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Museu do Amanhã: The emergent cultural industry in Brazil

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Abstract

The cultural revitalisation of urban centres and port areas can be interpreted as being strategies based on historical rescue, economic development, and resignification of urban identities. Museums are part of these interventions as they are inserted into the cultural-creative segment. The aim of this paper is to explore the emergent state of the cultural-creative industry in Brazil, using Rio de Janeiro's Museu do Amanhã as a case study. The paper presents relevant literature in order to allow for a better understanding of the discussions, also examining the two sides of Museu do Amanhã, in a historical analysis of its creation and its present-day representations, approaching some of its initiatives and challenges. Some critiques are addressed relying on a sociological perspective connected to the museum's meaning. It concludes that the museum deals with conflictive aspects as an urban intervention, facing the challenge of how its institution, as a business in the urban-heritage-cultural-creative industry, is going to carry its identity, and the consequent construction of the socio-cultural identity of the city. If on one hand, the museum acts according the bourdierian concept of a social distinction mechanism; in the other side, it has a sociocultural responsibility of legitimising its cultural experience as a collective experience.

Keywords: Creative Industries; Museum; Cultural Democracy; Brazil; Museu do Amanhã

1. Introduction

Culture as an instrument for socioeconomic development strategies already integrates international agendas from the United Nations (UN), the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) to the World Bank (Furtado 2012; Pagliotto 2016). The European Cluster Observatory (2013), without disregarding the complex debate that accompanies the definition of culture and creativity, classified the creative-cultural sector

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as an emerging industry, among the experience segment. Research on Emerging industries have received increased interest, embracing attempts to understand their impact on the socioeconomic development, once that generate economic growth and employment, and, as they are likely to produce intangible material, indirect (or immeasurable) effects on the contemporary society is also on debate (Gustafsson et al. 2016; Forbes et al. 2011).

In the same way, the Cultural-Creative Economy analyses the effects of cultural chain – production, distribution and consumption – for the socioeconomic development. The direct effects - simpler to verify and closer to the classical economic theory – are linked to the correlated sectors, such as transportation, tourism, hotels, food, among others, related to cultural activities, evidencing its characteristic of multiplier effects on the other economics sectors. Noteworthy the diversification of local economies and the attractiveness - both in terms of investment and qualify workers - as well as competitiveness of the region due to culture promotion is also a highlight considering the economic benefits from cultural-creativity industries (Throsby 2001; Bille & Schulze 2008). More complex to be measure or identified, cultural activities also bring intangible effects, consisting in identity formation, social cohesion and respect for diversity. In this perspective, the cultural experiences are associated with the process of encountering diversity of ideas, encouraging creativity, respect and the construction of belonging. (Bille & Schulze 2008; Furtado 2012; Demattos & Diniz 2019).

Culture, also interpreted as a local manifestation of the urban life (Lefebvre 2004), is the main means of use and enjoyment of the city and its various spaces: squares, monuments, museums, etc. Museums are part of the experience industries in the cultural-creative segment and represent an emerging industry that belong to a traditional value chain, but it has been transformed by the incorporation of key technologies-based services to create innovative cultural-artistic experiences. The current growing number of cultural establishments - with new formats of museums, replete of innovation, offering to visitors the enjoyment of cultural experience - presents this industry in the growth stage within the defined emergent process (Faria & Monte-Mór 2016; Gustafsson et al. 2016)

The discourse of postmodernity, advocating the sensible and the pluralism, suggests that the increase number of cultural activities represents a new social phenomenon of consumption (Faria & Monte-Mór 2016). Museums follow the emerging trend in the western world of cultural centers that offer a range of services and facilities to entertain visitors, including

tourists, as spaces of art and knowledge, but at the same time a shopping center (ibid). Museum do not have an economy of scale, and they have a high cost of operation and maintenance, but the crescent number of visitors per year offers the possibility of revenue derived from the collection of various services that can be implemented, contributing to the institution attractiveness (Coelho 2009). What should and has been offered as well as for whom are questions that need to be asked by society and answered by the museum manager, according to their values and the visitors' socioeconomic profile.

This paper is not a visitor's profile research², although it recognises the importance of the possible results to the discussion that is being proposed. The aim of this report is to explore the emergent state of the cultural-creative industry in Brazil, using the Museu do Amanhã³ as a case study. Onwards Tripp (2012) statement that 'Museums are big business', the paper, recognizing the cultural-socio-economic relevance of those institutions, analyses the process of opportunity creation that outlines the Amanhã as cultural-urban intervention business model, which identity dialogues with the global trends and can be conflictive within the local scene. Their main challenge is how to benefit the Brazilian society as a whole, overcoming the invisible barriers that exists regarding the cultural consumers profile which reflects the unevenness of the region. The Amanhã's pillars rely on social interaction, knowledge, and sustainability, and to comprehend how to fully integrate this in the city is a crucial reflection to the institution management.

All over the world, many cultural institutions have been affected by economic crises. Cultural institutions usually rely on public funds, as well as private sponsors, due to its connection to public policies. During these periods of recession, or even political setbacks, they are one of the main targets to cuts of funds. For information only, in the case of Brazil, its current President, Jair Bolsonaro, extinguished the Ministry of Culture as well as many other cultural institutions and organizations in the beginning of his mandate. This will not be a trivial dispute to the cultural scenario in the country, thus the Amanhã also need to safeguard

² For this discussion see: Machado, A. F.; Souza, N.; and Machado, I. Museus no Brasil: análise socioeconômica de perfis. *Pragmatizes Revista Latino-Americana de estudos em cultura*, v.10, 2016: 38-53; Faria, Diomira M.C.P.. *Investigação sobre o visitante de museus de arte: uma comparação Brasil e Espanha*. *Via@ Tourism Review*, v. 1, 2015: 1-18; and Demattos, Alice; Diniz, Sibelle C. . *Equipamentos culturais, hábitos e território: um estudo de caso do Espaço do Conhecimento UFMG. Urbe - Revista Brasileira de Gestão Urbana*, 2019.

