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Assessment 3: Industry case study

The new Street Carnival of São Paulo: a production chain analysis

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Contents

The new Street Carnival of São Paulo: a production chain analysis

Introduccion	1
The history of carnival in São Paulo	2
Literature review	4
São Paulo's street carnival's supply chain	5
Official/direct supply chain	7
Non-official/indirect supply chain	8
5 Competitive forces analysis	10
Quantitative & Qualitative analysis	12
The carnival in Brazil and São Paulo	12
Production	13
Employment	15
Audience	16
Conclusion	17
References	19

Introduction

The Brazilian carnival is a centennial and popular cultural manifestation that happens 47 days before Easter each year. It has gathered people of all ages, social classes and colours across the years to celebrate through music, dance and joy. Yet, it has not always been equal or continuous.

The carnival format has changed over the years. What was once almost anarchic has now a singular and structured production logic. Since last century, there are two main festival formats: the Samba School parades, and the street carnival. The former consists in groups of musicians and dancers that create a coordinated and competitive thematic performance; it takes place in the Sambadromes, a 500-700-meters wide walkway with bleachers for 30.000 people in São Paulo and 70.000 approx. in Rio de Janeiro. The street carn-

ival happens in many parts of the cities and is celebrated in musical “carnival blocks”, which consist in thematic parades with carnival floats, musical bands and dancers that execute a specific route on the streets, and are followed freely and openly by revellers.

As a popular and massive event, it also entails a relevant economic impact in the country. In São Paulo, the street carnival was reborn in the last 20 years. In 2020, the city got up the first place in terms of audience, investment and revenues compared to other traditional carnival cities (such as Rio de Janeiro). Thus, this essay will analyse how the street carnival from São Paulo city achieved scale by contextualising it historically, sociologically and politically; defining and describing its production chain; and analysing its economic impact in the city and country.



Picture 1. Samba School parade at São Paulo's Sambodrome in 2020 (‘Veja a ordem dos desfile do carnaval 2020 de São Paulo’ 2020, Picture 6).

The history of carnival in São Paulo

The origins of the Brazilian Carnival date back in the XVI century with a Portuguese cultural manifestation called “entrudo”. It consisted of a splashing-water game between revellers (Teixeira, 2019, p. 10). Reassembling its history over the centuries is a complex and long task – which is also attached to the vast history of Samba – for which I will thus remain in the 20th and 21st centuries for the purposes of this essay.

Many people would attribute the origin of Samba exclusively to the city of Rio de Janeiro; however, in São Paulo, at the beginning of the 20th century, it also started in the coffee-producing towns in the countryside, especially by African-descendant workers (Machini & Roza, 2019, p.2).

According to Machini & Roza (2019, p.3), at the beginning of the 20th century, a large contingent of recently freed black workers (ex-slaves) migrates to the outskirts of São Paulo. The African communities make contact with the elite’s club masquerades in European style and get influenced by the carnival from Rio de Janeiro since it was the capital of Brazil by then. With this cultural confluence, the Samba played in São Paulo gave rise to the carnival groups and Samba Schools parades and shaped the street carnival from São Paulo in that time (Machini & Roza, 2019, p.4). Yet, the street carnival’s history in São Paulo isn’t linear, as from time to time it was repressed by the government.

It was in 1967 and at the beginning of the second dictatorship in Brazil that Faria Lima - São Paulo’s mayor, originally from Rio de Janeiro and very fond of Rio’s Carnival - approved the law 7.100/67 to regulate and systematise the carnival in the city. The municipality would provide funds for the organisation and the Samba Schools’ parade (Machini & Roza, 2019, p.5). It was then established the hegemonic competition model from Rio de Janeiro in São Paulo and the segregation between the Samba School parades and street revellers. The street carnival then recesses and what was left of it was pushed back to the periphery.

However, at the beginning of the 21st century, the street carnival gain power in cities like Salvador, Recife and Olinda. Paulistanos (people born in the city of São Paulo) would now enjoy the 5-day-festival in other parts of the country. They would also gather on the streets to celebrate on the weekend before and after carnival (the so called “pre and post-carnival”) before leaving the city. Samba Schools’ artists, excited by the resumption of street parades, join the revellers and incorporate in their bands, which was a milestone for the recovery of the carnival blocks.

Although the carnival block parades returned to life in the late 2000s, there was no clear structure or plan for it. Besides, the parades didn’t have legal authorisation to perform, for which the

government would often repress the manifestations.

To understand how São Paulo's street carnival acquired a business model and the magnitude from today, it is important to examine first the sociological and political movement that started in the 21st century. In the last 10-15 years, there has been a social movement among São Paulo's population to occupy and appropriate the city. Artistic and social collectives intervened in the streets with art, events and performances to promote the city's public cultural life.

