Unveiling Cultural Values and Power Dynamics in Brazilian Cultural Policy and Indicators (1985-2010): A Critical Discourse Analysis

by

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Statement of Authorship

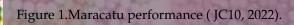
This dissertation is my own work containing, to the best of my knowldge and belief, no material published or written by another person except as refered to in the text. None of the material submitted as part of this dissertation has been accepted for the award of any other degree or diploma in any tertiary institution.

Dated: 19 June 2023 Signed:

As supervisor of Renata de Alvarenga Zimbarg, I confirm that the work submitted in this dissertation has, to the best of my knowledge, been carried out by the student named above, and is worthy of examination.

Signed: ______ Dated: 19 June 2023

Supervisor's name: Dr. Xin Gu



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To Ezequiel. Without you, this project would not have been possible. Thank you for supporting me in everything I set out to do and for helping me become a better person every day.



Acknowledgment of Country

With the deepest respect, I acknowledge that we live, work and celebrate on unceded Aboriginal land. I thank all Elders, past, present and emerging for their care, knowledge and generosity, as custodians of the world's oldest continuing culture. I pledge my support towards truth-telling, reparation and decolonisation. I open my heart and mind to deep listening, learning, sharing and connecting – in solidarity with First Peoples here and worldwide.

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Figure 2. Olodum Band animates the crowd during the debut of the Brazilian team at the World Cup 2018. (Padilha, 2018).

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INTRODUCTION

INTRODUCTION

When embarking on an exploration of cultural policy in Brazil, a series of intriguing questions arise that delve deep into the fabric of such a multicultural society. For example, what lies at the core of cultural policy discourses and how do they address the population's diverse needs? Uncovering the key cultural values underpinning cultural policy in Brazil promises to unlock insights into a society full of disparities, especially how different social groups are perceived and how their cultural values are positioned within the complex tapestry of Brazilian society. We come face to face with the relationship between cultural policy discourses, cultural values, and power dynamics. This research is therefore interested in: how do cultural policy discourses legitimise existing power structures within Brazilian society? In addition, can we shape cultural policy discourse to challenge and reshape these power dynamics?

In this study, we probe into Brazilian cultural policies (between 1985 and 2010), focusing on designing and implementing cultural indicators frameworks aimed at measuring and quantifying cultural values. The goal is to identify the fundamental cultural values underpinning cultural policy discourses in Brazil and how these cultural values privilege/disadvantage different social groups; uncover how cultural policy discourses and values legitimise power dynamics and dominat narratives in the country; and how cultural indicators reflect these narratives in line with these cultural values through Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA). This research presents an approach that will potentially allow scholars, policy-makers, cultural managers and practitioners to understand, analyse and challenge power dynamics that perpetuate inequalities and marginalisation in the cultural field in Brazil. CDA and the cultural values uncovered by it provide insights into how cultural policies shaped by cultural values and their discourses can contribute to social inequality rather than addressing it. Ultimately, this contributes to a deeper understanding of how cultural values shape policy decisions. Also, it informs discussions on promoting inclusivity, social justice and cultural equity and how cultural policy should be held accountable to achieve that.

Background and context for the research topic

In recent decades, cultural policy studies have focused on researching discourse, text, process, and practice (Bell & Oakley, 2014). Exploring cultural policies as a discursive formation is central, as discourses manifest particular knowledge forms that pervade society (Bell & Oakley, 2014). The boom of cultural policy studies brought up several problems and tensions for policymaking, such as definitional, statistical and conceptual, allowing certain discourses to prevail over others (Hesmondhalgh & Pratt, 2005). Therefore, exploring and uncovering how cultural policy may legitimise existing power structures through uncovering prevailing cultural discourses and narratives is necessary.

Brazil's cultural policy studies are relatively recent and are still in the process of defining itself as a field (Santana, 2013). Research often focuses on policy evaluation, critiquing the mismanagement and the political challenges to create cultural policies that do not dismantle each government that generates a continuous cycle of resource waste and labour (Calabre, 2007, p.12). As a Global South country, many social, political and economic internal (and immediate) challenges were inherited from its colonial past. These challenges disguise the power dynamic of Brazilian society hidden behind a cultural policy discourse promising to offer solutions for addressing social inequality and community empowerment.

As policymakers must identify issues, formulate measures, and evaluate their effectiveness, cultural indicators are essential in producing informed cultural policy (Ziviani, 2008; Fiallos Quinteros, 2018). Cultural indicators provide information and knowledge about the cultural context and represent a tool for political dialogue (Fukuda-Parr, 2000). They are based on values and concepts of culture that define their scope (Bonet i Agustí, 2004; Fukuda-Parr, 2000). If based on biased information, they may reflect dominant values and discourses and contribute to perpetuating cultural inequalities. Hence, understanding the values behind cultural indicators is also necessary to comprehend their potential social and political impact.

Studies on cultural indicators in Brazil usually take an information sciences approach (Ziviani, 2008). These studies emphasise the challenges in methodology, such as gathering reliable information about the cultural field and measuring cultural intangibles. However, these approaches can overlook important issues like power dynamics in decision-making.

Hence, this research has analysed essential cultural policy texts in Brazil to

uncover how cultural policy discourses may legitimise these power dynamics and perpetuate dominant narratives. Challenging dominant values and cultural policy discourses is vital to address cultural inequalities and historical injustices. This is especially pertinent for Indigenous and Afro-Brazilian communities, who continue to experience social and cultural inequalities, among other injustices inherited from colonialism (Maldonado-Torres, 2016; Quijano, 2009; Santos, 2009). While much of the literature focuses on European countries, examining Global South nations' challenges where social injustices are glaring is of prime importance.

Cultural Value Theory and Social Uses of Culture

The research used CDA to identify cultural values underpinning cultural policies and indicators in Brazil and the discourses and groups they represent, for which the framework utilised was based on **Cultural Value Theory**. The literature review on the topic maps and outlines the debates and dichotomies around cultural values, their primary uses in policies, and how they have been expressed in cultural indicators frameworks.

A study carried out by the Cultural Value Project (Crossick & Kaszynska, 2016) mapped how cultural value has been used and researched, pointing out the dichotomies beyond culture's **'intrinsic vs. instrumental value'**, including 'hedonic vs. eudaemonic effects', 'high arts vs. popular culture', 'amateur vs. professional', among others. The report shows that culture has multiple uses and values, including promoting social cohesion, peace-building, and providing a sense of identity. This approach to solving social problems results from what Yúdice (2003) refers to as **the expediency of culture**. Furthermore, the literature review shows that the economic use of culture has focused on its potential to attract assets or contribute to countries' development as an industry. Conversely, this approach can lead to a **reification of culture** (Fukuda-Parr, 2000), and critics argue that it ignores its intrinsic values. The chapter also explores how culture has been included as a dimension of **sustainable development**. Different groups interpret its role in sustainability differently, leading to an oxymoron and confusion for policy-makers (Wiktor-Mach 2020, Duxbury et al. 2017, Throsby 2017).

As cultural indicators are not neutral, they also follow regimes of values and follow criteria from different social groups (Blomkamp, 2015). Defining what matters to be measured entails not only methodological challenges to define what culture is, but is ultimately a political decision provided with values. For some authors, the value of arts and culture is intangible. It cannot be fully known or measured, as it is framed by social, cultural, political, ethical, and aesthetic considerations (Walmsley, 2018). Additionally, many critics advocate for culture to be valued as a whole, championing **culture's value** rather than cultural value.

On the other hand, as we will see, other cultural indicators scholars defend that culture has many dimensions and can be disaggregated to be measured. However, attributing value and disaggregating culture through measurement can entail concerns and dilemmas. Some studies argue that there is a tendency for an economic interpretation to dominate cultural indicators discourses. If we concentrate solely on the quantifiable effects of the arts, we risk cultural policy reverting to "**the bind of instrumentality**" (Scott 2010, p. 2, in Walmsley, 2018, p.273).

Therefore, defining and identifying cultural values for cultural indicators is not a question of finding the right 'system' but resolving inherent flaws in the debate (Parsons, 2015, p.53).

Critical Discourse Analysis and Data Selection

Critical Discourse Analysis is a method that studies the activation, reproduction, legitimisation, and resistance of social-power abuse and inequalities in the text and talk (Van Dijk, 2015). It requires the analyst to take an explicit position to understand, expose, and ultimately **challenge social inequality to undo wrongs** (Van Dijk, 2015, p.466)

Hence, to uncover how cultural policy discourses legitimise or challenge relations of power abuse and dominant narratives in Brazil, I performed a CDA of legal texts supporting cultural policy in Brazil, using Fairclough's (2010) **three-dimensional CDA framework**. This method allows us to examine the **text** within discursive events (such as spoken or written language texts), **discourse practices** (such as text production and interpretation), and **social practices** (Fairclough, 2010, p.88). In this process, the connection between text and social practice is mediated by discourse practice and creates an interdependency between these three dimensions.

The data analysed had three levels of selection: temporality; the significance

of the text for the formulation of cultural policy in Brazil; and the passages, expressions, and words that expressed cultural values that could either represent a particular group or indicate a power practice. This study analyses the period from 1985 to 2010, encompassing the post-military dictatorship era and the Brazilian cultural turn in the 2000s. It focuses on Article 215 of the 1988 Constitution, which outlines the relationship between the State and Culture and the objectives of the National Culture Plan. While the State must support and promote cultural expressions, the National Culture Plan aims to safeguard Brazil's cultural heritage, encourage the production of cultural goods, and celebrate diversity. The analysis considers expressions and terms that convey cultural values and could represent a particular group or indicate a power practice, such as "protect", "cultural rights", "cultural goods", "civilisation process", and "Indigenous and Afro-Brazilians".

Chapters Outline

In the first chapter, I will present a **literature review of cultural policy text research**, its implications, and how CDA can help us unpack the overlapping discourses generated. I also provide a historical background of Brazilian cultural policy and measurements to contextualise cultural policies historically; and present the research questions I have addressed.

The second chapter provides a **literature review of cultural value theory**, as it will underpin the discourse analysis to identify and qualify discourses. I outline the main findings of the Cultural Value Project (Crossick & Kaszynska, 2016), which

produced a comprehensive report summarising an extensive literature review, exposing the dichotomies and the main challenges in the field. I also summarise the main social uses of culture in cultural policy research, highlighting the economic value and the role of culture in development discourses as dominant uses. Finally, I explore how cultural value has been approached in cultural indicators research and the main challenges decision-makers face when creating and utilising cultural indicators frameworks.

In the third chapter, I present the **methodology**, exposing and justifying the case selection and theoretical scope used. Also, I explain why I used Critical Discourse Analysis and how I applied it to analyse the data selected. Lastly, I highlight the limitations and delimitations of this research. The complete data selected can be found in the appendices at the end of this work.

The fourth chapter presents the **case study** to contextualise the data selection. It calls attention to the importance of the redemocratisation period to the cultural field in Brazil; spotlights the cultural turn in Brazil with the Labour Party's government in the 2000s, which consolidated the Ministry of Culture and Cultural Rights discourses in the country; and provides an overview of the history of cultural measurements uses in Brazil.

In the fifth chapter, I apply Fairclough's three-dimensional framework of CDA to the text excerpts selected. I analyse the Article 215 of the Brazilian Constitution from 1988, which outlines the State's responsibility towards culture. The **findings and discussion** show that the discourse perpetuates colonial values and discrim-

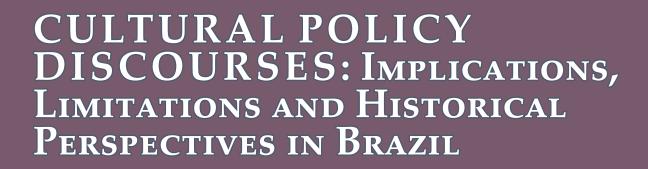
inates against marginalised groups rather than highlighting them as a form of reparation. Furthermore, I also analyse the text that established the purposes of the National Culture Plan, which legitimises Brazilian cultural policy as part of the country's development model. Based on coloniality values and Global North discourses identified, I state the importance of decolonising cultural information to mitigate discrimination and inequalities in cultural policy discourses. Although there have been initiatives to propose more holistic and nuanced models for cultural and social indicators, most do not directly challenge these power and coloniality¹ dynamics. Therefore, there is a need for Global South countries like Brazil to review measurement methods and policy frameworks to tailor a model that will address their particular needs.

In the last chapter, I **conclude** by highlighting the main findings of the analysis, outlining the research limitations, and proposing further recommendations for future research.

^{1 &}quot;Coloniality is a concept different from, although linked to, Colonialism. The latter strictly refers to a structure of domination/exploitation where the control of political authority, production resources, and labour of a particular population dominates another of different identity, and whose central headquarters are also located in another territorial jurisdiction. However, it does not always, nor necessarily, imply racist power relations. Colonialism is obviously older, while Coloniality has proven in the last 500 years to be deeper and more enduring than colonialism. But it was undoubtedly engendered within colonialism, and even more so, without it, it could not be imposed on the intersubjectivity of the world so deeply and persistently. Pablo González Casanova (1965) and Rodolfo Stavenhagen (1965) proposed the term Internal Colonialism for the racist/ethnist power that operates within a nation-state. However, this would only make sense from a Eurocentric perspective on the nation-state." (Quijano, 2009, p.73)

Figure 3. Brazilian Capoeira (Habib, n/a).

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1 Cultural Policy Discourses: Implications, Limitations and Historical Perspectives in Brazil

1.1. Cultural Policy Discourses: Implications and Limitations

My ultimate intention with this research was to provide insights into making cultural policies more inclusive, for which this research lies within the cultural policy field. As a field of research, it is an interdisciplinary project that involves multiple fields, subjects, theories, tools, and methods, which are often taken for granted (Bell & Oakley, 2014). Studies that analyse cultural policy discourses try to understand how decision-makers understand culture and what kind of effect it produces.

Since there is no consensus on the meaning of "culture" in academic literature (Williams, 1985), it is unsurprising that there is no universally recognised concept for cultural policy either (Bell & Oakley, 2014). Recent studies tend to include definitions that involve a set of interventions carried out by the state and civil institutions and communities that aim to guide symbolic development; satisfy the cultural needs of the population; and obtain consensus for a type of order or social transformation (Canclini, 2001, p.61).

According to Bell & Oakley (2014), scholars have been analysing cultural policy studies, dividing research into four main categories: discourse, text, process, and practice. The authors argue that exploring cultural policies as a discursive formation is central, as discourses manifest particular knowledge forms that pervade society. For instance, Bennet (1998, as cited in Bell & Oakley, 2014, p.63) analysed the government's discoursing conditions in parliamentary texts, exploring how culture has become a form of government and how the uses of cultural value have merged with cultural policy. This approach to cultural policy research uses textual analysis to tell the story of their conception, production, and dissemination (Gilmore, 2004, as cited in Bell & Oakley, 2014). The author also states that linguistic and literary analysis of policy texts are often linked with critical discourse analysis, semiotics and deconstruction, sitting within the interpretivist school (as cited in Bell & Oakley, 2014, p.65).

