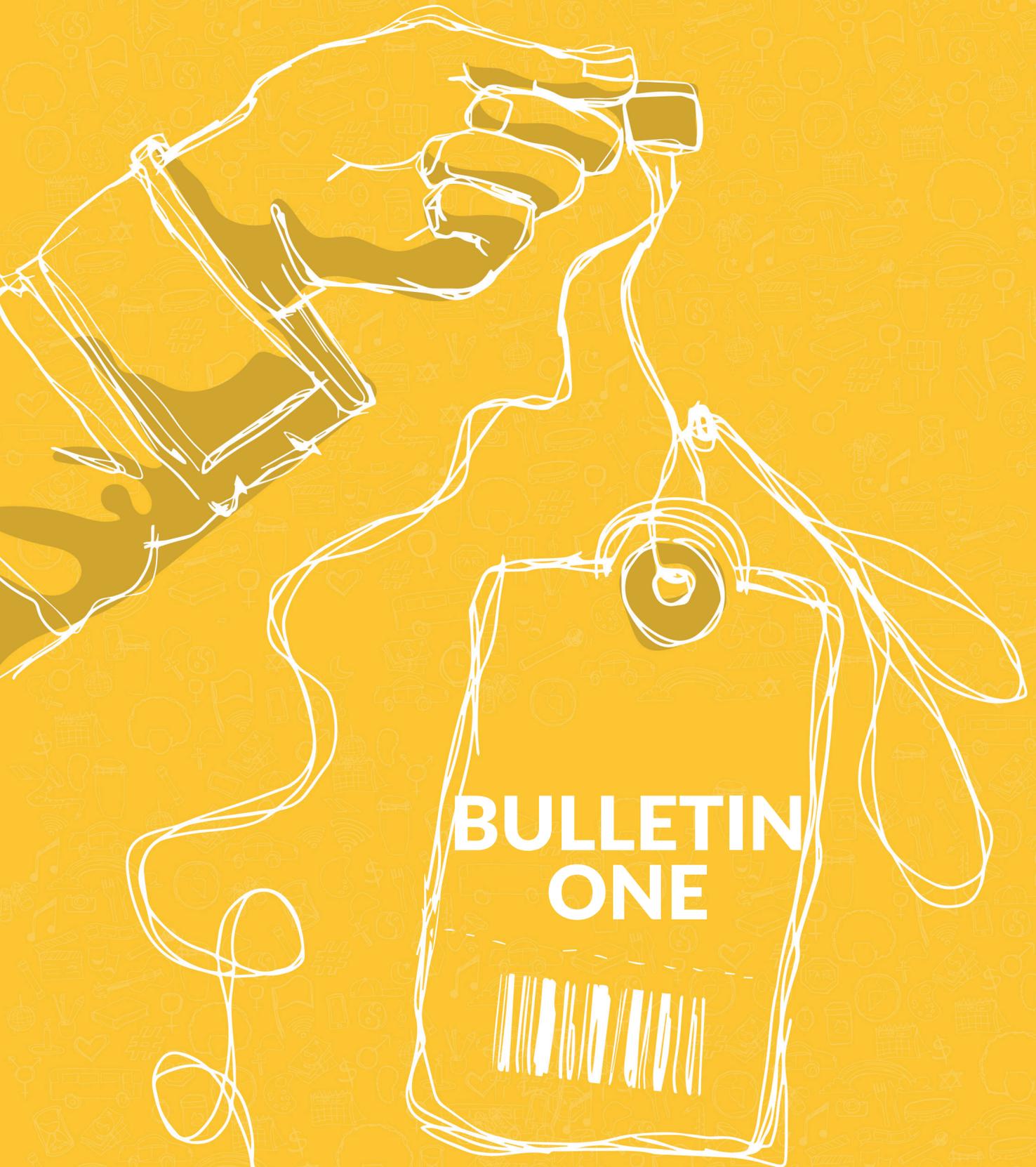


counting culture

Produced as part of *Counting Culture: What Do We Need to Know About How the Creative Industries Can Deliver Equitable, Just and Sustainable Development in Brazil and the UK?* British Academy Newton Advanced Fellowship to Dr. Leandro Valiati, 2018-2020.



Managed and produced by



Funded by



Supported by



Research and editorial team: Dr. Leandro Valiati, Dr. Meghan Peterson, Gustavo Möller, Joana Búrigo Vaccarezza, Bruno Palombini Gastal, Larissa Couto, Mariana Steffen, Bruna Cataldo, Luisa Lachan.

General editor: Gustavo Möller

Illustrations: Ellen Rose

Design project: Gris Estúdio

December 2020

**A project by People's Palace Projects
Queen Mary University of London**



The *British creative economy model* and the discourses of *Brazilian cultural policy* (2003-2016)

1. Introduction

Since its emergence in the 1990s, the British 'creative economy' model has widely influenced the global agenda for cultural policies and sustainable development. By offering an alternative to cultural policies in a context characterised by a decrease of state funding and the rise of new sectors, its core ideas have been adopted by many multilateral institutions and governments throughout the world.