It was also during this movement that, in 2012, the

carnival groups representatives from São Paulo wrote the "Carnival Manifesto". It would claim the recognition and appreciation of the street carnival and its respective authorisation, protection, preservation and freedom. This demand was granted in 2013, during the first year of the mandate of Fernando Haddad (Labour Party), when the street festival became the city's cultural policy.

This recognition represented a milestone for São Paulo's street carnival. From now on, the government would regulate and take part in the organisation of the event (Teixeira, 2019, p.15).



Picture 2. Carnival block in the city centre of São Paulo around 1905 (Acayba & Vieira 2020, Picture 4)

* * *

Literature Review

As a cultural, artistic and sociological manifestation, the street carnival phenomenon has been studied mainly in its anthropological, political and musical aspects. There are few academic studies about its economy and industry and they are mostly about other cities than São Paulo - like Olinda (Franco & Leão 2018), Salvador (Miguez 2009; Spinola, Guerreiro, & Spinola 2007), Belo Horizonte (Saldanha & Gonçalves 2019), and Rio de Janeiro (Frydberg, Kossak & Machado 2016) - and it is frequently approached by economic reports from local governments and other research institutions. As the festival attracts many foreign and local tourists, most reports are produced by tourism departments, although the festivals are usually produced by local secretariats of culture. Besides, academics and economists tend to concentrate research in Rio de Janeiro's carnival or to remain exclusively in its sociological and political framework.

Regarding academic references, there are two main books about the history and sociology of carnival that are conventionally cited among academic productions that are worth mentioning, that I will briefly delineate.

The book *'Carnivals, Rogues, and Heroes: an interpretation of the Brazilian dilemma'* from the anthropologist Roberto da Matta, published in 1979, aims to trace the Brazilian identity by analysing people's values, customs, and systems, or, in his words, "to know what

makes Brazil, Brazil" (Da Matta, 1997, p.17). He tries to understand the dilemma between the oligarchical and authoritarian aspects of the Brazilian society, the desire for democracy and equality, and the role that carnival plays in this conflict. The author appoints that there is an underlying logic of an almost religious ritual in this practice that tends to be manipulated systematically as it is considered a subversive manifestation. He also analyses the carnival's processes of symbolisation and personalities' stereotypes. Da Matta's work provides a deeper understanding and interpretation of Brazilian culture through the carnival and contributes to the appreciation of rituals, dramatisations and symbols.

Maria Aparecida Urbano, in her work *'Evolving carnival & samba in the city of São Paulo'* (2006) tells the story of carnival and the origins of samba by studying the context of Samba Schools and carnival blocks in the city. She describes the many forms of manifestation of the festivity and also delineates legal and production aspects of the Samba Schools parade.

Regarding the economy of carnival, Luis Carlos Prestes Filho (2009) makes an unprecedented and thorough study about the Samba Schools parade's production chain of Rio de Janeiro called "*Carnival economy's productive chain*". The author describes and designs its supply chain, discusses Samba & Carnival as a business model and analyses its cultural and tax policies.

He also provides for a number of cases to illustrate the productive chain in practice to identify its obstacles and contradictions. Despite no academic or profound

studies specific from São Paulo have been found, Prestes Filho's work (2009) has served as a relevant reference and inspiration to carry out this research.



Picture 3. Carnival block in São Paulo in 2019 (Mengue 2020, Picture 1).

