping of the circuits and the artistic and cultural production centers, looking for

a glimpse of the exchange of practices contained therein and how its agents would integrate with the communication structures in the region.

Therefore, we have sought to understand what we have identified as the regional cultural-communicative field, discussing the relationship among the different social experiences of the Amazon region and the production, reproduction and consumption of culture.

This article is a first handling of this stage of the research, which implicate the inclusion of the conceptual elements for a cartographic and geopolitical approach of the Amazonian culture. Therefore, we intend to present an approach of cultural and communicative processes, taking into account the socioeconomic dynamics of the spaces and local populations.

From this point of view, we take into account a historical and geographical perspective, through which we can identify shapes and patterns of social relations developed in each block of the social and historical experiences in relation to cultural deeds.

In this sense, this article should also be understood as a methodological outline for a task of mapping and understanding the economic chains of culture in the Amazon rain forest, but in particular in this space what we have agreed to call the “lower Amazon.”

The work is therefore a first handling of the observation outcomes just started. They are still provisional results, but that already allow glimpsing the circuit of culture systems of the lower Amazon, and perhaps more than that, indicating the methodological dynamics that I intend to follow throughout the research.

We have tried to observe in this work the typologies and topologies of cultural practices in medium-sized cities of the lower Amazon rain forest, especially in regard to social forms taken by the “short” circuits of culture – those which, as later is going to be defined, are based on the collective social experience and the self-organization of the places themselves – as opposed to “long” circuits of culture, those through which is produced the hegemony of the dominant cultural agents such as the Brazilian southeastern cultural industry and mass communication.

For this, we have followed, through participant observation and open interviews, cultural flows and practices of representatives of three fields of the Amazonian society, or, to be more specific, following the methodology used by Costa (2010) of three Amazonian social trajectories.

This article is developed in five topics. After this introduction, we discuss the notion of circuits of culture, also identifying how this concept can be applied to the observation of the lower Amazon. In the next topic, we briefly try to explain the lower Amazon area, identifying the variables that, in principle, allow us to understand it as a locus with its own dynamics within the broad regional scene. In the fourth topic, we describe three social blocks that we have selected in order to place the question thematically. This is done through the concept of “social trajectories” by Costa (2000), with the support of a sociocultural morphology research performed by us from 2011 (CASTRO, 2011; 2014). In the fifth topic, finally, we seek, in a succinct way, to design observations and hypotheses about the relationship among cultural and public circuits of lower Amazon through a general chain of questions which we find pertinent to be placed in the context of a political economy of culture to the process observed.

Observation protocol of circuits of culture

Barbosa (2009) understands culture as a circuit network characterized by capillarity, mobility, decentralization, multiple articulations and interdependencies. Culture can be understood in this way as a mobile and dynamic set of political, social, symbolic, and economic processes, which, associated, conform circuits of culture (BARBOSA, 2009, p. 276).

The same author points out two advantages in using this concept: recognizing that cultural dynamics are multiple and must be handled in their specificities, and emphasizing that the “circuits of culture” are total social phenomena involving, at the same time, the symbolic, aesthetic, social and economic dimensions (BARBOSA, 2009, p. 276).

The circuit of culture is a process that involves three clearer moments: production, circulation and reception, and this third moment may involve dynamics of consumption and of cultural recognition. In this process, cultural agents (artists, their agents, producers, critics, among others) interact, and forms of social organization are also present, such as public administration, market, civil society and community.

All these agents act on the circuit shape by means of different processes, but it is possible to identify two social processes with a regulatory impact on the circuit: the cultural policies and communication.

Cultural policies have a central role on the circuit because they have a regulatory power on the forms of action and established practices, and, of course, they constitute one of their main sources of funding. In turn, communication – here understood as either mass communication as that which in contemporaneity is made possible by computer technology and which conforms to the digital culture – exerts the role of being a conductive link in its organizational dynamics. Barbosa emphasizes the role of communication among the circuit elements as a central function for its operation:

Coordination or communication of cultural agents among themselves and among these and the regulatory institutions become the central issue of public policies, since they involve action patterns of the public sector in relation to the dynamism of circuits of culture and the chain of events that make up the circuits (BARBOSA, 2009, p. 276).