Developed by the UK's Department for Digital, Culture, Media and Sport (DCMS), one of its main results was to direct cultural policies to a wider range of activities than the 'high arts' typically prioritised by European governments. Rather than 'prestige' or a subjective 'artistic value', the criterion proposed by the new model to target industries was whether or not their products and services had 'creativity' as an input. This not only led to the inclusion of new sectors, such as software and advertising, in the scope of policy, but also to an increased pressure for enterprises and individuals to develop self-sustainable

business models.

Also in the late twentieth century, Brazil was making its first steps in its national cultural policy with the creation of the Ministry of Culture, in 1985. After twenty-one years of military dictatorship, the country was willing to leave authoritarianism behind. Nonetheless, it still needed to face the other two of the three 'sad traditions' that characterised the history of its cultural policies: absence and instability.¹ Both of them were undeniably present in the 1990s: the radically neoliberal government of Fernando Collor (1990-1992), for example, invested virtually nothing in the cultural sector and even terminated the new Ministry, which was re-created only after that president's impeachment in 1992.² However, when Luis Inácio 'Lula' da Silva took on the presidency in 2003 with the left-wing Workers' Party (PT), it seemed that a change was underway. In appointing legendary musician Gilberto Gil to lead the Ministry of Culture, the new government signalled the intention to inaugurate a high-profile cultural policy.

¹A. A. C. Rubim, 'Políticas culturais do governo Lula/Gil: desafios e enfrentamentos' (Intercom-Revista Brasileira de Ciências da Comunicação, 3,1, 2008).

²Lia Calabre, 'Políticas Culturais no Brasil: balanço e perspectivas' (In Políticas culturais no Brasil. Salvador: EDUFBA/CULT, pp. 87-107, 2007), <<https://repositorio.ufba.br/ri/bitstream/ufba/138/4/Políticas%20culturais%20no%20Brasil.pdf>>

Gil is not only one of the foremost figures in Brazilian music, but also a key cultural icon in the struggles against the dictatorship and in the re-democratisation period. Apparently, the country was willing to abandon these 'sad traditions'.

The main objective of this bulletin is to assess whether the 'British model' influenced Gil and his successors (until the PT was ousted from government in mid-2016), by analysing their discourses throughout this period. Some aspects are key to understanding the extent of this influence, such as whether there was an intention to widen the scope of cultural policies, and thus include new creative sectors. Secondly, how did the ministers deal with the tensions between cultural democracy and the democratisation of culture? In other words, how did they both foster the production of multiple forms of culture and amplify the access to cultural goods and services? Thirdly, what kind of rationale seemed to drive cultural policy? That is, what dimensions of culture were highlighted to justify policy aims? These dimensions could be either the cultural/artistic value of the activities supported, their economic potential, or their positive social outcomes.

The period selected encompasses the terms of ministers Gilberto Gil (2003-2008), Juca Ferreira (2008-2010), Ana de Hollanda (2011-2012), Marta Suplicy (2012-14) and Ferreira again (2014-2016). Gil's speeches are analysed in more detail, both because of the longer period in which he remained in office and because his term laid out the basis for the cultural policy of the PT governments.

2. The discourse of Brazilian Ministers of Culture from 2003 to mid-2016

Between the beginning and the end of the period studied here, the economic, social, and political scenario in Brazil changed dramatically. Lula left office in 2010 with a record-high popular approval rating. The economy and the

overall welfare had risen palpably, despite the global financial crisis, and questioning of the performance of Brazil's democratic institutions had diminished. That being so, Dilma Rousseff, his successor, won the 2010 election rather easily. In 2013, however, the economy started to show increasing signs of instability and a series of massive street protests undermined Rousseff's popularity, even if the movement was not initially directed against her government. Amid this context, she was re-elected in 2014 by a very thin margin and took office under high political pressure.

The changing landscape naturally affected cultural policy, which faced difficulties as the political and economic situation deteriorated. It is useful to bear this context in mind when following the evolution of the discourse of Culture ministers throughout the period selected, described next.