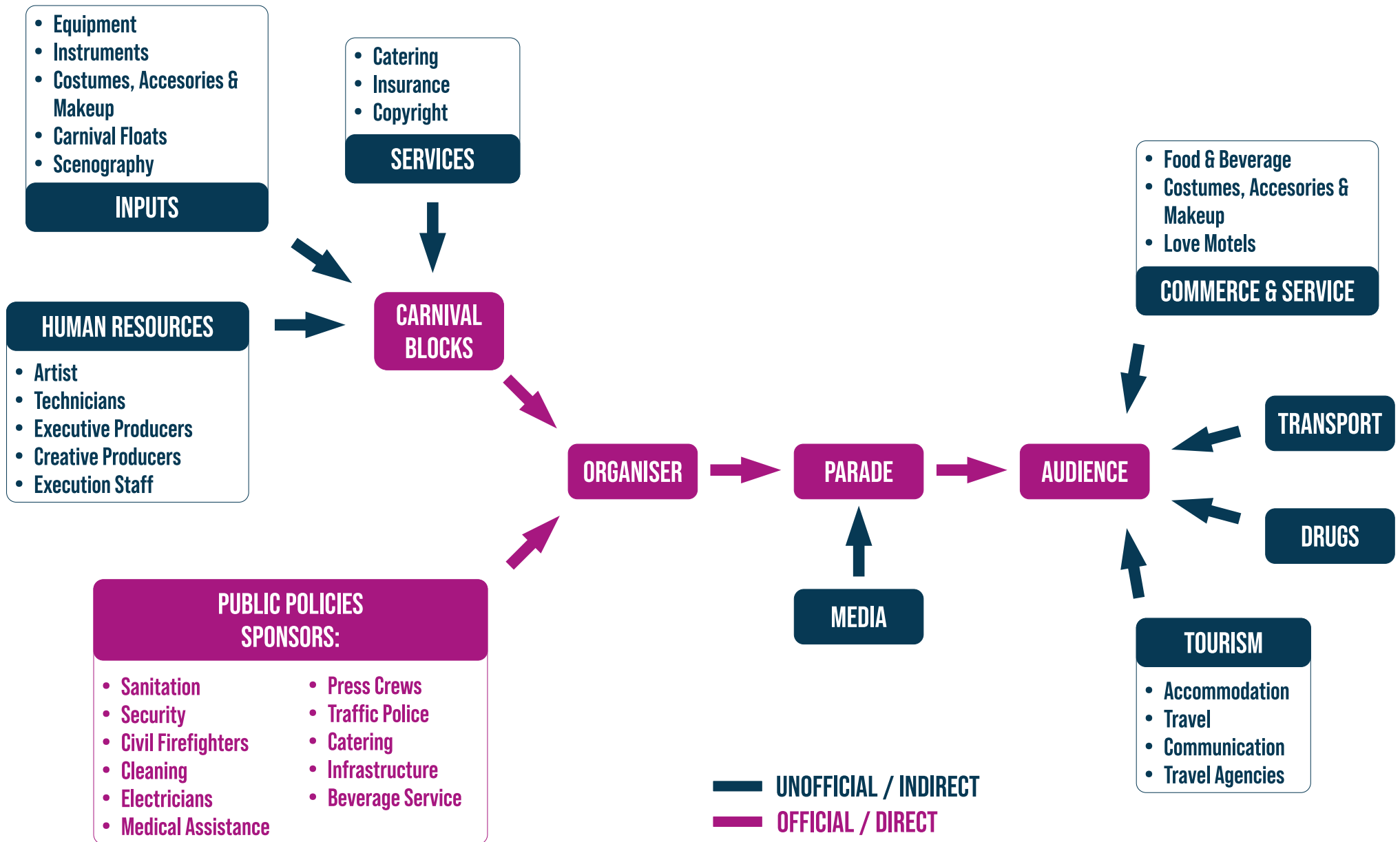
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São Paulo's street carnival's supply chain

As a national massive and plural event, the carnival has many facets regarding its format, content and execution. As Rio de Janeiro's carnival is the role model for the rest of the country, most studies about the economy of the carnival and reports provide information about Carioca (from Rio) Samba Schools parade. It tends to draw more attention from the media and tourism, and a great

part of its production chain is undertaken formally.

While the Samba Schools parade comprises a defined and clear linear supply chain – pre-production, production, distribution, commercialisation and consumption (Prestes Filho 2009, p.34) – , the street carnival has a more complex shape as there are many variables and agents exercising power over the organisation of the festival.



Since the festival became a cultural policy in 2014, and according to the Decree Nº 54.815 of 2014, the state became the main organiser and calls for sponsoring tenders to finance the festival's infrastructure.

Therefore, there are two instances of the supply chain: **the official or direct** and **non-official or indirect** suppliers, as each part follows a different logic. The former concerns to the instances that supply inputs

directly to the parade and is approved by the organiser, while the latter supplies products and services for the audience and is not necessarily comprised by the organiser's plan. Nonetheless, the audience still occupies a central position as the street carnival is considered a cultural right and heritage ('Secretaria da cultura abraça o Manifesto Carnavalista e apoia os blocos de rua' 2013), and is, moreover, the point of confluence of all economic activities involved in this phenomenon.



Picture 4. Pre-carnival next to Ibirapuera Park in São Paulo, February 2020 (Pauluze & Rodrigues, 2020).

Official/Direct supply chain

Parades. The decree from 2019 that regulates the street carnival of São Paulo (Municipality of São Paulo 2019, art 1) states that the street carnival is “the set of voluntary carnival manifestations, organised or not, free of charge, non-hierarchical, of a festive na-

ture and without competitive character, which takes place in various public places in the city in the form of blocks, cords, bands and alike, for the purpose of mere enjoyment”. Besides, according to the decree, the blocks' participation has to be authorised by the

government (Municipality of São Paulo 2019, art 4-I). The parades are the point of the chain where the direct and official inputs confluence to serve the audience.

