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DEVELOPMENT OF CREATIVE INDUSTRIES IN BRAZIL: INTEGRAL CONNECTIONS WITHIN THE BAHIAN CARNIVAL NETWORKS

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DEVELOPMENT OF CREATIVE INDUSTRIES IN BRAZIL: INTEGRAL
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Bahian carnival became a big event. Indicators of the 2007/2008 celebration support this assertion: throughout the six days of the festival, 25 Km of streets and avenues, 30 thousand m² of alternative areas for shows and other events were literally occupied by 227 carnival entities, meaning Blocos¹ and Trios Elétricos.² Following the rhythm of these entities there is a number of approximately 800 mil local residents and 100 mil foreign and national tourists, playing, dancing and singing inside the Blocos ropes (which separate the public from the Bloco members), or outside them, the so called popcorn revelers (which are merrymakers who are not parading inside the Blocos, but by themselves). A myriad of workers usually joins the group of revelers already enjoying the festival – such as hawkers, street vendors, policemen, government fiscals, public health agents offering services demanded by the revelers (INFOCULTURA, 2007; 2009).

In spite of the majesty of the festival, its accountancy still has many gaps. On the last six years, the Secretary of Culture, SECULT- Secretary of Culture of the State of Bahia have invested to build and implement a system of information on the Bahian Carnival. Some of this information is presented here.

¹ The *Blocos* are the groups of people who parade while singing and dancing. The origin of the *Blocos* precedes the emergence of the Carnival itself. Their probable ancestors were the groups of masked performers known as *cucumbis*, formed by black slaves who participated in the festivities of the *Entrudo* in colonial society. Such groups paraded singing and dancing to the sound of their musical instruments, mainly satirizing the dominant white society. This festive spirit animates the modern *blocos* that represent the popular counterpoint to the remarkably Europeanized masked balls and parades that had characterized the first Carnivals.

² The *trio elétrico*, created by Bahians Dodô and Osmar in the 1950 Carnival, is a platform mounted on a truck equipped with giant speakers on which musicians perform the local genres and people follow the trucks singing and dancing.

The carnival of 2007/2008 led to 97 mil temporary occupations in the private sector, 34 mil occupations in the public sector, and involved the participation of 2.531 media professionals. Besides, hotels presented an average of 72,9% occupation. 156 thousand people arrived in Salvador during carnival by road transport, 446 mil by airplane and 238 thousand people by ferry boat (INFOCULTURA, 2007; 2009).

Direct financial transactions revolved around US\$ 163,8 million³ during the carnival of 2007/2008. The private sector contributed to most of this flow of money, in a total of US\$ 92,7 millions. Out of this amount, carnival entities were responsible for US\$ 37,6 millions in transactions, hotels for US\$ 32,5 millions, Camarotes for US\$ 9,2 millions and road transport companies for US\$ 2,9 million, the ferry boat for US\$ 0,9 million. It is estimated that private expenses were around US\$ 67,8 million. Therefore, a superavit of US\$ 24,9 million was observed. The asymmetry in the absorption of these resources by the private sector calls the attention. Specifically regarding all the 227 carnival entities, which are crucial for entertainment, the great Blocos and Camarotes⁴ stay with almost all the income generated. Afoxés⁵ and Blocos Afro⁶ are the ones who earn the least money in carnival (LOIOLA; MIGUEZ, 2010).

Therefore, according to the numbers, carnival started to demand from the mayor a radical change in terms of institutional, technical and operational positioning in order to face and solve crucial issues such as planning, organization, and management, installation of infrastructure and provision of services. In order to respond to these demands, the public sector invested US\$ 26,6 millions and collected US\$ 3,1 millions in the 2007/2008 carnival, evincing an approximate deficit of US\$ 23,3 million (INFOCULTURA, 2007; 2008).

Ultimately, with a remarkable ability to generate, transform and accomplish its multiple products (music, artists, organizations, Trios Elétricos) and to get articulated

³ 1 US Dollar = 1,8449 Real-Brazil (January, 06, 2012)

⁴ The “camarotes” are private viewing spaces

⁵ The *afoxés* are old Carnival groups of the negro-mestiza population explicitly linked with the *candomblé*, the Afro-Brazilian religion.

⁶ The *blocos afro* that parade to the sound of great orchestras basically formed by percussion instruments have been a symbol of the Bahian Carnival since the 1970s. Among the most famous are the internationally known Olodum.

with the cultural industry (radio, television, music industry), with industry of tourism and entertainment and the economy of formal and informal services offered in the city, carnival started to show a growing complex structure and logic since the 1990s; economy and industry fully developed and consolidated great and diverse sources of business and income for the city.