This type of cultural policy research also carries implications and limitations for discourse generation. According to Durrer et al. (2017, p.5), the evolution of cultural policies and their research also allowed more problematic discourses, especially around creative industries, as it has opened up space for focusing on more economic-cultural policymaking. The boom of cultural policy studies brought up several problems and tensions for policymaking, such as definitional, statistical and conceptual problems, and allowed certain discourses to prevail over others (Hesmondhalgh & Pratt, 2005). Therefore, exploring and uncovering how cultural policy may legitimise existing power structures through uncovering prevailing cultural discourses and narratives is necessary.

Furthermore, the cultural values embedded in cultural policy discourses and research can be translated in the construction of biased cultural indicators to inform cultural policymaking. Indicators are more than statistical data: they provide specific information and knowledge of the cultural context and represent a tool for political dialogue (Fukuda-Parr, 2000) - therefore, a tool for power. Indicators are crucial in designing programs and formulating and evaluating cultural policy, and using biased information can perpetuate dominant discourses and cultural inequalities. Therefore, scrutinising their conceptual framework and values is also relevant to understand the discourses embedded and their overall scope – which will be better explored in the next chapter.

1.2. Brazilian Cultural Policy: Historical background

1.2.1. Brazilian Cultural Policy: an Act of Resistance

São Paulo, 10th February 1922. In a spirit of a post-war nationalist renaissance committed to transforming and corroborating the Brazilian identity, a group of intellectuals and artists formalised their debates by showcasing the Modern Art Week at the Municipal Theatre of São Paulo. A collective of young artists and intellectuals from Brazil's elite, including Anitta Malfati, Oswald de Andrade, Tarsila do Amaral, and Heitor Villa Lobos, who had immersed themselves in the classical artistic traditions of Europe, established a fresh artistic movement aimed at capturing the essence of Brazilian identity, culture, and reality. Their intention was to create a distinct artistic expression that would set them apart from the influence of European art. Spoken word performances, paintings, music, literature, sculptures, a melting pot for arts and culture determined to assert their roots and represent the agro-exporter, patriarchal and young Brazilian republic and the miscegenation of its people. As elitist as it was, the Modern Art Week in São Paulo consolidated the modernist movement in Brazil and influenced the way many Brazilians produced art. Buildings like the Museum of Art of São Paulo in the 40s; the National Congress in Brasília in the 50s; the famous painting Abaporu by Tarsila do Amaral and the Anthropophagic Manifesto by Oswald de Andrade in the 20s; the Tropicália musical movement in the 60s – and the first Department of Culture in São Paulo founded in 1935, run by the poet and writer Mario de Andrade, and also considered the first cultural policy implemented in the new republic.

Making art and culture in Brazil has always been an act of resistance, considering its colonial and slavery history. The Brazilian miscegenation and cultural expressions like the Carnaval, Capoeira and Samba did not emerge or endure peacefully. They could not have thrived without the resistance (and tragedy) of enslaved Indigenous and African people, despite the numerous attempts to destroy their culture by European colonisers. It is unsurprising to say that doing cultural policy in Brazil is also an act of resistance. That is due to the institutional power that has historically oppressed several cultural groups in the past that now collaborates to safeguard heritage and promote cultural



Figure 4. Painting Operários by Tarsila do Amaral (1933).



Figure 5. Art Museum of São Paulo (1947) by Lina Bo Bardi (Point, n/a)..

diversity and expressions.

Santana (2013, p.31) states that, early in the last century, the elitist aspect of cultural policies focused on the national project to reinforce the Brazilian identity and its miscegenated aesthetics. According to the author, until the military coup in the 1960s, a romantic-revolutionary sentiment took over the country, enabling a more people-oriented approach and avant-garde that would produce and bring a truly popular national culture to the population.

As contradictory as it may sound, the first federal cultural policy was created during the second military dictatorship (1964-1985) in 1975. The policy introduced the discourse of security and development, promoting investments in infrastructure and telecommunications and creating government agencies for culture. Such a measure made sense, though, as authoritarian governments tend to control cultural production to maintain order, especially regarding media and communications. During that period, many of Brazil's most prominent musicians, including Chico Buarque de Hollanda, Gal Costa, Caetano Veloso, and Gilberto Gil, were exiled because they criticised the government and supported the resistance and communist movements.

Nevertheless, this first federal policy established the legal foundations for creating the Ministry of Culture (MinC) a decade later. It specified primary goals and components, ideas and programs, pointing out forms of action to promote the Brazilian culture; and focusing on preserving tangible cultural heritage and fomenting cultural initiatives that contributed to forming and corroborating the national identity (De Azevedo, 2016; Calabre, 2007). With the end of the dictatorship in 1985, the creation of the Ministry of Culture (MinC) was an essential milestone in the history of Brazilian cultural policies. A law promulgated in 1986 during the tenure of Minister Celso Furtado - a prominent economist who developed the dependency theory in development - established the mechanism of fiscal waiver as a form of cultural incentive. This law was severely criticised during its validity and was extinguished in 1990 (Calabre, 2007).



1.2.2. The 1990s: "Culture is good business"

By the beginning of the 1990s, several federal administrative agencies in the cultural area were extinguished and dismantled, including the Ministry of Culture (Calabre, 2007). As the new (and still in force) Constitution of 1988 provided more autonomy to states and municipalities, the federal government's withdrawal from the cultural scene allowed cultural activities to be developed and managed locally (Calabre, 2007, p.94).

In 1991, the Rouanet Law was promulgated, which instituted the National Program for Support of Culture (NPSC) (or the Incentive Law later in 2010), Brazil's primary mech-

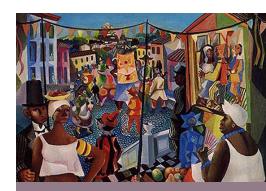


Figure 7. Painting, Carnaval II Di Cavalcanti, E. (1965).

anism of cultural funding, which remains until today but with some adjustments (Joffe, 2010, as cited in Sá-Earp et al., 2016). Thus, this program aimed to provide resources to support the cultural sector by giving citizens access to cultural resources and products to exercise their cultural rights; supporting regional cultural and artistic production; and protecting the cultural expressions of different groups in Brazilian society (Constitution of the Federative Republic of Brazil 1988). However, the incentives can only be granted to projects that aim at public exhibitions, use, and circulation of cultural goods, rather than those intended for private collections or circuits.

The government slogan "Culture is good business" summarises the essence of cultural policies in Brazil in the 1990s (Miranda et al, 2014, p.41). The tax incentive laws profoundly transformed the funding model and the role of the State in culture in Brazil, strengthening the relationship between culture and economics(Rubim, 2011, p.16). Cultural incentive laws marked the 1990s as a form of government action in the cultural area, aligned with the massive privatisation policies in Brazil and other Latin American countries (Calabre, 2007).

Under the term of Fernando Henrique Cardoso (1995-2003) – a sociologist who, along with former Minister of Culture Furtado, developed the dependency theory – the Brazilian economy followed the lead of other Latin American nations by welcoming foreign investment. The private cultural production model was consecrated, and the Rouanet Law and its tax waiver policy were its flagships.

Under this patronage policy, artists, collectives, or organisations must submit

an expression of interest to the government for careful assessment. Before granting approval, the government ensures that submissions align with its cultural agenda. If passed, the artists and organisations can go out to the market and pitch their ideas to the program partners. Whoever manages to sell their ideas wins. In exchange for tax waivers and deductions, individuals, private and public organisations can fund cultural projects. This funding model has been a resounding success in increasing investment in culture and transforming the funding model of culture in Brazil (Sá-Earp & Estrella, 2016).

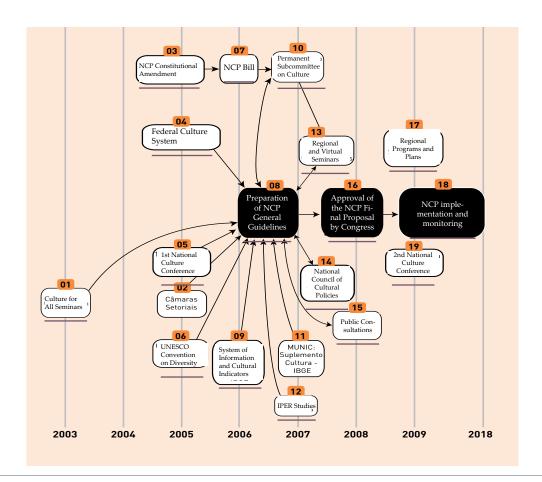
However, critics of the Rouanet and Incentive Law critics say that the policy harms the sector. Some would say that it leaves the investment decision in the hands of the private sector, which opts to fund the projects that will allow more marketing visibility for the organisations (Nohara & Fireman, 2016; Sá-Earp & Estrella, 2016; Francisco et al., 2022); while others say that it benefited consecrated instead of emerging artists and groups, concentrating resources from and to specific groups in a local level (Xavier & Baldez, 2021; Calabre, 2007). Additionally, there is a belief that the current system encourages corruption, a pervasive problem in Brazilian society. This may be related to the unequal distribution of opportunities and funding, favouring certain states, art forms, and wealthier benefactors (Sá-Earp et al, 2016). Nevertheless, it is due to Rouanet Law that the government started monitoring and collecting cultural data and indicators systematically (Ziviani, 2008).

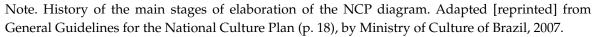
1.2.3. The 2000s: The cultural turn in Brazilian cultural policy

In 2003, with the rise of the Labour Party, the cultural policies in Brazil started being reshaped. Under Luiz Inácio Lula da Silva's term (2003-2011), the Ministry of Culture returned and consolidates as an institution. Gilberto Gil - one of the prominent Brazilian artists from the Tropicália movement mentioned before - assumed the portfolio and cultural policies started to connect with the ideas of cultural rights, citizenship, diversity, democratisation, and access. At that time, there were three main challenges to formulating cultural policies: formulating long-term measures that could resist being dismantled by new administrations; following the world trend to pursue a more rational use of resources; investing in cultural agents capable of becoming multipliers of cultural assets; and re-signifying the role of the State in culture, balancing between a cultural producer and promoter (Calabre, 2007, p.100).

Considered left-winged, Lula's populist government focused its agenda on social inclusion and income distribution programs, getting millions of Brazilian families out of poverty. He was elected by promising confrontation and change as opposed to the previous decade, focusing on breaking away from the dominance of imperialist countries and promoting cultural autonomy and social inclusion (Filho & Chagas, 2015).

After a year of government, several seminars and community consultations started being held in the country to discuss the paths of cultural policies - the Culture for All conferences - culminating in the creation of the Federal System of Culture (SFC). Its purpose was the integration of institutions and programs related to cultural practices. It was the first step towards forming a network accountable for implementing, monitoring, and evaluating the future National Culture Plan (NCP)





In 2005, the Brazilian Congress approved the amendment establishing the National Culture Plan (NCP) guidelines, the same year of the UNESCO Convention on the Protection and Promotion of the Diversity of Cultural Expressions. Ratified by Brazil in 2006, the Convention became the international legal framework for the NCP's policies (Brazil, 2007). This amendment to the Constitution resulted in the official opening of the process of democratic construction of the NCP (Brazil, 2007, p.19).

1.2.4. The 2010s: The implementation of the National Cultural Program

The final formulation of the NCP was released in 2010. It was the first legal-institutional systematisation instrument in the field of cultural policies in Brazil, co-created democratically (Varella, 2014 as cited in Carvalho & Oliveira 2021). The law established the plan's principles and objectives, the public power's attributions, funding mechanisms, guidelines for implementing a monitoring and evaluation system, and other guidelines, strategies and actions (Brasil, 2005).

Its implementation, however, faced significant challenges due to political and internal disputes within the ministry (Carvalho & Oliveira, 2021). Conversely, the country's unstable history in cultural policymaking highlights the need to ensure the success of the NCP (Reis, 2011, as cited in Calabre, 2007). Despite all internal political tensions, cultural citizenship discourses gained focus and strength. As well as in other countries in Latin America, culture was now seen as more than an asset, but a right to information, fruition, production, participation, and a source of creative work (Chaui, 2016).

The NCP was then expected to facilitate a cohesive cultural policy distinct from government cultural action since it was strategically planned and coordinated to achieve cultural development and implementation (Carvalho & Oliveira, 2021). Its constitutional principles and objectives are the foundation of what the State understands cultural practice, production, and fruition.

The plan is officially underpinned by three main dimensions of culture: the symbolic, citizenship, and economic. The symbolic dimension of culture encompasses the ability of all humans to create symbols through various cultural practices,

including language, customs, cuisine, clothing, beliefs, technological and architectural creations, as well as artistic expressions like theatre, music, visual arts, dance, literature, and circus performances. This dimension is related to humans' individual and collective needs and well-being (Brazil, 2013). In the citizenship dimension, culture is seen as a fundamental right for citizens, as established by the Brazilian Federal Constitution. It stresses the importance of policies to ensure access to cultural goods and services and social participation, training, education, and protection of cultural heritage and memory (Brazil, 2013). Finally, the economic dimension emphasises the potential of culture to generate profits, create jobs and income, and stimulate the formation of productive chains related to cultural expressions and the creative economy. This dimension allows considering culture's role in a new socially fair and sustainable economic development scenario.

In 2016, President Dilma Rousseff (Labour Party) was impeached, and the interim president attempted to dilute the MinC. This goal was eventually achieved during President Jair Bolsonaro's term (2019-2022), with the MinC demoted to a Secretary status under the Citizenship Ministry for four years. Although some measures were put in place between 2020 and 2022 to extend the NCP's validity due to the pandemic, the NCP's structural inefficiencies made its implementation less effective (Carvalho & Oliveira, 2021, p.35). Despite all the political challenges, the NCP is an important document that guides Brazil's cultural policies and has the potential to effectively implement them at all levels of government (federal, state, and municipal), making it an essential resource (Carvalho & Oliveira, 2021, p.35). Currently, with the return of President Luiz Inácio Lula da Silva (Labour Party) in 2023, the new NCP is being reformulated.

1.2.5. Making culture count in Brazil

The importance of cultural information as an identifier and value generator has been recognised in the early 21st century (Martins & Pinto, 2019). According to Ziviani (2008, p.106), Brazil's cultural indicators and policies literature has shown there is a lack of attention towards theoretical and conceptual issues. The studies found were limited in their attempts to define cultural indicators conceptually. While there is no intention to create a strict and unchanging definition of cultural indicators, it is important to delimit the concepts to facilitate actions. The author concludes that this effort is crucial for the development of a specialised study focused on the creation of cultural indicators.

Nonetheless, using indicators in cultural management in Brazil began to emerge in the 1980s and coincided with strengthening public statistics systematisation, marketing practices and sponsorship (Dantas, 2014, p.4). Also driven by the Incentive Law, governments needed more formal management methods, objective tools and parameters.

The NCP's principles and objectives constitute the core of all state action towards culture. In order to guarantee that governments comply with those objectives and strategies, the plan proposes a monitoring and evaluation system - the National System of Information and Cultural Indicators (NSICI) (see Appendix A). The monitoring and evaluation process, then – and according to the law – is based on national, regional, and local indicators measuring the supply and demand of goods, services, content, work levels, income, and cultural access. Additionally, the indicators measure institutionalisation and cultural management, economic-cultural development, and the

sustainable implementation of cultural facilities.