2.1. Gilberto Gil (2003-08)

In the ceremony that swore him in as minister, Gil stated that 'culture is everything ... that manifests itself beyond the use value of things', 'a people's factory of symbols'. Therefore, 'cultural policy should cut across the whole government, as a kind of cement to our new national project'³. Some years later, he stated that a long-awaited day had come 'in which the Brazilian state, for the first time in its history, incorporates culture as an essential dimension of humans and as an essential public policy to development'.⁴

One could expect that this ambitious conception of culture would lead to the extension of the scope of cultural policy, reaching more sectors. This was indeed a feature of Gil's discourse. He consistently rejected the division of 'high arts', 'popular arts', or 'folklore' – a concept he regarded as instrumental to cultural prejudice. In his words: 'There is no such thing as "folklore": there is only culture'.⁵

³Gilberto Gil, 'Discurso do ministro Gilberto Gil na solenidade de transmissão do cargo', Brasília, 2 January 2003, <cultura.gov.br/discursos-do-ministro-gilberto-gil-na-solenidade-de-transmissao-do-cargo-35324/>

⁴Gilberto Gil, 'Discurso do ministro Gilberto Gil no lançamento do Programa Mais Cultura', Brasília, 4 October 2007, <cultura.gov.br/324992-revision-v1/>

⁵Gilberto Gil, 'Discurso do ministro Gilberto Gil na solenidade de transmissão do cargo', 2003.

Accordingly, in 2006 he vowed⁶ to support and finance historically neglected cultural sectors, such as the diverse forms of artistic expression of indigenous cultures⁷ and capoeira.⁸ In the same speech, he declared the intention to launch programmes for dance, theatre, independent, and classic music festivals; for culture in educative books, public television, and universities; and for Brazilian cinematic heritage, cultural heritage institutions, and many others.⁹ In this sense, Gil was a proponent of a cultural policy that encompassed segments of the education and telecommunication sectors, which could be considered a cultural economic activity.¹⁰

This eloquent push for cultural policy to comprehend all forms of culture, including those which were previously dismissed, can be clearly understood as a support to cultural democracy. Regarding the audio-visual sector, for example, Gil said it was necessary to 'overcome the Byzantine distinction between "industry" and "arts", or between "TV" and "cinema", or even between "high cinema" and "cultural cinema".¹¹ All content should have a place, as his ministry 'definitively abandoned elitist and restrictive

notions of the cultural phenomenon, adopting a wider and richer concept, an anthropological concept'.¹² Yet, there is no evidence in Gil's speeches of tension between this objective and the democratisation of the access to culture. Both aspects were priorities of his ministry, as the following fragment reveals: 'It is not the state's role to produce culture, but rather to create conditions for the universal access to symbolic goods' and 'to provide the necessary conditions for the production of cultural goods, 'be they artefacts or "mindfacts" [i.e. physical objects or products of the imagination]'.¹³ According to him:

Today we are experiencing a clear process of metropolisation of the popular, where the metropolis appropriates popular languages, contents, and ... products. This has been important for the transmission and appreciation of popular cultures But we also need to foster the opposite of this process: the popularisation of the metropolis, that is, to create ... opportunities for popular cultures to ... produce and disseminate their creations.¹⁴

⁶Gilberto Gil, 'Discurso do ministro Gilberto Gil no lançamento da Ação Extraordinária Petrobras-Ministério da Cultura', Rio de Janeiro, 20 December 2006, <cultura.gov.br/discurso-do-ministro-gilberto-gil-no-lancamento-da-acao-extraordinaria-petrobras-ministerio-da-cultura-86727/>.

⁷There are about 200 different indigenous groups in Brazil, some which are still completely isolated from the modern-urban society, each of them with distinct characteristics and tangible and intangible cultural forms. Some of the most famous of these are the ancient marajoara pottery, various forms of crafts, such as bows, pots, headbands, and others, the celebration of the dead (kuarup) in the Xingu area, and various forms of body painting, among many others. Efforts to preserve and recognise these cultures started in the first half of the twentieth century, but they were significantly abandoned during the military dictatorship. Since Brazil's re-democratisation, there have been significant advances in delimiting their lands as a means to ensure indigenous people's rights to self-determination and to keep their own way of life, but many of these communities are still threatened. See, for example: <www.museudoindio.gov.br/>. As is widely acknowledged, the situation of indigenous peoples has deteriorated significantly under the Bolsonaro government (2018-).

⁸The latter is a mixture of dance and martial art developed by enslaved Africans in Brazil, traditionally played inside a circle of people (a 'roda') with the rhythm conducted by a berimbau, a single string instrument played with a stick, and pandeiro and atabaque, two percussion instruments. The practice was persecuted even after the end of slavery, becoming a symbol of both physical and cultural resistance for Afro-Brazilians. In modern times, it attracted popularity not only among non-Black Brazilians, but also in many other countries, and it was included in 2014 in UNESCO's Intangible Cultural Heritage list. See, for instance: <dw.com/pt-br/unesco-reconhece-capoeira-como-patrim%C3%B4nio-cultural-imaterial-da-humanidade/a-18090747>.

⁹Gilberto Gil, 'Lançamento da Ação Extraordinária Petrobras-Ministério da Cultura', 2006.

¹⁰Gilberto Gil, 'Divulgação do Sistema de Informações e Indicadores Culturais', Rio de Janeiro, 29 November 2006, Now removed from Brazilian government sites, but archived on: <thacker.diraol.eng.br/mirrors/www.cultura.gov.br/site/2006/11/29/discurso-do-ministro-gilberto-gil-na-divulgacao-do-sistema-de-informacoes-e-indicadores-culturais/>.

