

Brazilian cultural policies during the governments of Lula da Silva and Dilma Rousseff: domestic decentralization and supranational regionalization

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Introduction

Cultural policies of Brazil have passed through a turning point in its history since 2000. The Brazilian presidential elections occurred in 2002, 2006, 2010 and 2014, won by coalitions coordinated by the Workers Party (PT), resulted in the victory of Luis Inácio Lula da Silva (2003-2006, 2007-2010) and Dilma Rousseff (2011-2014, 2015-2016), who arose new policies in several areas, among them culture. These governments have faced serious national problems, such as hunger and social inequalities. Furthermore, they have implemented national, democratic, inclusive and sovereign development policies, promoting social and cultural diversity.

In the cultural field, the Ministry of Culture (MinC) lived a new era, with important changes: recovery of its role; adoption of a broader concept of culture; formulation of public policies including the participation of civil society; investment in inclusive

projects with territorial reach, such as 'Cultura Viva / Pontos de Cultura' (Live Culture / Culture Points); and fostering the linking of federal entities through elaboration of the National Culture Plan (PNC) and the setting up of the National Culture System (SNC), which aims to structure and bring stability to the PNC.

MinC's proactive role was also present in the independent foreign policy of Lula and Dilma governments. Between 2003 and 2016, Brazil sought to expand its relations and partnerships with various regions of the world. It was remarkable the approach with South America, Latin America, Ibero-America and the Caribbean. Such relationships have resulted in multilateral organizations such as the Union of South American Nations (UNASUR) and the Community of Latin American and Caribbean States (CELAC). It has also stepped up relations with the Mercosur, the Community of Portuguese Language Countries (CPLP), the Organization of

American States (OAS) and the Ibero-American General Secretary (SEGIB).

To investigate the national and international performance of MinC, this article is divided into two parts. The first focus on national cultural policies, especially the SNC. The second deals with multilateral cooperation policies, emphasizing the Ibero-America region. The theoretical framework of this article was based on literature review of academic works related to culture, state, public policy, federalism and international relations, as well as documentary analysis from secondary sources.

Part I: Ministry of Culture national practice

Since the 2000s, MinC develops actions to establish the SNC, which seeks to link the federal entities and the civil society in favor of the institutionalization of democratic and decentralized public policies, combating instability.

The interaction of the federal entities – Federal Government, states, Federal District and municipalities - in order to promote systemic public policy is not new in the Brazilian history. The country has some tradition in this field, such as the decentralization of public policies related to education, social welfare, housing and health. These decentralizations, which transfer functions from federal government to other levels of government, occurred after the re-democratization, in the 1980s, and the reform of the state,

in the 1990s (Arretche 2000).

The consolidation of decentralized policies is not simple. Starting with the confrontational relationship between the entities of Brazilian federalism that has been changed in its organization since its founding in 1891, sometimes by setting up a centralized state, sometimes by a decentralized state, outlining a pendulum movement (Linhares, Mendes and Lassance 2012; Monteiro Neto 2014).

This instability began to shift with the Federal Constitution of 1988, which established new federative organization. A key change was the granting of political, legislative, administrative and financial autonomy to the municipalities (Brasil 1988), considered as unique status in the world by scholars (Bonavides 2002). The principle of autonomy forecast that the transfer of assignment can only occur with the joining of the entity to assume that role. It means that the decentralization process, from the federal government to other federal entities, needs the approval of them.

It's worth mentioning that the decentralization process gained ground in the period of neoliberal state (1990s). According to Ana Paula de Paula (2005), the reform process respected the formal dimension of democracy, but remained authoritarian features of the dictatorship, whose program was based on technocratic and centralized view without ensuring civil participation. This change intensified in 2003, with the government of

Lula, aware of civiciety's participation in the political process and the resumption of the state's role. The area of culture was one of the public policies that most absorbed such changes.

Cultural policies journey and federalism

If the Brazilian federalism is defined by his pendulous movement, cultural policies also are part of this instability, with specific and interrupted actions that reveal their fragility. (Rubim 2007).

The beginning of Brazilian cultural policies occurs in the Vargas government (1930-1945). It was characterized by the concentration of power in the federal government. The authoritarian government had competences and power, consolidated through political skills of coordination and intervention, as wells as the structuring of a broad public service (Lassance 2012). In the culture policy took place an unprecedented interference of central government with the creation of public institutions, such as the Historical Heritage and National Artistic Service (SPHAN)¹. This cultural policy built a Brazilian identity discourse, expressing a supposed national unity (Barbalho 2009). Sought to value 'the nationalism, the brazilianness, the harmony between social classes, the work and the mestizo character of the Brazilian people' (Rubim 2007, 16). These cultural policies rose from an authoritarian government, which concentrated

cultural policies (Botelho 2007; Rubim 2007).

The Vargas years was succeeded by a democratic period (1945-1964). For culture, the period was marked by the development of cultural consumption; expansion of radio broadcasters; intensification of film production; politicization of the arts and aesthetic renewal movements like 'Cinema Novo' and 'Bossa Nova' (Calabre 2009). Despite the cultural moment, the central government had a timid performance in the area of cultural policies (Calabre 2009).

The next period (1964-1985) was dominated by the military dictatorship, which expanded the powers of the federal government. In practice recreated the unitary state, keeping federalism formally. Member states had their autonomy reduced and suffered interventions in several areas (Cunha Filho and Ribeiro 2013). The pretext invoked to support such actions was the central government's concern to maintain the Brazilian unit and promote the so-called 'integrated development' (Baracho 1986).