To enhance the management of cultural activities in the country, collaborations have been established with institutions such as the Brazilian Institute of Geography and Statistics (BIGS) and the Institute of Applied Economic Research (IPER) to utilise information efficiently (Calabre, 2007; Dantas, 2014). From the Information Science and Management perspective, constructing indicators has provided a structured method for identifying sources and organising cultural information in official statistics (Dantas, 2014). Moreover, in 2012, the Law on Access to Public Information (Law 12,527/2011) (Brasil, 2011) was enacted, regulating access to public information. With this law, public managers would have to structure and make information available to any citizen (Dantas, 2014).

After the MinC and BIGS cooperation, a few surveys and studies about quantitative information on culture in Brazil were produced. The sector studies assess the accomplishments of the NCP and aid both public and private organisations in creating strategies, initiatives, and guidelines regarding cultural goods and services. This process provides clarity on what qualifies as cultural products and services. (Calabre, 2007, p.98).

Lastly, it is worth highlighting that, despite regional efforts in Latin America to establish a standard methodology for cultural satellite accounts through the Andrés Bello Convention, BIGS decided to adopt UNESCO's framework for cultural statistics (UNESCO, 2009).

1.3. Research questions

With the information presented, I have formulated the following research ques-

tions:

- What are the key cultural values underpinning cultural policy discourses in Brazil?
- How do these cultural values profile and privilege/disadvantage different cultural groups?
- How do cultural policy discourses and values legitimise power dynamics and dominant narratives in Brazil?
- How do cultural indicators legitimise or challenge dominant narratives in line with these cultural values?

Figue 8. Olinda Caranaval (City Hall of Olinda, 2021).

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CULTURAL VALUE THEORY AND SOCIAL USES

2. Cultural Value Theory and Social Uses

2.1. The cultural value theory

Cultural value is a multi-faceted concept depicted by different stakeholders in manners that suit their objectives (Geursen & Rentschler, 2003). In the cultural field, policymakers need to navigate, understand, and consider the diverse perspectives and interests of different groups to develop inclusive and effective policies. Hence, the value of culture defines what matters culturally to society and the consequent measures to attain that.

By 'what matters', we mean what is desirable and relevant to someone or a group, or the "irreducible orientation towards the better, and revulsion of the worse" (Connor, 1992, p.2). Cultural Value theory states that they are ruled by the imperative **principle of generalised positivity**, or "the inescapable pressure to identify and identify with whatever is valuable rather than what is not valuable" (Connor, 1992, p.2). Another fundamental concept is the **pleasure principle**, which seeks to increase pleasure and avoid all forms of displeasure (Connor, 1992, p.2).

Academically, much more is known about cultural value today than 50 years ago. **The Cultural Value Project (CVP)** from the UK (Crossick & Kaszynska, 2016) produced a report summarising their three-year study to understand the value of arts and culture and their impact on individuals and society. After examining extensive literature on the topic, the project explored why the arts and culture matter and how their effects can be measured. The report states that it can be challenging to identify a consensual academic discourse on cultural value, as the term often enters discussions from sources outside academia. However, it provides a comprehensive review of the main concepts and debates produced in the literature in the English language. I will outline the main concepts found, pointing out specific gaps and updating the debate with more recent works.

2.2. The cultural values dichotomies

The significance of culture in our lives and its meanings are complex and have had different interpretations over time and places. Authors such as Williams (1985) and Eagleton (2016) have extensively explored the concepts of culture and concluded that there is no universally agreed-upon definition. An extra layer of complexity could be added if we examined the definitions of Art, or how 'arts' and 'culture' have been interchangeable in different contexts. However, taking that path would require more time and attention beyond this research's scope. Therefore, we will focus only on capturing the meanings and uses of cultural value in the literature to identify different discourses in the analysis.

The CVP report (Crossick & Kaszynska, 2016) argues that different values have produced many **dichotomies** throughout time. However, they should not be seen as strict opposition but should be investigated and examined as concepts. It is worth highlighting, though, that after an exhaustive analysis of the literature, the report states that the studies of the effects and impacts of the arts are fragmented and fractured, reflecting the dichotomies found. Although a set of dichotomies has influenced debates, it has often caused more confusion than clarity in the field. Let us delve into some of these dichotomies.

Belfiore & Bennett (2007) present a critical analysis of the debate surrounding the social effects, historical and philosophical roots of claims made for the arts and how they have been used in cultural policy debates, which will be explored later in this chapter. The authors point out that the "**negative tradition**" - which views the arts as dangerous and corrupting - has been just as robust as the "**positive tradition**" - which views the arts as beneficial to individuals and society. They also highlight a third strand of thinking – **the autonomy tradition** – which emphasises that the value of art resides primarily in its aesthetic qualities and has no practical or instrumental purpose outside itself.

This tension between social uses and the purpose of culture in itself - or the **instrumental value vs. the intrinsic value of culture** - has created a long-standing debate in Europe and the USA. Conversely, the line between anthropologists and culturalists on this matter, for instance, can be unclear because the valuation of art and culture is intertwined with their social context and the relationships surround-ing them (Harrington, 2004; DiMaggio et al., 2004; Wolff, 2008, as cited in Crossick & Kaszynska, 2016). **Valuation** practises, that is, the action and intervention of **attributing cultural value** to objects and events within a context, are influenced by social norms and discourses. Therefore, the dichotomies that shape the cultural debate are also constructed through these discourses, particularly in cultural policy (Crossick & Kaszynska, 2016, p.15).

Besides the 'positive vs. negative tradition' and the 'intrinsic vs. instrumen-

tal uses' of culture, the distinction between the **'hedonic vs. eudaemonic effects'** of cultural engagement is interrelated. Similarly to Connor's principle of pleasure, the hedonic approach focuses on the pursuit of pleasure and the absence of pain. In contrast, the eudaemonic considers the relationship between cultural engagement and a sense of purposefulness, meaningfulness, and intrinsic goals (Ryan & Deci, 2000 as cited in Crossick & Kaszynska, 2016). In the anglophone cultural studies, Belfiore & Bennett (also explored by Williams, 1985) identify a divide between the value of **'the [high] arts vs. popular culture'**. In this dichotomy, "the arts" are typically viewed with hostility as elitist, whereas "popular culture" is praised - or vice versa.

In turn, the 'amateur vs. professional/commercial activity' dichotomy is a value dualism that influences how we perceive cultural production. According to the report, while amateur activity has often been overlooked as a serious artistic pursuit, the commercial production and distribution of cultural goods dominate the most widespread cultural experiences. This relationship often blurs the line between popular and high culture. Furthermore, the variety of locations and modes in which culture is experienced makes it challenging to valuate culture.

It is worth highlighting that the Cultural Value Project in the UK emerges intending to break through the current impasses characterised by the repeated polarisation of issues such as intrinsic vs. instrumental, elite vs. popular, amateur vs. professional, etc. It aims not only to identify the various components that make up cultural value but also to develop methodologies and evidence that might be used to evaluate these components. Beyond the conceptual debate, it aims to broaden the notion of cultural value being solely constructed and deployed for government resource allocation, including commercial, third-sector, amateur, and participatory practices.

2.3. Cultural Value and Cultural Policy

2.3.1. Social Uses of Culture in cultural policies

The CVP report appoints that "ideas of cultural value have a history, though the concept itself may be seen as a construct of policy" (Crossick & Kaszynska, 2016, p.24). Since the 1980s, the arts have become more instrumentalised. Yúdice (2003) analyses culture in the context of globalisation and argues that culture is increasingly traded as symbolic goods as the world becomes more globalised. Therefore, culture and art are seen as a means to solve social problems and internalise social control, what the author refers to as the "**expediency of culture**".

The report also states that, although the exact terminology may vary, 'cultural value' is widely used in policy discourse as if it were unproblematic when, in reality, it has had different meanings for different individuals over the past 75 years. Particular emphasis was given to the value of the economic contributions of culture, including tourism, employment and the creative industries as forms of cultural engagement (Myerscough,1988; Pratt, 1997; DCMS, 1998 as cited in Crossick & Kaszynska, 2016, p.16).

Therefore, **cultural engagement** has been used by governments to build political and economic influence under several instrumental values. The CVP report observes that particular attention has been given to the idea that engaging in arts and cultural activities can help **individuals become more reflective and understand themselves and others**. This can lead to increased empathy and appreciation for diversity. Examples of this potential include art programmes in prisons and among professional and informal carers. Another value attributed to culture in policy is that arts and cultural interventions are commonly used to **promote peace-building and healing after armed conflict** by helping communities address trauma and achieve reconciliation - such as the Orange Economy as a development model in Colombia after the intensive guerillas period. However, long-term evaluations of such interventions are uncommon, making it difficult to assess their sustained effectiveness.

Furthermore, the report has found evidence in studies that arts and culture can improve **health and well-being** through therapies and community programs; and that **arts in education** improve cognitive abilities, confidence, motivation, problem-solving, and communication skills. However, it questions the **hierarchy of subjects** and why we only seem interested in whether studying music improves maths rather than whether studying maths improves musical ability, for instance.

Conversely, the report states that recognising that **culture can contribute to conflict and division** is vital, and not just healing. Cultural buildings, small-scale cultural assets, and amenities (like studios and live music venues) can attract Florida's (2002) so-called "**creative class**" and **urban regeneration**; however, it can also lead to gentrification and community displacement, contributing to the perpetuation of social inequalities.

Despite significant efforts to change the way cultural value is discussed, public

policy has remained focused on objectives separate from the experience and effects of culture (Crossick & Kaszynska, 2016). This has made the public sector and other cultural agents feel obligated to **justify cultural funding** regarding its usefulness and policy objectives rather than focusing on the intrinsic value and impact of cultural experiences – what Belfiore (2012) calls **'defensive instrumentalism'**.

As an alternative to that, Scott (2010) sparked debate about measuring cultural values to justify public funding and who should be involved in decision-making. The concept of **Public Value** advocates for the effective use of public funding for the benefit of citizens, with governments and their funded agencies being responsible for achieving this. However, the author argues that the role of citizens in identifying and defining Public Value needs clarification and dispute, as they play a crucial part in the process.

In closing, at a **large scale**, "the arts can add value to social cohesion and social harmony (Azmat et al., 2017, p.390, as cited in Lehman & Wickham, 2021, p.57); at a **community level**, cultural values connect people, create opportunities to learn and break down barriers (Fillis, Lee & Frasier, 2015, 2018, as cited in Lehman & Wickham, 2021, p.57). At the **individual scale**, it can give life purpose, express existential thoughts, and provide the sentiment of identity and belonging. This approach emphasises how values can change depending not only on the prevailing cultural value - which are the most central issue of cultural studies (Hofstede, 1980; Inglehart, 1977; Schwartz, 1999; Weber, 1958; Williams, 1958, as cited in Schwartz, 2006) - but also on different levels of organisation (local, regional, national, international, etc).

2.3.2. The economic value of culture and policies

As the prevailing value among policymakers today, we will explore the **economic value of culture** in a separate section. Much has been explored regarding the relationship between culture and economics. However, I do not intend to thoroughly explore the diverse research findings and schools of thought around the relationship between culture and economics, but to capture the central economic values of culture that policy-makers have championed.

After analysing several studies, the CVP report states that emphasising the economic contribution of arts and culture has become very common, mainly due to **the importance of cultural and creative industries**. The cultural sector is becoming increasingly important in driving the knowledge-intensive economy, with significant contributions to gross value added (GVA) and employment (Crossick & Kaszynska, 2016). Nevertheless, the need to assess the economic value of culture is mainly driven by political reasons.

The report suggests a link between **arts**, **culture and innovation** in the broader economy. Creative industries can inspire innovative ideas, generate demand for innovation in the supply chain, and create a more innovative workforce. Cultural engagement is also linked to innovation, attracting people, companies, and investment into **creative hubs and cities**. However, more research is needed to confirm the connection between a thriving arts and cultural sector, a high-skilled workforce, and inward investment.

These ideas are directly related to Pierre Bourdieu's (2010) concept of '**cultural capital**', which implies that individuals are provided with intangible assets, such as knowledge, skills, education and cultural experiences. These qualities can be

acquired through socialisation and used to gain social status. However, the author also argues that these qualities are often unequally distributed, reinforcing societal power dynamics. Bourdieu (1985) also introduced the concept of '**symbolic goods**', which has highly influenced the economic studies of culture. He argues that cultural products and practises encompass more than utility and exchange value – they carry **symbolic value** for individuals and what goods like books, films, and theatre plays represent to them, for instance.

Furthermore, many studies have been made to understand what scholars and researchers call the **Cultural or Creative Economy**. As a global discourse, many countries use the concept (or one of its variants) in their political agendas (De Beukelaer, 2015; De Beukelaer & Spence, 2019). The terms "cultural and creative industries" and "creative economy" are often used interchangeably, causing confusion and lack of agreement on their meanings (De Beukelaer, 2015). The concept of the "creative economy", in particular, is widely used in cultural and development policies and discourses, although its definition is not clear (De Beukelaer, 2015; De Beukelaer & Spence, 2019). However, the idea refers to how **cultural goods and services are produced, consumed and distributed**, involving different sectors and agents. Lastly, it acknowledges that culture is not just a passive backdrop to economic activity, but an **active force that can shape and drive economic growth and development** (De Beukelaer, 2015).

2.3.3. Culture and Development Discourses

The changes in the meanings of culture and its value resulted in new roles for culture in solving society's issues. This was noticed clearer when **development discourses** started acknowledging culture's importance in their quests, influencing international development policies. In the post-war period and the pursuit of peace and justice, culture was assigned a relevant role alongside education and science in the new world order (Dobrosława Wiktor-Mach, 2020, p.313). Since the 1960s, the debate has mobilised countries and policymakers to find solutions and ways culture could contribute to development, and much has been researched on the relationship between culture and development.

Pieterse (1995) takes an in-depth tour of the history of the close relationship between development and culture – or **the cultural turn**. The author states that the role of culture in development studies has become more significant, shifting from structural and macro approaches to micro and actor-oriented approaches. For the author, the weakness of cultural discourse in development is that it **overlooks the fact that culture is an arena of struggle** and uses it as a peaceful solution. Nonetheless, as much as culture has played different roles in development, it is rarely considered for its intrinsic value but primarily for its social and economic benefits.

Since the 1970s, post-modern development thinkers (such as Sachs, 2010; Rahnema y Bawtree, 2010; Escobar, 2015, among others) have been more concerned with local and diverse cultures than national culture as the corollary of nation-building in modernisation discourses. In this school of thought, culture and development are being rethought and **problematised to challenge the power hegemony imposed by Global North countries**. Later on, in the 1990s and 2000s, culture was included in development discourses as the fourth pillar of sustainable development, enshrining it as a value and a necessary asset for the environmental cause, especially for international and multilateral organisations (UNESCO, WB, Agenda 21, British Council, etc). While the role of culture in human development was previously focused on poverty alleviation and other basic needs, the sustainability agenda has expanded the potential roles of cultural factors (Wiktor-Mach, 2020).