There are already many researches on carnival and experts on Bahian carnival. Indeed, classic studies on carnival in general are in the field of social sciences, particularly anthropology, sociology, and history. In the case of Bahian carnival, the scenario is not very different. Thus, several studies can be exemplified, such as Ortiz (1976), Risério (1981; 1995), Góes (1982), Godí (1991; 2002), Morales (1991), Moura (1996; 2001) e Vieira Filho (1997).

Notwithstanding, from the 1990s on, based on the inflections occasioned by the Bahian carnival regarding the emergence of an economy of the festival, a series of socioeconomic studies started to be produced. The work from Dantas (1994), Loiola and Miguez (1996) and Fischer et al (1996) emphasized it. Other researchers followed these, such as Miguez (1996a; 1996b; 1997), Ferreira Jr. (2006), Dias (2007) and Miguez and Loiola (2011), besides a massive production of master's degree researches and PhD studies on the theme.

Loiola and Miguez (1996) evinced the trajectory of Bahian carnival as the result of a continuous process of emergence and diffusion of innovations, based on the overlap of primary and secondary networks, which originate potetializing institutional arrangements. Primary networks, which are characterized by the fact that in them individuals interact naturally just by grouping or knowing each other, with a mutable affective level along time, are the mainstray of this production. The transition to the carnival-business led systemic networks – which are the grouping of organizations that take decisions together and articulate efforts to generate a product or service, to overlap of the primary networks in a guided effort to adapt and re-elaborate values and symbolic goods produced diffusely in the social fabric. It created a machine of innovations, which is gradually changing Bahian carnival into the biggest popular festive event of Brazil. This is the only work on Bahian carnival developed according to a perspective involving social networks.

In a recent work, Miguez and Loiola (2011) argued about the economy of Bahian carnival, concluding on the presence of asymmetries regarding the appropriation of financial income and other benefits by different actors of the festival. The big Blocos get a bigger proportion of the income generated by the celebrations before, during and after the festival, as well as private sponsors. They also concentrate greater space in the media.

As previously shown, only one work on Bahian carnival was accomplished based on the perspective of social networks. We did not find a work whose object was carnival, social networks and creative industries simultaneously. This work therefore, is justified by trying to fill this gap in the literature. In a pioneer way, it aims to propose strategies that promote the development of creative industries in the Carnival of Salvador-Bahia-Brazil in a way that both increases economic opportunity and reinforces the values of creativity and citizenship. In order to aim it, the Social Network Analyze (SNA) was used in the analysis of a world-renowned creative-industry phenomenon: Carnival in Salvador.

2. CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

In this section, the approach of social network (ASN) is presented at first. Followed by the concept of creative industries, which will be discussed and set out according to the perspective of social networks.

2.1 Social Networks

The approach of social networks (ASN) has rapidly spread, as attests the exponential growth shown by articles that use this approach, or that took social networks as object of investigation, published between 1970 and 2010. This growth is evident in the most diverse areas in science (BORGATTI; HALGIN, 2011).

Latour (2011) assumes the notion of network as invisible structures that support and define the visible part of an entity. It is a complex range of organizations and

characteristics which are necessary to the existence of an object. The author state that social research must prioritize networks instead of just focusing on objects or actions.

According to Borghatti and Halgin (2011), a network consists of a setting of actors or nodes connected through specific bonds (kinship, friendship, professional bonds etc.). The bonds trace pathways which indirectly connect nodes which are not directly connected. The patterns of bonds articulate a certain network.

Interactions, besides representing the raw material of relations and social bonding, are influenced by the perception of the actors involved in the universe surrounding them and by their particular motivations. According to Watzlawick, Beavin and Jackson (2000 apud RUCUERO, 2010), the interaction is an eminently communicational process and is therefore an action that has a communicative and social reverberation among individuals and their peers. It operates directly on the definition of the nature of relations between those who are involved. It has always a social characteristic and is directly associated to the communicative process.

Relationship is taken as the basic unity of analysis of a social network. The content of one or several interactions helps to define the type of social relation existing between two inter-agents. Social relations act in the construction of social bonds (RECUERO, 2010).

Whatever the type, the bond is constituted in pathways that facilitate or harden flows of various types between the knots. These flows are formed by what those knots transact, as for instance, ideas or goods (BORGATTII; HALGIN, 2011). Social bond is composed by social relations, which are composed by interactions. They can be strong or weak, according to the level of intimacy, its persistence in time and amount of resources transacted (GRANOVETTER, 1973). It can also be of the type event or state (BORGATTII; HALGIN, 2011). It has different constitutions, deriving from the types of relations and the content of the message. Not all bonds are reciprocal, what indicates another type of categorization. When the bonds connecting two individuals have different forces in both ways (AB and BA), they are taken as asymmetrical. Whereas bonds with the same force in both ways, are called symmetrical (RECUERO, 2010).