Therefore, when we set out to understand the functioning of a circuit of culture, we must take into account the social diversity of the agents present in it, including their conflicts and contradictions, and also these two factors that have a regulatory impact on it.

It is also important to note the socio-spatial dimensions of the circuits. This is not to understand the geographic or spatial dynamics present in the formation of the circuits but, together with them, the social cut given to this space. Specifically, it is necessary to understand how the socio-territorial inequality is present in the circuit, influencing cultural exchanges. In this sense, the proposal by Santos (1997) that places are

defined by means of forms-content is shown to be useful for the understanding desired.

Santos helps to problematize the territorialization of social actions and thus to understand the spatial dynamics as multiple flows, which comply with different wishes by different social subjects among individuals, their groups and the various institutions.

This would be as drawing up a circuit topology-topology, a methodology that was employed by Alves (2010) in their interpretation of the territorialization process of circuits of culture in the Brazilian city of Recife. By means of such approach, Alves has observed the information fixed and flows organized for the production and dissemination of musical culture of Recife, seeking

to clarify what the connections between the downward informational circuits are, based on logic and rules that are strange to the places, and the upward informational circuits, based on the organization of places itself (ALVES, 2010, p. 1)

Short circuits tend to operate in the gaps of conventional cultural policies and use forms of non-hegemonic communication, such as the Internet and its social networks, blogs, local websites, community and free radio stations, magazines, “word of mouth” broadcast – but also possibly the hegemonic communication network itself when they become accessible to these social agents. The short circuits social agents usually build strategies to overcome the territorial fragmentation of the social space. Strategies which, in the field of cultural policies, concern the claim for democratization and regionalization of the discussion process and public funding of culture and that in the field of communication concern densification strategies of information networks. Short circuits tend to be mobilized from common interests and thus they have a collectivist or cooperative dynamics of social action.

Long circuits, in turn, consist of exogenous social agents. They correspond to the logic of the greater market, the national networks of communications, telecommunications and content production and also the logic of exclusivist, authoritarian and centralized cultural policies.

The long circuits of culture are based on logic and rules that are strange to places and the historical and social experience of the people involved, while short circuits are based on the organization of places.

With this perspective, we can ask about the space, media, practices, dynamics and forms taken by these circuits, both long and short, in order to better situate and understand them.

Circuit spaces are the streets, squares, markets, book shops, cultural centers, theaters, auditoriums, movie theaters, galleries, record stores, etc.

The media present in the circuits are those supported by both the mass media and conventional ones, such as radio, TV, magazines and newspapers and those present in the technological, digital, contemporary culture, as in mobile phones, Web sites, social networks, blogs and microblogs, etc. And they also need to be considered as mobile media, such as digital files and their flexible media such as CDs, DVDs, USB flash drives, etc.

Circuit practices are as diverse as the very social experience. They relate to the way the circuits are used. Such as the use of social networks, for example, or the practice of recording at phonographic studios, or even the scenic present in shows. A concept that takes to the concept of mediation, also a form of social practice, but allowing to inquire more specifically about the social experience from the use of the media. Among these mediations, also extremely varied, it is possible to exemplify the daily mediations involving the cultural workers' actions such as, for example, how they deal with information flows and the content broadcasted through these flows.

Finally, it should be noted that the importance of discussing the circuits of culture from the perspective of political economy and a critical understanding of the space dispute lies, we think, in the fact that this approach allows us to understand the cultural process as a collective action and thus helps support strategies for the democratization of public policies and communicative flows. On another level, this approach also allows us to understand culture as the effort resulting from a complex social, territorial and technical division of work.