According to Wiktor-Mach (2020), UNESCO has played a significant role in introducing culture into the sustainable development paradigm and promoting its recognition as an important sector of the economy. The authors state that the organism has identified and been promoting three main approaches to sustainability: culture as a unique dimension of sustainable development, culture as a driver of sustainability, and culture as an enabler of sustainability.

In the same sense, Dessein et al. (2015, as cited in Duxbury et al.,2017) propose three other approaches to conceptualise and summarise the relationship between culture and sustainability: "culture in sustainability", "culture for sustainability", and "culture as sustainability". According to Duxbury et al. (2017), these representations highlight the multi-interpretability of culture and sustainability, and provide an analytical tool to organise, compare, and align different discourses. The authors also analyse cultural policy studies and recommend four roles for cultural policy in promoting sustainable development, including safeguarding cultural practises and rights, greening the cultural sector, raising awareness about sustainability, **and fostering ecological citizenship**. The challenge, though, is to balance these different roles effectively.

Throsby (2017) takes a step further and analyses the culture and sustainable development nexus, arguing that there is still a gap between the theoretical understanding of the role of culture in sustainable development and the practical policies needed to achieve a development that is culturally sustainable. To address this, the author explores a concept called **Culturally Sustainable Development (CSD)** that aims to integrate culture into development based on the same principles as other sustainability approaches. The economist breaks down the concept into sustainable development dimensions to explore its applicability, including inter and intragenerational equity, the importance of diversity, the precautionary principle and interconnectedness. However, as much as CSD is a concept with theoretical substance and potential for application to real policy problems, Throsby states that sharper assessment tools are needed to monitor its application.

Moreover, focusing on the **environment and development** aspect, the CVP report also states that there has been a particular interest in arts and cultural activities used to engage people in thinking about climate change. It appoints that arts and culture can translate abstract ideas into narratives on a human scale without being too didactic. This approach, though, can disturb complacency and generate alternatives to current assumptions, fuelling a broader political imagination that is essential in democratic societies.

Much has been explored around the relationship between culture and (sustainable) development. However, the multiple discourses of culture in development have brought challenges along. A repeated argument encountered is that the multiple interpretations by multi-disciplines have often generated an **oxymoron and a lack of consensus on what it means** and how it can be effectively applied (Duxbury et al., 2017; Throsby, 2017; Wiktor-Mach, 2020). This divergence can lead to manipulations of the concepts according to specific groups' interests.

Incorporating culture in development and sustainability agendas is diverse and widespread in public policy. While a comprehensive review of the literature is beyond the scope of this work, this summary highlights key values and applications of culture within development.

2.4. Cultural Values and Cultural Indicators

A relevant aspect of policymaking is identifying issues and demands to formulate strategies and policies. Monitoring and evaluation play an essential role in that concern. There are several methods to design evaluations according to the nature of each policy area, using qualitative and quantitative indicators to measure their success. Now, what success looks like and if a cause is worth funding is a political choice, and depends on the values and objectives of decision-makers.

2.4.1. Historical and Value Approach of Cultural Indicators

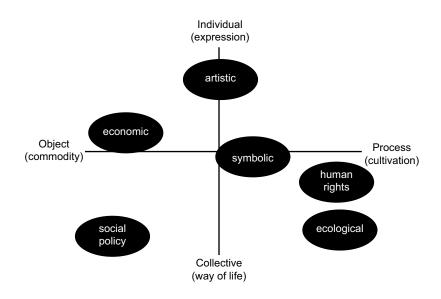
Martins & Pinto (2019) examine the historical development of cultural indicators frameworks through various perspectives and approaches. The study aims to understand better how the concept and application of indicators work in real-world situations. They observe that literature recognises cultural indicators as the newest members of the social indicators' family, which emerged in the 1960s and 1970s.

Furthermore, the authors analyse the works of Carrasco Arroyo (1999), a broadly recognised scholar of social indicators in Ibero-American literature who consolidated knowledge around the topic. They suggested the possibility of three other formations of cultural indicators schools – such as **Content Analysis, Cultural Production and Values and Behaviours** – and four theoretical movements – Culture and Development, Creativity, Governance and Democracy (see Appendix D).

On the other hand, Blomkamp (2015) takes a critical approach to cultural indicators by questioning the **knowledge and perspectives embedded within cultural indicator frameworks** instead of focusing on their practical applications. The author problematises cultural indicators' knowledge and values by presenting their critical history and exploring why we are witnessing a growing interest in cultural measurement. She also observes that cultural indicators are not neutral, and the particular understanding of the culture on which they are founded must be considered when analysing the frames and values of existing frameworks. Assuming several **'regimes of values'** and meanings of 'culture' shape public policy, and how we understand and value culture depends on historical context and **cultural authority** (Blomkamp, 2015).

Blomkamp (2015) also proposes an alternative approach to understanding cultural values and categorising cultural indicators by suggesting a spectrum with **four dimensions** that categorise them based on their understanding and appreciation of culture: culture as an **individual expression** as opposed to a **collective way**

of life; and culture as a commodity or object as opposed to a process/cultivation. This approach differs from other typologies in mapping international approaches to cultural indicators. It provides insight into the particular forms of knowledge on which indicators frameworks draw in the context of governance and policy-related measurement. Based on several studies and approaches to cultural measurements, the author classifies six groups of values embedded in cultural indicators frameworks within the four categories mentioned above, as we can see in Figure 1:



Note. Blomkamp's Cultural Indicators Matrix. Adapted [reprinted] from *Making Culture Count* (p. 19), by Blomkamp, E, 2015, Palgrave Macmillan. Copyright 2015 by Emma Blomkamp.

• Economic: The findings of this categorisation state that cultural indicators frameworks are predominantly shaped by the view of culture as an object. Most cultural indicators are economic measures linked to theories on cultural and creative industries, creative cities, and cultural tourism. These indicators are based on economic classifications and industry data, and are prevalent in advanced liberal democracies where policy-makers follow neoclassical economics.

- Artistic: This set of indicators understands culture as an individual expression. These measures are generally based on the idea that culture is a civilising force or transcendent power.
- Ecological or holistic: takes a broad social definition of culture as an interconnected system and dynamic process. It includes indicators of cultural sustainability, networks, and indigenous understandings of culture as a way of life intrinsically connected to health, family, spirituality, and the environment.
- **Human rights:** includes a proxy measure of cultural diversity, cultural citizenship, and recognising the arts and culture as essential dimensions of being human and living a good life.
- **Symbolic:** focuses on the symbolic dimension of culture that produces symbolic goods and services, including media content analysis and surveys of values that reflect popular and national culture or cultural change.
- **Social policy:** involves social policy outcomes associated with quality of life, including health and wellbeing, social capital, community cohesion, and safety, often used to measure the results of cultural policy or arts programmes.

This study not only provides a comprehensive understanding of the values embedded in cultural indicator frameworks but also demonstrates that there are alternatives to overcome the dualism of 'intrinsic vs. instrumental value', despite the dominance of economic measures of culture (Blomkamp, 2015). The author concludes that **quantifiable data is not neutral** and no ideal cultural indicator framework exists. On the contrary, a plurality of approaches to measuring culture is desirable.

It is important to consider both Martins & Pinto's and Blomkamp's approaches and findings, as they provide different perspectives and insights into studying cultural indicators. The former highlights the practical uses and applications of cultural indicators over time, while the latter emphasises the cultural values and assumptions embedded in the frameworks used to construct them. By considering both approaches, we gain a more comprehensive understanding of the complexities and nuances of developing and using cultural indicators. Additionally, this can identify potential limitations and biases in using cultural information and provide more informed and inclusive approaches to cultural policymaking and planning.

2.4.2. The disaggregation dilemma of Cultural Indicators

Studies on cultural indicators are interdisciplinary and typically involve discussions on methodologies and approaches to frameworks (Ziviani, 2008). It is common to encounter debates about the possibility and ways to disaggregate cultural dimensions to measure them, which is examined as a methodological approach. However, this debate extends beyond a methodological matter, as cultural values also underpin indicators' scope and theoretical frameworks.

Walmsley (2018), for instance, argues that the value of arts and culture cannot be fully known or measured because it is always framed by social, cultural, political, ethical, and aesthetic considerations. As a phenomenological question exploring our engagement with the world and our role, cultural value encompasses politics and anthropology as it relates to public funding of the arts and life in society (Walmsley, 2018). Therefore, politics is always intertwined with discussions about cultural values.

Meyrick & Barnett (2021) discuss and analyse the dominant arguments for breaking down the concept of cultural value into measurable dimensions (such as economic, social, environmental, heritage, and cultural). They problematise what they call **"the** **role of proxies in assessment processes ('parts') and their relationship to cultural experiences''** (Meyrick & Tully, 2021, p.26). That is, they identify that the disaggregation made by many economists and policy-makers promotes the divisibility of non-divisible (cultural) experiences. Also, it encourages what Throsby (2001) calls a **tendency for an economic interpretation to dominate** and impose the power of the modern economic paradigm.

Therefore, authors like Meyrick & Tully (2021) argue that we cannot and should not disaggregate the symbolic value of culture and that the cultural experience must be assessed together as a whole, not in parts. As an alternative, they suggest we use the term **culture's value** instead of cultural value, and encourage using a narrative-based evaluation method to valuate culture. This approach comprehensively describes the cultural activity, and quantitative data are placed within the narrative, not alongside or over it.

2.4.3. Other Challenges and Dilemmas of Cultural Indicators

The debate about the value of the arts is vital for those who work in or value the arts. However, valuing culture through measurements can also entail concerns and dilemmas, as **"defining cultural value is not a question of finding the right 'system' but resolving inherent flaws in the terms of the debate"** (Parsons, 2015, p.53).

The association of this debate with government funding has led to a simplistic discussion focusing only on the measurable impacts of the arts, leaving many fundamental assumptions unchallenged (Belfiore & Bennett, 2007). "When public funding decisions rely on measurable results rather than valuable outcomes, cultural policy risks falling back into **'the bind of instrumentality'**" (Scott 2010, p. 2, in Walmsley, 2018, p.273). Also, it reduces the cultural value to a series of outputs, creating the reification of culture (Fukuda-Parr, 2000). Therefore, there needs to be more industry coordination in promoting value-based studies, and formal processes are necessary to embed them into conversations between authorities and the industry (Crossick & Kaszynska, 2016).

Snowball (2020) analyses how some cultural value aspects can be quantified in economics, highlighting the challenges of finding ways that **measurements can benefit individuals and society**. Representing the value of culture using instrumental values alone also runs the risk of being interpreted as its effects can be produced equally by other industries (Snowball, 2020; Throsby, 2008). That is, if producing plastic bags adds equally monetarily to the economy as filmmaking, why fund the arts and not plastic bags? This presents a challenge in terms of cultural values, policies, and economics. It is not just a matter of deciding whether to allocate funds for the arts and culture but whether to prioritise funding for the arts or something else (Snowball, 2020). Furthermore, other critics of instrumentalism argue that this approach has been seen as a "top-down imposition that coerces the cultural sector into taking on big problems" (Bell & Oakley, 2014).

Other literature on the topic has shown that instead of trying to find the right set of indicators, we should explore the processes of arts and cultural engagement and the emotions and phenomenological insights they generate as a form of information (Walmsley, 2018). This shift would involve renegotiating traditional relationships between artists, arts organisations, education, scholars, and audiences, actively thinking with them rather than simply capturing their data – as the CVP suggests by focusing on the individual experience.

The literature also recommends that the question of cultural value be reframed from an epistemological concern to a phenomenological enquiry; that is, instead of asking "what is cultural value?" and "why does it matter?", we should try to understand **how cultural value is manifested** (Walmsley, 2018). This approach may reveal aspects of cultural engagement's origins, processes, and agents.

Figure 9. Namoradeira - "Flirter" by the window -Brazilian craft.

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METHODOLOGY

3. Methodology

3.1. Introduction

This chapter presents the methodology used to address the research questions. I present the rationale for the scope, case selection, and theoretical framework and explain the methodology applied (Critical Discourse Analysis). Then, I justify the data sampling analysed and outline some limitations and delimitations of the research.

As an interdisciplinary approach to analysing language, Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) allows us to uncover power relations, ideologies and social inequality embedded in texts and discursive practices. As we will see in this chapter, CDA's significance lies in the ability to reveal how language is used as a tool of domination, manipulation and social control, but also to challenge these dominant narratives, exposing social injustices and empowering marginalised groups. CDA also fosters critical awareness and a deeper understanding of the role of language in society.

3.2. Case selection: Brazilian Cultural Policy

To uncover how cultural policy discourses and indicators may legitimise these power dynamics and perpetuate dominant narratives, I have analysed **cultural policies in Brazil**. As a Portuguese ex-colony, the country perpetuates abysmal social and cultural inequalities, especially amongst Indigenous and Afro-Brazilians during and after colonial slavery. As in many other Global South countries, the end of political colonialism did not lead to complete independence (Cardoso & Faletto, 1969), where internal power structures remained in the form of coloniality (Maldonado-Torres, 2016; Quijano, 2009). This type of control is reflected nowadays not only in development and social-economic policies (Maldonado-Torres, 2016), but also in cultural relations and epistemology (Santos, 2009). Therefore, not only do Global South countries suffer from explicit inequalities inherited from colonialism, but it is also crucial to denaturalise dominant discourses embedded in their cultural policy frameworks to pursue historical reparation and mitigate cultural inequalities.

In addition, many studies and cultural policy initiatives focus on case studies from the UK and other European countries. However, these case studies address different challenges and operate within the dominant power structure in relation to the rest of the world. Moreover, it is worth highlighting that cultural policy studies are still relatively recent in Brazil and still need a commonly accepted conceptual definition and methodologies among researchers (Santana, 2013).

Therefore, this study provides a different approach to cultural policy studies in Brazil to challenge policy discourses and values that legitimise power dynamics and dominant narratives. Ultimately, it aims to provide potential insights into making cultural policies more inclusive.

3.3. Critical Discourse Analysis

This research performed a **qualitative and interpretative analysis** of legal texts supporting Brazil's cultural policies.

As we have seen, the evolution of policies has allowed definitional and conceptual problems and tensions in policymaking, allowing certain discourses to prevail over others. These conflicts arise from textual interactions as a mode of social action (Fair-clough, 2010) and **become a matter of discourse** provided with social construction and ideologies - what Fairclough would call Ideological Discourse Formation (IDF).

According to Fairclough (2010, p.3), discourses are not entities or objects that can be defined independently but can only be understood through **dialectical relations** of communication between people and events and translated through language, such as in conversations or texts. Dialectic relations, according to the author, are the relations between different objects that exert a particular influence on one another. As discourses are constitutive of society historically, that means that discourses determine social structures and, at the same time, social structures shape discourses (Fairclough, 2010, p.30).

The formations of discourses are associated with different groups, from which there is usually a dominant one that naturalises an ideology and determines the social structures (Fairclough, 2010, p.129), creating power relations within the discourse. As a dialectical relation, "power is partly discourse, and discourse is partly power (Fairclough, 2012, p.4). Regarding cultural policy and indicators, that means that the concepts, values, and ideologies behind their conceptual framework represent the ideas of a dominant group and how they make sense of culture according to their values and interests.