In short, ASN is a tool for identifying the social bonds that structure life in society and has been used in studies of different characteristics. In spite of its rapid growth, in a conceptual and operational perspective, the study of certain social phenomena through the use of ASN is a new way of looking at old problems (SCOTT, 2000). It is based on ASN that ideas such as social structure, centrality, distance, cohesion and social network itself will be operationalized for the sake of empirical research (EMYRBAYER; GOODWIN, 2004).

In this work, the networks of Bahian carnival will be analyzed in structural terms. In the macro-structural dimension, the size, density and geodesic distance of the network will be measured. In the micro-structural dimension, the level of cohesion, the presence or not of sub-groups and their characteristics will be measured. Also the positionings of the actors will be identified through indicators of centrality. The definitions of the operational concepts of this research can be seen on Table 1.

Table 1. Operacional Concepts

Indicators	Definitions
<i>Size</i>	It is the quantity of connections present between the actors of a certain network.
<i>Density</i>	It is the quotient between the number of existing connections and the number of possible connections in a certain network. Density depicts the potential of the network in terms of the flow of information, meaning, the bigger the density, the more intense is the exchange of information in the network and vice-versa.
<i>Geodesic Distance</i>	It is the shorter pathway between two actors of a network.
<i>Diameter</i>	It is the biggest geodesic distance between any pair of actors of a certain network.
<i>Cohesion</i>	It is the strong relationship between actors of a network, formed by sub-groups due to the bonds established by affinity. This field of study has a strong appeal to the correlation between cohesion and patterns of behavior of these sub-groups.
<i>Clicks</i>	Definition inherited by the graph theory, in which three or more actors choose all of the sub-group as pairs in their connections. It is what informally one calls cliques in the organizations. The concepts of n-cliques, n-clans and k-plexes derive from cliques and represent extensions of the level of analysis.
<i>Centrality of the level of input</i>	Measure of the number of connections one actor receives from other actors, denoting popularity or receptivity.

<i>Centrality of the level of output</i>	Measure of the number of connections one actor establishes with other actors in the same network, denoting expansivity.
<i>Centrality of intermediation</i>	Measure based on the potential control of one actor over the interaction between two other actors, denoting the ability to interrupt.
<i>Centrality of Bonachic</i>	Measure that takes into account the number of direct connections one actor has, but also the centrality of neighbor actors, denoting a broader aspect of prestige.

In terms of structure, cohesive sub-groups are subsets of actors that present relatively strong, direct, intense and frequent bonding (WASSERMAN; FAUST, 2007). One argues that cohesive subgroups have their own rules, values, orientations and sub-cultures, substantiating solidarity, identity and collective behavior (SCOTT, 2000).

Basically, centrality is a characteristic of the actors which indicate how central they are in the social network (WASSERMAN; FAUST, 1994). This level of analysis helps understand the networks, since it identifies and localizes the actors which are more responsible for their dynamics, since they occupy strategic positions in the social structure. Prominent actors in social networks are those with more bonds and who are widely involved in relations with other actors, they are the most visible, central and who have most of the opportunities, since they have more options (WASSERMAN; FAUST, 2007). In order to map this characteristic of the actors, indicators of centrality that analyze complementary facets of what is the ability to influence or exercise power, are used. Table 1 shows a synthesis of the definition of each one of them. In this work, Bonachic`s centrality will not be used.

2.2 Creative industries in network

The most widespread definition of creative industry are very close to those originally developed by the Department for Culture, Media and Sport - DCMS of the United Kingdom on the second half of the 1990s (BRITISH, 2005). Such definitions emphasize the use of creative inputs and are delimited based on industrial systems of classification (POTTS et al, 2008).

Opposing to the widespread definitions of creative industries, Potts and collaborators

(2008) propose that creative industries are constituted by complex social networks both in the sphere of production and consume, which emerge from non-market dynamics and frequently develop in border areas between established markets and social networks, excluding subsidized activities, but including representation and coordination of new ideas.

The concept of creative industries in networks, used in this work, differs from that proposed by Potts and others (2008), reflecting the importance of social actions to the understanding of economic actions, what allows to include also subsidized activities.

The concept of creative industries in networks, is the reflex of integral connections between social facts, economic facts and cultural facts, which are operationalized with one difference, if compared to UNESCO (2007): traditional knowledge and intangible patrimony, phenomena strictly related to Bahian carnival, are classified not only as transversal domain, but also as central domain, fitting the central domain “Cultural and Natural Patrimony”. Taken as cross domain, traditional knowledge and intangible patrimony influence the production and consumption of core domains. On the other hand, as a core domain, Bahian carnival is a sphere of production and consumption constituted by complex social networks. Framing Bahian carnival as discrete domain is based on its growing importance for the economy of the city of Salvador, as demonstrated in the introductory section of this work.