¹¹Gilberto Gil, 'Solenidade de apresentação do PL do Fundo Setorial do Audiovisual', Brasília, 7 June 2006, <cultura.gov.br/discurso-do-ministro-gilberto-gil-na-solenidade-de-apresentacao-do-pl-do-fundo-setorial-do-audiovisual-68519/>.

¹²Gilberto Gil, 'Balanço Final do primeiro ano de sua gestão à frente do MinC', São Paulo, 18 December 2003, <<http://cultura.gov.br/ministro-da-cultura-gilberto-gil-no-encontro-de-balanco-final-do-primeiro-ano-de-sua-gestao-a-frente-do-minc-35985/>>.

¹³Gilberto Gil, 'Solenidade de transmissão do cargo', 2003. Stress added by the author.

¹⁴Gilberto Gil, 'Lançamento do 1º Edital Petrobras de Festivais de Música', Recife, 10 February 2007, <<http://cultura.gov.br/discurso-do-ministro-da-cultura-gilberto-gil-por-ocasio-da-conferencia-sobre-musica-e-economia-da-cultura-91892/>>.

Recalling the above-mentioned third aspect of the analysis, Gil explicitly stated that the ministry worked in three axes of action: culture as symbolic production, as citizenship and social inclusion, and as an economy capable of generating jobs, wealth, and exports¹⁵ – which correlate to the three dimensions mentioned in the previous section. That said, it is worth noting that, in Gil's discourse, the 'artistic/cultural value' stated above also has a social component: culture is not judged by its artistic value per se, but rather by its capacity to produce common symbols. The three axes were intimately connected; for example, culture supported social inclusion both through citizenship and through the economic opportunities it generated. In another speech, he outlined ten aspects to be pursued by cultural policy. For him, culture was, at the same time 'social policy, economic policy, urban policy, a right, citizenship, necessity, joy, what situates us in time and space, well-being and pleasure, and development'.¹⁶

Regarding the economic dimension, which is not that explicit in the fragments above, Gil said that the 'cultural economics discourse' was the 'basic discourse of the Ministry', shared by key policymakers in government: 'Culture is economics. Cultural activities constitute economic activities, and lead to economic processes. Culture generates wealth, jobs, foreign currency, taxes, innovation'.¹⁷ Music, for example, could become 'one of Brazil's main

exports'. On cinema, he stated that cinema is 'a modern and sophisticated economy, full of variety', and the 'reasons to direct public funds to audio-visual activities are similar to those for which public funds are created to finance technological innovations'.¹⁸ Bearing in mind the previous paragraphs, though, it is clear that culture, for Gil, was not to be driven primarily by market principles. Regarding the Rouanet Law¹⁹, for example, he said that activities financed through tax exemptions should follow 'public policy criteria, which do not come from a specific government or from corporate marketing agencies, but rather from the Brazilian society'.²⁰ In short, Gil furthered the development of self-sustainable cultural markets, but believed public policy should take into account higher societal goals, and cultural sectors should not necessarily be profitable to be supported.

2.2. Juca Ferreira (2008-10)

When Gil decided to leave the Ministry for personal reasons, deputy minister Juca Ferreira was appointed by President Lula to take his place. Generally speaking, Ferreira's course of action remained in line with Gil's broad understanding of culture and cultural policy. In this sense, he reinforced the expansion of the concept of cultural heritage to include popular expressions such as 'frevo, jongo, capoeira, tambor de crioula, Círio de Nazaré, the Caruaru Fair and samba de roda'.^{21,22}

¹⁵Gilberto Gil, 'Lançamento da Feira da Música e do Portal Música do Brasil', Fortaleza, 10 August 2006, < <http://cultura.gov.br/discurso-do-ministro-gilberto-gil-no-lancamento-da-feira-da-musica-e-do-portal-musica-do-brasil-73163/>>

¹⁶Gilberto Gil, 'Abertura da 1ª Conferência Nacional de Cultura', São Paulo, 29 November 2003, < <http://cultura.gov.br/ministro-da-cultura-gilberto-gil-na-abertura-da-conferencia-nacional-de-cultura-do-pt-35958/>>

¹⁷Gilberto Gil, 'Lançamento do Pró-Música', Brasília, 2 September 2005, <<http://cultura.gov.br/discurso-do-ministro-gilberto-gil-no-lancamento-do-pro-musica-48515/>>

¹⁸Gilberto Gil, 'Solenidade de apresentação do PL do Fundo Setorial do Audiovisual', Brasília, 7 June 2006, < <http://cultura.gov.br/discurso-do-ministro-gilberto-gil-na-solenidade-de-apresentacao-do-pl-do-fundo-setorial-do-audiovisual-68519/>>

¹⁹Named after the Federal Secretary of Culture who created it, Brazil's 1991 'Rouanet Law' allows individual and corporate taxpayers to choose to dedicate a percentage of their income tax liability to sponsor eligible cultural projects.