Therefore, analysing the discourses embedded in cultural policies means analysing the dialectical relations between the groups involved in their formulation and their power relations. That is, understanding how cultural policies and the construction of cultural indicators' structures "enact, confirm, legitimate, reproduce, or challenge relations of power abuse (dominance)" (Fairclough & Wodak, 1997 as cited in Van Dijk, 2015, p.467) in cultural policies.

The analysis of such relations intersects different disciplines, making discourse analysis an **inter or transdisciplinary form of analysis** (Fairclough, 2010, p.4). It also entails a **"critical realist approach"** (Fairclough, 2010, p.4), as discourses and analysis depend on the real world, i.e., human action for its existence and social construction. When the analyst focuses on the dialectical relations, they produce discourse simultaneously, interpreting, explaining, and creating an inherent critique of discourse analysis (Fairclough, 2010) - or the **Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA)**. That does not mean CDA generates some sort of paradox, but it **produces an explanatory power to transform aspects of social life** (Fairclough, 2010, p.9).

Hence, the CDA becomes a method that studies the activation, reproduction, legitimisation, and resistance of social-power abuse and inequalities by text and talk in social and political contexts (Van Dijk, 2015). The analyst takes an explicit position to understand, expose, and ultimately **challenge social inequality to undo wrongs** (Van Dijk, 2015, p.466), for which positionality is essential in this process.

With the information presented above, to uncover how Brazilian cultural policies reinforce power dynamics and dominant narratives and how cultural indicators can challenge dominant values, I performed a CDA of legal texts supporting cultural policy in Brazil, using Fairclough's (2010) **three-dimensional CDA framework**. This method allows us to examine the **text** within discursive events (such as spoken or written language texts), **discourse practices** (such as text production and interpretation), and **social practices** (Fairclough, 2010, p.88). The connection between text and social practice is mediated by discourse practice and creates an interdependency between these three dimensions. That is, texts are not isolated entities but are connected to broader social practices while also carrying traces of their production process. At the same time, the interpretation of texts relies on cues within the text itself, i.e. what has not been said is also a manifestation of power. Therefore, the analysis goes through the three dimensions, building upon "formand-meaning".

So firstly, I interpreted the excepts selected to find the meanings, attitudes and omissions of the text. In the discourse practice, I identify cultural values, concepts, and issues emphasised in the text, who is in the foreground and to whom it is intended. In the analysis of social practices, I focus on identifying biases and examining power dynamics within discourse, considering the underlying cultural values and implications. Also, I evaluate the impact of the values on those who benefit or are harmed by the discourse.

Therefore, according to Fairclough (2010), this type of analysis emphasises power relations and dominance within discursive events, combining the **theory of power** (based on Gramsci's concept of hegemony) with the **theory of discourse practice** (based on the concept of intertextuality). After the three-dimensional analysis of each textual fragment, I analysed the findings to make sense of the values and their power relations. I examined how they could enable us to denaturalise those discourses and provide insights into finding opportunities to contest, refine and democratise cultural policy and systems of cultural measurement (MacDowall, 2015).

3.4. Data Sampling

The data analysed had **three selection levels**: first, the temporality to determine the most relevant periods for cultural policy and adequate it into the research scope; second, the significance of the text for the formulation of cultural policy in Brazil; and third, the passages, expressions, and words that expressed cultural values that could either represent a particular group or indicate a power practice.

This study analyses **the period from 1985 to 2010**, encompassing the post-military dictatorship era (after 1985) and the Brazilian cultural turn in the 2000s. The dictatorship era (1964 - 1985) was intentionally excluded, since culture was gravely suppressed. Moreover, the previous republican years did not have a solid cultural agenda. However, after the country's democratisation in 1985, the first Ministry of Culture was established, marking the beginning of a new era of cultural policies and development. In 2010, the first National Culture Plan was launched through a participatory formulation process, although it encountered implementation challenges due to political crises in the following decade. The last decade was excluded from this study to manage the scope of the research.

Regarding **data selection**, I focused on **Article 215 of the 1988 Constitution**. This article outlines the relationship between the State and Culture, detailing the State's responsibilities towards culture and the objectives of the National Culture Plan, which is the leading national cultural policy. It establishes the country's fundamental principles of cultural policies and ensures that cultural rights and access to national culture are protected. While the State's duty is to support and promote cultural expressions, the National Culture Plan aims to safeguard Brazil's cultural heritage, encourage the production of cultural goods, and celebrate diversity. Additionally, the plan includes the protection of Indigenous, Afro-Brazilian, and other cultural groups and expressions. Importantly, this article reflects the dialectical relations of cultural values and groups across time, as we will delve further into the discussion chapter.

Lastly, in the analysis of the Article, I considered **expressions and terms that conveyed cultural values and could represent a particular group or indicate a power practice**. For example, I looked for verbs that indicate State action, like "promote", "protect", and "ensure", as well as their corresponding nouns, such as "production", "protection", and "appreciation". Additionally, I searched for terms that represented concepts, like "cultural rights", "civilisation process", or "cultural goods". Another criterion was selecting subjects and objects of culture that represented cultural groups or targets of the State's action, such as "Indigenous", "Afro-Brazilians", "cultural expressions", and "cultural diversity". These terms contain cultural values and historicity and, when combined, form discourses representing a group or a system of thought.

3.5. Limitations and Delimitations

I have analysed Article 215 of the Brazilian constitution, as it serves as the legal foundation for Brazil's cultural policies regardless of pass of time or changes in government. Although it may not cover all cultural policies implemented in the past 30 years, it outlines the fundamental values and principles of two pivotal moments in cultural policy in Brazil.

To fully understand how cultural policy discourses and indicators frameworks uphold or challenge power dynamics and inequalities, it would be necessary to analyse other texts in addition to the one at hand. These texts include the legal documents of the National Cultural Support Program from the 1990s; materials and speeches from community consultations (such as the Culture for All conferences); the National Culture Plan's principles and objectives from 2010; the foreword of official documents from politicians, as well as interviews with them from grey sources; and technical notes and international guidelines for cultural measurements (such as the Andrés Bello Convention and UNESCO's Cultural Statistics Framework). It would also be key to interview decision-makers who helped formulate those policies. However, due to limitations in terms of time and scope, these documents could not be included in this analysis.

Furthermore, language and the researcher are essential in the method utilised. Since the texts I analysed were initially written in Brazilian Portuguese and translated, some of the meanings may have been lost. As a textual analysis, grammar and style also may change interpretations. As a native researcher, I could fill in these gaps to a certain extent. However, it is crucial to acknowledge that this may have impacted both the object of analysis and the outcome.

Another aspect to consider is that, as CDA is a method to denounce power relations and produce an **explanatory power to transform aspects of social life** (Fairclough, 2010, p.9), this research may be interpreted as advocacy-inspired or driven. It is important to note that this advocacy-driven cultural policy research has limitations regarding the questions it can answer and the interests it serves, as it is often designed for a specific purpose (Belfiore & Bennett, 2007).

Nonetheless, as critical research, this study's primary objective was to reveal the significance and impact of policies' discourses according to the values they carry within (Belfiore, 2016). It employs a methodology that aims to expose and denounce political power dynamics and identify inequalities, but it does not advocate for any particular cause. Its ultimate goal is to provide a potential perspective that can inform cultural measurements, policies, and even advocacy efforts.

Figure 10. Yanomami woman making craft on hammc (Artesol, n/a).



AND IMPLEMENTATION IN BRAZIL

4. Case Study: Cultural Policy Discourses and Implementation in Brazil

4.1. The 1988 Constitution and Cultural Rights

After the creation of the MinC in 1985, the new democratic Constitution 1988 instituted Articles 215 and 216 concerning culture (see Appendix B). The articles provide the State's role towards culture, which revolves around ensuring citizens have access to their cultural rights and the State's responsibility to support, nurture, and safeguard Brazilian cultural heritage. Furthermore, they draw attention to specific cultural groups, like Indigenous and Afro-Brazilians, to acknowledge their cultures that have been historically oppressed and marginalised since the colonisation.

Therefore, the Ministry of Culture's inauguration was marked by a context of the **re-democratisation** and the new Brazilian culture Imaginarium (Rubim, 2011). However, it faced problems of loss of autonomy and power overlapping (Calabre, 2005), failing to create a solid fund to hold a significant and constant cultural budget (Calabre, 2007, p.94). In addition, it is worth noting that, in the late 80s and early 90s, Brazil was undergoing a period of hyperinflation due to the re-democratisation process, high foreign debt, the oil crisis in the 1970s, and other social-economic issues.

The constitutional discourse around culture can be problematic due to potential misinterpretations or manipulations of the language. As a country with a colonial past, Brazil carries highly marked social issues, especially racial and regional inequalities. Therefore, a constitutional or cultural policy discourse that does not acknowledge these social issues could legitimise values and measures that discriminate against these groups, perpetuating inequalities and preventing the State from fulfilling its duties.

As discourse and a political tool, a cultural policy can enact, legitimate, reproduce or even challenge relations of power abuse. Therefore, carefully analysing the discourses produced by official texts (such as the Constitution and cultural policy guidelines) could contribute to a deeper understanding of how cultural values shape policy decisions and inform discussions on promoting inclusivity, social justice and cultural equity and how cultural information can help to achieve that.

Later in the discussion chapter, we will delve into how these constitutional Articles may bring these issues to light.

4.2. The 2000s: The cultural turn in Brazilian cultural policy

As we saw in the historical background, implementing the Rouanet Law in 1991 marked a shift towards tax incentives to resource culture and its recognition as a business. However, the law has led to a concentration of funding on projects that offer marketing visibility or benefit established artists and specific groups. Furthermore, there are concerns about corruption and unequal opportunity distribution. Nonetheless, the law has contributed to the government's systematic monitoring and collection of cultural data and indicators.

In 2003, with the rise of the Labour Party, the cultural policies in Brazil started

being reshaped. The Ministry of Culture consolidated as an institution, and cultural policies started to connect with the ideas of cultural rights, citizenship, diversity, democratisation, and access.

In 2005, the Brazilian Congress approved the amendment establishing the first **National Culture Plan (NCP)**. As an envisaged multi-year program aimed at the country's cultural development, the **NCP's purpose** would engage the government in cultural development (see Appendix C). The plan's objectives suggest that the Brazilian government should be committed to **protecting and promoting cultural heritage**, ensuring the necessary infrastructure to **support cultural goods' production**, **promotion**, **and diffusion**. Moreover, the emphasis on **democratising access** highlights the importance of making cultural goods and activities available to all citizens.

The amendment added to Article 215 presents novel cultural values and terms. For instance, the economic value of culture institutionalised in the 1990s has become dominant and brought up new discussions on how cultural rights should be addressed. Focusing exclusively on culture's economic aspect may perpetuate inherent inequalities stemming from neo-capitalist colonialism, which has historically marginalised Afro-Brazilians and Indigenous people. The discussion chapter will examine further the NCP's primary objectives related to these values and their implications in terms of values and discourse.

4.3. Cultural Measurements in Brazil

Brazilian cultural measurements adopted the methodology proposed by UNESCO for cultural statistics (IBGE, 2003). Many countries worldwide adopted **UNESCO's Framework for Cultural Statistics (FCS)** to modernise cultural statistics and move beyond a static view of culture, enabling international comparison (IBGE, 2013). The FCS focuses on the economic dimensions of cultural activities and helps identify weaknesses in information systems.

In response to this global trend, from 1999 to 2005, Latin American countries collaborated to create a standard methodology for measuring and creating cultural indicators for the region through the Andrés Bello Convention (ABC). This effort consolidated the guidelines for the Culture Satellite Accounts as the primary instrument for regional integration in the cultural sector. The convention defined the guidelines based on the (inter) National Account System, and the methodology was based on UNESCO's cycle of culture (Valiati & Filho, 2017).

Although The Ministry of Culture in Brazil led efforts to develop a satellite account, the Brazilian Cultural Accounts Management Committee adopted UNES-CO's framework. It is widely accepted internationally and is a revised and extended version encompassing several concepts that have emerged in the cultural field, including information and communication technologies, intangible heritage, and other evolving cultural practices (Valiati & Filho, 2017).

After a decade of NCP, the BIGS released the latest report on the Cultural Information and Indicators System (2009-2020) (IBGE, 2021). This last edition states to have updated and expanded its themes and innovations, including using an informative format and incorporating estimates from regions and localities published (IBGE, 2021).

Although the studies conducted by BIGS were necessary attempts to create a national system for the cultural sector, they fell short of proposing cultural indicators and systematising information according to its criteria (Silva & Oliveira, 2007, as cited in Ziviani, 2008, p.105). That is, BIGS' approach was insufficient to describe the complex and dynamic reality of the Brazilian multicultural society, and its cultural sector requires specific research that goes beyond the economic aspect of culture to provide a basis for policymaking (Silva & Oliveira, 2007, as cited in Ziviani, 2008, p.105)

In the following section, I will discuss the analysis findings to explore how cultural indicators legitimise or can challenge dominant narratives in line with the cultural values embedded in cultural policy discourses. Ultimately, this could potentially help challenge and democratise existing cultural measurement systems, leading to better-informed and decolonial decisions on cultural policies.

Figure 11. Indigenous National Games (Agência Pará, 205).

h

UNCOVERING CULTURAL VALUES AND POWER DYNAMICS IN BRAZILIAN CULTURAL POLICY A Critical Discourse Analysis

5. Uncovering Cultural Values and Power Dynamics in Brazilian Cultural Policy: A Critical Discourse Analysis

5.1 The Constitution of 1988: Unveiling the Bedrock of Cultural Policies in Brazil

Historically, the 1988 Constitution emerges in the context of people regaining their rights of expression after more than two decades of oppressive military dictatorship. Articles 215 and 216 addressed a need for freedom after a long period of deprivation and oppression. These two constitutional principles alone provide the foundations for cultural policies and measurement in Brazil, determining the main actors and objectives of the State, as well as defining its role towards culture as they are known.

In the following sections, I will analyse the discourses imprinted in the constitutional Article 215, using Fairclough's (2010) **three-dimensional framework of Critical Discourse Analysis** (textual interpretation, discursive practice and social practice). This analysis should identify the key cultural values **underpinning cultural policy discourses in Brazil** – such as providing social cohesion, contributing to national identity, and culture as a pillar of development and as a right, among other positive instrumental uses and intrinsic values – and how they profile different cultural groups. After that, it should uncover how cultural policy discourses and values legitimise power dynamics and dominant narratives in the text. These findings should provide potential insights into how cultural indicators legitimise or can challenge dominant narratives in line with these cultural values.

Lastly, it is worth noting that legislative texts represent collective debates and societal views, not individual opinions². In this case, the discursive event (Fairclough, 2010) is undefined. Therefore, in the discursive practice section, I will identify the cultural values underpinning the discourse, the type of group they represent, and whom it is intended.

5.1.1 The State's Role in the Governance of Culture: A Critical Discourse Analysis

According to the Brazilian constitution (Brazil, 2013), "The state shall

ensure to all the full exercise of the cultural rights and access to the sources

of national culture (...)", which includes culture as a fundamental indi-

vidual right for the first time in the country's history.