3. METHOD

In this section, the object is delimited, the objectives are elucidated and research procedures are described. Besides, the main actors of carnival are presented, and the actors researched are characterized, while the instruments for collecting and treating data are defined.

3.1 Delimitation of the object and purpose

As seen in the previous section, the use of ANS has been rapidly widespread since 1970. In Brazil, this diffusion occurs in a less accelerated rate, especially in areas of creative and connected industries. As also formerly mentioned, even though there are

already many works on Bahian carnival, only one study was done based on the perspective of social networks, it was developed in 1996 by Loiola and Miguez.

Not only has the use of ANS expanded, but also a lot of criticism has been addressed to this approach. The analysis of networks and its emphasis on objective criteria, observable social forces and the ability to generate falsifiable hypotheses have allowed research in the field to overcome some traditional problems of normative models, revitalizing several areas of Sociology, including the theory of social movements, the study of social inequalities, and sociology of development. However, the exaggerated focus on structural restrictions makes the explanations of the network approach incomplete (MIZRUCHI, 2006).

Despite these challenges, Mizruchi (2006) points out that the analysis of networks has grown exactly because it enables a more dynamic understanding of social actions, allowing researchers to work using other theories. According to Mizruchi's proposal (2006), ANS may favor the observation of specificities of Bahian carnival, which could be associated to the symbolic aspect and to the market related aspect (RISÉRIO, 1981, 1995, LOIOLA; MIGUEZ, 1996); to the changes in its organization of production and services (MIGUEZ; LOIOLA, 2010, INFOCULTURA, 2007, 2009, LOIOLA; MIGUEZ, 1996, FISCHER et al, 1996); to the asymmetries in terms of appropriation of financial benefits (INFOCULTURA, 2009, MIGUEZ; LOIOLA, 2011); and finally to the essentially relational nature of the production of carnival, which takes place in a zone of intersection between markets and social networks (LOIOLA; MIGUEZ, 1996).

3.2 Carnival Actors

One of the remarkable characteristics of Bahian carnival along times has been the presence of a rich and expressive set of organizational actors. Of course, along the history of carnival celebrations in Bahia the festival has experienced changes of all kinds. Some categories of carnival entities have disappeared, others changed and new ones emerged (GODI, 2002).

The organizational network of Bahian carnival has, since the end of the 1990s, a set of

more than two hundred entities participating in the festival. The characteristics of the five main actors of the network of Bahian carnival are depicted as follows.

3.2.1 Afoxés

Generally the afoxé is attached to a “terreiro de Candomblé”⁷. The “terreiro” represents the invisible structure supporting and defining the visible part, meaning the Afoxé, according to Latour (2011). The great majority of its participants, including musicians, are people who feel connected, belonging to its community of origin, and have relationships based on informal contracts. From the musical perspective, it is characterized by the use of percussion instruments such as drums, agogo and sheikhs and singing chants of the liturgy of candomblé. Regarding the dressing, they together with the Blocos Afro, are the only carnival entities that continue to attribute importance to the dressing, assuring it a especial beauty in face of the standardization characterizing the great majority of contemporary carnival Blocos.

They are all non-profit entities, managed according to the traditional systems of the terreiros de candomblé, with no meaningful sources of revenue that guarantee their presence in the parade, except for the Filhos de Gandhi Afoxé.

3.2.2 Blocos Afro

They emerged on the first half of the 1970s, opening the process of “re-africanization” of Bahian carnival, according to Risério (1981). Even though they represent individually the category that gathers the biggest number of entities, 55 Blocos in the carnival of 2008 (EMTURSA, 2008), the Blocos Afro have to deal with the same problems stressed by Afoxés. They keep social cultural bonds with their community of origin, where they develop educational, cultural and care activities during the entire year. Even big traditional Blocos Afro like Ilê Ayiê, Olodum, Malê Debalê, Muzenza and Os Negões do not have enough mature organizational and managerial structures that could guarantee them minimum conditions to compete in the carnival market.

⁷ A terreiro de Candomblé is a place where practices associated to the Candomblé religion are performed by its adepts. The Candomblé is a religion strongly influenced by the African heritage.