The space of lower Amazon rain forest

Lower Amazon rain forest corresponds to the most consolidated space in the region. It is the historical space of colonial Amazon, which has lasted as a socioeconomic system with relatively well defined, although complex, features until the present. It is, in other words, the society of the floodplain. The riverine production mode space of the first urban experiences, of “settlements”² and of the Directory³, of the Brazilian indigenous peoples’ “coming down”⁴, of the estates involved in mixed farming⁵, of the cattle and buffalo breeders, of the hinterland drugs⁶ and the latex. It is the space of collection as a central economic activity and of multiple social practices, which result from or impact this economic activity: family production, pasture, culture of regatão (peddlers) and aviamento (debt-peonage system)⁷, in its many forms. But it is not only this. It is also the space of “fringe” industrialization, of precarious population settlements and a huge informal trade.

The “lower” Amazon is, in short, the historical Amazon turned into a geographical border since the 1960s by the Brazilian national program of territorial integration of the region – much larger indeed than this floodplain society – to the Brazilian southeastern economy. The occupation of the Amazon region by the Brazilian national society

² The “settlements” in Amazon history are modes of economic production with indigenous labor and management carried out by religious missionaries. They would add different ethnic populations together captured by the European invader and settled in mock villages for slave labor.

³ What should be understood by Directory is the model of Brazilian indigenous peoples’ settlements turned into villages and thorps after the expulsion of the religious order of the Jesuits from the Portuguese territories in 1759.

⁴ “Coming down” is the term with which the Amazon colonial society of the eighteenth century would represent the war expeditions and capture of indigenous peoples, in general refugees in the Upland – as opposed to the floodplain, here understood as “lower” Amazon – for slave labor.

⁵ The notion of large estates in the Grão-Pará colonial society [one of the Brazilian states of the Portuguese Empire (1751–1772)] is not the model of plantation, reproduced in large monoculture systems in Brazilian history, but harvest landlordism, centered on the diversity of the economic production.

⁶ The term means the amount of all Amazonian natural products collected by enslaved people and intended for export, such as cocoa, guaraná (Paullinia cupana), Brazil nut (Bertholletia excelsa), achiote (Bixa orellana), sarsaparilla (Smilax), and various other aromatic and medicinal herbs.

⁷ Regatão (Peddler) is the traditional trading boat in the Amazon, a vehicle of economic distribution of basic goods and manufactured products. Aviamento (debt-peonage system) is a credit system through which the goods are delivered against the provision of surplus value and interest.

has specific variables, which never integrate nor harmonize with the very traditional Amazon experience. These variables correspond to the productive models of large extensive farms, the “Big Mining Projects”, forced colonization and credit systems that, in their essence, even when administered by regional institutions such as Sudam (Brazilian Superintendence of the Amazon Development) and Basa (Brazilian bank Banco da Amazônia S/A), do not meet the poor Amazon populations' specificities and needs.

In the contemporaneity of “lower” Amazon, it is possible to realize the persistence of social experiences and modes of production centered on mining activity, with an additional resource of subsistence and/or temporary crops. Employers' economic strategies in this space are dominantly represented by timber extraction and agroforestry projects (COSTA, 2012a; 2012b). As for peasants' economic strategies in this space, they practice the extraction of forest products associated with temporary subsistence crops. In the space with exogenous dominance, in turn, in the employers' economic strategies, intrusive activities of agribusiness and beef cattle remain. And in the peasants' economic strategies, crops associated with large projects, family economy and small breeding remain.

Exchanges between these spaces, although intense, contemporaneously also keep conflicts and breaking and tension points.

They are two macro spaces and thus retain peculiarities of their social experiences. However, there are two spaces that permanently interpenetrate each other through economic exchanges that become, in their daily life, symbolic and cultural exchanges, shaping the appearance of the hybrid Amazon society which, more superficially, we know.