- **Textual interpretation:** The first element of the Article shows an affirmative attitude and commitment to culture. The State must ensure that all citizens can actively use and enjoy culture as an entitlement and are not necessarily to express themselves culturally freely. Culture, then, is not a quality or something that can be expressed or exercised by the citizens but something to be accessed outside them through a source of cultural production within the national territory. However, it is not entirely defined, and it remains unclear what that entitlement/right or the cultural sources are.
- **Discursive practice analysis:** As a rule of law State, the text addresses all citizens, making no distinctions. It assumes that culture contains a **positive value** to the point of acquiring a status of 'right' as other fundamental rights (education, health, work,

² According to Jermol (2019), legal language is among the most demanding, especially legislative. Although most have a clear macrostructure, their reception is significantly hindered due to the "lack of" textual coherence, resulting in complex understanding. The author also highlights that an impersonal style usually characterises the text and that polysemy occurs in different legal contexts. This practice is used to "disembody" the norm from the legislators, and become the voice of the State provided with power.

etc.). From a sociocultural perspective, **culture's value** is embedded in **social cohesion** and **identity**.

At an **individual** or community level, as a right, culture is provided with **intrinsic values** from a **eudaemonic perspective** (a sense of purposefulness and meaningfulness). It constitutes national identity and a feeling of belonging. On a **larger scale**, the State's commitment to cultural rights may imply **instrumental values** of culture, such as:

- 1. connecting people; creating opportunities to learn and breaking down barriers (Fillis et al., 2015, 2018, as cited in Lehman & Wickham, 2021, p.57);
- providing social harmony (Azmat et al., 2017, p.390, as cited in Lehman & Wickham, 2021, p.57);
- 3. building a national identity.

On the other hand, we could also say that this passage assumes that culture could be pursued by anyone who has access to it; therefore, it implies that there would be inequality in exercising cultural rights and access in case of the absence of access.

Social practice analysis: Based on the values identified, the State has the power and duty of ensuring access to cultural sources and preventing the unequal exercise of cultural rights. Its motivations to fulfil its role can be related to the intrinsic and instrumental values mentioned. The State's definition of cultural rights is unclear, and this lack of clarity could lead to various interpretations, which may have unforeseen consequences, such as ensuring cultural participation in economic processes. That is, if the sources of national culture are considered cultural goods and services, the lack of access may harm groups that already have difficulty accessing them. Remote areas, small communities, urban peripheric areas, lower social-economic classes – which in Brazil often impact black and Indigenous communities –, and perhaps even older people are a few examples of these groups.

In the outskirts of the world, where inequalities are abysmal, the lack of human rights has a significant impact, and access represents a real challenge. Nevertheless, what is normalised by cultural rights discourse is that the State's paternalistic duty is to provide access to something extrinsic to people (like water, food and shelter) and not something they intrinsically produce. In this case, the definition of culture and art plays an essential role, as it will define whether certain groups can access it. As a way of life, everything people do is cultural – what they eat, how they eat, how they behave, relate, express themselves, etc. – and the State becomes practically dispensable for its production. On the other hand, if it is consumed in a cultural institution such as a museum, communities that do not have access to these spaces and goods become instantly disadvantaged, and the State becomes essential.

Another role of the State, according to the constitution (Brazil, 2013), is to

"(...) support and foster the appreciation and diffusion of cultural expressions",

which means that the State must provide assistance and encourage recognition and

spread of the various forms of cultural manifestations and artistic creations.

- **Textual interpretation:** In this passage, the object of supporting, fostering and protecting is not the 'cultural expressions' but their 'appreciation'. Therefore, the State's role is to create mechanisms of cultural policy that stimulate citizens to enjoy and value culture, and propagate cultural expressions that could be threatened or devalued. Culture can be interpreted as something that can be expressed and communicated, although the means are not defined. This passage could also be assuming the possibility of citizens and institutions not valuing culture as if it was something external to them to be appreciated and not intrinsically belonging to them.
- Discursive practice analysis: There is no differentiation of types of cultural expressions it could be "high" and "popular" culture, amateur or professional, or even translated into cultural goods which attributes a **democratic characteristic** of cultural value. Furthermore, cultural expressions could also be underpinned by intrinsic values such as culture as a **way of life** and **non-utility** (Connor, 1992). Yet, it implies that their appreciation should be cultivated, which is the State's ultimate objective.
- Social practice analysis: the State takes on the role of supporter, encourager and defender of cultural expressions. As such, it assumes it has the capacity and power to choose which cultural expressions to be appreciated. However, governments' capacity and resources may be limited when implementing this power as policy, so they must establish selection criteria to allocate resources. This means that cultural policy principles, guidelines, objectives and final decisions are political and will favour certain groups depending on who is in power.

As a legal text, the object of this passage is open to interpretation that can be highly inclusive or excluding. In the latter's case, little evidence exists to tell which groups would be marginalised. However, historically, Indigenous, Afro-Brazilian, and LGBTQ+ groups are some of the groups that have been the most affected when in the absence of affirmative action. Either way, governments hold the power to define the criteria to whom resources will be allocated. Another role of the State towards culture is that it "shall protect the expressions

of **popular, [Indigenous] and Afro-Brazilian cultures**, as well as those of other groups

participating in the national civilisation process" (Brazil, 2013). It means that the

State should safeguard these groups' cultural heritage.

- **Textual interpretation:** When defining whose cultural expressions, the Article distinguishes ethnic groups such as Indigenous and Afro-Brazilian from popular/mass cultures. It also differentiates these from other groups participating in the "national civilisation process", suggesting their contribution to some sort of social advancement and development trajectory. According to the textual logic, the (undefined) cultural groups that do not contribute to that process would not be entitled to such protection.
- **Discursive practice analysis:** This passage expresses the instrumental value of culture in the form of cultural diversity as a **positive asset** and cultural capital to the "national civilisation process" that needs protection. We could also say that the excerpt alludes to cultural diversity as a social asset. Not casually, the groups named are the ones that have been historically marginalised and oppressed by such civilisation process.
- **Social practice analysis:** The intention of the Article defining and differentiating certain cultural groups could have been, on the one hand, to highlight these cultures that have been historically oppressed and attempted to be destroyed as some sort of reparation.

On the other hand, the "national civilisation process", as a modernisation advancement, represents the discourses of the post-World War international agenda, mainly driven by Global North countries. It refers to the colonial corollary and hegemonic ideologies that have precisely oppressed the groups mentioned, which entails a **value contradiction**.

Furthermore, the passage reduces diversity through **colonial societal identities** based on race and ethnicity (Quijano, 2009). Besides race and ethnicity, diversity could have been considered in the shape of gender and sexual orientation, generational, language, religion, socioeconomic, disability and ability, regional and geographical – but these values were not exactly trending in the late 1980s like today.

The Constitution's "reminder to reparation" remains relevant because policy and decision-makers have historically been predominantly white and elitist. However, this approach can still marginalise and oppress certain groups in Brazil as they are expected to conform to the national (and colonial) civilisation process under colonial societal identities. This contradiction implies that it can influence how decision-makers address policies related to

these groups, perpetuating colonial values in cultural action.

5.1.2. The State's Role in the Governance of Culture: Findings Discussion

According to Miranda et al. (2014), there are two dimensions of culture contained in Articles 215 and 216 of the Constitution: an **anthropological dimension**, which is more comprehensive, as it encompasses all the social interaction of individuals and their ways of being; and a more restricted **dimension defined by production**, to reach a particular type of public through artistic expressions, such as dance, theatre, cinema, music, visual arts, among others (Botelho, 2006, p. 48, as cited in Miranda et al., 2014, p.32). For Eagleton (2005, p. 167, as cited in Miranda et al., 2014, p.33), the second approach points out a body of artistic and intellectual works dominated by the elite or a group capable of seizing the government incentives to transform culture into goods and services, or produce knowledge through science; while the anthropological dimension belongs to the ordinary people (masses, Indigenous and Afro-Brazilians, in this case).

According to the Articles and the CDA's findings, the State must ensure access to cultural sources and prevent the unequal exercise of cultural rights. However, unclear definitions of cultural rights entitlements can lead to interpretations and unforeseen consequences, such as the exclusion of marginalised groups from accessing cultural goods and services; or lack of spaces and opportunities for groups to express culture, depending on the interpretation. A one-size-fits-all definition of culture cannot encompass all cultural dimensions and is likely to reproduce colonial and dominant values – especially economic – benefiting the body of artistic and intellectual works dominated by the elite.

When Western definitions of culture, art, and their institutions are applied, the production and distribution of cultural works follow colonial patterns. For instance, an anthropology study (Reinaldim, 2019) suggests that concepts of "Art History" and "museum" reinforce the legitimacy of dominant discourses of what Art is and what is not and that the exhibition of Indigenous artwork and artefacts in those spaces might challenge the discursive mechanisms of inclusion and exclusion. These groups' occupation of colonial spaces deconstructs the purpose and meanings of Westen definitions of arts, culture and institutions.

On the other hand, if what is considered art for Indigenous people is not showcased through traditional art institutions and systems, in what other ways can the State acknowledge and count their artistic and cultural contribution? Suppose the State's role is to protect Indigenous cultural expressions, could protecting Indigenous lands not be a form of safeguarding their culture? This, of course, is just another assumption – and probably from a privileged position –, but questioning what art is for each group and understanding how their culture is manifested is crucial to addressing different cultural needs and demands. Capturing this sort of information as an indicator, for instance, could provide a deeper understanding of the cultural field and groups for policy and decision-makers to challenge power dynamics.

Furthermore, the passage that mentions specific cultural groups can be inter-

preted as highlighting historically oppressed cultures as a call for reparation. However, these groups are differentiated by ethnicity and social characteristics, which reduces diversity through colonial societal identities based on race and ethnicity. This kind of discourse is unsafe, as it reproduces colonial power dynamics by promoting the "national civilisation process". This process requires certain groups to conform to the established development model and cultural policies dictated by coloniality logic. For instance, tax incentive policies allow the private sector to decide which cultural projects receive funding. However, this type of policy favours white elite groups capable of operating within the capitalist system and cultural production, and perpetuates the marginalisation of groups like Indigenous and Afro-Brazilians.

Therefore, Article 215 exhibits a bias towards hegemonic values, which can have detrimental effects on historically marginalised communities while favouring the white artistic elite. As discourse produces social practices and vice-versa (Fairclough, 2010), language and discourse such as constitutional legitimise coloniality values and institutions, leaving all the work of decolonising cultural institutions and practices at the mercy of civil society and social movements. Therefore, such discourse practice puts the State on the oppressor's side or a false ally.

Furthermore, although cultural rights empower citizens to assert their entitlements, it is ultimately the State's responsibility to ensure equitable access to cultural resources for all, according to the textual analysis. However, ensuring cultural rights might mean different things for different groups – students and lower income groups might need concessions on tickets and transportation; remote and peripheral communities such as rural villages and favelas might need access to mobility to reach cultural hubs; whereas groups like Afro-Brazilians and Indigenous people would need access to spaces and resources that have been historically denied to them, such as museums, film-making, or even arts career pathways at universities. Therefore, governments must capture and produce more specific information about these groups to identify their needs and ensure **cultural rights equity**. Ultimately, it is about finding different ways of measuring cultural value.

5.2 The Brazilian cultural turn in the 2000s

During Luiz Inácio Lula da Silva's presidency in Brazil (2003-2011), the Ministry of Culture (MinC) was re-established, and cultural policies shifted towards ideas of cultural rights, citizenship, diversity, democratisation, and access. The challenges included formulating long-term policies, pursuing a more rational use of resources, and redefining the State's role in culture. In 2005, the guidelines for the **National Cultural Plan** were established and approved as a constitutional amendment to Article 215, and they would be the foundation for the final document approved in 2010 by Congress.

The paragraph contains **five constitutional purposes** of the National Culture Plan, underpinned mainly by **cultural development values**, in which cultural heritage, economy, industries, rights, and diversity play different roles.

Let us examine the text to uncover how the text profiles the representation of different social groups and how discourse creates power relations in cultural policy.

5.2.1 The National Cultural Plan: A Critical Discourse Analysis

According to the NCP's paragraph approved in 2005 (Brazil, 2013), "The law

shall establish the National Culture Plan, **in the form of** a multi-year plan aimed at the

cultural development of the country (...)". This implies that the NCP serves as more

than just a tool for the State to carry out its cultural duties but also as a strategy for

national development that includes culture as a key dimension.

- **Textual interpretation:** This passage introduces the principles that will guide cultural policy in Brazil in the long term, expressing a strong assertion. Using "in the form of" can be interpreted as the policy being crafted and shaped. This plan's objective implies that all State and government efforts should be directed towards cultural development, following the idea of improving and evolving the cultural field and sector to achieve development goals.
- Discursive practice analysis: The paragraph is based on the development discourses and values. Cultural development is aligned with the international agenda of modernisation, implementation of a nation-building project, economic expansion and advancement of social and human development (Veltmeyer & Wise, 2018). However, post-development discourses denounce that development implies an underdeveloped and inferior state usually related to Global South countries (Sachs, 1992; Rahnema y Bawtree, 1997; Escobar, 2014). Therefore, this passage speaks for an international agenda driven mainly by Global North countries.
- Social practice analysis: In the 2000s in Latin America, there was a shift towards inclusionary state activism of post-neoliberal regimes (such as the Labour Party in Brazil) concerned with providing a more inclusive form of national development (Veltmeyer & Wise, 2018, p. 343).

Introducing culture into the development debate – or the cultural turn (Petersen, 1995) — contributed to this shift towards a more inclusive and participatory development aspect to open the debate to minorities and marginalised groups in policymaking processes. However, due to the multiple and overlapping interpretations of the role of culture in development, there is a tendency for an economic interpretation to dominate (Throsby, 2001), focusing on the economic value of culture for development, attributing the value of culture *for* development. Consequently, culture is instrumentalised in economic development, legitimising the Creative Economy discourse.

In this logic, State activism includes citizens in the decision-making process,

but cultural producers become development agents subscribed to these values as a **creative class** (Florida, 2002), weakening their status as citizens. Dichotomies such as **'amateur vs. professional'** mark the higher appreciation of the latter, creating a conflict of interest between cultural rights for citizens and cultural economy for cultural professions.

The first NCP's objective addresses protecting and appreciating the national

cultural heritage mentioned before. The second objective is aimed at the "production,

promotion, and diffusion of cultural goods", which refers to the creation and distribu-

tion of cultural production chain:

- **Textual interpretation:** In this passage, there is a concern for creating awareness and attracting attention, as well as disseminating and transmitting the products of cultural activity. It focuses more on the production activity and less on the consumption or access. There is also a shift from the idea of cultural expression and heritage to a more tangible aspect of culture, such as the production of symbolic goods.
- Discursive practice analysis: The Cultural Economy dimension of culture contained in this passage speaks for the groups that see culture as a driver of a sector that produces symbolic goods (Bourdieu, 1993) and as an active force that can shape and drive economic growth and development (De Beukelaer & Spence, 2019). It addresses the producers of symbolic goods and services in a production chain of the Cultural and Creative Economy and industries. It speaks to a smaller group capable of operating in this logic or an artistic elite.
- Social practice analysis: While cultural heritage needs to be protected and appreciated, cultural goods are meant to be promoted and diffused. Whatever has instrumental value and economic potential is entitled to be disseminated, which benefits a very particular group of "culture-makers" that can dedicate their talent to producing monetary value; whereas the intrinsic values contained in cultural expressions encompass anyone entitled to be protected and appreciated within its boundaries.