The government's performance in culture had two guidelines: censored and restrained what was at odds with the dictatorship and strengthened the promotion and creation of cultural bodies. The state acted as 'promoter of cultural production and, foremost, the creator of an integrated picture of Brazil that tries to appropriate the monopoly of the national memory' (Oliven 1984, 50). The National

Cultural Policy (PNAC), for example, described culture as 'indispensable means to strengthen and consolidate the nationality' (MEC / PNAC 1975, 09). PNAC's aspiration was to build a national system for the sector, as it was recorded in the National Meeting of Culture realized in 1976, which brought together representatives of Ministry of Education and Culture (MEC), state secretaries, state councilors of culture and representatives of UNESCO. According to Lia Calabre (2009), the proposal for creating this system stressed the need to harmonize the activities among different levels of government, allocating responsibilities in accordance with their respective powers and duties. Sergio Miceli (1984) highlight that PNAC is an unprecedented attempt to establish a federal cultural policy. However, states and municipalities did not have autonomy because they were subordinated to the dictatorial government.

The 1980's mark the end of military dictatorship and Brazilian democratization, expressed in the Constitution of 1988. It expanded the political and democratic freedoms; included social participation as the axis of public policy management and control of government actions at all levels (Art. 204). With regard to culture, it restated the role of public authorities in Article 215: 'The State shall ensure to all the full exercise of cultural rights and access to sources of

national culture and shall support and foster the appreciation and diffusion of cultural expressions' (Brasil 1988). The Constitution has also advanced to include culture in the list of common duties of the Union, states and municipalities, according to Articles 23 and 24. It means that these entities have autonomy to act in the culture. Some years ago, in 1985, the culture began to have a unique ministry.

Despite the achievements of this Constitution, the 1990's were marked by the neoliberal state reform that reduced structures and activities, transferring them through privatization and outsourcing services (Bevir 2011). Cultural policies have suffered this impact. They passed through intense administrative instability (1985-1994) and the state's action absence (1995-2002). The instability was due to the passage of 10 executives to manage the national culture body in nine years (Rubim 2007). In addition, from 1990 to 1993, MinC and some of its bodies were abolished and recreated, reflecting the sector's fragility (Botelho 2001; Calabre 2010).

This period was characterized by the prominence of the tax incentive laws. They have become practically the unique funding model for culture. Between 1994 and 2002, during the Fernando Henrique Cardoso's government, these taxes mobilized a large volume of public resources, controlled by private companies.

'In the singular Brazilian setting, the incentive laws are tempted to exhaust

the theme of culture funding policies, if not the whole theme of cultural policies. They depress democracy by introducing a powerful distortion of who decides the use of public funds, the state or the market. They have become, in practice, decided by the companies and their marketing departments'. (Rubim 2015, 20-21).

Although there were some transfer of resources to states and municipalities (Moses 2001), it's not possible to affirm that the 1990's have encouraged the federal pact. The structure of the Ministry remained centralized, with most cultural bodies based in the Brazilian southeast region (Meira 2004).

The Worker's Party governments and the National Culture System

The governments of PT, chaired by Lula da Silva and Dilma Rousseff, represent a shift in the MinC's trajectory, expressed by: its active role; the participation of civil society in public policy through councils, conferences, public consultations, boards etc.; the creation of innovative projects like 'Revelando Brasis' and 'DOCTV'; the territorial expansion of its activities through programs such as 'Cultura Viva / Pontos de Cultura'; the long-term planning expressed by the PNC; and the encouragement of the federal pact through the SNC.

The idea of culture system appears in the electoral program of Lula in

2002. But its institutionality came in 2005. This delay was due to several reasons, including interlinking problems and disputes within the MinC (Reis 2008). The Proposed Constitutional Amendment (PEC) 416/2005 has dealt for seven years in the Depute's Congress until reach the Senate, where it was approved as the Constitutional Amendment (EC) 34/2012. The inclusion of the SNC in the Constitution provides constitutional guarantee for its realization. The EC 34/2012 added Article 216-A into the Constitution, establishing the SNC 'organized in collaboration, horizontally, open, decentralized and participatory.' The approval of SNC expresses the real intention of the Union to lead a national cooperative policy on culture (Molinari and Dantas 2013).

The SNC aims to implement the federal pact in the cultural field, improving intergovernmental management areas based on cooperation and complementarity of federal entities and civil society and fostering co-management with cultural associations (Botelho 2006). It is made up of bodies, mechanisms and management tools that should ensure democracy, cultural diversity and increase intercultural dialogue, both inside and outside Brazil (Rubim 2016). The following drawing shows the SNC's arrangement.



Source: own elaboration based on Article 216-A of Federal Constitution (1988).

As envisaged by the Constitution, the system should be adopted in the three levels of government: the Union's level as SNC; the State's level as State Systems of Culture (SEC); and the Municipalities' level as Municipal Systems of Culture (SMC). The idea is to strengthen the institutional framework of the Brazilian cultural field '[...] creating a consistent ballast to meet the cultural demands of the population, carrying the symbolic development and consolidating citizenship and cultural rights in the country.' (Rubim 2016).

The status of implementation of each of these elements varies within MinC and other federal entities, as explained below.

(1) Culture's bodies of management: public administration bodies

olicies. In the case of Union it's the Ministry and for states and municipalities is the culture secretary or equivalent body. By December 2015, 78% of states and 37% of municipalities (1.073 cities) had exclusive secretary for culture², a percentage that has been increasing over the years and with the SNC's consolidation.

(2) Cultural Policy Council: permanent collegiate body that elaborates and monitors cultural policies. For MinC, councils should be consultative and deliberative, being composed of at least 50% of representatives of civil society, elected democratically. Within the Union, the culture council had unstable trajectory. It was created in 1938, carried out in 1961, abolished in 1990, recreated as the National Council of Cultural Policies in 2005 and restructured in 2015 (Calabre 2010). In relation to other councils, data from 2015³ show that 100% of states and 39% of municipalities have cultural councils. In less than 10 years the number of cities with council more than doubled. According to the IBGE, they were 17% in 2006.