²⁰Gilberto Gil, 'Posse dos novos membros da CNIC', Brasília, 29 August 2006, < <http://cultura.gov.br/discurso-do-ministro-gilberto-gil-na-posse-dos-novos-membros-da-cnic-75067/>>

²¹Juca Ferreira, 'Solenidade de posse da diretoria do Instituto Brasileiro de Museus', Brasília, 11 May 2009. Now removed from the Ministry of Culture site, an offline archive copy was consulted from the research team's own files.

²²Frevo is a highly popular dance from the state of Pernambuco that is characterised by the influence of capoeira movements and the use of parasols, mixing rhythms such as marcha, maxixe and polca. Jongo is a percussion-based traditional Afro-Brazilian danced, which influenced samba. For capoeira, see footnote 5. Tambor de crioula is a dance from the state of Maranhão that originated among ex-slaves to celebrate Saint Benedictus. Círio de Nazaré is a catholic celebration of Our Lady of Nazareth in the Northern states of Brazil, being of the world's largest events of its kind. The centuries-old Feira de Caruaru is a fair in this city in the state of Pernambuco that gathers people from the Northeastern hinterland (sertão). The samba de roda is a traditional variety of this Brazilian rhythm that is especially popular in the state of Bahia. See: <portal.iphan.gov.br>.

These roughly correspond to what Ferreira called the 'informal culture', in analogy with the informal economy. In his words, 'to absorb them is one of the objectives of cultural institutions'.²³ He also displayed an interest in further connecting cultural policy with environmental issues, reflecting his previous work in this field. As he stated in a speech when he was still deputy minister, referring to the African-Brazilian Candomblé²⁴ religion: 'Our tradition does not separate natural and cultural heritage.'²⁵

The above reflects the continuity of the Ministry's commitment to cultural democracy, which is inherently tied to cultural diversity. In the words of Ferreira:

Cultural diversity aspires to an even broader, plural, and inclusive democracy. It leads us to value the different groups of our collectives and to give them effective conditions to participate in the social process of developing welfare. It prompts us to guarantee to every citizen the opportunity to enjoy a wide range of cultural options, be it as a creator or as a consumer. It urges us to promote cooperation and exchange with other countries, other cultures and other ways of being-in-the-world.²⁶

The fragment outlines an understanding of cultural policy that does not prioritise cultural democracy or the democratisation of cultural goods, but rather seeks to address both equally. One of the concrete actions that best expresses this perspective is the universal 'Cultural Voucher' (Vale Cultura) scheme, probably the most famous cultural policy from the PT years. During its launch, Ferreira stated that this policy,

whose development started in Gil's period, would start a 'new cycle of democratisation of and access to culture', making 'culture a basic right of workers' and thus contributing to the 'sustainability of the cultural economic system'.²⁷

Among the speeches analysed, there were many referring to cultural heritage, which fits into the cultural/symbolic and social values, and the strong defence of cultural diversity can be understood as part of the social value of culture. Notwithstanding, as the previous paragraph indicates, there was also explicit support of the 'transformation of symbolic heritage into economic forces'. According to Ferreira, the fashion sector epitomised this 'cultural economics strategy',²⁸ and its success at developing a prosperous market chain could inspire other sectors.²⁹ Additionally, design and arts were also considered by the minister to be sectors in which the market potential of Brazil was especially high.³⁰

2.3. Ana de Hollanda (2011-12)

When Dilma Rousseff, the first female president in Brazil's history, took office in 2011, she also appointed the country's first female Minister of Culture, Ana de Hollanda. De Hollanda maintained a strong focus on cultural diversity and on the integration of cultural policy with other societal objectives. For example, she stated that culture had a role to play in urban reform and in the affirmation of the country's sovereignty.³¹ Also, reaffirming the ministry's turn to popular cultures, she said that handicrafts should be the main inspiration for industrial design in Brazil,³² and she moved officially to recognise the traditional Bumba-meu-Boi celebration in Maranhão as an event of national

²⁵Juca Ferreira, 'Tombamento do Terreiro do Bate-Folha', Salvador, 10 October 2003, <<http://cultura.gov.br/discurso-do-ministro-da-cultura-interino-juca-ferreira-na-solenidade-de-tombamento-do-terreiro-do-bate-folha-35812/>>

²⁶Juca Ferreira, 'III Fórum da Aliança das Civilizações', Rio de Janeiro, 28 May 2010, <<http://cultura.gov.br/315503-revision-v1/>>

²⁷Juca Ferreira, 'Cerimônia de lançamento do Vale-Cultura', São Paulo, 23 July 2009, <<http://cultura.gov.br/319401-revision-v1/>>

²⁸Juca Ferreira, 'Coletiva de lançamento do Novo Fundo Nacional de Cultura', 6 December 2006, Now removed from the Ministry of Culture site, an offline archive copy was consulted from the research team's own files.