With this constitutional goal, the State institutionalises and encourages such a dynamic. The subaltern groups, like independent and amateur artists, creatives and cultural organisations, have to use **defensive instrumentalism** (Belfiore, 2012) to prove their merit for funding to both the State and private sector. This dynamic further emphasises the economic value of culture. Larger producers (such as publishers, record labels, or renowned cultural institutions and artists) have an extra advantage by already having their cultural products well positioned in the market, besides the capability of functioning in the capitalist dynamic.

The third goal refers to improving the quality of services in the cultural sector through labour specialisation. It aims to *"train qualified personnel to manage culture in its multiple dimensions"*. It means that the State and society must be equipped with management tools and skills to optimise cultural activities administration and use of resources.

The following objective aims at the "democratisation of access to cultural goods",

which refers to ways of ensuring cultural rights:

- **Textual interpretation:** More than universalising access to all people, the NCP is committed to ensuring equality of access by people from different social contexts. It also delimitates better the entitlements of cultural rights, which refer to the access to tangible and economic goods.
- **Discursive practice analysis:** The cultural value embedded in this objective is related to **cultural rights and citizenship**, and the idea of culture providing some sort of **social cohesion** and **individual fulfilment**. However, in this context, cultural rights are related not to the access to cultural activity necessarily, but to the financial products it generates. It is a goal for and by the State addressed to citizens and cultural consumers.
- Social practice analysis: If successful, this objective will benefit all citizens and cultural producers who can adapt and produce within the Cultural Economy system. It normalises the idea that access to culture necessarily passes through cultural goods and services in capitalist logic and chain, and does not question or challenge the inequality in cultural production. In this case, historical social inequalities and structural racism are perpetuated through neocapitalism.

Furthermore, for many communities, access to cultural goods often comes in the form of tourism incentives, which make certain communities dependent on tourist activities and vulnerable to any crisis in the sector. Communities' exploitation by enterprises and other businesses is quite common in these situations, legitimised by tourism and cultural policies. The last objective refers to the "appreciation of ethnic and regional diversity", which

refers to the cultural groups mentioned anteriorly in the Article and other variants:

- **Textual interpretation:** This passage specifies two different types of diversity in the country: ethnic diversity, which encompasses communities with common ancestry and other cultural practices; and regional diversity, which refers to the marked cultural expressions and practices among Brazil's five geopolitical regions. It leaves aside other types of diversity and groups, such as religious, linguistic, racial, socioeconomic, gender and sexuality, generational, etc.
- **Discursive practice analysis:** Although this goal acknowledges national diversity, the groups identified are reduced to colonial societal identities (Quijano, 2009): ethnic and geographic. This categorisation speaks for the separation between the hegemonic centres, representing Global North countries (colonisers), and the world's periphery, representing Global South countries (ex-colonies) (Quijano, 2009).
- Social practice analysis: In Global South societies like Brazil, where colonisation did not achieve total societal destruction, "experiences, identities, and historical relationships of coloniality and the geocultural distribution of global capitalist power were also formally naturalised" (Quijano, 2009, p.74). This is a Eurocentric approach to social classification, and diversity can come in other different shapes (ethnic, geographic, but also gender, sexuality, religion, and generation, among others).

When it comes to cultural policy-making, failing to identify diverse groups properly can lead to inadequate representation and neglect of potential conflicts caused by diversity – such as religious intolerance against, e.g. African religions celebrated in Brazil; homo, transphobia and other gender and sexuality phobias-related; or even regional discrimination, such as the Southern states manifest against the Northern states in Brazil. Ultimately, a poor definition of diversity prevents the State and governments from addressing these conflicts and promoting inclusivity.

5.2.2 The National Cultural Plan: Findings Discussion

The textual analysis shows that the values embedded in the NCP's objectives send mixed messages. The Latin American inclusionary state development movements operate within the Global North hegemony, with capitalist institutions and policy frameworks, or what Veltmeyer & Wise (2018, p.343) call "left neoliberalism". According to the author, some advocates of this way of thinking aim to challenge neoliberalism and US hegemony by preserving their capitalist structures. However, the issue with this logic is that the **capitalist system implanted in places like Latin America, by default, operates through coloniality relations and institutions** (Quijano, 2009).

According to Belfiore (2020), there is a disconnect between policy discourse and policy reality. The author argues that, in reality, decision-making rarely relies on evidence, which is what the "**rhetorical model of cultural policy**" seeks to explain. The author proposes an **argumentation approach to policy processes** that highlights the rhetorical aspects of cultural policy and the power of ideas and frames. According to the author, the policymaking process is political and is influenced by ideas rather than evidence. Smith (2013, as cited in Belfiore, 2020, p.300) argues that this is due to limited knowledge, political restrictions, and unclear policy goals. However, it does not explain why certain ideas or discourses are more powerful than others, such as the discourse on the economic impact of culture.

Smith's (2013, as cited in Belfiore, 2020, p.304) concept of **institutionalised ideas** explains that economic impact rhetoric has become a powerful, self-perpetuating concept. Economic growth is viewed as the primary policy goal to which the cultural sector is expected to contribute. Conversely, focusing solely on economics in discussions about government-funded arts and culture harms public discourse by limiting the conversation (Belfiore, 2020, pp.304-305). Let us examine how this idea develops in cultural policies in Brazil.

As we have seen, in Brazil, the constitution legitimises the importance of culture in development and cultural industries. This can be explained by coloniality values and the geocultural distribution of capitalist power as a cultural and civilisational regime (Santos & Meneses, 2009). As coloniality is constitutive of the global pattern of capitalist power (Quijano, 2009, p.73), the international agenda on cultural diversity and the creative economy from Global North countries is reproduced by Global South countries. Cultural relations, production, and appreciation are compelled to follow the capitalist production chain logic and discourses.

As a reflection of that, cultural policy becomes a territory of power struggles, and it is vital to understand it not just as an administrative activity or challenge, but as a part of society's relations and political forces within the decoloniality logic (Santana, 2013). Arts and culture in Brazil symbolise resistance, in which historically oppressed groups such as Indigenous people and Afro-Brazilians practised and developed their culture despite colonisers' attempts to destroy it. Even though policy-makers try to disseminate cultural rights as an inclusivity measure, discourses still manifest hegemonic and colonial values. Cultural rights become the right to access cultural goods; and inclusion means democratic access through economic consumption. Moreover, cultural diversity and multiplicity discourses often describe them as a goal provided with a positive value that will bring some sort of cultural cohesion and harmony; when, in fact, it is often the source of many conflicts (Wiktor-Mach, 2020). Diversity is a double-edged sword.

Therefore, critical discourse analysis shows that **the Brazilian constitutional discourse reproduces Global North's hegemonic values and coloniality through a power hierarchy of ideas and concepts that puts economic values first**. Hence, it holds no gaps between discourse and practice, as Belfiore (2020) proposes. On the contrary, they indicate that discourse is precisely underpinned by these coloniality values, such as the racial and ethnic social classification of diversity and economic goods being the object of cultural rights. These values are reflected in practice, such as the Tax Incentive Law as the country's primary funding mechanism of culture. As evidence for policymaking, cultural indicators are framed with information that reflects these values, supporting biased political decisions instead of confronting them. As "power is partly discourse, and discourse is partly power (Fairclough, 2010, p.4), the Brazilian constitution reflects and legitimises the hegemonic powers and coloniality values and these values also (re)produce that discourse as a norm and cultural policy.

The idea, then, is not to criticise or lessen the economic and instrumental uses of culture by the State but to highlight that precisely because they are essential, they must be considered carefully and presented in ways that can be publicly scrutinised and decolonised. For instance, cultural economists have been particularly vocal in criticising the misuse and miscalculations of economic impacts in cultural policy (Braz et al., 2022). However, their concerns have often gone unheeded by policymakers, who insist on perpetuating coloniality values due to the rhetorical model of cultural policy-making.

Therefore, it is crucial to analyse discourse production when making cultural policies thoroughly to avoid perpetuating colonial values and biases. This examination allows us to potentially challenge power dynamics within the cultural field and avoid favouring particular groups and practices over others, as power is partially discourse and discourse is partially power.

5.3. Using cultural information to decolonise cultural policies.

In 2006, due to the increasing global discussion on the expansion of cultural activities, it became necessary to monitor these processes through statistical information (IBGE, 2003). Hesmondhalgh & Pratt (2005), at that time, acknowledged that defining the cultural field and the scope of cultural industries was a complex issue, arguing that all industries are cultural because they produce goods and services that contribute to culture. Furthermore, they argue that defining the cultural industries requires exploring the entire production cycle and that current definitions often underreport the industry due to the traditional taxonomies of industry used by official censuses.

In Brazil, the focus on constructing and implementing cultural indicators has been based on governance and democratic processes, but it has significant challenges. These include the difficulty of gathering data, the need for public management that values participation and access to information, and the current thinking of the Brazilian people about government and democracy (Martins & Pinto, 2019). For statisticians and scholars, defining and circumscribing the cultural field and goods is the most significant challenge when framing cultural indicators, as they rely on definitions of culture and political values.

Although cultural measurement reports often recognise culture's intrinsic and intangible values, they openly opt to measure cultural outputs produced through industrial processes³. This is due to the tendency for economic interpretation as an institutionalised idea and predominant value (Throsby, 2001; Belfiore, 2020). As the CDA reveals, there is a predominance not only of culture's economic value in the constitutional discourse but also of Global North hegemonic and coloniality values. These institutionalised ideas perpetuate the inequalities between countries in cultural development and internally among historically oppressed and marginalised groups.

As a foundational text, the NCP constitutional texts also translate these values into cultural indicators frameworks. According to Merry (2011, as cited in Redden, 2015), cultural indicators not only shape the image of the cultural field, but also have a **governance effect**. This means that they influence decision-making and reinforce forms of power that could marginalise certain groups. In Brazil's case, cultural indicators frameworks focus on culture's economic and instrumental values, disregarding the heterogeneity of cultural production, meanings, and values within different

³ Cultural measurements reports – such as BIGS (IBGE, 2003, 2013, 2021) and the Andrés Bello Convention (CAB, 2009, 2015) – recognise the intrinsic value of culture in their theoretical framework. However, attempting to measure all the processes of signification within culture and its intangible aspects would be impractical, for which they attain the cultural measurement scope within what can be measured, i.e. the economic aspect.

groups⁴, risking falling into the **bind of instrumentality** (Scott 2010, p. 2, in Walmsley, 2018, p.273). Therefore, we must broaden our analysis to assess its true potential and abandon the idea that what cannot be quantitatively measured does not matter (Ziviani, 2008, p.107).

Therefore, another main challenge in Latin American countries like Brazil is **decolonising cultural information processes and uses**. There are many possible definitions and indicators frameworks, but they cannot address the problem of cultural inequality in information if they are based on decoloniality discourses and values. To truly challenge dominant narratives through cultural information, we require a more comprehensive understanding of marginalised groups' cultural habits, meanings, and expressions.

By creating sets of **Critical Cultural Indicators**, we could challenge the traditional processes of constructing indicators, providing decolonised information about cultural expressions and their producers/groups. According to Blomkamp's (2015) typology, these frameworks should encompass a range of indicators from artistic, symbolic, and social policy categories. That is, instead of asking questions like "what is culture and what is its scope for measurement?" or "what cultural expressions and activities matter?"; we should ask "how is culture manifested in different groups and where?", or "how do different groups understand culture?", or even "who are the cultural producers and how/where do they operate?".

⁴ At this stage, performing a CDA of the definitions of culture and of the cultural activities in cultural measurement documents would be pertinent. However, due to the extension constraints of this research, I will explore superficially the cultural values underpinning cultural indicators framework, based on my previous findings. This could also potentially provide insights on how they can legitimise or challenge dominant narratives in cultural information.

This would help provide cultural information on diverse cultural aspects such as gender and sexuality, race, ethnicity, religion, regional differences and needs, rural and urban lifestyles, generational and cultural cohesion within the cultural ecosystem. This way, we can dissociate evidence from funding and policy evaluation, diverting focus from the measurable impacts of the arts alone, and challenging fundamental assumptions present in indicators frameworks (Belfiore & Bennett, 2007) that might perpetuate power relations and coloniality values. In other words, instead of focusing on portraying the cultural reality of a place and how much it contributes to economic growth, the production of cultural information should ultimately benefit individuals and society (Snowball, 2020).

Similar efforts have been made to create new measurement forms in the past few decades. Some examples are the wellbeing and happiness indicators frameworks, such as Richard Layard's (2008, as cited in Woolcock & Dalvern, 2015); community-driven progress and sustainability indicators, such as Community Indicators Victoria in Australia (2007, as cited in Woolcock & Dalvern, 2015); the local cultural indicators in Australia (Yue et al., 2011); Lladó & Masó's (2012) participatory indicators for local cultural policy in Spain; Duxbury & Jeannotte's (2015) cultural indicators for local sustainable development; or the Meyrick & Tully's (2021) narrative-based evaluation method, among many others.

According to Woolcock & Davern (2015, p.140), these alternative frameworks are part of a global movement that challenges the dominant assumptions of continuous economic growth and the inevitability of progress. The authors also conclude that this movement offers a more holistic and nuanced model that recognises the interdependence of economic, social, cultural, environmental, and democratic dimensions for equitable and sustainable well-being. However, they do not directly challenge power and coloniality relations, like Melanesia's alternative indicators of well-being do (Tanguay, 2015), for instance.

As colonialism was also a form of epistemological domination (Santos & Meneses, 2009), the epistemologies of the North hardly provide the guidelines and definitions to actually challenge power structures within the cultural field in the Global South. Although subaltern and oppressed social groups have appropriated these epistemologies to legitimise their causes and strengthen their struggles, "fighting against an increasingly multifaceted domination means perversely fighting against the lack of definition between who dominates and who is dominated, and, many times, fighting against ourselves" (Santos & Meneses, 2009, p.12). In order to dismantle the multifaceted dominations and confront the historical impacts of capitalism and coloniality, it becomes imperative for the Global South to undertake the task of repairing the damages caused by colonialism and challenge the prevailing epistemologies rooted in the North.

Figure 12. Followers of Iemanjá leave offerings on the beach of Salvador, in Bahia (Moriyama, 2017).

CONCLUSION

Conclusion

In this study, we probed into Brazilian cultural policies and indicators framework to identify the fundamental cultural values underpinning cultural policy discourses in Brazil and how they profile different cultural groups. Furthermore, the aim was to uncover how cultural policy discourses and values legitimise power dynamics and dominant narratives in the country; and how cultural indicators reflect these narratives in line with these cultural values through Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA).