The organiser. The government plays the role of the intermediary between the carnival blocks, sponsor, public infrastructure and the parades. The intermediary plays an ambivalent figure (Long & Collins, 2018, p.45) in the chain, as it is who shapes, regulates, organises and governs the event's format. Furthermore, it works amidst power struggles and tensions to negotiate and reconcile contradictions (O'Connor 2015 cited in Long & Collins, 2018, p.45). This means that the role of the state is to organise and regulate the event, as well as to guarantee the cultural right of carnival and promote this cultural heritage - but not to produce symbolic value, which is all reserved for the citizens to enjoy.

Carnival blocks. They are independent to create and produce, as well as to get funding for

their parade. There are three main indirect aspects of the production regarding the parade:

a) Human Resources: carnival blocks demand labour work such as artists (musicians, dancers, DJ's), executive and creative producers, technicians and execution staff, who can all be hired or voluntary.

b) Inputs: the blocks require sound and structural equipment, a carnival float (where the band plays and leads the public), scenography and adornments, and a great number of instruments, costumes, makeup and accessories, mainly.

c) Services: in order to implement the parade, carnival blocks need to hire catering and insurance services for their staff. They also manage copyrights for songs, which can be created by their own bands or reproduced from other artists.

Unofficial/Indirect supply chain

Media. As in every event, there is media coverage from newspapers, radio and television that also benefits from the event. The demand for the event's coverage is high, and the medias' revenue comes from advertisements, especially from goods that are usually consumed in the event, such as alcoholic beverage, condoms, sun blockers, clothes, etc.



(Picture 5. Amstel's advertisement for 2020's carnival (Pict Hand Made Ideas 2020).

Commerce & Services. Indirectly, many commercial establishments and service suppliers benefit from the street carnival. As for *Food & Beverage*, local restaurants, supermarkets, convenience stores, and informal street vendors are agents that are highly benefited from the event. A part of the *Fashion Industry* that produces special collections, costumes and accessories are also important suppliers for the revellers to enjoy the party, as well as *makeup* - and a great amount of glitter. Other services like *Love Motels* also have their demand significantly increased during the carnival¹.

Tourism. Other services related to tourism increase their activities during the carnival, such as accommodation, travel (bus and flight tickets), travel agencies and mobile communication (especially for foreign tourists, but also for revellers that have their phones robbed or lost, which is awkwardly common).

Transport. Public and private transport also play an important role, as the whole city's traffic system is intervened during the festival. Private transport like taxis and app transport is also popular among the public. Uber, for instance, signed a partnership with Skol - the official sponsor from 2019 and 2020 - and provided a special service for the public by placing special boarding points in the outskirts of the parades.

Drugs. Although no reports of studies have been found about how much the drug consumption during carnival adds to its economy due to its illegal and informal character, it is popularly known that there is extremely high consumption of illegal drugs during carnival. Indicators are the special operations of the military police for seizing drugs and dealers, and the amount of seized substances in the operations².

* * *

1 In 2018, the demand for love motels (sex-oriented hotels) increased by 30% during carnival, which is the second most important date for the industry after the Brazilian Valentine's Day in June, according to the Brazilian Association of Love Motels ('Carnaval animado: em São Paulo, procura por motéis aumenta 30% no feriado' 2018)

2 In 2019, the military police seized more than 700 kg of drugs during the carnival in São Paulo ('Polícia prende mais de mil pessoas durante o carnaval de São Paulo' 2018).

5 Competitive forces analysis

When analysing competitive forces that shape a player's strategy (Porter 2008), it is important to define who this player is and from which perspective to analyse it. In the case of the street carnival, its economic activity does not benefit the organiser; that is, the state does not profit from it, as its goal is to guarantee a cultural right of the population, and not profit. Therefore, we will delineate the competitive forces from the point of view of suppliers since they are the ones who produce and commercialise goods and services to serve the public's needs.

- **Threat of New Entrants:** As official suppliers have market privileges granted by the organiser, the only threat of new entrants would be from non-official players, especially from the informal commerce. As for non-official suppliers, traditional merchants of food, beverage and clothing also compete with seasonal street vendors and producers that enter the market exclusively for the carnival season. According to the Brazilian Association of Bars and Restaurants (Abrasel), for instance, other factors that can lead bars and restaurants to losses are the public's preference for buying at supermarkets due to lower prices, and that the consolidated clientele leaves the city for the holiday (Bond 2020). However, as supermarkets are part of this chain, it should have some
- **Bargaining Power of Suppliers:** Official suppliers usually don't have much competition and high demand, but they are likely to have to negotiate prices with the government. The Ambev group, for instance, as the official and only sponsor in 2020, monopolised the beverage sales in the parades, but they had to pre-set prices with the government for all accredited street vendors. As for non-official suppliers, they have also high power of bargain, as there is an extremely high demand for products and services. The average prices of products like flight and bus tickets, hotels, costumes, food, drinks, drugs, private transport tend to suffer a considerable increase, although some have to compete with the official supplier.
- **Bargaining Power of Buyers:** If suppliers have a high power of bargain, buyers tend to be in a disadvantage. In the heat of the moment, consumers tend to be impulsive. Above all things, they are willing to spend a lot of money on food, beverage, costumes, accessories, drugs, accommodation and transport because of the symbolic value of the festival. Brazilians have a great appreciation for this cultural expression, and the ones who have purchasing power will spend whatever it takes to engage with the festival and enjoy as

much as possible.