3.2.3 Blocos de Trio

The Blocos de Trio were a creation of the Bahian middle class and are characterized by their use of a Trio Elétrico inside the ropes. They emerged on the first half of the 1970s, but it is only in the following decade that they acquire a great importance in leading the process of commoditization of carnival (LOIOLA; MIGUEZ, 1996). Due to its characteristics, this is the category with the most significant presence in the carnival-business. It has such an organizational structure and managerial mechanisms that enables them to participate in the carnival market in competitive conditions which are not found in the other categories of Blocos. Both in the Blocos de Trio and alternative Blocos most of their members are from high income classes (42,9%) and middle classes (38,1%). (INFOCULTURA, 2009).

3.2.4 The Foliões-Pipoca⁸

This is how people that participate in the carnival, without being attached to any carnival organization, are called. They represent effectively most of the participants of the carnival, something around 60% of all carnival revelers (INFOCULTURA, 2009). With a smaller purchase power than the revelers from Blocos and Camarotes, the Foliões-Pipoca spend around 20% of what revelers from Blocos and Camarotes spend (INFOCULTURA, 2009).

3.2.5 Actors of the Governance of the Carnival

The Carnival City Council was created in 1989 by a City Organic Law. It was created in a period of democratic renewal in Brazil, it was due to the understanding that the growth of the festival during the 1980s should correspond to a management and organization model that should not be exclusively centered in public administrations. However, actually the Council eventually became dependent on the municipal administration, being, therefore, unable to practice its attributions as a supervisory and deliberative body of carnival celebrations, contradicting the intention of the

⁸ A “folião-pipoca” is a carnival reveler.

legislator.

Due to the limitations and problems of the Council, EMTURSA, today SALTUR, a mixed economy company bound to the Municipal Government, has developed the crucial role in planning and implementing the multiple actions necessary to the realization of the festival, allowing it to concentrate excessive power, almost without any monitoring and control mechanism from the community of carnival actors.

4.3 THE ACTORS RESEARCHED, PROCEDURES FOR COLLECTING AND TREATING DATA

Twenty two carnival entities participated in this study, distributed in five of the twelve categories present in carnival: 5 Afoxés, 5 Blocos Afro, 9 Blocos de Trio, 2 Trios Elétricos and 1 Camarote.

Two questionnaires were used for collecting sociodemographic data from the respondent and the organizational profile. The list of products and services hired was obtained through a second questionnaire, which fundamented the diagnostic of interorganizational relations. These data were supplemented with elements obtained with a semi-structured interview and secondary sources.

The products and services hired, as well as relations of partnership and support were categorized and grouped by types, as with suppliers.

Data were treated based on SPSS, *Ucinet for Windows version 6.207* and the program *NetDraw 2.083* for preview and graphic analysis.

4.4 Profile of the organizations interviewed

In spite of operating in varied services (bands, rehearsals, CDs, DVDs, shows etc), most of the interviewees answered that their main product/service was carnival itself. The oldest actor is the Filhos de Gandhi Afoxé, founded in 1949, whereas the youngest was created in 2003. The organizations interviewed are divided between limited societies (12) and non-profit organizations (12). As expected, Blocos de Trio are in their majority limited societies, whereas Blocos Afro and Afoxés non-profit organizations.

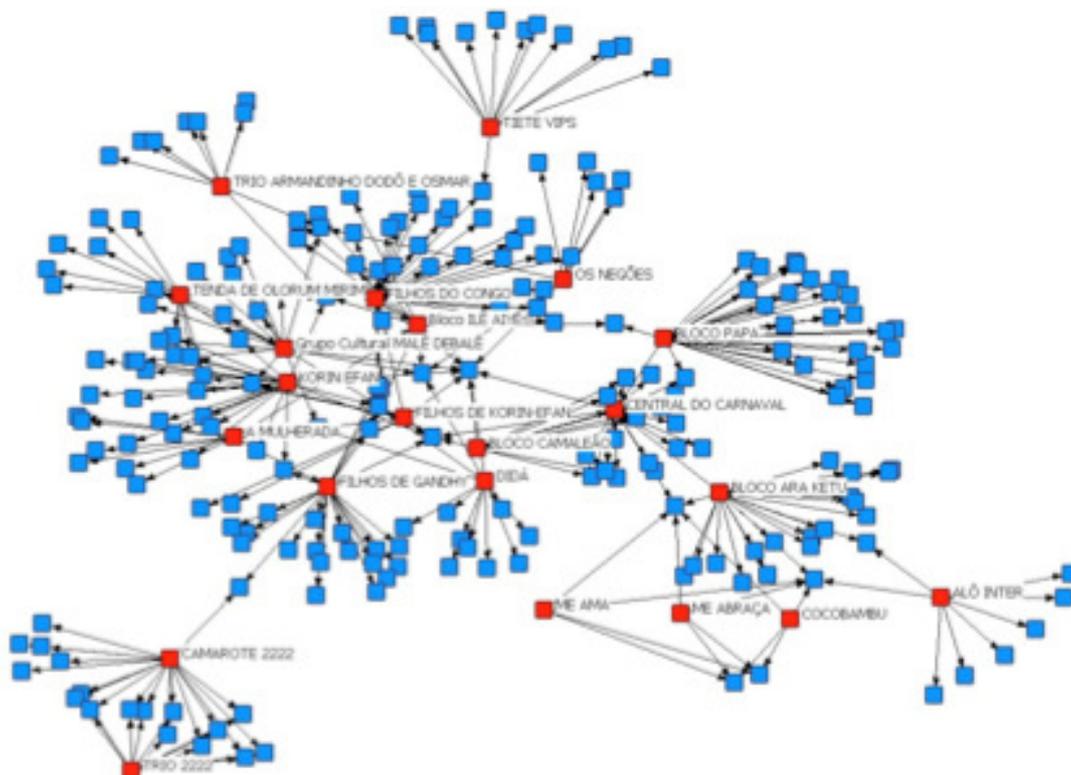
The average of members (revelers) of the organizations interviewed was 2.703. Revelers are divided in tourists and residents in Salvador. Blocos de Trio receives more tourists and Blocos Afro and Afoxés receives more locals.