(3) Culture Conferences: spaces of civil society participation and articulation between them and the state to discuss public policies. MinC coordinates and calls national conferences (CNC) every four years. Up to the present there were three conferences: 2005, 2010 and 2013. Each meeting was preceded by state and local conferences, with

theme designated by MinC. The participation of municipalities and states in these events is significant. The 1st CNC (2005) involved 1.190 municipalities (2 1,3%) and 17 states (62,9%). The 2nd CNC (2010) hosted 3.216 municipalities (57, 7%) and 27 states (100%). The 3rd CNC (2013) 100% of the states and 52,4% of the municipalities. For Adelia Zimbrão (2013), attended the meeting⁴ the conferences have the potential to influence the legislature to elaborate laws. However, they have limitations on the forwarding channels. These limitations do not invalidate the conferences as spaces for participation of civil society, debate and political legitimation.

(4) Funding systems for Culture: formed by mechanisms of public financial support, as culture's funds and tax incentive laws. In the case of SNC, the main source is the National Culture Fund (FNC), whose resources are insufficient and have shown reduction.

'The FNC reduced from R\$ 132 million in 2005 to R\$ 91 million in 2013. That same year, the Rouanet Law mobilized R\$ 1,331 billion. That is, the Rouanet Law provided financing almost 15 times higher than the public fund in 2013. If the SNC effectively is a priority for the Ministry, FNC depression has to be halted and reversed. Without a powered FNC there is no chance for SNC'. (Rubim 2016).

resources' expectation from FNC to state's and municipal's funds, the SNC needs to boost programs, projects and actions that can move its structure. Such initiatives are still very timid. In 2014, the first public notice that aimed to strengthen the SNC was directed exclusively to states which joined the SNC and possessed Culture State System established by law, i.e., only 22,2%. The amount of resources was of R\$ 30 million, far below the demand of the Forum of Secretary's and Officer's State of Culture (Rubim 2016). In 2015 it was the turn of municipalities to be served by public notices amounting to R\$ 15 million. The goal was to select approximately 100 municipalities' projects with federal cooperation agreements and Culture Municipal Systems established by law.

(5) Culture Plans: public management tools that set goals to be achieved in ten years. The plans must be established with civil society participation and must be approved by the legislature of each level of government. At federal level, the National Culture Plan (PNC) was approved in 2010 and its 53 targets set in 2011. The first target is the SNC: 'National System of Culture institutionalized and implemented, with 100% of the Federative Units and 60 % of municipalities with culture systems institutionalized and implemented.' Plan and systems are structuring policies, permanent, of long-term, coordinated and

Apart from the transfer of

(collaborative, which does not always occur within the ministry (Rubim 2015). MinC undertook efforts in order to support states and municipalities preparing their own plans. Since 2012 partnerships were held between MinC, universities and bodies of culture from states and municipalities for the development of culture plans. According to Marta Arretche (2000), technical capacity is one of the key elements for decentralization policies. The realization of these partnerships is a federal exercise of the SNC itself, approaching the federal entities, expanding dialogue between them and promoting the exchange of knowledge and best practices (Rubim 2016).

6) Information Systems and Cultural Indicators:

systems that provide information about cultural area (products, services, institutions, etc.). At federal level, Law nº. 12.343/2010 created the National System of Information and Cultural Indicators (SNIIC), also responsible for monitoring and assessing cultural policies, especially the PNC's implementation. Few states and municipalities already have such systems.

(7) National Training Program for Culture: intends to operate in one of the most critical and relevant area of the System - the training and qualification of managers and councilors of culture. According to Albino Rubim (2008), Brazil lacks a training policy for culture's managers. Such situation has faced by MinC only

recently, which promoted the training of cultural managers (Bahia, 2009-2010; Northeastern States, 2012-2013, Paraíba, Rio de Janeiro and Pará, 2014) and created the Secretary of Education and Artistic and Cultural Training within MinC (2015), interrupted by changing of minister in 2016.

(8) Sectorial Systems: aim to develop policies for specific cultural areas. The creation of the systems varies with articulation, organization and complexity of each area. Civil society participation should be guaranteed, like collegiate and sectorial chambers. Some sectorial systems have already developed their culture plans.

(9) Tripartite management commissions (CIT) and Bipartite (CIB): forum for negotiation and agreement of intergovernmental actions related to the operationalization of culture systems. They are permanent and should serve as technical advisory bodies to the cultural policy councilors (Minc 2011). Despite being presented as fundamental parts, they haven't been created yet.

Challenges to consolidate the National Culture System (SNC)

Considering the structure and constitutional provision of SNC it is possible to infer that its principles draw a decentralized federal pact model, but with integrated actions. The proposal is not a simple system of money transfer between the federal entities, but

implementation of joint activities in a coordinated and collaborative manner, which requires dialogue between MinC, states and municipalities.

The SNC has broad and complex architecture, which includes subsystems: financing; information and cultural indicators; and sectorials: instruments, management bodies and boards of civil society participation, which requires certain resources and skills by the various actors within it. On this point, Rubim (2016) points out that SNC structures must be consistent to stimulate and strengthen the democracy, the dialogue, the diversity and the social participation, at the same time, flexible to host civil society.