- ***Threat of Substitute Products or Services:*** The first direct substitute for São Paulo's street carnival is the Samba Schools parade; however, as it has limited spaces and unaffordable prices for most people, it does not represent a relevant threat. However, there are other cities in Brazil where street carnival has traditional roots and attract foreign and local tourists, such as Salvador, Recife, Olinda and Ouro Preto. Besides, as the main and longest holiday of the year, there are many national and international tourist destinations and packages for people who want to avoid the frenzy and take away some local suppliers' consumers.
- ***Rivalry Among Existing Competitors:*** Perennial merchants tend to engage in seasonal products and services especially for the occasion - such as clothes, costumes, makeup, accessories, instruments, hotels, travel tickets, etc - to compete with seasonal formal and informal entrants. Major brands of alcoholic drinks, for instance, enter the race for the indirect market, as the demand for these products is always high in this time of the year. Regarding the official sponsor, the tender's minimum bid is very high (USD 4,5 million in 2020), which narrows the opportunity not only for big corporations to bid, but for companies that would benefit directly from the event's economic potential, as it requires a high investment to participate and may not be very profitable for only getting marketing exploitation.

* * *

² In 2019, the military police seized more than 700 kg of drugs during the carnival in São Paulo ('Polícia prende mais de mil pessoas durante o carnaval de São Paulo' 2018).

Quantitative & Qualitative analysis

The carnival in Brazil and São Paulo

In 2020, the Brazilian Carnival has beaten the record of numbers in the country. It counted with more than 35 million revellers in the main cities, handling more than USD 1,7 billion in the domestic economy from the pre to the post-carnival (14 February to 1st March) ['Carnaval brasileiro bate recorde de público em 2020' 2020].

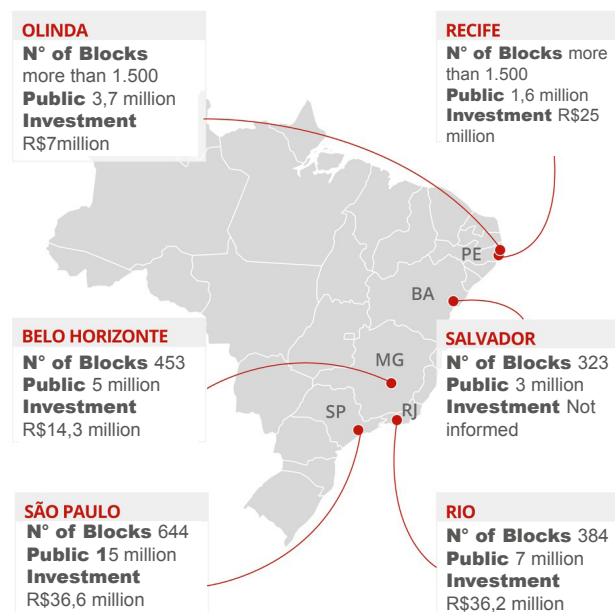
The street carnival of São Paulo, consequently, has beaten the record of numbers of its history. During the 4 weeks of revelry, 15 million people enjoyed the parades on the streets - 1 million more than the previous year. There were 575 carnival blocks and 615 parades flowing to the sound of

samba, axé, Carioca funk, pagode and other musical genres across the whole city (Sant'Anna, T 2020). São Paulo doubled the number of audiences in relation to Rio de Janeiro, but still had around 40% less blocks than traditional cities like Recife and Olinda.

The city has invested almost USD 8 million, slightly more than Rio de Janeiro. As a result, São Paulo's carnival moved more than USD 500 million in the city's economy, increasing 31% since 2019 (Cruz 2020). These numbers take São Paulo into first place in terms of audience and investment in comparison to other cities with strong (or even more) carnival tradition.