Overall, the key cultural values underpinning cultural policy identified are mainly instrumental and dedicated to the expediency of culture and its social uses. There is a focus on promoting social cohesion and cultural diversity that contributes to well-being and a sense of purpose and belonging. The policy also emphasises cultural development as part of a modernisation agenda. As culture contributes to the growth of the creative class, cultural economy and industries, the texts reinforce the value of cultural goods and cultural capital. **These economic values, in particular, reflect the hegemonic and coloniality values of the Global North countries**. Nonetheless, the discourses also include intrinsic aspects, such as fostering a sense of national identity, heritage, cultural rights and citizenship.

Although the discourses highlight and emphasise groups such as **Indigenous** and Afro-Brazilians, the values embedded reproduce colonial societal identities of ethnicity and race. Furthermore, the concept and idea of cultural diversity tend to homogenise cultural production and expressions and overlook the heterogeneity of cultural groups. They disregard the diverse cultural habits, meanings and expressions of different groups, which can result in **marginalisation and exclusion for some of them**.

Therefore, the discourse analysed, and the values embedded legitimise power dynamics by **reinforcing and privileging dominant and coloniality narratives**. Moreover, the focus on the economic value of culture reinforces power structures inherent to the colonial neo-capitalist system, which perpetuates **inequalities**, **especially among Afro-Brazilians and Indigenous people**, **benefiting a white artistic elite and other groups capable of operating in the system**.

As currently framed, cultural indicators tend to legitimise dominant narratives by **prioritising culture's economic outputs and overlooking the broader cultural landscape and meanings** – such as informing how culture is manifested and profiling the producers and groups. Using biased information to identify issues, demands, and evaluate outcomes in cultural policy **reinforces power imbalances and colonial values**. Adopting sets of **Critical Cultural Indicators** reflecting diverse cultural aspects and perspectives makes it possible to challenge dominant narratives and promote a more inclusive and equitable understanding of culture for policymakers and communities.

Analysis of Dominant Narratives in Brazilian Cultural Policies: Summary of the main findings

In Brazil, the State places importance on **providing access to cultural resources** and e**nsuring cultural rights** for citizens. However, this access is often viewed as the economic consumption of cultural goods. While cultural rights empower citizens, it is ultimately the government's responsibility to ensure fair access to these limited resources. To do so, the government must establish mechanisms for deciding who receives them. Unfortunately, the current economic logic of the system tends to **benefit mainly the white artistic elites and groups that can operate within the capitalist framework**.

The analysis also shows that discourses perpetuate cultural inequalities and hegemonic values that have historically marginalised groups, such as Afro-Brazilians and Indigenous people. Ensuring cultural rights means different things for different groups beyond economic access to culture. Therefore, **the definition of culture**, **art and the subject and object of cultural rights is essential to determine if cultural policies will be inclusive or exclusive**, and a variety of definitions of culture is desirable.

As a cultural value, **diversity** in the text is perceived as a benefit and cultural asset, promoting social cohesion, ignoring the fact that it is often a **source of conflict**. Not acknowledging the limitations of diversity can result in **detrimental policies** and cause the State to become part of the problem rather than a solution to cultural intolerance and racism.

Furthermore, the analysis showed that Article 215 is biased towards hegemonic values, which can have detrimental effects on historically marginalised communities while favouring the white artistic elite. Profiling and highlighting cultural groups like Indigenous and Afro-Brazilians may seem reparative, but it actually **reduces cultural diversity to colonial societal identities based on race and ethnicity. This Eurocentric and coloniality approach to social classification fails to emphasise** other critical dimensions of diversity, such as gender, sexual orientation, generational differences, language, religion, socioeconomic status, disability and ability, and regional and geographical backgrounds. Moreover, the discourse subscribes these groups to a modernisation process (or the "national civilisation process") driven by Global North countries and their hegemonic ideologies that precisely have oppressed Indigenous and Afro-Brazilian groups, contradicting the intention of reparation.

Accordingly, the National Culture Plan is part of the national cultural development model, typical of left neoliberalism in Latin America during the 2000s. Following Global North's international agenda and trends, policy discourses in Brazil legitimise the importance of culture for development through cultural industries. This **movement instrumentalises culture for economic development and validates the creative class**. Therefore, the NCP is mainly underpinned by capitalist values that operate through coloniality relations and mechanisms.

By sustaining such values in the text, the State encourages this power dynamic, leaving subaltern groups of creatives to depend on and prove their merit for funding through **defensive instrumentalism**. In addition, the economic impact rhetoric dominates cultural policy debates and limits the quality of public discussions. **Cultural policy is a territory of power struggles and should be understood as part of society's relations and political forces to debate social change.**

Decolonising Cultural Information: Challenging Dominant Narratives for Cultural Equity

Cultural indicators frameworks in Brazil focus primarily on culture's economic and instrumental values. This tendency for an economic interpretation to dominate disregards the heterogeneity of cultural production and different groups' values, which can perpetuate cultural inequalities. As they have a governance effect and influence decision-making, they reinforce power dynamics and dominant narratives that marginalise certain groups.

For this reason, it is essential to co-create indicators that entail different conceptions of culture for different groups. It requires a comprehensive understanding of marginalised groups' cultural habits, meanings and expressions to decolonise cultural information and challenge dominant narratives in cultural policies. Creating sets of **Critical Cultural Indicators** encompassing a range of indicators from artistic, symbolic, and social policy categories can provide more decolonised information about cultural expressions and their producers/groups, benefiting individuals and society.

This represents a significant challenge in Latin American countries like Brazil, which follows global agendas and frameworks led by the Global North. The epistemologies of the Global North do not provide the guidelines and definitions to challenge power structures within the cultural field in the Global South. To dismantle the multifaceted dominations and confront the historical impacts of capitalism and coloniality, it becomes imperative for the Global South to repair the damages caused by colonialism and challenge the prevailing epistemologies rooted in the North. Critical Discourse Analysis can provide potential insights into rethinking cultural indicators frameworks, challenging dominant narratives, and decolonising cultural information processes to promote cultural equity and address power imbalances in Brazil and other Latin American countries.

Research limitations and suggestions for future research

This research is an opportunity to challenge and denounce dominant discourses that perpetuate inequalities and marginalisation in the cultural field in a country where such issues plague its society historically. CDA and cultural values provide an approach and insights into how cultural values are prioritised and operationalised, which can help us evaluate the effectiveness and impact of cultural policies in addressing inequality issues. Ultimately, this contributes to a deeper understanding of how cultural values shape policy decisions, potentially informing discussions on promoting inclusivity, social justice and cultural equity.

Nevertheless, further CDA of Brazilian policy texts is still needed to articulate how cultural policy enacts, confirms, legitimates and reproduces or challenges relations of power within the cultural field in more detail. Due to extension constraints, I have attained the analysis in the constitutional texts, assuming they represent Brazil's cultural policy foundation. An analysis of the National Cultural Support Program's objectives from the 1990s would be fundamental, as would the materials and speeches of the community consultations (the Culture for All conferences); the NCP principles and objectives released in 2010 and their official documents' forewords from politicians; the technical notes on the cultural measurements reports' concepts of culture and cultural activity; and international guidelines for cultural measurements, such as the Andrés Bello Convention's and UNESCO's Cultural Statistics Framework; or even performing interviews with policy-makers.

As for further research, analysing these documents through CDA could denounce other ways cultural policy and indicators perpetuate inequalities across time. This could help us challenge potentially the status quo and propose solutions to right the wrongs of how cultural policy and indicators discriminate against marginalised groups. A post-development framing could also provide more historical context alongside cultural value theory. Either way, Walmsley's (2018) proposal of reframing the cultural field/values and research from an epistemological concern to a phenomenological enquiry remains on the table, as does the Cultural Value Project's centrality to the cultural experience.



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APPENDICES

Appendices

Appendix A

Objectives of the National System of Information and Cultural Indicators (NSICI) 2010. Law No. 12.343, of December 2nd, 2010

Objectives of the National System of Information and Cultural Indicators (NSICI) 2010

I - to collect, systematize, and interpret data, provide methodologies, and establish parameters for measuring cultural activity and social needs related to culture, enabling the formulation, monitoring, management, and evaluation of public cultural policies and cultural policies in general, verifying and rationalizing the implementation of the National Culture Plan (NCP) and its review within the established deadlines;

II - to provide statistics, indicators, and other relevant information for characterizing the demand and supply of cultural goods, for the development of models for the economy and sustainability of culture, for the adoption of mechanisms to induce and regulate economic activity in the cultural field, providing support to public and private cultural managers;

III - to exercise and facilitate the monitoring and evaluation of public cultural policies and cultural policies in general, ensuring that both the government and civil society can monitor the performance of the NCP.

Appendix B Articles 215 and 216 of the Brazilian Constitution (1988) (Brazil, 2013)

Articles 215 and 216 of the Brazilian Constitution (1988)

Article 215. The state shall ensure to all the full exercise of the cultural rights and access to the sources of national culture and shall support and foster the appreciation and diffusion of cultural expressions. (CA No. 48, 2005)

Paragraph 1. The State shall **protect** the expressions of **popular**, **Indian** and **Afro-Brazilian cultures**, as well as those of **other groups participating in the national civilization process**.

Paragraph 2. The law shall provide for the establishment of commemorative dates of high significance for the various national ethnic segments.

Paragraph 3. The law shall establish the **National Culture Plan**, in the form of a multiyear plan **aimed at the cultural development** of the country and the integration of government initiatives to attain the following:

I - protection and appreciation of the value of Brazil's cultural heritage;

II – production, promotion, and diffusion of cultural goods;

III – training of qualified personnel to manage culture in its multiple dimensions;

IV - democratization of access to cultural goods;

V – **appreciation** of the **value of ethnic and regional diversity**.

Article 216. The Brazilian cultural heritage consists of the assets of a material and immaterial nature, taken individually or as a whole, which bear reference to the identity, action and memory of the various groups that form the Brazilian society, therein included: (CA No. 42, 2003)

I – forms of expression;

II – ways of creating, making and living;

III - scientific, artistic and technological creations;

IV - works, objects, documents, buildings and other spaces intended for artistic and

cultural expressions;

V – urban complexes and sites of historical, natural, artistic, archaeological, paleontological, ecological and scientific value.

Paragraph 1. The Government shall, with the cooperation of the community, promote and protect the Brazilian cultural heritage, by means of inventories, registers, vigilance, monument protection decrees, expropriation and other forms of precaution and preservation.

Paragraph 2. It is incumbent upon the Government, in accordance with the law, to manage the keeping of the governmental documents and to make them available for consultation to whomever may need to do so.

Paragraph 3. The law shall establish incentives for the production and knowledge of cultural assets and values.

Paragraph 4. Damages and threats to the cultural heritage shall be punished in accordance with the law.

Paragraph 5. All documents and sites bearing historical reminiscence to the ancient

communities of runaway slaves are protected as national heritage.

Paragraph 6. The States and the Federal District may assign up to five tenths per cent of their net tax revenues to a state fund for the promotion of culture, for the purpose of funding cultural programs and projects, the utilization of such funds for the payment of the following items being forbidden:

I – personnel expenses and social charges;

II – debt servicing;

III – any other current expense not directly related to the investments or actions supported by said programs.

Appendix C National Cultural Support Program (NPSC)'s objectives (Brazil, 2013)

National Cultural Support Program (NPSC)'s objectives, Law No. 8.313, of December 23rd, 1991.

<u>Article 1.</u> The National Program to Support Culture (NPSC) is established, with the purpose of **capturing and channelling resources to the sector** in order to:

I - contribute to facilitating, for all, the means for **free access to sources of culture and the full exercise of cultural rights**;

II - promote and stimulate the **regionalization of Brazilian cultural and artistic production**, with valorization of human resources and local content;

III - support, valorize and disseminate the set of cultural expressions and their respective creators;

IV - protect the cultural expressions of groups that form Brazilian society and are responsible for the pluralism of national culture;

V - **safeguard** the survival and flourishing of the ways of creating, making and living in Brazilian society;

VI - preserve the material and immaterial goods of Brazilian cultural and historical heritage;

VII - develop international awareness and respect for the cultural values of other peoples or nations;

VIII - **stimulate the production and dissemination of cultural goods** of universal value, which form and inform knowledge, culture, and memory;

IX - prioritize cultural products originating from the country.

<u>Single paragraph.</u> The incentives created by this law will only be granted to cultural projects that aim at the **exhibition**, **use and public circulation** of the resulting cultural goods, with the granting of incentives to works, products, events or others resulting from, destined or limited to private circuits or to private collections".

<u>Art. 18</u> With the aim of encouraging cultural activities, the Union will provide individuals or legal entities with the option of applying portions of the Income Tax as donations or sponsorships, both in direct support to cultural projects presented by individuals or by persons legal activities of a cultural nature, of a private nature, such as through contributions to the FNC, pursuant to article 5, item II of this Law, provided that the projects meet the criteria established in art. 1 of this Law, around which execution priority will be given by the CNIC."

Appendix D Schools and movements on cultural indicators (Martins & Pinto, 2019)

SCHOOLS	PESPECTIVE	
Content Analysis	The emphasis on the content of symbolic forms artic- ulates the presence of mass media, especially televi- sion, with people's behaviour towards transmitted messages.	George Gerbner in 1969. Karl Erik Rosengren at the period from 1945-1975.
Cultural Produc- tion	It is based on the structured dimension of culture to the to recognize The creation, The production, cir- culation and consumption, emphasizing policies cultural (scope national). Frise infrastructure and consumer goods associated with communication.	Pierre Bourdieu and Alain Darbel, in 1966. Unesco de- cade 1980. IFACCA in 2005.
Values and Behaviours	It is shaped by an anthropological perspective in which it analyses the social and cultural standards of national societies. Beliefs, values, views on democracy and tolerance, for example, are perceived as maintain- ing and changing social behaviours over time.	Richard Inglehart from 1970 on, expressively during the 1990s
MOVE- MENTS	PERSPECTIVE	
Culture and Development	Marked by a broader vision of culture, it seeks to establish relations between culture and its policies im- plied in different visions of development (and also of policies), such as economic, human, sustainable, among others.	UNESCO in the 1990s and in 2011 and 2014. World Bank in 1999. Knight Foundation in 2001. Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Develop- ment in 2006.
Culture and Cre- ativity	It interrelates culture and creativity with political, economic, social and cultural structures , establishing articulations both with cultural production and with the values It is behaviours social, already at scale of cities It is regions.	Richard Florida in 2002. UNE- SCO in 2003. Cultural Initiatives Silicon Valley in 2003. Creative City Network's Intermunicipal Comparative Framework Project in 2005. Unesco in 2014. European Union in 2017.
Culture and Gover- nance	It emphasises cultural management, namely through local and regional cultural policies, highlighting planning, transparency and social dialogue.	Creative City Network's Intermunicipal Comparative Framework Project in 2005. Federación Española de Mu- nicipios y Provincias in 2007. Vicente Coll-Serrano and Salvador Carrasco- Arroyo in 2012.
Culture and De- mocracy	Perceives the flow of cultural production and practic- es and social behaviour in democratic dynamics. This double movement emphasises citizens and polit- ical approaches (cultural and	Anna flat Lladó and Pere Soler Masó in 2012. European Council in 2013.
democratic) from bottom-up.		