The space of the lower Amazon would roughly constitute a spot that extends from Brazilian city Belém and from northeastern Pará almost to Brazilian city Manaus, crossing the Amazon river and entering the Tocantins river to Tucuruí river, on the Xingu river and the Tapajós river, and covering the entire the estuary with the island of Marajó and most of Brazilian state Amapá. Its central space is the state of Pará, the oldest historical area of the Amazon rain forest, which involves, in addition to Belém, about 90 of the 146 municipalities in the state, involving a

population that can be estimated at about 5 million people. In Amapá, this cultural belt would reach at least 9 of the 16 municipalities in the state, with a population of about 600,000 inhabitants. In Brazilian state of Amazonas, the lower Amazon rain forest reaches those 11 municipalities that have an intense exchange with the lower Pará Amazon rain forest, with a population of about 330,000 inhabitants.

In addition to the Belém metropolis (2.4 million inhabitants) and large cities like Ananindeua (470,000 inhabitants), Macapá (400,000 inhabitants) and Santarém (300,000 inhabitants), this territorial spot houses eight other cities with populations over 100 thousand inhabitants (Abaetetuba, Barcarena, Bragança, Cametá, Castanhal, Marituba, Santana and Parintins) and 15 cities with populations between 50 and 100 thousand inhabitants (Acará, Alenquer, Benevides, Breves, Capanema, Capitão Poço, Igarapé-Miri, Moju, Monte Alegre, Óbidos, Oriximiná, Portel, Santa Isabel do Pará, São Miguel do Guamá and Tomé Açu).

Speaking of lower Amazon is, of course, an abstraction, which lends itself to describing an area of cultural exchanges dominated by cultural and creative industries of Belém and other cities in Pará simultaneously marked by an intense and creative cultural and media production. In the first group, it can refer to the technobrega (cheesy techno), zouk, melody and guitar playing scenes, to name only the best known musical styles. In the second group, it is possible to mention the important media scene centered in Belém with national distribution – the city is home to two national religious television networks, one Catholic, Rede Nazaré, and another one evangelical, Rede Boas Novas – besides being also content generating television headquarters of Brazilian networks SBT and Record, notably the only Amazonian capital in which these groups have their own content generating stations (CASTRO 2012a; 2012b; 2013).

It is possible to extend this space of the lower Amazon rain forest to Manaus and go up Negro and Purus rivers, or encompass all Amapá, or go down the Xingu river. If I do not do it, it is due to trying to cut a map that, in my observation, has more consistency and takes into account the current cosmopolitan urban and cultural characteristics of Manaus

or the form of occupation of western Amapá. Finally, an arbitrary cut, through which we position our observation.

Similarly, it is necessary to realize that the lower Amazon is not a tight, waterproof social and cultural space. Quite the contrary, it is an area of intense and constant exchange and, above all, a space already penetrated by modes of production that are exogenous to the Amazon experience. It is because of this that we place in this observation a social trajectory formed by this exogenously production, T-4 (COSTA, 2010), soon explained.

Description of the socio-cultural groups observed

The three portions of the Amazon population that we outline are rural and semi-rural and they are highly significant groups of forms of economic occupation of the Amazon region. One of these portions is characterized by highly predatory practices in relation to the environment, since it represents the first group of individuals coming from other Brazilian geographical and social spaces that establish themselves economically in the Amazon region, based on logging activities which converge, as the years go by, in the direction of extensive beef cattle breeding. The second population group is, in turn, the individuals fully participating in a mode of production, say, Amazonian, characterized by sustainable, collective and family-based exploration of forest inputs. They are traditional Amazonian populations generally not understood by the productive financing system of the Brazilian state apparatus and ignored by the national median public opinion.