³ Noteworthy that Amanhã means Tomorrow in portuguese, and such name recall the museum main concept whereby as a different science museum, it addresses ideas, explorations and questions about the contemporary period of great changes and the different paths that open to the future. 'Tomorrow is not a calendar date, it is not a place we are going to. It is a construction in which we all participate, as people, citizens, members of the human species' (Museu do Amanhã: <https://museudoamanha.org.br/pt-br>).

themselves as they are a public institution⁴ managed by the private sector. This fact shows how vulnerable cultural activities are when they rely solely on public funds. However, according to AAM - American Association of Museums, 'private and public funding for museums has decreased, yet attendance has increased' (Tripp 2012: 11). In this way, museums are likely to continue to affirm their relevance as an important role 'in helping inspire and shape their communities through cultural offerings and providing access to knowledge and information through exhibits and educational programming' (ibid.: 13).

This paper, after introducing the thematic, continues with a literature review in the following section, in which both emerging sector and cultural economy fields are presented, focus on the museum as a company as well as a socioeconomic asset. The third part, discusses the two sides of Museu do Amanhã, analyzing from the history of its creation to what it represents nowadays, as well as approaches its business model, its team, initiatives and challenges. Thereafter, the paper addresses some critics behind this urban intervention, relying on a sociological perspective connected to the museum's meaning, for then outline the main conclusion and implications.

2. Literature Review

In classical economic theory, microeconomics has placed firms at the centre of its analysis. An industry, according to this traditional approach, is a group of firms whose products are similar, consequently leading to the substitution of goods between themselves (Porter 1980). More contemporary approaches, such as the Industrial economy, seek to comprehend the complexity of interactions between firms, industries and markets, exceeding the product-limited view (Britto 2002). Economical science as well as business studies have, for several years, insisted in the use of empirical models, in light of micro-based theories, and/or sophisticated econometric models in order to value the economic importance of any issue through classical assumptions, such as rational agents and theory of choice (Reis 2007; Diniz 2008). Therefore, the social agency of individual's socially constructed parameters is compromised. Considering this critical perception, this section aims to establish the concept

⁴ The Museu do Amanhã belonged to the Ministry of Culture, however, since the political turn, today it is integrated in the so-called Ministry of Citizenship.

of emergent industries, focusing on experience, especially that of the creative-cultural industry, to outline the museums' trajectories in the contemporary-urbanised-western world.

Emerging industries have received increased numbers of scholars and policymakers into the debate of its definition, process of identification, and value (Gustafsson et al. 2016). The name itself as emergent brings a temporal component that can be inferred as an initial phase of a cycle. It has been defined as new industries, incipient by original business idea/service or a radical reconfiguration of an already existing one, resulting in higher added value as well as innovative influence and growth potential (McGahan et al. 2004; Forbes et al. 2011). The literature highlights that this concept encompasses a complex interaction between economic, cognitive and social factors, and its evolution is accompanied by a technological push or a demand effect in terms of a change in the socioeconomic context (ibid). Such interaction is the product and result of cross-sector spillover, therefore the impact of these new industries on the socioeconomic development is not trivial. They generate economic growth and employment⁵, and as they are likely to produce intangible material – such as the development, transference and exploitation of knowledge and culture – their impact is also indirect and immeasurable (Forbes et al. 2011).

According to the European Cluster Observatory (2013), there are five classifications of emerging industries – eco-industries, maritime, experience, mobile, and mobility. This paper works with the definition of experience industry, in which the cultural-creative one is unfolded. In this segment, both the Experience Economy and Cultural-Creative Economy can be incorporated into the debate. Experience Economy evokes all that can stimulate emotions and sensations, that provoke diverse feelings and life experiences; in an experience industry, the consumer is involved and stimulated (Yaffe et al. 2019). The Cultural Economy's, of which the creative economy is a part⁶, goal is to better allocate cultural resources (Michel 2012). Therefore, the Cultural Economy can be seen as inseparable from the Experience Economy, since culture - not in the anthropological and sociological dimension of a 'set of attitudes, beliefs, customs and practices that are common or shared by some group' (Throsby

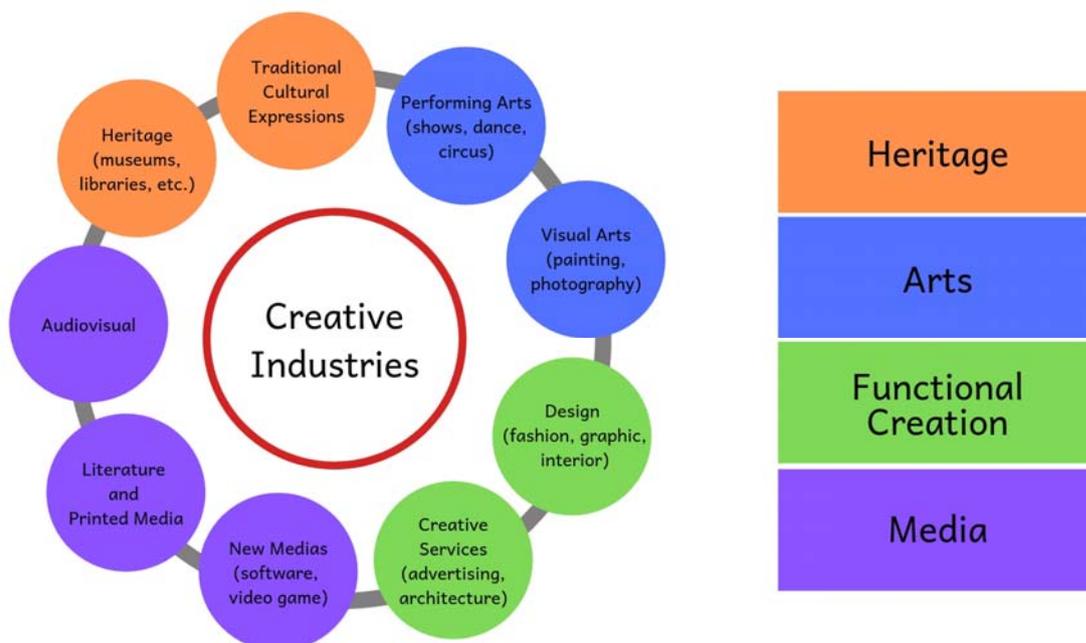
⁵ Not only in the sector itself but also in correlator sectors. In the cultural industry, correlator sectors can be tourism, transport, and services such as hotels and restaurants.