Street carnival numbers across Brasil

See the numbers, public and investment forecast in SP, Rio, Salvador, Recife and Olinda



Infográfico elaborado em: 18/02/2020

Figure 1. Dollar rate USD 1 = R\$ 4,50 ('Blocos, público investimento, ambulantes: veja números grandiosos do carnaval de rua pelo país' 2020)

Nonetheless, the size of the audience and the investment attracted could lead the city into the hall of fame of carnival tradition and legitimacy, matching [or even exceeding] the Samba Schools

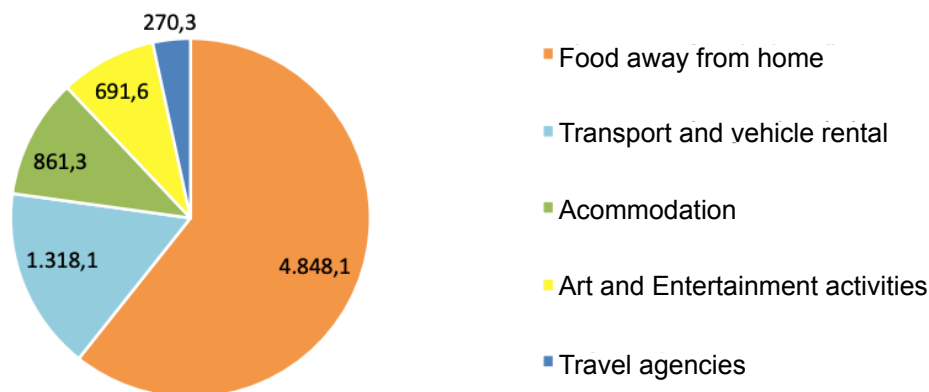
parade relevance in terms of economic and symbolic value for Brazilians, and becoming an international reference for tourists other than Rio de Janeiro.

Production

No studies about the revenue from the main consumed goods and services during carnival specific from São Paulo have been found. However, according to the National Confederation for the Trade of Goods, Services and Tourism's (CNC) report (2020), the main segments to be consumed in the country were: Food away from home, followed by transport and vehicle

rental, accommodation, cultural and entertainment activities, and travel agencies, totalizing almost USD 1,8 billion of national revenue. From this accurate prediction, São Paulo would contribute with almost 25%, i.e. USD 420 million approximately (CNC 2020, Figure II).

Figure II
Estimated revenue in 2020 Carnival according to typical tourism segments (R\$ million)



Fonte: CNC

Figure 2. Carnival 2020 - expected revenue. Dollar rate USD 1 = R\$4,50 (CNC 2020, Figure II).

Another indicator of its economic behaviour and importance is the variation of the average prices of the most demanded goods and services during the holiday mentioned before:

Figure IV
Variation in the average prices of the most demanded goods and services during the carnival: 2007 - 2020
 (Accumulated var. % in 12 months)

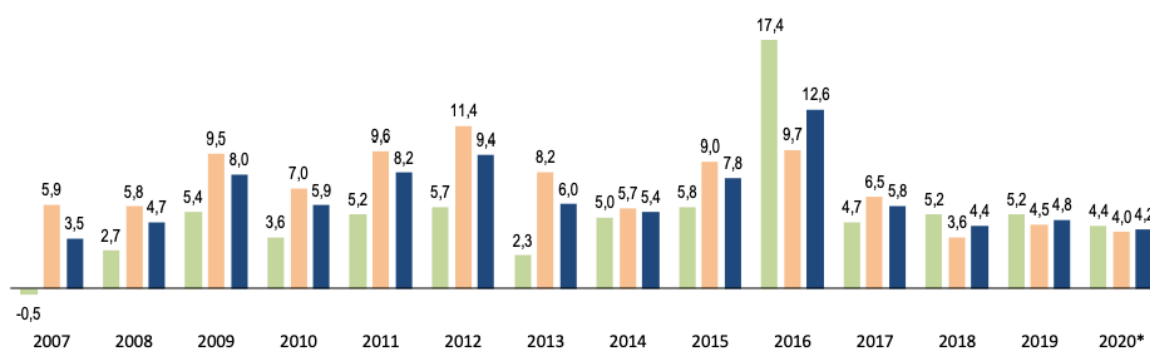


Figure 3. Variation of average prices of most demanded goods and services during carnival (CNC 2020, Figure IV).

As we can see, since 2014, when the street carnival was officialised in São Paulo, the average prices of goods and services have increased from 5% - 6%, except for 2016. This shows how the economy heats up during these days as consumers are more willing to spend money buying these goods due to the holiday excitement and the value of carnival to the public.

Regarding costumes, makeup and accessories, Brazilian behemoths like Hering, Renner, CGA, Riachuelo (popular fashion brands, like H&M), have also gotten into carnival's rhythm by producing costumes and special collections (De Chiara & Dyniewicz 2019). For big companies, seasonal production can mean to keep up with the market - and some times take advantage of it -; as for smaller producers, it can be an important revenue to compensate sales in the rest of the year. Besides, the carnival is an important opportunity for temporary and informal entrants, which we will discuss further in this chapter.