²⁹Juca Ferreira, 'I Seminário de Cultura da Moda', Salvador, 27 September 2010, <<http://cultura.gov.br/314003-revision-v1/>>

³⁰Juca Ferreira, 'Abertura da 29a Bienal de São Paulo', São Paulo, 25 September 2010, <<http://cultura.gov.br/314017-revision-v1/>>

³¹Ana de Hollanda, 'Discurso de posse', Brasília, 03 January 2011, <<http://cultura.gov.br/312805-revision-v1/>>

³²Ana de Hollanda, 'Exposição 'O Brasil na Arte Popular', Brasília, 27 March 2003, <<http://cultura.gov.br/o-brasil-na-arte-popular-450971/>>

cultural heritage.³³ Furthermore, she renewed the Ministry's commitment to 'enlarge the access of the population to symbolic goods, [as] it is necessary to democratise the opportunity both to produce and to consume [them]'.³⁴ Some months later, she reinforced this idea: 'If we need to universalise the consumption [of cultural goods] on the one hand,, we also need to enable their production, on the other.'³⁵

De Hollanda strongly defended culture as a means of social inclusion, and considered the latter as incomplete if not accompanied by cultural inclusion.³⁶ Nonetheless, in her discourses she also celebrated the intrinsic cultural value of cultural manifestations and affirmed its economic value, for example, in the case of museums, which 'should also have an economic relevance in the life of our cities and their populations'.³⁷ In her words, 'the economics of the symbolic, or cultural economics, is one of the most dynamic sectors of our economic life nowadays'.³⁸ In another speech, moreover, she framed culture as a fourth pillar to sustainable development, in addition to its economic, social and environmental aspects.³⁹

The most relevant departure in Hollanda's speech, in respect of this article, was the introduction of the concept of a creative economy and creative workers, which had not been used by previous

ministers: 'To promote the sustainability of aesthetic and cultural creation in our country [is] to move, in an accurate sense, the mills and engines of creative economy.'⁴⁰ The following excerpt, from a speech in which she defended authors' rights, is even clearer in its affinity with the British model: 'It is through market logic ... with the remuneration of the workforce, that the creator achieves his or her independence Autonomy imposes itself when the creator is able to make a living out of his or her own creation.'⁴¹

2.4. Marta Suplicy (2012-14)

Facing increasing unpopularity, Hollanda was substituted in 2012 by Senator Marta Suplicy, a key figure of the PT who had been the mayor of São Paulo in the early 2000s. In the Senate, she had been responsible for presenting the Cultural Voucher project, which was approved in 2012.

In her first speech, she reinforced the view that the ministry should 'provide spaces, opportunities and autonomy for [culture] to be produced'. Additionally, the harnessing of internet resources would be a priority under her leadership.⁴² She strongly defended the Cultural Voucher as a means to democratising access to and production of culture, which would complement the *Bolsa Família* programme as a

³³Ana de Hollanda, 'Titulação do Complexo Cultural do Bumba-meu-boi do Maranhão', São Luís, 30 August 2011, < <http://cultura.gov.br/titulacao-do-complexo-cultural-do-bumba-meu-boi-do-maranhao-545358/>> A celebration fusing elements from Iberic, African and indigenous cultures in a 'tragedy' in which two oxen are the main characters. There are many regional variations of the story throughout the Northern and North-eastern parts of Brazil, of which the version in Maranhão and the one in Parintins, in the state of Amazonas, are the most famous. In 2019, it was included in the UNESCO Intangible cultural heritage list. See: <http://portal.iphan.gov.br/noticias/detalhes/5499/complexo-cultural-do-bumba-meu-boi-do-maranhao-agora-e-patrimonio-cultural-imaterial-da-humanidade>.

³⁴Ana de Hollanda, 'Discurso de posse', 2011.

³⁵Ana de Hollanda, 'Comissão de Educação e Cultura da Câmara dos Deputados', Brasília, 13 April 2011, Now removed from the Ministry of Culture site, an offline archive copy was consulted from the research team's own files. She also expressed a similar view regarding the publishing sector, in a speech at the Fundação Biblioteca Nacional (2011.04).< <http://cultura.gov.br/200-anos-da-biblioteca-nacional-481745/>>

³⁶Ana de Hollanda, 'Comissão de Educação e Cultura da Câmara dos Deputados', 2011.

³⁷Ana de Hollanda, 'Aniversário de dois anos do Ibram', Brasília, 27 March 2011, < <http://cultura.gov.br/aniversario-de-dois-anos-do-ibram-437947/>>

³⁸Ana de Hollanda, 'Comissão de Educação e Cultura da Câmara dos Deputados', 2011.