What happens is that the SNC has complex operational architecture, which involves many different actors, such as politicians, bureaucrats, legislators and cultural agents, multiplied by the three federal levels. That means that it's always necessary to negotiate in the different moments of SNC's implementation, mainly because: (1) not all the actors were present in the system formulation phase and their interests may be different and even contrary to the SNC design (Pressman and Widalvsky 1998); (2) the resources for culture are insufficient to meet the huge amount of demands, which implies making decisions that benefit certain groups; (3) to be long-term policy needs to be permanently on the agenda of the actors, because the presence in the Constitution does not guarantee its effectiveness.

Despite these difficulties, it can be observed positive results of MinC's work. The number of subnational entities that signed the Federal Cooperation Agreement to develop the SNC and took the assignment to establish its main elements (cultural policy council, culture plan and financing system with culture funding) increased from 2010 to 2015, as the chart below.

Table 1 (in the annexes)

These data show that the process of articulation, coordinated by MinC, is establishing a national broad-based network, seeking to operate federative and collaboratively (Rubim 2016), in a process that requires time and maturation.

In fact, the building process of a national system is slow. There are a number of steps to overcome, including some that are as real challenges, such as: (1) institute federal law for regulating the SNC, indicating how this will link with other systems and sectorial policies; (2) establish and operate the negotiation board of intergovernmental actions: the Interagency Commission Pact; (3) increase the financing system; (4) establish criteria for the distribution of funds to states and municipalities; (5) define the duties of each federal entity, indicating the specific skills for each level of government to allow the complementarity of actions, key point that was not faced by any MinC's management.

'The discussion about the different responsibilities of the federal government, states and municipalities in the SNC has not advanced. This step becomes important because nowadays all federal entities can play almost all activities in the field of culture. As this activity often takes a competitor character, the situation results as potentially problematic and illogical'. (Rubim 2015, 18).

All aspects pointed out above are fundamental to systemic policies that intend to carry out the federal pact. As highlight Molinaro and Dantas (2013), the Constitution does not make clear a number of issues about the SNC, as well as a series of legal mechanisms favor the Union, enabling that the SNC becomes a vertical policy. But it is undeniable that it is role of MinC take over the coordination for implementing the SNC, including through induction strategies. According to Arretche (2000), Brazil has a federal state with regional inequalities and a large number of municipalities with fiscal and administrative weaknesses. It complicates the process of reform, which seeks to reconfigure the centralized setting. For the author, the success of a major reform depends on the deliberate action of the most comprehensive levels of government that are committed to '[...] establish an assignment decentralization program; ii) bureaucratic capacity to formulate appropriate and compatible programs with this decision; and iii) resources -

financial and administrative - to make the joint to decentralization a truly attractive option for local governments' (2000, 248).

In the case of SNC there is a long way to go. The first aspect pointed out by Arretche (2000) - assignments decentralization program - for example, still lacks truly efforts by MinC. Set assignments isn't an easy task, especially because one cannot ignore the capacity (political, structural, financial, etc.) of the states and municipalities. However, one should not forget that the lack of discussion within Min C and the vagueness about operation, intergovernmental cooperation mechanisms and ways of solving the issue of funding can make the implementation of public policies involving federal agencies difficult and delay the SNC deployment.

Part II: International cultural policies and Ibero-America

For a long time Brazil's international insertion played a subordinate role, or the condition of a colony of Portugal (1500-1822), or the country in a dependent position of world powers (Britain and France and then the United States). Only from 1930s the country began to envision a more independent foreign policy, grounded in their own interests, when Getúlio Vargas (1930-1945) used foreign policy to bargain national interest projects (Vizentini 2005). Since then, the country is experiencing a zig-zag in its foreign relations, ranging from

moments of more independence and others of submission to the United States' designs.

The subordinated foreign policies to dominant powers inhibited the attentive look to the countries of South America, Latin America and Ibero-America. In the latter context, the situation is aggravated by the complex historic interaction between ex-colonies and former colonial empires. Eduardo Lourenço, for example, outlines provoking reflections on the myth of the Luso-Brazilian community, their distances and misunderstandings of Brazilian and Portuguese conceptions about the relationship between the two nations (Lourenço 2015).

With advances and setbacks, more elaborate constructions of foreign policy were added to the initial flashes, as outlined by the presidents Quadros (1961) and João Goulart (1961-1964). The Foreign Minister San Tiago Dantas (1961-1962) gave consistency to the formulations and practices of independent foreign policy inaugurated in the previous government (Vizentini 2005). As principles of independent foreign policy could be listed, according to Paul Vizentini (2005): Brazilian exports to all countries, including socialists; defense of international law, autonomy and self-determination of peoples; policy of peace, disarmament and peaceful coexistence; support for decolonization and autonomous formulation of national development plans.

The military dictatorship

(1964-1985) initially imposed a policy aligned with USA's interests, then abandoned in favor of more independent foreign policy. This attitude granted an approach, yet tenuous, with neighboring countries, geographically or historically. It's emblematic that the military dictatorship have been the first country to recognize the independence of Angola, led and governed by the Movement of Liberation of Angola (MPLA), assumedly left.

The formulation process of independent foreign policy, after a century of independence, allowed Brazil to sign up in the world from other viewpoints, in which the neighboring countries have gained attention. It is accentuated with comings and goings in the post-dictatorship democratic governments (Miyamoto 2000): José Sarney (1985-1990), Fernando Collor de Melo (1990-1993), Itamar Franco (1993-1994) and Fernando Henrique Cardoso (1995-2002). The 'perverse convergence' between the democratization process in progress, the presence of neo-liberalism in the international scene and its penetration in the country, pointed out by Evelina Dagnino (2005), led to tensions and ambiguity of different degrees as a result of this conflicted coexistence. Nevertheless, the contradictions could not overshadow the importance of neighboring regions, in geographical or historical horizons. The establishment of Southern Common Market (MERCOSUR) between 1991/1994

appeared as a landmark of the new circumstance of regional integration (Recondo 1997). The foundation of the Community of Portuguese Language Countries (CPLP) in 1996, also expressed this attitude in foreign affairs (Novais 2013). The unprecedented meeting of Presidents of South America, held in Brasilia in 2000, reinforces the search for cooperation and integration, even privileging physical connection projects (Lafer 2004).