⁶ In the Cultural Economy, it is important to differentiate between the cultural and the creative sector. A plain explanation is to define the cultural sector as the activities in which culture is the product consumed or reproduced such as museums, cinema, etc.; whereas in the creative sector, culture is the input that allows innovation, such as design, architecture, etc. The element of creativity is present in both industries; however, the first sector is the one that produces artistic-cultural goods in essence. For the purpose of being more direct, this paper will not expand on this discussion similarly nor is it its aim to define the concepts of culture or creativity. For this discussion see Demattos & Diniz 2018; Michel 2012; Throsby 2001.

2001: 1) but in practical orientation in which it is related to the involvement of some form of creativity in the production, intention of generation and communication of symbolic meaning, and production potential of intellectual property (ibid) – impacts on the way in which the consumer awakens their feelings by creating moments of pleasure.

Thus, experience industries include activities than can be related with not only culture, but also tourism and leisure, in which the creation and management of museums deserves to be highlighted. Museums, therefore, are part of the experience industries in the cultural-creative segment, as they create and/or reproduce cultural-creative contents, commercialising on an intangible cultural experience in its essence. In this perspective, the UNCTAD (2008) divides the creative industries into nine types according to four segments (Figure 1). Although there is no consensus about what the element of creativity means (Furtado 2012; Michel 2012), all nine industries are born from this central concept, and are divided in accordance to how and what they use to manifest this creativity. Therefore, museums are considered to be a (cultural) creative industry of heritage, once that this is their main input, bringing them into existence.

Figure 1 – Creative Industries Classification



Source: UNCTAD (2008), designed Michel (2012) adapted by the authors.

The cultural-creative economy is a relatively new field, although some scholars have been debating it since the '70s⁷, and it has been highlighted elsewhere that artistic and cultural activities in a society have positive impacts on the socioeconomic development. Both the production and the consumption of cultural goods and services are commonly understood as promoters of direct and indirect effects on society. The direct effects refer to the generation of employment and wealth as well as the attraction of companies and labour for the places where there is a concentration of cultural activities (Throsby 2001; Diniz 2008).

Tripp (2012) states 'museums are big business' due to the direct effects mentioned coming together with the number of visitors each year. Therefore, museums can be considered as being money-driven machines according to their popularity and credibility. The former may be explained by the fact that museums attract a wide range of people regardless of their income and educational level (ibid) – although Latin American scholars have shown that this is not true in their specific context, insofar as cultural consumption tends to echo social inequalities (wages, education, etc.); in other words, those with a higher social standing tend to be those who consume the most culture. Museums' credibility, as presented by the AAM's research, is due to the majority of adult museumgoers believing that these institutions are 'equal or higher in trustworthiness than any other source of information' (Tripp 2012, para.4).

The powerful cultural presence of museums acknowledges their cultural and educational value for society (Tripp 2012), however, beyond the comprehension of its significant economic impact, the indirect effects, linked to the intangible products of these activities need to be further investigated, since it refers to community identity and encouragement of creativity (Throsby 2001; Diniz 2008). These cultural spaces stimulate and diffuse creativity, self-expression, social cohesion and respect for diversity, and the role of access (or restriction) to them need to be incorporated into research (Demattos and Diniz 2019). Museums represent an emerging industry that belongs to a traditional value chain, but it has been transformed by the incorporation of key technology-based services to create innovative cultural-artistic visits. It is worth noting that it is easier to identify an emerging industry when

⁷ The Cultural Economy has begun in 1966, when the book 'Performing Arts: The Economic Dilemma', by Baumol and Bowen was published. However, its relevance was systematically established in 1973 with the first edition of the Journal of Cultural Economics, and it is worth noting that at that beginning the culture was treated in its narrowest sense - only as an artistic activity, that remained for some time. Only in the 1990s the culture economy come to be understood in a larger dimension, with the attempts to delimit an object of study (still without consensus) incorporating several elements that sought to interact with different areas, such as sociology, anthropology, tourism, among others (Throsby 2001; Michel 2012; Demattos & Diniz 2018).

it is already at the third and final phase of the emergent context, that is when it is already on the growth stage heading towards legitimacy (Gustafsson et al. 2016).

Considering Museum Economy's⁸ literature, as well as that of emerging industries, the growing numbers of cultural establishments in which new formats of museums, replete with innovation, in addition to knowledge, offers visitors the joy of the present moment in the urban society, are pointed out (Faria & Monte-Mór 2016). These increasing number of museums all over the world have overcome the initial stages of challenges and opportunity creation, apparently succeeding in their co-evolutionary phase, in which the knowledge (and cultural) exploitation throughout new strategies and technology complementarities allowed the potential growth to achieve the consequently growth stage where the museum industry can be placed nowadays (Gustafsson et al. 2016).

A new guideline based on social changes, in which the contemporary consumer prioritises and gives value to the present time and enjoyment offered to the museums opportunities to establish themselves as a business and to innovate, offering their visitors greater interaction and participation, mixing themes such as art and entertainment, art and knowledge, art and nature. The discourse of postmodernity, based on the denial of rationality and the unity, in favour of the sensible and pluralism, suggests that the increase in cultural activities represents a new social phenomenon of consumption (Faria & Monte-Mór 2016). Museums follow the emerging trend in the western world of cultural centres that offer a range of services and facilities to entertain visitors, including tourists, as spaces of art and knowledge, but at the same time a shopping centre (ibid).