According to most of the respondents, the most used financial resources to participate in the carnival are their own, followed by sponsorship of public agencies. It is important to point out that the profile traced here corroborates the one depicted by INFOCULTURA (2007, 2009) both in demographic and in organizational aspects. The general network of carnival of 2007 will be presented in the following.

5. GENERAL NETWORK OF THE CARNIVAL OF 2007

The sociogram on Figure 2 maps the network of relations of the entities participating in the study. The respondent actors are represented in red and non-respondents in blue. It is possible to observe a totally connected network.

Figure 2 – Sociogram of the General Network of Carnival of 2007



The density of the Network of the Carnival of 2007 is low, 0,5%, which means that only 306 relations are implemented in face of 60.270 possible ones. Low densities are

expected in large networks as in the case of this, constituted by 246 actors, especially when a small percentage of the actors of the network were interviewed. The absence of indications of the actors who were cited, but not interviewed pushes the value of density next to zero.

It was also calculated the density of two distinct groups: (1) the density circumscribed to the participants of the study, was of 1,5% of possible relations and (2) between respondents and non-respondent cited, was of 6,1%, a representative value of possible relations. The presence of more relations between the participant actors and the non-participants than just between the actors interviewed is evident. Therefore, it is evinced that relations between the actors of carnival tend to be few, what can influence the flow of exchange of information, support and resources, reducing this flow. It contradicts the expectations that Blocos Afro and Afoxés from the same cultural matrix establish closer relations.

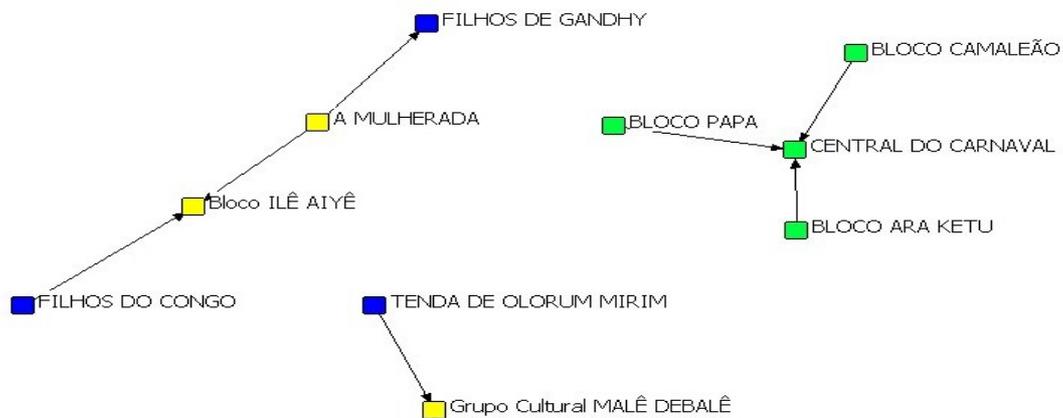
Densities by type of carnival actor were calculated in order to improve the investigation on effective relations. The calculation of this density showed that there are only four groups of actors interrelated: Afoxés x Blocos Afro (8%); Blocos Afro x Afoxés (4%); Blocos Afro x Blocos Afro (5%); and Blocos de Trio x Blocos de Trio (4,2%). There are direct bonds only between Blocos Afro and Afoxés (Filhos de Gandhi, A Mulherada, Ilê Ayiê, Filhos do Congo; and Olorum Mirim`s Tent and Malê Debalê).