The independent foreign policy featured by renewed worldviews deepened in Luiz Inácio Lula da Silva's government (2003-2010) and remained in the government of Dilma Rousseff (2011-2016). Without ignoring relations with Europe and the United States, traditional centers of Brazil's international affairs, the independent foreign policy pursued the diversity of partnerships in a multipolar vision of the world. It paid special attention to South America, Latin America and the Caribbean, the large developing countries, Africa and the Arab countries. It is no coincidence the constitution of some organizations in those years, such as the South American Nations Union (UNASUR); Community of Latin American and Caribbean States (CELAC) and joints as involving Brazil, Russia, India, China and South Africa (BRICS), as well as the attention with MERCOSUR, the CPLP and other international partners (Guimarães 2015). The integration process in Latin America and the Caribbean has been covered in detail by Nils Castro (2015).

Culture and foreign affairs

The context of international relations modified after the Second World War. The number of independent countries grew steadily: 50 in 1945, they moved to 120 in 1964, 170 in 1989 and 196 countries in 2011 (Ribeiro 2011). Multilateral organizations proliferated. Changes in economy, transports and communications brought a new meaning of the world. Foreign affairs have become increasingly vital in the brave new world.

The situation of foreign affairs policies also changed with rearrangements in the cultural field. After 1945 arise several multilateral organizations dedicated to culture, such as the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) in 1946, and the Organization of Ibero-American States (OEI) in 1949, and appear the first studies devoted to culture in international relations. In 1947, McMurry and Lee state the cultural dimension as a constitutive part of the states' foreign policies (McMurry and Lee 1947). Cultural themes begin to attend consistently at national and international political agenda. The creation of the Ministry of Cultural Affairs in France, in 1959, invented the national cultural policies (Urfalino 2004). UNESCO had an important role in internationalization and in cultural exposure in the world scenario (Rubim 2009). Its debates, meetings, studies

and legislation present themes such as: national cultural identity; cultural heritage; cultural policies; culture and development; and cultural diversity (Bolan, 2006, 77-109). Between 1971 and 2005, for example, it generated around 10 conventions and declarations on cultural matters (Montiel 2005). Cultural diversity mobilized supranational discussion and resulted in the Universal Declaration on Cultural Diversity (2001) and the Convention on the Protection and Promotion of Cultural Expressions Diversity (2005).

Other factors contributed to a broader presence of culture in international relations. The development of culture's economy, which emerged in the 19th century and intensified in the 20th century, placed the culture as an important asset and one of the most dynamic and promising economic areas nowadays. The creative economy, which has gained visibility in the 1990s, initially in Australia and Great Britain, amplified even more the place of culture in contemporary economy. Globalization, which characterized the late 20th century and the beginning of the present century, enhanced the inclusion of culture on the international agenda, as it urged wide discussion of its impacts, scheduling debates about globalization, cultural homogenization and cultural diversity (Lessa 2012). The velocity of information's flow and the potential expansion for exchange of ideas redefine the role played by culture in the modern world (Ribeiro, 2011). The

global and the local have become arenas of intense disputes, including cultural, as occurred in the Convention on Protection and Promotion of Cultural Expressions Diversity.

In contemporary times, shaped by economic, political, social, cultural, communicational and technological changes, thrived cultural diplomacy. Defined as '... specific use of the cultural relationship to achieve national goals, not only cultural, but also political, commercial and economic' (Ribeiro 2011, 33) or in almost similar way as '... use the issues and / or cultural matters for aiming objectives related to foreign policy ...' (Lessa 2012, 170), cultural diplomacy has its origin in the pioneering attitude of France to create, in 1910, a division in the Ministry of Foreign Trade to address the spread of French language and culture abroad (Ribeiro 2011). Bruno Podestá considered that the definition of Willy Brandt for culture as the third pillar of foreign policy, along with politics and economy, validated the term 'cultural diplomacy' (Podesta 2004). However, Monica Lessa assets culture as a fourth dimension of international relations, even though she also adopts the use of cultural diplomacy term (Lessa 2012). Edgard Telles Ribeiro and Bruno Podesta, among others, believe that cultural diplomacy expresses the foreign cultural policy of a country. In 2000 came the 1st White House Conference on Culture and Diplomacy, in a clear demonstration of importance that this theme has aroused nowadays.

Recently other conception of culture has been increasingly incorporated to international relations. The term is 'soft power', created by Joseph Nye (2004) as the ability of a state to benefit from behavioral changes of others through the power of attraction of its culture and its ideas. For him the challenge of 'soft power' is to convert such attraction elements into power in favor of their positions in various matters. Edgar Montiel assets 'intangible power' or 'versatile power', because he considers that, in his English meaning, the expression seems strained to associate two words with contradictory meanings: strength and lightness (Montiel 2010). Furthermore the conceptual discussions, it's important to highlight the growing presence of culture in diplomacy and international Relations.

Brazilian national and international cultural policies

The contemporary sociability transformations set Lula's rise environment for the presidency of Brazil (2003-2010).

This government is characterized by broad political alliance of classes, aiming to overcome national ills and to enable democratic development in political, social and cultural terms. Public policies, social diversity, democratization of state and independent foreign policy raised as some of the differential marks of the government.