The emergence of museums in the western world, including in Latin America considered as a developing region, illustrates the different values constructed by Phaal et al. (2011). The value context in which the broad market drove the opportunity to this cultural phenomenon; the value creation with which the museums generated their new formats in service of experience; also, the value capture that postmodernism led to the museums' operations to innovate according to diverse demand. Those values integrate the intangible values of cultural-creative industries that, as already mentioned, directly impact economic growth as well as indirectly impacting on human dimensions. Culture in classical economic theories had been marginalised and only at the turn of the century has become more intensively incorporated into its literature. As emerging sectors are considered to emerge in the

⁸ One of the research lines within Cultural Economy.

periphery, the museums in Latin America represent a prominent field of study for companies in emerging industries, as it brings together a marginal component – culture – in a peripheral context – Latin America. Therefore, the next section analyses the Museu do Amanhã in Rio de Janeiro, Brazil.

3. The two sides of Museu do Amanhã

Expressions of memory and urban culture have been used as economic and social tools for the revitalisation of port areas, such as Covent Garden in London, Puerto Madero in Argentina and Rio de Janeiro in Brazil in recent times (Pio 2013). For the author, even with their respective differences, all these places present a common point: the role of cultural activities for the rescue of public spaces and modernisation of the cities' identities. Among the most diverse interventions, the cultural sector stands out for its valuing of popular culture, the installation of museums and other architectural monuments, the holding of events in order to attract the share of the population engaged with tourism of a cultural nature (ibid.).

Additionally, many cities are building identities that can relate to specialised actors in order to enter the select group of cities that work out new global agendas. This incessant development of new identities is due to the need for greater international agency and recognition (Mercher 2013). The cultural sector, once more, represents a major gateway to international action. The city of Rio de Janeiro, internationally recognised as the best South American city on the cultural experience list of global cities, according to a survey conducted by Foreign Policy in 2008, has invested heavily in its cultural paradplomacy. In addition to cultural events and international art and exhibition circuits⁹, Rio de Janeiro has found a way to strengthen its international recognition through the creation of museums. (ibid.).

According to Mercher (2013) these new spaces need to have form and content that is attractive internationally¹⁰ yet also blends with local traits so that the city's image is both autonomous and its own. Despite having a high degree of international recognition, thanks to the diversity of its cuisine, its beaches, carnival and, more recently, having hosted major sporting events such as the Olympics in 2016 and the Football World Cup in 2014, the city of

⁹ Such as Mercociudades and United Cities and Local Governments Commission (UCLG).

¹⁰ This international identity would be through the involvement of the city with various international agendas.

Rio does not have the same visibility when it comes to its museums and collections. This is because the idea of the city as a picture perfect postcard is due to its lifestyle and non-material cultural manifestations, not its architecture (ibid.).

3.1. From the Past to the Future

Since the 1980s, with the country's re-democratisation, public management has invested in the revitalisation of Rio's urban space as well as in the construction of its international identity in order to attract foreign capital for its development plans. The city, presenting itself as somewhere that lacked cultural spaces to receive national and international art circuits, actively sought projects to implement new museums to meet this demand and meet the requirements of the global creative industry (Mercher 2013). Proof of this was the constant presence of acclaimed international architects in the signatures of the projects, as was the case of the Museu do Amanhã by the architect Santiago Calatrava¹¹. However, it is important to emphasise that the material and symbolic transformation of Rio was also due to the need to adapt to the mega events that the city received in the years 2014 and 2016. This was the beginning of the Porto Maravilha project which had as its key point the construction of two distinct museums in the complex of Praça Mauá.

The international cultural importance of the city of Rio de Janeiro consolidates a common concern for all global cities: the maintenance of their international identities in a positive and contemporary way to the new dynamics of the arts and other popular manifestations. Events such as the international media meetings promoted by the municipal company MultiRio (Municipal Multimedia Company), the Pan American Games in 2007, the Military World Games in 2011, and the future World Cup in 2014, and the Summer Olympic Games in 2016, bring flows of investments and enterprises that, under new proposals from the political power, began to reinvigorate the urban fabric of the city in the early 2000s (Mercher 2013, 105 own translation).

The Porto Maravilha project, especially the construction of museums, was carried out by public-private partnerships due to the magnitude and high cost of its execution. In this way, the mixed initiatives brought a legal change to the new cultural dynamics of the city by making this work financially viable. Both museums, Rio's Museum of Art (MAR) and the

¹¹ Same architect of the City of Arts, in Valencia, therefore there is a similar architectonic style, although the cost of the projects seem to be very different - with the one in Rio much more expensive.

Museu do Amanhã - the focus of this research -, were the results of the partnership between public and private power through the Roberto Marinho Foundation¹² and the Porto Novo Concessionary¹³. According to Mercher (2013) even with the mixed cooperation of capitals, the political power that guides and gives shape to these two spaces, including in regard to the content displayed, although both are managed by the Roberto Marinho Foundation. Thus, these architectural initiatives play not only the role of a local symbol but also as an international one, as well as affirming a positive international cultural image for the city. For instance, The MAR, although a museum about the city's history, proposes joining both local and international interests by constructing a bilingual narrative composed by international norms as symbols of information and use guided by UNESCO¹⁴ (ibid.). In this way, the author shows how the city confirms its position as a global city and positions itself in line with Agenda 21 for Culture of the United Cities and Local Governments Culture Commission (CGLU - founded in 2004).