³⁹Ana de Hollanda, 'Reunião de especialistas sobre promoção e proteção de museus e coleções', Rio de Janeiro, July 2012, < <http://cultura.gov.br/reuniao-de-especialistas-sobre-promocao-e-protecao-de-museus-e-colecoes-535111/>>

⁴⁰Ana de Hollanda, 'Ordem do Mérito Cultural 2011', Recife, 9 November 2011., < <http://cultura.gov.br/ordem-do-merito-cultural-2011-486244/>>

⁴¹Ana de Hollanda, 'Direitos culturais', Brasília, May 2011. Now removed from the Ministry of Culture site, an offline archive copy was consulted from the research team's own files.

⁴²Marta Suplicy, 'Discurso de posse', Brasília, 13 September 2012, <<http://cultura.gov.br/307382-revisao-v1/>>

'*Bolsa Alma*' (something like 'a grant for the soul'). Also, she recognised the bias of funding through the Rouanet Law towards major cities such as São Paulo and Rio de Janeiro. In this sense, the recently-created National Cultural System was an attempt to contribute to reaching smaller cities. Additionally, she celebrated the creation of the first funding call within this law that specifically targeted Black cultural producers, who had been historically underrepresented.⁴³

'The full exercise of cultural rights in a context of social inclusion' was the Ministry's guiding principle, said Suplicy,⁴⁴ in accordance with the overall objective of Rousseff's government. Museums, for example, were understood by her as a public service that should be accessible to citizens.⁴⁵ Reflecting this view, the minister proposed the creation of many arts- and sports-focused Unified Educational Centres across the country, a policy inspired by her previous experience in São Paulo.⁴⁶ The following quotation summarises her stance about the economic dimension of culture: 'We should not accept the devastating logic of markets and the pasteurisation of activities and works entailed by globalisation. At the same time, our artists must be able to make a living out of their art, and global trade is fruitful and key to creation.'⁴⁷ In this sense, she also called for the strengthening of the Department of Creative Economy, which had been inaugurated in 2011 (during Hollande's term), and would 'open the doors of the Ministry

for the twenty-first century'.⁴⁸

2.5. Juca Ferreira (2015-16)

Suplicy left the government in November 2014, and shortly afterwards Rousseff appointed Ferreira to lead the Ministry in her second mandate, in which he would stay until her controversial impeachment in mid-2016. Despite the severe political and economic instabilities that characterised this period, it can be said that Ferreira's discourse did not change significantly in comparison with his previous term.

The first element of note is that there were more discourses in which he addressed the issue of indigenous cultures, for example, recognising the insufficient advances in this area and the worsening human rights situation of these groups.⁴⁹ He also reinforced the connection between cultural and urban policy.⁵⁰ Moreover, whilst celebrating the policy-induced increase of national content on TV, he noted in his first speech the urgency of regulating the digital environment to better ensure the respect of authorship rights for 'creative workers'⁵¹ – a term he used for the first time in the speeches analysed here. He made possibly the first mention of the software sector as part of the economy of culture, which aligns with the British model, and highlighted the role of creativity in productivity gains and economic development.⁵²

⁴³Marta Suplicy, 'The Power of Soft Power', São Paulo, 12 March 2013, <<http://cultura.gov.br/306118-revision-v1/>>

⁴⁴Marta Suplicy, 'The Power of Soft Power', 2013.

⁴⁵Marta Suplicy, '5o Fórum Nacional de Museus', Petrópolis (RJ), 22 November 2012, <<http://cultura.gov.br/306853-revision-v1/>>

⁴⁶Marta Suplicy, 'Sessão de promulgação do Sistema Nacional de Cultura', Brasília, 29 November 2012, <<http://cultura.gov.br/306775-revision-v1/>>

⁴⁷Marta Suplicy, 'Discurso de posse', 2012.

⁴⁸Marta Suplicy, 'Ordem do Mérito Cultural', Brasília, 5 November 2014, <<http://cultura.gov.br/integra-do-discurso-da-ministra-marta-suplicy-proferido-na-cerimonia-da-ordem-do-merito-cultural/>>

⁴⁹Juca Ferreira, 'Estado deve defender os indígenas', Brasília, 27 April, 2016, <<http://cultura.gov.br/estado-deve-defender-os-indigenas/>>; Juca Ferreira, 'Não somos vitrine. Somos porta aberta', São Paulo, 15 August 2015, <http://cultura.gov.br/nao-somos-vitrine-somos-porta-aberta/>; Juca Ferreira, 'Sobre o prazer brasileiro em conviver com a diferença', Rio de Janeiro, 21 September 2015, <<http://cultura.gov.br/sobre-o-prazer-brasileiro-em-conviver-com-a-diferenca/>>

⁵⁰Juca Ferreira, 'Uma reflexão sobre as cidades brasileiras que queremos', Rio de Janeiro, 06 August 2015, <<http://cultura.gov.br/uma-reflexao-sobre-as-cidades-brasileiras-que-queremos/>>

⁵¹Juca Ferreira, 'Discurso de posse', Brasília, 12 January 2015. <<http://cultura.gov.br/293144-revision-v1/>>

⁵²He also cited others that had already clearly been within the scope of policy beforehand, such as electronic games, massive celebrations, such as carnival, design, commerce of antiques and publishing.