Brazilian cultural diplomacy

(involved, at least, the ministries of Foreign Affairs; Culture; Education; Science and Technology; Sport; Tourism; and Industry, Development and Foreign Trade, as Bruno Novais (2013). This research covered specifically cultural diplomacy undertaken by the Ministries of Foreign Affairs, Culture and Education. Through the Tripartite Adjustment signed in 1987, they developed inaugural report entitled *Brazilian Cultural Policy Abroad*, which stated the link of this policy with national development (Ribeiro 2011) and elected the priority areas in the following order: Latin America, Africa, USA, Europe, Middle East and Asia (Ribeiro 2011).

The Ministry of Foreign Affairs (MRE) already had experience in the international dissemination of culture, in particular through the Cultural Department (CD) and its activities abroad. The establishment of foreign cultural policy happened in the second half of the 1980s, with democratization. In 1987, at Rio Branco Institute (IRB), Edgard Ribeiro defended pioneering thesis called *Cultural Dissemination: an alternative to support Brazilian foreign policy*, which was increased and published in 1989. In 1988, the Research Institute of International Relations from MRE promoted the seminar *Culture and International Relations*. All initiatives pointed out the emerging and growing interest in the issue of culture in international relations within the MRE.

MinC has worked in line with Lula's government guidelines. Gilberto Gil,

minister between 2003 and 2008, said that ‘... Lula’s government and MinC have been shifting cultural policies to the center of the national development debate and to the exchange relations between Brazil and other countries’ (Gil apud Novais 2010, 220).

Deliberate or not, it is remarkable the convergence between the promotion of social diversity, held by the president, and the cultural diversity policy, undertaken by MinC. Both sought to overcome the unequal treatment given to Brazilian people based on its origin and social characters. Cultural policies developed by the Ministry took on an wider concept of culture; the construction of public policy, discussed and defined through various channels of participation; the creation of comprehensive and inclusive cultural programs, such as the ‘Cultura Viva’; the national role of MinC; the democratization of national state formulations and its actions in cultural area; the search for more stable cultural policies, such as the National Plan of Culture and the National Culture System, as well as broadening the social base of MinC beyond the artists and heritage professionals. Such policies place culture in a higher level into the country, although the permanence of problems, some of them serious, like the financing arrangements and the size of the ministry (Rubim 2011).

Aligned with the policy of greater international presence of Brazil, MinC dedicated on the expansion of cultural

work outside the country, associated with MRE. The efforts convergence occurred in the delicate construction of the Cultural Diversity Convention, in which the two ministries held a competent joint action recognized by two ministries and scholars (Kauark 2009, 2010; Novais 2010). Several joint projects happened, like the year of France in Brazil and Brazil in France, in 2005, and the Culture Cup in Germany, in 2006. The International Forum on Creative Economy, held in Salvador, in 2005, with the participation of nearly 20 countries, in tune with the international discussion on the subject, it may be remembered as another convergence moment of both institutions.

MinC has always acted coordinated with the Cultural Department (CD) of MRE, institutional body with extensive experience in international cultural cooperation. At the time CD had five divisions designed to: promote the Portuguese language; cultural diffusion; issues and multilateral agreements; educational issues; and dissemination. In 2007, CD created the Audiovisual Division (AVD) to deal with audiovisual policies abroad, in cooperation with the Audiovisual Secretariat and the National Cinema Agency (ANCINE), both linked to MinC (Novais 2013 82). The structure and main activities of the CD are described in researches of Bruno Novais (2013) and Mariana Souza (2009).

The range of collaborative work required the transformation of the International Relations Office,

established in 2003 by the Minister Gilberto Gil, in a Brazilian Culture Commission in the World, in 2007, with participants from the two ministries. A year later, in 2008, MinC inaugurated the International Relations Board (IRB), linked to the Executive Secretary of the Ministry (Novais, 2010). Such initiatives expressed concern for the establishment of better institutional conditions and indicated the growth of Brazilian culture investment in the international arena.

Culture in the international scenario

MinC, aligned with MRE definitions to benefit South-South relations, has taken the priority to South America and Latin America in Brazil's external relations. The ministry was engaged to the construction of both South American and Latin America cultural spaces. The Cultural MERCOSUR gained attention. In the audiovisual field, for example, was instituted in December 2003 the Cinematographic and Audiovisual Authorities of MERCOSUR and Associated States Specialized Meeting (RECAM), within the framework of Mercosur. Its aims to promote the complementarity and the integration of film and audiovisual in the region, involving Argentina, Brazil, Paraguay, Uruguay, Venezuela, Bolivia and Chile. In 2005 the RECAM organized the of MERCOSUR and, in 2007, organized the MERCOSUR Cinematographic and Audiovisual Sector Competitiveness Forum. The RECAM acts, among others, in the

areas of production, circulation and studies on cinema and audiovisual of MERCOSUR. Gathered in Buenos Aires in 2014, the ministers of culture approved the MERCOSUR Cultural Fund.

Still in the audiovisual field, MinC reproduced in Latin America and the Community of Portuguese Language Countries (CPLP) the DOC-TV program, which got good response in its Brazilian version. The DOC-TV Latin America takes place every two years conducted by the Audiovisual Secretariat of MinC, along with the Cinematographic Authorities of Latin America Conference and the New Latin American Cinema Foundation. In 2015, the 5th edition of DOC-TV Latin America gathered 17 countries: Argentina, Bolivia, Brazil, Colombia, Costa Rica, Cuba, Guatemala, Ecuador, Mexico, Nicaragua, Panama, Peru, Puerto Rico, Dominican Republic, Uruguay, Paraguay and Venezuela.