The strategic choice of the space¹⁵ where the Museu do Amanhã was to be built reveals not only an attempt to build a new postcard for the region, but also the objective of political management of the time to consolidate its new international image. As Pio (2013) states, these urban interventions suggest a certain social code, showing how the city is and, ideally, should be. Unlike MAR, all the work was done by PPPs¹⁶, showing the importance of private and foreign capital in the construction of the city's new monument. Thus, this 'postmodern, organic and sustainable space' externalises the channel of cultural openness of the city 'to the artistic thinking of other cultural realities' (Mercher 2013, 108). In terms of content, the official project document itself shows the trend towards a global civil society perspective and its relation to the common future by proposing themes ranging from climate change to global integration (Museu do Amanhã 2013).

It is therefore feasible to say that this new cultural urban apparatus transcends the borders of the city by going directly to the international scene and trying to insert local society in this new global reality (Mercher 2013). After a long period of abandonment for the port region, public power followed the current trend of capitalisation of space, to which many cities

¹² The Roberto Marinho Foundation is a private, non-profit Brazilian entity that develops activities in the areas of education, heritage and the environment. (FRM Website).

¹³ Porto Novo Concessionary is a private capital conglomerate responsible for the revitalisation of Rio's Port Area.

¹⁴ The United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization.

¹⁵ Located at Praça Mauá where transatlantics dock with thousands of naval tourists.

¹⁶ Acronym for Public-Private Partnership.

around the world adhere in order to enable urban interventions (ibid.). These revitalised historical areas ‘become metaphors for a new city that one wants to build’ (Pio 2013, 9 own translation). Thus, public and private capital assumed the responsibilities of the city as a signatory of international cultural agendas, contributing to the strengthening of its international cultural identity and its circuits of arts and science (Mercher 2013).

The mayor of the city at the time, Eduardo Paes, said that this great architectural project ‘is the greatest icon of the revitalisation of the port area. This is going to be a new brand for the city, such as the Arcos da Lapa, Maracanã, and Christ the Redeemer. This will certainly be a new brand for our city’ (Eduardo Paes 2010 apud Pio 2013, 16 own translation). According to Leonel Kaz, one of the main curators, the Amanhã falls within the parameters of a ‘museum-experience’. This reinforces the intentionality of the project to differentiate itself from other traditional models such as ‘museum-narrative’ and ‘museum-information’¹⁷ (Pio 2013). Thus, the visit is expected to exceed the limits of knowledge and enable a transformation and awareness of the future with the support of new technologies to produce:

Another generation of museum, one of questions and exploration of possibilities. This is the great collection of space. Transforming our thoughts, changing our behaviour and opening up our minds. It is a scientific content to challenge the mind, an artistic approach to involve our senses and a cultural interpretation of science to touch our emotions (Oliveira apud Pio 2013, 21)

Therefore, due to the fact of being one of the city’s deficit and a wish already shared within the political scene, the Museum’s process of opportunity creation occurred almost spontaneously. In addition, the realization of a project of this size would strengthen the alignment of the city with international agendas, boosting the promotion of its new identity in order to consolidate its entrance in this global cultural circuit. This next section analyses the museum as a business from its conception to nowadays.

¹⁷ Evidently due to its environment where knowledge is the pillar of its functionality, the Museu do Amanhã, as Pio (2013) addresses in his text, also has some characteristics of a "museum-information".

3.2. The Museum: its Organization, Initiatives¹⁸ and main Challenges

The Museu do Amanhã, originally conceived by Fundação Roberto Marinho, opened its doors in December 2015 as an equipment from the Municipal Culture Secretariat, operated by the Institute of Development and Management (Instituto de Desenvolvimento e Gestão - IDG). The IDG, a non-profit organisation specialising in managing public cultural centres and environmental programmes, won the public award for public-private partnership¹⁹ in the year of its inauguration and since then it has been in charge of the museum's operation. In line with the museum's value, the IDG works around the ideals of sustainability, culture, diversity and inclusion with joy, creativity and respect (IDG candidacy²⁰). Pointed as a successful example of a partnership between the public and the private sector (PPP), it also counts on the main sponsor Banco Santander and a broad network of sponsors including companies such as Shell, IBM, IRB-Brasil RE, Engie, Globo Group and CCR Institute²¹. These sponsorships are enabled throughout the Lei de Incentivo à Cultura – Lei Rouanet (Culture Incentive Law – Rouanet Law) in which by means of financial donations, the companies receive fiscal incentives, such as tax exemption. In addition, the Institution has another significant number of special partners for specific projects, such as CNPq (Conselho Nacional de Desenvolvimento Científico e Tecnológico - National Council for Scientific and Technological Development) and an international network of partnerships.

The Lei de Incentivo à Cultura – Lei Rouanet is the main revenue stream for the museum. Besides the aforementioned sponsors, the museum also relies on the programme Amigos do Amanhã NOZ (Friends of the Amanhã NOZ²²) in which those 'friends' contribute with an annual amount that varies according to the type of plan - Student, Individual, Family - that can be carried out through the same Law, with deductions in income tax, or even directly to

¹⁸ Information and data from the Museological Plan (2015), and the museum's website, respectively available in: https://museudoamanha.org.br/sites/default/files/expomus_planomuseologico_digital_160219_Otimizar.pdf
<https://museudoamanha.org.br/pt-br>

¹⁹ Management contract available in: <https://www.idg.org.br/sites/default/files/documentos/Contrato-de-Gestao-Museu-do-Amanha.pdf>

²⁰ Technical Proposal for the management and implementation of the Management of the Museu do Amanhã: the IDG candidacy to the PPP. Available in: <https://www.idg.org.br/sites/default/files/documentos/Plano-de-trabalho-Museu-do-Amanha.pdf>

²¹ Shell: Anglo-Dutch multinational oil company; IBM: International Business Machines, a North-American company in the computer science sector; IRB-Brasil RE: private company, leader in reinsurance in Latin America; Engie: French business group in the energy sector; Globo Group: largest media and communication conglomerate in Brazil and Latin America and Fundação Roberto Marinho sponsor; CCR Institute: Brazilian company for the concession of infrastructure, transportation and services.