Besides the previous explanation for the density of the general network, the low density for type of actor may also derive from meaningful symbolic differences between the Blocos Afro, organizations with a more contemporary profile, and Afoxés, entities more associated to the traditions of Candomblé, even though both have emerged from the same cultural matrix. Besides, the set of political differences characterizing the “black movement”, reflecting on the carnival scene, also seems to contribute to lower the density. Indeed, only the struggle for resources to guarantee their presence in the festival has been able to promote a convergence of interests of the afro-related carnival entities.

Even though from the aesthetic-artistic point of view creatures and creators of the

universe of afro-related carnival entities occupy a prominent place in the repertoire of the Blocos de Trio, it is not necessarily the relations between the Blocos Afro and the Afoxés that trigger this process. On the contrary, the purchase, usually at a very low cost and through a personal contact, of the music created by composers of the black community, the co-opting of artists and the hiring of musicians and instrumentalists coming from this community are usual practices (FIGURE 3)

Figure 3 – Sociogram of the relations circumscribed to the participants of the study



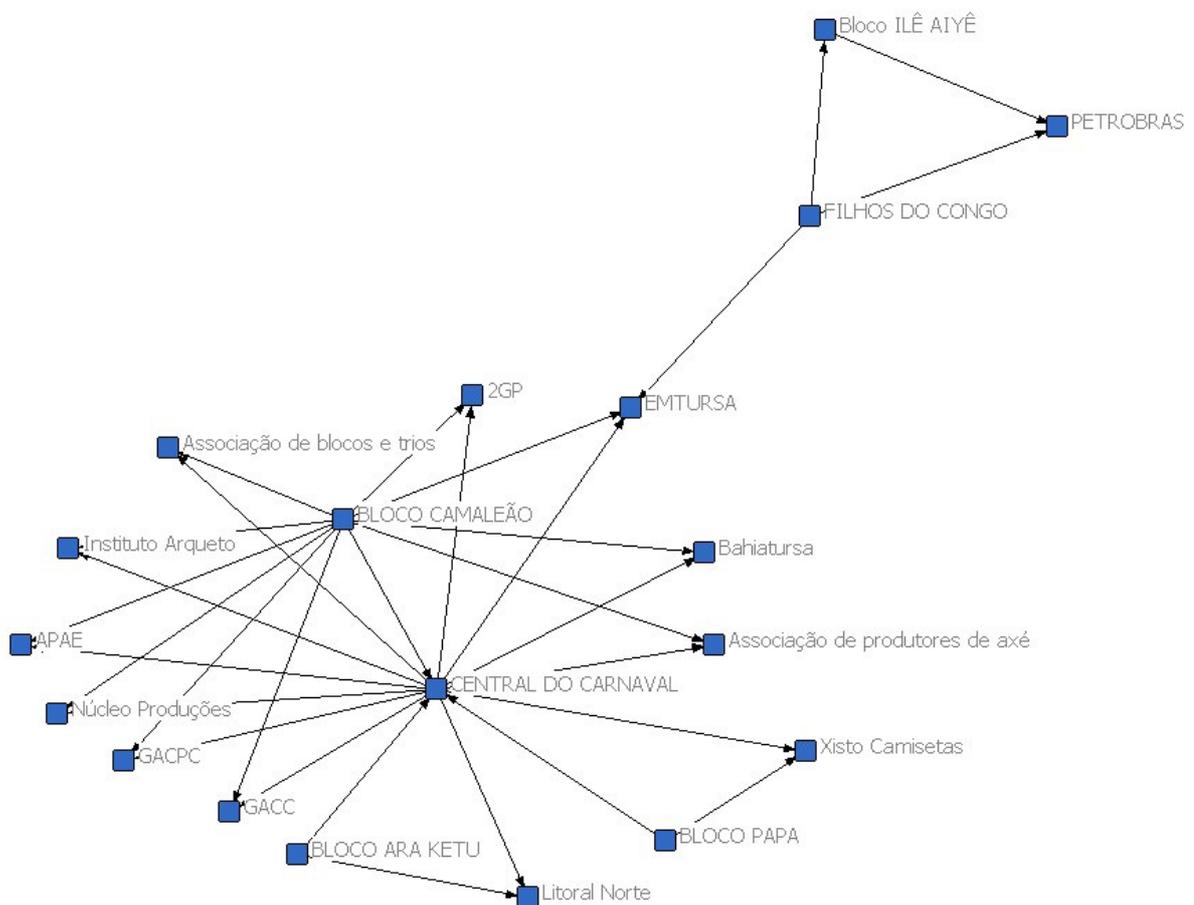
Label	■	Afoxés
	■	Blocos Afro
	■	Blocos de Trio

The analysis of the indicators of density from the perspective of two slogans originated in the mapping of this network (1- hired products and services and 2- articulations established to develop the activities) evinces a reduced sharing of products, services and support between the actors interviewed. The study by SECULT demonstrated that most of the dressing of carnival entities (97,4%) is acquired in Bahia. If we confront both information, it is possible to infer that the exclusivity of suppliers seems to prevail in the carnival business, constituting a source of competitive advantage for the associations, which turn to the market, and a source for acquiring afro-related artifacts for the association in which the market logic does not preponderate, as in the case of the Afoxés.