Besides the audiovisual field, cultural cooperation in Latin America occurred in various cultural fields, such as: establishment of information and cultural indicators; meeting of libraries and museums; seminars of cultural policy and management; exchanges between afro-latin cultures; projects involving indigenous cultures, such as Guarani, present in different South American countries; events of popular culture, as 1st South American Meeting of Popular Cultures, held in Brasilia in 2006. Brazil also served the Organization of American States (OAS),

the Inter-American Committee on Culture, including addressing this body, and the Inter-American Observatory of Cultural Policies (Podesta 2008).

It is noteworthy the Latin American impact of the 'Cultura Viva' Program, which inspired the realization of similar program in several nations and led to creation of Community 'Cultura Viva'. This movement has already held two editions of Latin American Community 'Cultura Viva' Congress in Bolivia (2013) and El Salvador (2015). Today it brings to bear thousands of cultural activists and is present in more than ten Latin American countries (Turino 2015; Vilutis 2015). In May 2014, the 6th Ibero-American Congress, organized by the Secretariat General Ibero-American (SEGIB), had the Community 'Cultura Viva' as theme and one of their resolutions was the creation of Iber-Cultura Viva Fund to support cultural communities and their exchange (Turino 2015). As can be seen, the boundaries of performance between Ibero-America and Latin America do not seem rigid. In many points they connect, intersect and even dissolve

Brazil and Ibero-America

Ibero-America did not appear among the priorities of Lula and Dilma governments, despite the common history of Brazil with Portugal and the recent presence of many Spanish companies and stocks in the country. In this particular case, MinC took discordant position of the government

and MRE. Neither the criticism of Nils Castro to the 'modest practical results' of the Ibero-American Summits, despite dealing with issues 'conceptually interesting for the political, economic and cultural cooperation between the countries,' could affect this proactive attitude (Castro 2015, 158). Thus, MinC played differentiated and intense relations with Ibero-America and their multilateral organizations, in particular the SEGIB and OEI.

Brazil has participated in all congresses of Ibero-American authorities, organized by SEGIB, including hosting the 3rd Summit of Heads of State and Government, held in Salvador, Bahia, in 1993. The development, especially in its social dimension, was the main agenda of the meeting (Dromi 2002).

The presence of the OEI General Secretary as the only foreign authority in the opening session of the 1st National Conference on Culture in 2005, expressed this relationship. Several times, Gilberto Gil and Francisco Pinón, leader of the OEI at the time, emphasized the convergences and the common work of the institutions, like Pinón at the opening of the conference. He said: 'Our organization has been working very close to the Ministry of Culture' (Pinón 2005 / 2006b, 156). The implementation of OEI Brazilian headquarters, with the collaboration of MinC, was led by Daniel Gonzalez in those years. The OEI, the MinC and the Multidisciplinary Studies Centre of Culture (CULT) of the

Federal University of Bahia (UFBA) were together in organizing the 4th Euro-American Campus of Cultural Cooperation, held in Salvador, Bahia, in 2005. It brought together over 200 participants from 27 countries (OEI and MINC 2005). Nothing strange that years later, during Dilma's first government, the former Minister Juca Ferreira was driving projects in SEGIB and former dean Paul Speller became the first Brazilian to assume the secretary general position of OEI in 2015.

It is not for this article to list all the cultural initiatives that associated Brazil to Ibero-America. However, some should be considered. The Ibero-American Cultural Charter, precious document committed to the cultural diversity, approved at the 16th Ibero-American Summit of Heads of State and Government, held in Montevideo in 2006, with active participation of Brazil (SEGIB; OEI 2006). The 1st Ibero-American Meeting of Museums took place in Salvador, Bahia, in 2007, with significant repercussions. Nothing casual that the next year is declared Ibero-American Year of Museums and more than 900 events have taken place in the region (Novais 2013). The newly established Museums Brazilian Institute (IBRAM) became active participant of IBERMUSEUS Program.

Besides the IBERMUSEUS, Brazil has acted in several programs of Ibero-American organizations, such as: Audiovisual Development Program in Support of Construction of

Iberoamerican Visual Space (IBER-MEDIA), Ibero-American National Libraries Development, from Ibero-American States Association (ABINIA), Integrated Repertory of Books on Sale in Ibero-America (RILVI), Ibero-American Theatres and Concert Halls Network (IBERES-CENA), and the Ibero-American National Responsible Public Libraries Forum.

Also in 2007 discloses the result of the 1st Program to Promote Production and Broadcasting Ibero-American Documentary (DOCTV IB), an unfolding of DOCTV Brazil. The DOCTV-IB, Audiovisual and Cinematographic Authorities of Ibero-America Conference Program (CAACI), brought together national audiovisual authorities, public broadcasters and associations of independent producers from 15 Ibero-American countries, under the executive coordination of MinC, Secretariat Executive of Ibero-American Cinematography and the New Latin American Cinema Foundation. In 2010, Brazil hosted the Ibero-American Colloquium on Cultural Landscape in Brasilia (Novais 2013).

The listing can also host other initiatives. The Chair Andres Bello implementation, occurred in 2005 and 2006 in Salvador, Bahia, through the partnership between the CULT-UFBA and the Andrés Bello Agreement, which brought together several Latin American countries, with support from MinC. Both versions of the Chair, which have combined course and research, had as its theme: Policies and cooperation networks in Ibero-America

culture (Rubim; Rubim and Vieira 2005, 2006). Books on culture theme in Ibero-America have been published in Brazil, as: *Latin America Cultures. Diagnostics and proposals for development*, organized by Néstor García Canclini and edited with the support of OEI (Canclini 2003); and *Cultural policies in Ibero-America*, launched in Brazil (Rubim and Bayardo 2008) and Colombia (Rubim and Bayardo 2009). Another book on *Cultural Management Panorama in Ibero-America* is being published in 2016 (Rubim, Yanez and Bayardo 2016). They demonstrate the growing interest of scholars and the reading public about Ibero-American issues.

performances converge and complement each other on the horizon of new cultural policies implemented in Brazil in those years.