The third group – that is not in the research by Costa (2010) and is a projection that we have made in our own research – consists of a portion of middle-income individuals established in medium-sized urban areas (cities with populations between 100,000 and 230,000 inhabitants) who, according to experts, are the regional social group which, associated with an economic process explained as “city networks,” make up a highly significant part of the regional economy and, probably, are the backbone

for a sustainable future of the Amazon rain forest. Table 1 summarizes these three groups of individuals:

Group	Topographical description	Sociographical description
T-4	A system of families associated with the employer's economic activity that comes as an exploration of wood products, converging to planting temporary crops and economically consolidating in livestock activity.	<p>This social group in the Amazon rain forest corresponds to the production model imposed on the Amazon by the Brazilian military government (authoritarian military dictatorship that ruled Brazil from 1964 to 1985) and, until now, maintained with government subsidies through credits authorized by development experts who determine the supporting policies.</p> <p>According to Costa (2009), this group consists of 27,831 establishments which occupy 59.7% of the privatized area in the Amazon rain forest, which is equivalent to 33.3 million hectares. Each estate has, on average, 1.2 thousand ha and, in its entirety; they employ 10.5% of the rural workers and produce 25% of the gross value of farm production (VBPR in the Portuguese abbreviation) in the Amazon rain forest.</p>
T-2	A system of families associated with peasant economic activity, which is based on non-timber extraction in combination with a diverse agriculture, i.e., an agroforestry family system.	<p>This social group complies with the most traditional standard of the Amazonian economy, being the expression of a technological paradigm that assumes environmental preservation.</p> <p>Costa (2009) estimates that there are 130.593 peasant establishments of such type in the Amazon. They occupy an area of 3 million hectares. Each property has an average size of 23 ha, of which only 1/5 on average is used for agricultural activity.</p> <p>Also according to Costa (2009), this system employs 502 thousand people and represents 21% of the VBPR.</p>

Group	Topographical description	Sociographical description
A-12 ⁸	A system of families associated with an urban leasing economic activity, with a standard monthly income in the (family) range between BRL 1,115.00 and BRL 4,807.00, with no member with college graduation and city dweller with a population over 100,000 and less than 230,000 inhabitants.	In the Amazon region, this social group is about 37.2% of the population and holds 31% of the regional income. It has a strong socioeconomic relationship with the countryside and at the same time it complies with ongoing urbanization standards of great regional impact.

Chart 1: Sociocultural groups observed

Source: Costa (2010, 2012a, 2012b).

The central question of our observation concerns the way individuals from each of these social trajectories arise in relation to circuits of culture present in their social space and, more specifically, in relation to the short routes of these circuits. We also want to inquire about how these trajectories produce use, ownership and discussion strategies of the social processes with a regulatory impact on the circuit: cultural policies and communication.

Summary of the observations

The entire lower Amazon is lacking in specialized cultural spaces such as museums, theaters, movie theaters and libraries. In this sense, only Belém has an important cultural and even representative structure in the entire Amazon rain forest. However, non-specialized cultural venues are numerous and are present everywhere. I mean public squares, farmers' markets, and streets; religious festivities; seafronts and avenues by rivers of all the lower Amazon rain forest; party sheds and yards; “spas,” bayous and clubs; community centers and improvised places of conviviality and sociability, etc.

⁸ We use in the first two rows the classification built by Costa (2010, 2012a, 2012b), adopting the designation “T” for Trajectory, as in this author's study. On the third row we use the designation “A,” which we have built in a research survey and exploratory model.

Also the cultural practices and mediation strategies present in these areas are varied. Music and dance are, by far, the cultural events that most thicken the circuit. The multiple subgenres of corny, guitar playing, stereo equipment on stage, Brazilian dance carimbó and other Pará songs are present in everyday life of the entire lower Amazon, forming a large circuit of production, distribution and use that usually starts in Belém through the production of musical content and spreads in a distribution network which has an active market based on a network of shows that reach millions annually.