As for the official supply chain, in 2020, although the call for sponsorship tender allows up to 5 sponsors, Ambev was the only company to make a bid (almost USD 4,8 million) (Rodrigues 2020), which means it had the exclusivity of marketing and commercial monopolisation. Skol, one of its beer brands, was chosen to be the official supplier. As a consequence, the price of the official beer of São Paulo's carnival increased in 20% in comparison to the previous year, while the National Consumer Price Index (IPCA) (which measures the prices' inflation) by that time was 4,31% (Rodrigues 2020).

Thus, having only one sponsor could compromise the street carnival not only economically as it imposes prices to the carnival's market, but also the democratic and popular essence of the cultural manifestation. Moreover, the tender's minimum bid of USD 4,5 million might be an impediment to attract sponsors since it allows only big corporations to apply, which corroborates the market-logic orientation of this organisation model.

Employment

In 2020, the municipality opened 12.000 vacancies for accredited beverage street vendors for the parades, 20% more than in 2019. The sponsor provides training, carts, sun umbrellas and uniforms for each vendor, who has to respect pre-established prices for beer and water [‘São Paulo abre 12 mil vagas para ambulante de bebidas trabalharem no carnaval de rua’ 2020].

As for the indirect supply chain, according to the CNC’s report (2020), to meet the seasonal increase in demand, it is estimated that between January and February of this year there were 25.400 thousand temporary jobs - 2,8% more than last year, from which 71% were in the food segment.

Figure V
Temporary jobs in carnival offered by the typical tourism activities 2012 - 2020
(In thousands of jobs)

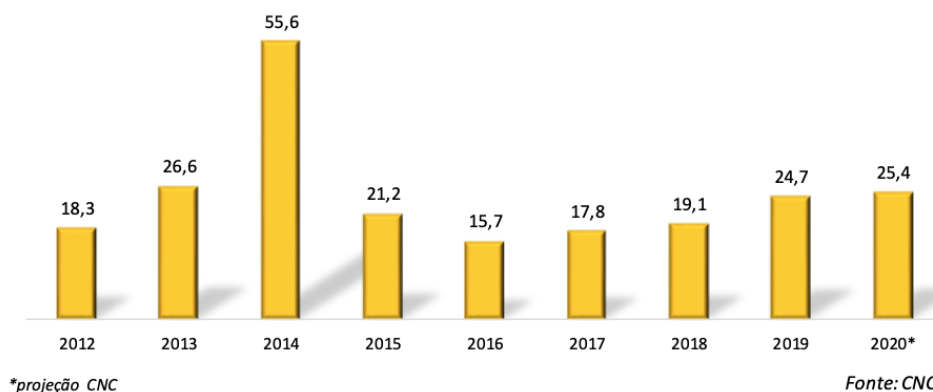


Figure 4. Temporary jobs offered by tourism in carnival(CNC 2020, Figure IV).

The number of temporary jobs in 2020 reached the largest contingent since 2014, as that year gathered other temporary jobs for the soccer World Cup and the Olympics in Rio de Janeiro. According to the report (CNC 2020), the tourism sector was responsible for 63% of the offered positions, especially in gastronomy, transport and accommodation. How-

ever, the average salaries are not so attractive as the holiday is: the lowest average was USD 315 approx. for room service workers, about 25% below the total average (USD 415); while tourism, accommodation and food operations managers earned USD 660 approx. (per month), being 60% above the average.

Figure VI
Temporary jobs in carnival offered by the typical tourism activities in 2020
according professions

PROFESSIONS	CONTRATAÇÕES (POSTOS DE TRABALHO)	% DO TOTAL	SALÁRIO MÉDIO (R\$)
WAITER, BARMEN, MESS BOY AND SOMMELIER	4.946	19%	1.518,27
COOKS	2.240	9%	1.522,14
AUXILIARY WORKERS IN GASTRONOMY	2.378	9%	1.488,19
URBAN, METROPOLITAN AND ROAD BUSS DRIVERS	2.004	8%	2.678,38
ADMINISTRATIVE ASSISTANTS	971	4%	1.663,85
RECEPTIONISTS	828	3%	1.638,26
CASHIERS	753	3%	1.560,24
INSPECTORS AND BUS TICKET REVISERS	751	3%	1.569,53
ROOM SERVICE AND ALIKE	647	3%	1.441,15
TOURISM, ACCOMODATION AND FOOD OPERATION MANAGERS	512	2%	3.032,90
OTHER PROFESSIONS	9.383	37%	-
TOTAL	25.413	100%	1.909,73

Fonte: CNC

Table 1. Temporary jobs offered by tourism in carnival. DOLLAR RATE USD1 = R\$ 4,50 (CNC 2020, Figure

Although these salaries averages don't seem to follow the carnival's economy heat, it is important to understand that São Paulo is the most populous city in the country with a highly competitive market and elevated rates of informality. In the fourth trimester of 2019, for instance, the city registered an unemployment rate of 12,2% and 28,4% of informality, according to the Labour Observatory of São Paulo (2020). Thus,

the possibility of having a temporary job during carnival season or increasing sales temporarily can sound alleviating for many, but it is only a palliative measure since it is a seasonal opportunity. Carnival, therefore, injects a lot of money in the economy, but it (still) does not provide a sustainable model to contribute to solving social economic issues in the city or the country.