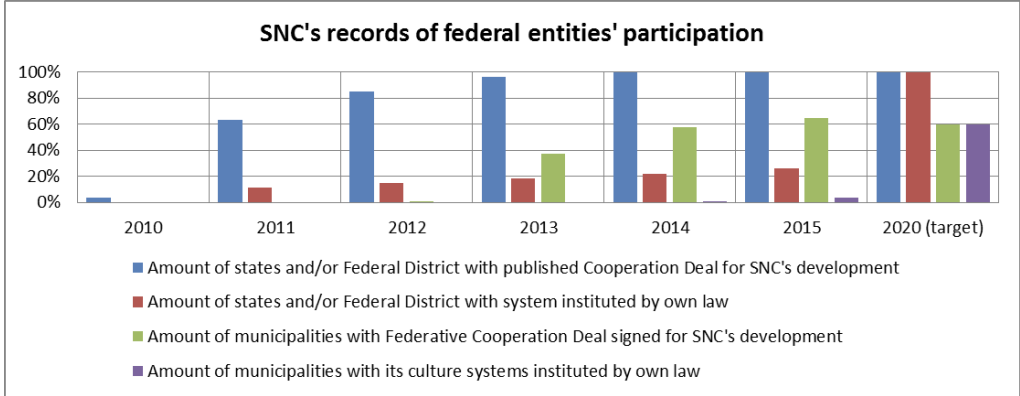
Closing Comments

Cultural policies developed in Brazil between 2003 and 2016 sought to sign up and integrate, in a complementary way, the country and the world simultaneously. The SNC aims to make cultural policies effectively national, with the strengthening of collaborative work between Brazilian federal entities: Union, states and municipalities. The SNC believes that only from this collective effort, cultural policies can reach all and express the Brazilian cultural diversity. Contrary to what one might think, the look at Brazil was followed by a country's insertion in the international cultural context based on its recognized cultural diversity. In this regard, national and international

Notes

- 1) Current National Historic and Artistic Heritage Institute (IPHAN).
- 2) <http://pnc.culturadigital.br/metas/100-das-unidades-da-federacao-ufs-e-20-dos-municipios-sendo-100-das-capitais-e-100-dos-municipios-com-mais-de-500-mil-habitantes-com-secretarias-de-cultura-exclusivas-instaladas/> Access in July/2016.
- 3) <http://pnc.culturadigital.br/metas/sistema-nacional-de-cultura-institucionalizado-e-implementado-com-100-das-unidades-da-federacao-ufs-e-60-dos-municipios-com-sistemas-de-cultura-institucionalizados-e-implementados-2/> Access in July/2016.
- 4) <http://pnc.culturadigital.br/metas/sistema-nacional-de-cultura-institucionalizado-e-implementado-com-100-das-unidades-da-federacao-ufs-e-60-dos-municipios-com-sistemas-de-cultura-institucionalizados-e-implementados-2/> Access in July/2016.
- 5) Available at: <http://pnc.culturadigital.br/metas/sistema-nacional-de-cultura-institucionalizado-e-implementado-com-100-das-unidades-da-federacao-ufs-e-60-dos-municipios-com-sistemas-de-cultura-institucionalizados-e-implementados-2/>. Access in 2016, July. <https://revistas.ufrj.br/index.php/sg>

Table 1



Fonte: Own elaboration from available data of Ministry of Culture ⁵

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Abstract

This article aims to analyze two fields of the Brazilian cultural policy developed since 2000, during the governments of Luis Inácio Lula da Silva and Dilma Rousseff. The first analysis focus on the Nacional System of Culture and its goal of generating stability to the national cultural policy through the linking of the federal entities. In this context, the text addresses aspects related to the challenges involved in the multilevel governance in Brazil considering, on the one hand, the tradition of the country in developing systemic policies, and by the other hand, the problems faced to promote a democratic, decentralized and cooperative cultural management. The second analysis seeks the role of the country, represented by the Ministries of Culture and of Foreign Affairs, in processes of cultural cooperation and multilateral negotiation in the Ibero-American space. Thus, the article approaches the unprecedented international dimension that culture has achieved to the Brazilian's policy of foreign affairs, becoming an important diplomatic tool.

Keywords: Cultural Policies; Nacional System of Culture; Ibero-American space.

Resumo

Este artigo tem por objetivo analisar dois campos da política cultural brasileira desenvolvidos desde 2000, durante os governos de Luís Inácio Lula da Silva e Dilma Rousseff. A primeira análise enfoca o Sistema Nacional de Cultura e seu objetivo de gerar estabilidade à política cultural nacional por meio da vinculação dos entes federativos. Nesse contexto, o texto aborda aspectos relacionados aos desafios da governança multinível no Brasil considerando, por um lado, a tradição do país no desenvolvimento de políticas sistêmicas e, por outro, os problemas enfrentados para a promoção de uma política democrática, gestão cultural descentralizada e cooperativa. A segunda análise busca o papel do país, representado pelos Ministérios da Cultura e das Relações Exteriores, nos processos de cooperação cultural e negociação multilateral no espaço ibero-americano. Assim, o artigo aborda a dimensão internacional sem precedentes que a cultura alcançou na política externa brasileira, tornando-se um importante instrumento diplomático.

Palavras-chave: Políticas Culturais; Sistema Nacional de Cultura; Espaço ibero-americano.