²² A play on words with the Portuguese noun 'nós' (we), written phonetically in the Carioca accent, carrying connotations of mutual support and inclusiveness for a Brazilian audience.

the museum . This membership system is quite recurrent when it comes to cultural institutions and their revenue streams, appealing to the validation of both value: the cultural space and the individual will (Jackson 1988). The sponsorship is responsible for the maintenance of the museum and management in relation to its cost structure. The Amigos do Amanhã's collection assists with the financing of special projects and free-activities, as the 'Coral uma só voz' (one voice choir) in which 35 people in precarious situations, once a week, have theatre and singing lessons, participate in activities and rehearse in the space of the museum. The members receive an annual report concerning the programme's accountability and results.

In order to cover the high cost of operation and maintenance, the crescent number of visitors per year offers the possibility of revenue derived from various services and facilities implemented and offered by the museum, approximating them from the idea of a shopping center (Faria & Monte-Mór 2016). Onward this strategy, the Amanhã, with more than 3 mi visitors since its inauguration²³, counts with a concept of restaurant-school and cafe that, besides the traditional function of a restaurant of providing food, it also dedicates to the technical training of young professionals in the food, beverage and hospitality sectors. On the shelves of the restaurant, a collection of books can be found, in a sort of gastronomic library, connected to the museum library as well – the Amanhã, thus, produces and commercialises their own books about the issues that built the Amanhã's identity. In addition, the museum has a shop where the local culture is commercialised in a higher price.

The organisational structure of the museum is represented in Figure 2. At its head is the general directory in controlling the accountability and the legal accessory, with the external assistance of both councils. They are also directly connected to the Content Directory, the Communication and Institutional Relation Management, as well the Financial-Administrative Directory. Within those former three bodies, there are subdivisions that each of them is responsible for. Content Directory is in charge of the Observatório do Amanhã (Amanhã Observatory) which is concerned with both the knowledge management and research and consultancy; of the Laboratory of activities; the Educational Action, and the Curatorship in turn organising the exhibits, publications, cultural agenda, and online museums and social media networks. The Communication and Institutional Relation Management controls the

²³ For more information: <http://www.comerciarior.org.br/post/12440-Em-seu-1-ano,-Museu-do-Amanha-se-torna-o-mais-visitado-do-pais>

planning and evaluation, fund-raising, and communication. The Financial-Administrative Directory manages the museum's maintenance: technical and non-technical operation management, cleaning and security, and the installations; as well as the technologies of information, the financial system, the Human Resources, and the purchase and management of contracts.

Figure 2 - Organisational Structure



Source: Museological Plan (2015), available in: https://museudoamanha.org.br/sites/default/files/expomus_planomuseologico_digital_160219_Otimizar.pdf

The Amanhã Observatory functions as a radar of the museum, receiving and sending information from centres producing scientific knowledge, culture and technology in Brazil and the world. It is also a legitimator of the contents of the exhibitions, updating the scientific information. It encourages the debate of ideas and visions on the themes pertinent to the museum, such as the question "what are the great opportunities and threats for society in the next 50 years?". Connecting with reference institutions worldwide, in addition to constantly updating the content, the team follows trends and seeks to perceive issues and new technologies that can be incorporated into the museum's experiences. Seeking the exchange

of ideas, it promotes exchanges with a network of partner institutions, such as the Brazilian Academy of Science and the International Union for Conservation of Nature (IUCN).

Concerning, thus, the museum's aim to be abreast of contemporary technological issues, the Laboratory of Activities of Amanhã (LAA) is the space developed by the museum specifically dedicated to innovation and experimentation. The LAA focuses on the effects and results of exponential technologies - such as artificial intelligence, the Internet of Things (IoT), robotics, genomics, 3D printing, nanotechnology and biotechnology - and the future of those technologies, focusing on the impact of technological advances and the transformations they promote in society. Both strongly connected with the emerging sectors and aspects of the globalised-contemporary-urbanised world. There are four fronts of action: education, where it is explored from the IoT and wearable devices to the introduction to robotics and electronics for various publics, to the digital connection for the elderly; activities which represent the space that offers lectures, discussion groups and meetings, as well as actions of the so-called 'citizen science', in which people without scientific training work together with specialists to develop research on local and global problems; the creative residency programme selects innovators from around the world to work from one to three months on emerging projects in their field that seek to promote social or environmental impacts; and the exhibitions where all of these are manifested. The laboratory seeks to be a platform for researchers, startups, companies and creatives to share projects and ideas, positioning itself again within the emerging sectors discussion (see literature review).

In its Community Relations sector, the museum affirms its dedication to engaging with the surrounding public in the process of collective construction of the Amanhã, through its cultural agenda and mobilisation movements. Approximately 30 thousand residents of the port region have free entrance to the Museum from the Vizinhos do Amanhã (Amanhã's Neighbours) Programme. This kind of initiative is crucial in the Brazilian context, where, as has been highlighted elsewhere in the literature, cultural consumption mirrors income inequality (Demattos & Diniz 2019). This is the reason why the following section will reflect on the social unfolding of cultural spaces like the Amanhã, recognising their importance and positive impact on society, though it is necessary to debate the camouflaged negative points that can be seen through this international cultural aim.