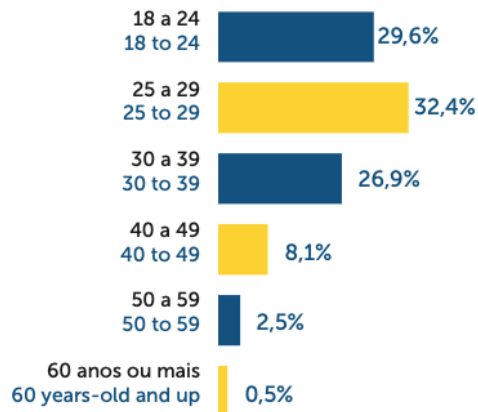
Audience

According to the Tourism and Events Observatory of São Paulo's report on the street carnival (2020), 73,6% of the interviewed audience were from São Paulo City, 15% from the metropolitan area, and 10,8% from outside São Paulo state. From the interviewed Paulistanos, less than half [44,8%] claim to have stayed in the city during the holiday motivated by the festival, but 70,8% of the total affirmed that it was not their first time participating in the street parades

(Tourism and Events Observatory of São Paulo 2020).

The main group age attending was from 18 to 39 years old, representing almost 90% of the audience, and having the most presence of people from 25-29 years old [32,4%] (Tourism and Events Observatory of São Paulo 2020), which indicates that the festival is aimed at young audiences.

FAIXA ETÁRIA |
AGE GROUP



GÊNERO |
GENDER

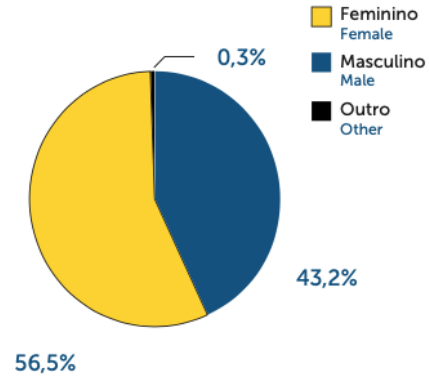


Figure 5. Age group and gender of the audience (Tourism and Events Observatory of São Paulo 2020).

These numbers could indicate that, despite the majority of locals has not stayed motivated by the festival, they are likely to be frequent attendees as they have participated in parades from previous years. Moreover, it appears to be a festival aimed at the local public rather than tourists, which indicates a general community approval and appreciation of the cultural

manifestation – or poor tourist publicity by the municipality. Another indicator is that 50,4% of the interviewed people intended to attend other street parties rather than other activities, like going to the Sambodrome, private carnival balls and nightclubs (20%) (Tourism and Events Observatory of São Paulo 2020).

* * *

Conclusion

There are many perspectives that gather historical, sociological, political and cultural aspects that could be approached when studying the carnival economy that couldn't be included in this research - such as comparing different city's carnival carefully, aiming to identify a national street carnival model, or focusing on one of its agents' perspectives (organiser, producers or audience).

Nevertheless, despite being considered a cultural manifestation and usually organised by local secretariats of culture, it is common to find reports about its economic behaviour produced by tourism organisms. Therefore, its economic benefits are usually added to the tourism sector instead to the cultural industries, the symbolic products' industry par excellence.

The new street carnival from São Paulo has proved to be a cultural and economic power in comparison to traditional cities, and everything indicates that could become a touristic reference for Brazilians and other countries in a near future.

Therefore, this case study is relevant to bring to light the debate around São Paulo's street carnival economy's and cultural policies' dimensions, as no specific studies about it were found. As it gains ground and magnitude, it will be important to have a better understanding of its economy in a cultural and creative industries perspective - more than touristic - in order to measure its economic and social impact, to improve cultural policies, funding and organisation models, and increment the importance of cultural and creative industries in the country. But, above all things, its study is important to not let this popular revelry fall into a mere business model and lose its symbolic value's essence as a cultural heritage and manifestation.

The Brazilian carnival has high potential to promote a cultural and sustainable development in the country, and as São Paulo's street carnival becomes a role model to Brazil, it deserves to be researched and be put up for debate.

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