When we observe and compare the three social trajectories highlighted in terms of their insertion in the Amazonian circuits of culture, the proximity between T-2 and A-12 becomes evident. Both are population layers characteristic of the space here identified as lower Amazon. Their life outlook and worldview conform from sociocultural typifications produced by a historical experience of long duration. The uses made of the cultural policy mechanisms and forms and media are quite varied between these two social trajectories, but it is possible to see that both allow the enjoyment of short circuits of culture.

In turn, the trajectory understood as T-4 tends to make the opposite movement: it tends to strengthen and endorse long circuits of culture. In practical terms, this means, for example, that individuals in this trajectory are not going to be present, in general, at a typical Pará stereo equipment party nor are going to consume in the same way, within the piracy CDs and DVDs market, with regional stars, nor are going to participate in less important economic exchanges on the occasion of traditional festivals and/or religious festivities. They are going to try to establish, for example, musical genres more accustomed to the cultural experience of extensive rural areas of the country, such as the Brazilian country music.

Socioeconomic reasons for this form of reaction are evident: the components of the trajectory do not belong in general to the lower Amazon space. They were taken there by the pressure of capital on the Amazon rain forest.

This difference in practices, customs and tastes generates social geographical border processes that, despite having potential conflictive forms, also have exchanges and dialogue experiences that enrich the whole society.

The impact of Pará circuits of culture on A-12 seems to be gigantic. It is in this social trajectory that we find the greatest variety of social practices of self-management of cultural and communication processes and an immense receptivity to cultural content produced in the region. This is a localism indeed, but a hybrid localism, which seems to be the very condition of its existence. Hybrid because it combines, for example, the culture of stage equipment parties with the television programming of talk shows. Because it combines international pop music with local guitar playing. Thus, the circuit is energized and revitalized, even to the point of reinventing the modes of economic exchange.

Cultural practices associated with technology and sociability processes of A-12 also generate a reformulation perspective of the traditional way of showing communication in its social effects: it is no longer critical to discuss the effects of media on society, but rather the opposite, in a view that evokes the discussion provided by Gushiken (2008). This author states, for example, that

if we consider communication in its paradigmatic force in the creation of contemporary culture, it is possible to see in the social and cultural movements the communication and expressive thought emerging on the way of language production practices in genres ranging from classical arts to crafts, from oral language to visual and musical language, if not the intersection between them (GUSHIKEN, 2008, p. 10).

Another interesting issue to be addressed concerns the role of the circuits of culture in the production of new territorial and identity experiences – or even in the production of new localisms. Hall (2001) and Naisbit (1994) observe how the production of new localisms dialectically results from the expansion of global society. In principle, this process would consist of the upward trend itself of circuits of culture, i.e., the very territorialization or rather re-territorialization of the space taken by

the long routes as these tend to be associated with the national and/or global capital against the localization experience of local communities.

But of course this game of local experiences is constituted as overlapping experience spheres and one always can talk about more local localisms than others. Within the space defined here as lower Amazon, there are internal territorializations: different and competing identity territories that produce new local demands and new territorializations, certainly with impact on circuits of culture.

It also seems important to mention the role of cities or city networks in the production of new localisms and, consequently, in shaping circuits of culture. In the Amazon rain forest, cities occupy a decisive socioeconomic role as, besides being the most traditional form of Western occupation of the territory, historically they function as a natural network of environmental protection – as the ruralization of the Amazon region results in greater known impact on the virgin forest. As stated by Becker (2009), cities defend the forest heart as it contains the spread of economic activities, especially when they form a network of services creation and add value to bioproduction.

Circuits of culture have, in the cities, their main area of multiplication and symbolic production. Perhaps because cities serve as a point of intersection between different local, national and transnational scales.

Finally, it should be noted that cultural policies must take into account the local dynamics to not become simply a validation tool for long circuits of culture. In the case of the Amazon rain forest, this concern has been recurrent by cultural producers when, for example, they claim compensation for the “Amazon cost” – which is the economic and political equation present in the logic and in the challenges of short circuits of culture.

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