However, before analysing criticisms of the museum in the next section, another important analysis of the museum as a business should be brought to the forefront. It can be said that its creation, implementation and initial management process was strategically designed to mitigate the possible challenges that the project could or would face. As already mentioned, Rio de Janeiro had a deficit of cultural spaces. As a result, Amanhã's entry into the city's cultural market took place in a smooth manner, as there were no pressures from other competitors to make it difficult to implement. On the economic side, it has been seen that the museum received huge investment from a network of sponsors from the most diverse areas and sectors. The result of this favourable scenario was the fact that the Museu do Amanhã has become the most visited museum in the country since its debut in 2015²⁴. In order for the museum to always be in a process of technological updates, maintaining its high level of competitiveness, several mechanisms have been founded by the museum, such as the Observatory and the LAA²⁵, as well as solving any problems that may arise. However, there are possible major challenges such as: maintaining not only the sustainability of the museum as a business, but also the high rate of visitation; possible losses of sponsorship and technological partners; always being in constant innovation; and, finally, an exogenous factor that is crucial to have in mind when it comes to a Latin American country and a project resulting from a PPP, the economic and political instability of the region. If, as a business, the scenario seems to be very positive and promising, while as an urban intervention the museum underwent several criticisms as explained in the following section.

4. The critiques behind the urban intervention

Cultural consumption is associated with processes of encountering different ideas, what encourages creativity, respectful of diversity, and identity construction. Identity is born and manifested in society, and, therefore, it is in the daily life that the cultural-identity process takes place (Furtado 2012). In this perspective, strengthening the local culture, without imposing standards or imported values, established as a genuine cultural-creative process of that specific society, which can be used to trace its own goals, values and paths, appropriating

²⁴ For more information: <http://www.comerciarior.org.br/post/12440-Em-seu-1-ano,-Museu-do-Amanha-se-torna-o-mais-visitado-do-pais>

²⁵ Competitiveness, especially the international one, since internally there is still no other similar space in terms of structure and innovation.

its creative identity, is essential to debate socioeconomic development (ibid). The consumption of culture, providing the incentive for creativity, can be understood as primordial for the transformation of the socio-political reality, through innovative actions (Reis 2007; Furtado 2012; Demattos & Sibelle 2019).

However, as is also established in the literature, artistic-cultural goods are luxury goods, that is, goods whose consumption increases with the increase of income. Thus, the act of consuming would show nuances about the social status of who is consuming. Consumption can be seen as a socio-cultural process, in which a system of differentiation becomes effective. In this sense, cultural consumption represents a symbolic paradigm in which a dispute for exclusive consumption is activated, emphasising the existent and increasing unevenness (Canclini 2010). For Bourdieu (2007), individuals of higher classes seek practices and cultural consumption that distance them from others and bring them their desired status. Especially with regards to the arts, cultural consumption is a mechanism of maintenance for a social hierarchy. That is, even a museum that has free access can impose other forms of restriction (non-economic), establishing an invisible barrier, often related to the individual's habitus (Bourdieu 2007).

The Museu do Amanhã, in turn, is inserted in a context of high social inequality where cultural consumption extends to the population with greater purchasing power. The museum's entrance fee, which is around twenty reais²⁶, can be considered relatively high, especially when one considers that the average Brazilian family is made up of four people²⁷. In order to overcome this economic barrier, entrance to the museum is free every Tuesday, but when analysing the public profile data for 2016, it can be verified that there is both an economic and non-economic restriction as Bourdieu (2007) says. According to survey data²⁸, 32% of visitors had not been to any museum for over a year and 10% had never even entered one. This data altogether - 42% - shows the general population's lack of habit to consume cultural activities. Even by the number of visitors annually²⁹, about 1 million people, it can be shown that there is a relative disconnection of the population with these spaces. Since the country has 208.4 million inhabitants, 6.7 million of which are inhabitants of the city of Rio

²⁶ 1 Real = 0.23 Euro (dated on 17/04/2019).

²⁷ In that way the family would spend 80 reais in tickets - excluding transportation, food and other expenses - which is equivalent to 8.5% of the country's minimum wage (937 reais).

²⁸ The research was carried out by the Museum itself with other partners. For more information: <https://viagemdoed.wordpress.com/2016/05/27/pesquisa-revela-o-perfil-de-visitantes-do-museu-do-amanha/>.

²⁹ It is important to stress that according to the research above almost 20% of these visitors are foreigners.

de Janeiro and a further 17.2 million people make up the population of the homonymous state³⁰. Thus, beyond the economic barrier, there is also this invisible barrier that transforms these cultural spaces into places of non-belonging for the greater part of the population.

The idea of belonging and identity formation being linked to acquisition and enjoyment of cultural goods and services is connected to the concept that cultural rights defend: access to culture, participation in the most diverse cultural manifestations, and contribution/sharing of cultural agendas, since each citizen has a single culture (Canclini 2010; Coelho 2009). Considering that culture carries within itself a social function - respect for diversity, exercising citizenship and the formation of identity - it becomes a tool for local socioeconomic development and an instrument of social emancipation (Demattos & Diniz 2019). Dealing only with access to culture - for example having free entrance on Tuesdays - it is not enough to describe the full complexity of sociocultural relations. Therefore, much more than thinking about the democratisation of culture, it is necessary to debate cultural democracy. Democratisation is exclusively connected to access, allowing everyone to access culture (even if it is that determined by the ruling class). Cultural democracy, a major goal to be achieved, is the ideal of offering everyone the chance to know the different cultural manifestations and to manifest their own culture (Reis 2007).

However, even if only access is not enough, it is essential to discuss it and create admission-free days, without letting it unfold in the question of dichotomising culture between 'good' and 'bad'. Sometimes the defense of the democratisation of culture relies on bringing an erudite culture to the public, as if they were devoid of distinct preferences and tastes, and at the same time ignoring other (many) forms of cultural expressions. Cultural democracy, through a broad perspective of the whole dimension of cultural life, considers the various publics and aims to broaden cultural capital in a collective way, without distinctions (Coelho 2009; Reis 2007). In the last decades of the 20th century, there has been a greater acceptance of the dialogical movement between erudite culture, popular culture and mass culture. The spaces, signs and exclusive elements of the elites, such as museums, open the doors to more popular dimensions of culture - like Amanhã's project 'Coral uma só voz' and the social aspects of the LAA, contributing to its incorporation into its various senses - anthropological, enjoyment, learning, identity, etc. (Canclini 2010). However, this desirable trend is not

³⁰ Data collected from: <https://g1.globo.com/rj/rio-de-janeiro/noticia/2018/08/29/rj-chega-a-172-milhoes-de-habitantes-em-2018-segundo-estimativa-do-ibge.ghtml>.

complete, even more so considering the Latin American context, where the process of ‘cultural import’ (Furtado 2012) was so strong and still present nowadays.