However, he explicitly affirmed his ministry's preference for the concept of 'economy of culture' over 'cultural industry, creative industries and even creative economy', as he considered these as 'too focused on intellectual property, that is, on goods and services with cultural contents liable to authors' rights in the form of copyright', thus 'leaving out the economic dimension of cultural manifestations and symbolic productions that are not-for-profit or that do not have the scale to insert themselves into the market'. He said: 'There is a whole economy that does not necessarily take place under copyright.'⁵³ However, he also admitted that Brazil had a long way to go to develop a strategic approach to the economy of culture, which could help to diminish the country's dependence on the export of commodities in an era characterised by deindustrialisation in many cases.

3. Discussion

There are evident affinities and similarities between the British model for creative economies and the cultural policy adopted in Brazil from 2003 to 2015-6. First, both proposed an equal treatment between 'high arts' and 'popular arts', rejecting the elitist division between them. Secondly, both proposed a broad cultural/creative sector in which the entire value chains were deemed relevant. Thirdly, both sought to establish successful markets for cultural sectors through which producers and enterprises could be self-sustainable. Finally, both stressed the benefits of cultural/creative economies in terms of supporting diversity and social inclusion, considering them as vital for economic development in the 'post-industrial' era.

Nonetheless, there is not much explicit evidence of an influence by the British model on the discourse of Brazilian ministers until Ana de Hollanda's period. At least in terms of discourse, Gil and Ferreira seemed to be more aligned with the broader project and rhetoric of the PT, whose main priority was social inclusion and

the promotion of human rights. Even if there was a strong push to develop the economy of the cultural sector, this was not inspired by free market principles, and the main threads of their speeches were social inclusion, democratisation, and building up the self-esteem of the nation. These are compatible with the British model, but they do not seem to have been directly inspired by it.

It seems to have been Hollanda who introduced the concept of a 'creative economy' in the Ministry. This was embedded in its structure through a creative economy department, which put a greater emphasis on issues such as author rights. She was the first to refer regularly to 'creative' workers and industries as well. However, it was not a major feature of the speeches of her successor, Suplicy, who was more focused on the social dimension of culture, and it was criticised by Ferreira, even if he accepted and absorbed some of its characteristics. Under his leadership, the creative economy seemed to be restricted to one specific department, being only part of a Ministry that, as a whole, was more aligned with an economy of culture perspective. The clearest consequence in this sense is the high priority attributed to non-market cultural sectors.

Regarding the first of the three aspects outlined in the introduction, which have guided our analysis, there was indeed a push for the inclusion of more than the 'classic' sectors into the scope of policy. Still, in the case of Brazil, more attention was given to sectors less integrated into the market, such as indigenous cultures and popular expression, than to some sectors highly prioritised by the DCMS model, such as design and software. The main discourse seems to have been to support popular cultures that had long been neglected and sometimes even despised during the twentieth century, especially during the dictatorship.

Secondly, not only the speeches but also policies enacted by the ministers consistently favoured democratisation both in terms of

⁵³Juca Ferreira, 'A economia da cultura e o desenvolvimento do Brasil', 2015, < <http://cultura.gov.br/a-economia-da-cultura-e-o-desenvolvimento-do-brasil/> >

access and of production, even in the cases in which the capacity to generate profits was low. This applied both to 'high arts' that traditionally had state support and to popular cultures that were not market-driven. Just as in the DCMS model, culture/creative sectors were seen as a powerful tool to support more inclusive and diverse economies and societies.

Thirdly, the three 'dimensions' of culture proposed by Gil were generally followed by ministers with roughly equal importance, except perhaps under Suplicy, during whose term social inclusion was prioritised in discourse. In the DCMS model, on the other hand, economic value generally took precedence. In many cases in which activities were not profitable by themselves, their symbolic and social values were highlighted, but also their possible economic 'externalities', such as with massive cultural events. This was more accurately described, according to Minister Ferreira, by the 'economy of culture' discourse.

That being said, it is very likely that the DCMS model influenced policy-makers in the Ministry of Culture in Brazil at some extent, bearing in mind the notoriety it achieved in the same period. The understanding of creativity as a valuable input to sustainable development was certainly present in ministerial discourse from Gil's term onwards, for example, and the DCMS model probably contributed to legitimising this argument. However, the speeches analysed lead us to conclude that this influence was only explicit during Hollanda's period in office. The 'economy of culture' discourse, openly favoured by Ferreira in his second term, is more representative of the general cultural policy of Brazil during the period of the PT in government.