These debates relate to one of the Porto Maravilha project’s main criticisms on a whole: where the construction of the Museu do Amanhã can be understood as the symbol of this intervention, the lack of appreciation for the region’s historical landmarks. The weak intensity of importance given to this historical past reveals the ‘selective character of any urban intervention or regeneration’ (Pio 2013, 23 own translation). According to the author, at first, all this space was thought of as an ‘African Diaspora Memorial’ to meet years of claims by some of the country’s black movements. However, by being called a ‘historical circuit’, there is only a political and cultural emptying that weakens the potential of the place to also become an environment of resistance and problematisation of the diverse cultural identities present in the social body of the city and country. In this way, if one does not feel represented in these spaces - therefore not consuming any cultural initiatives - *Does one really have a right to the city? Does this space really project the notion of cultural democracy?* In other words, the restructuring of urban space, such as the museum, translates into a new symbolism for the city where new social roles are established, loaded with expectations based on an ideal that marginalises the different from the moment that this new ‘public order’ is legitimised (Pio 2013).

In conclusion, the project of the Museu do Amanhã, the flagship of the institutionalisation process of the intervention in the city of Rio de Janeiro, was criticised for being characterised by many as an economic and financial project to attend this international demand and not urbanistic or cultural as it was sold (Pio 2013). Even the MAR museum, according to the author, that was supposed to fulfill the local demand for a better understanding of its own history, in the end, just like Amanhã, also prioritised a global agenda. Besides the fact that the cultural agenda and content of both institutions are in charge of public administration as it should be as culture is a core part of social policies (Furtado 2012; Pagliotto 2016). However, in the unstable Latin American context, this leads to a risk of censorship as well as the promotion of the ideological bias of current governmental leadership. As an example, an exhibition about gender and sexuality that was to be exhibited in one of these spaces was cancelled by the current mayor of the city of Rio de Janeiro, Pastor Crivella.

5. Conclusion and Main Implications

The cultural revitalisation of urban centres and port areas can be interpreted as strategies based on historical rescue, economic development, and resignification of urban identities. These strategies do not lack meaningfulness, being impossible to be dislocated from social and political relations, which can interfere in the process in various ways. Such a scenario challenges the contemporary understanding of concepts as 'urban heritage', 'historical center', 'collections', 'monument', 'identity', etc. In this context, the category of 'culture' is appropriated as a political tool with which the ideal of consensus and union is revivified. Therefore, projects of urban revitalisation are a space of dispute, where culture can be (de)legitimised. (Pio 2013).

There is no culture or city - independent of appropriation - that does not reflect the socioeconomic conditions characteristic of that particular reality. Museums have been revalued as cultural businesses and part of the emerging sector over the past few decades. Today they are spaces of art, places of knowledge production, where local meaning is not absent, at the same time, however, they constitute centres of consumption, adapting to the emerging trend in the contemporary-urbanised-world: centres of visitation that offer innovative-scientific-artistic services to enhance the visitor's experience. Thus, the profile of these visitors, their tastes and preferences, is an essential condition for drawing up efficient management strategies and making museums increasingly attractive to the public, with capacity to generate resources for its maintenance and conservation, as well as understanding how to positively impact society, overcoming economic and invisible barriers.

Even if imperceptible/unconscious, there is a movement of distinction in the act of experiencing culture, whether consuming or simply enjoying it. Bourdieu (2007) discusses legitimated art as a mechanism of social distinction, reflecting on how the lack of (although symbolic) cultural capital creates an invisible barrier, which prevents appropriation - perhaps affected by what is understood as cultural consumption. Lefévre (2004) states that, despite political and economic power being concentrated, the cultural dimension of urban life is a collective experience lived in the city. Cultural manifestations - a phenomenon of exchange, creativity, diversity, and exacerbation of social relations - are the ultimate expression of what the city is.

Therefore, the Museu do Amanhã deals with all of these aspects as an urban intervention: it does not lack meaningfulness, facing the challenge of establishing how its institution, as a business in the urban-heritage-cultural-creative industry, is going to carry its identity, and the consequent construction of the socio-cultural identity of the city of Rio de Janeiro. As has been mentioned throughout the paper, their flagship of the institutionalisation process was criticised for being characterised as an economic and financial project in order to attend to an international demand. This particular understanding of global culture contributes to the idea that legitimises the museum as a mechanism of social distinction, in which barriers are created. In this perspective, those barriers are not always economical – which are also easier to solve, i.e. having admission-free days – they are intangible as it is linked to abstract concepts of belonging. Legitimising a global trend can result in delegitimisation of the local socio cultural and its reality.

The museum's primary role is to awaken creative and critical thinking among children, young people and adults, by experimenting with new ways of learning, encouraging them to dream and live the said culture, through the exercise of their citizenship (Demattos & Diniz 2019). The Museu do Amanhã, as a pillar of social interaction, knowledge, and sustainability, stylised as an urbanistic and cultural project, needs to fully engage with the understanding of how to completely integrate itself into the city and its socioeconomic reality. As an instrument of socioeconomic development and transformation, the institution's management should invest in legitimising their cultural experience as a collective experience. In so doing, invisible barriers will be overcome and society as a whole will be able to enjoy and live the urban intervention feeling of belonging and sharing an identity. Even though the museum has many projects and initiatives seeking this ideal – such as Coral uma só voz, the social aspects of both the Observatory and the LAA, as well the Community Relation -, there is still a long way to go, not only by them, but by cultural institutions worldwide.

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