5.2 Cliques of the Network of the Carnival of 2007

The sub-groups of the network were identified through symmetrization of the higher scores of the relations between the actors: 13 cliques were identified. This data confirms the low cohesion of the network, since only 19 actors out of 246 participate in the cliques identified (FIGURE 4).

Figure 4 – Sociogram of the cliques of the General Network



One of the cliques identified is formed by Ilê Aiyê Bloco and the Filhos do Congo. It is certainly associated to the sponsorship of Petrobrás to both entities. Only these actors form this clique. On the other hand, two actors are part of 10 cliques at the same time, Camaleão Bloco and Central do Carnaval (Carnival Central). Central do Carnaval is also part of two other cliques with Ara Ketu Bloco and Litoral Norte, and another clique involving Papa Bloco and Xisto T-Shirts (FIGURE 4).

The presence of Central do Carnaval may be explained by the place this organization occupies in the carnival market. Created in 2000 by the same business group owning the Bloco Camaleão, Central do Carnaval meant an innovation in the point of view of the carnival-business towards its professionalism/ entrepreneurship. Its stores, located in shopping malls and in the airport of Salvador, represent commercially the interests of a great number of Blocos de Trio and offers to local revelers, tourists and corporations a mix of products involving the participation in parades at the blocos, tickets for eight big Camarotes of the carnival circuit and also for festive events throughout the year, especially June festivities in the interior of Bahia, as for example “Arraiá da Central”.

5.3 Geodesic distance and diameter of the Network of the carnival of 2007

In the case of the carnival network of 2007, the smaller distance between one actor and another is of only pathway and the biggest is of two pathways, which reinforces the perception of a network in which direct relations between the actors are predominant (75% of the total of effective relations).

The predominance of just one pathway between two actors may represent agility in the relations and a consequent quickness in spreading the information in the network. The data associated with the size and low density of the network can also presuppose restriction of opportunities and of alternatives of connection between actors which are not directly connected, in case there is any obstacle to direct relations.

On the other hand, the conformation of the network completely connected favors actions with the purpose to improve relations, broadening the density and increasing the trajectory options so actors can reach each other. Intervention in the management and evaluation of the quality of flow of relations of the network may help in the promotion of a more effective network.

Despite the low density of the Carnival Network of 2007, it is surprising that all 246 actors are connected. Several measures of centrality can help us understand the dynamics of the Carnival Network of 2007.

5.4 Centrality of level of the Carnival Network of 2007

The general level of centrality of the network is very low, both for input (2.8%) and output (12.6%). It indicates that there are no actors with great concentration of power in the network and that the distribution of power is equitable at a certain level. Comparatively, the general centrality of the network is much greater when it comes to actors indicating other actors, than actors being indicated. It means that the presence of actors with a level of important expansivity is much greater than of actors with a lot of prestige (very cited).

These characteristics may be minutely analyzed through the centrality of the actors in the network. Regarding the centrality of the level of input, the most indicated actor of the network received 8 indications, what does not leave him in a position of considerable centrality, if compared with other actors which received less indications, even though very close to 8. Still, it is important to remember that in a network composed by 246 actors indicated through 22 respondents, one actor with only 8 indications does not enjoy a prominent position. The actors with a bigger centrality of level of input are shown on Table 2.

These actors are governmental organizations and companies performing the role of sponsors, financial support and fund-raising.

Table 2 – Centrality of level of input of the actors of the General Network

Actor	Role played	Legal role	Level of input
EMTURSA	Sponsor/Financial Support/ Fund-raising	Municipal Government	8.000
BAHIATURSA	Sponsor/Financial Support/ Fund-raising	State Government	6.000
Litoral Norte	Manufacture of clothing and diverse equipage	Company	5.000
PONTESEG	Sponsor/Financial Support/ Fund-raising	Company	5.000
Petrobrás	Sponsor/Financial Support/ Fund-raising	Company	5.000

The sociogram on Figure 5 shows these actors positioned in the network, in which the

size of the dots is proportional to the measure of the level of centrality of input (how many times was cited).

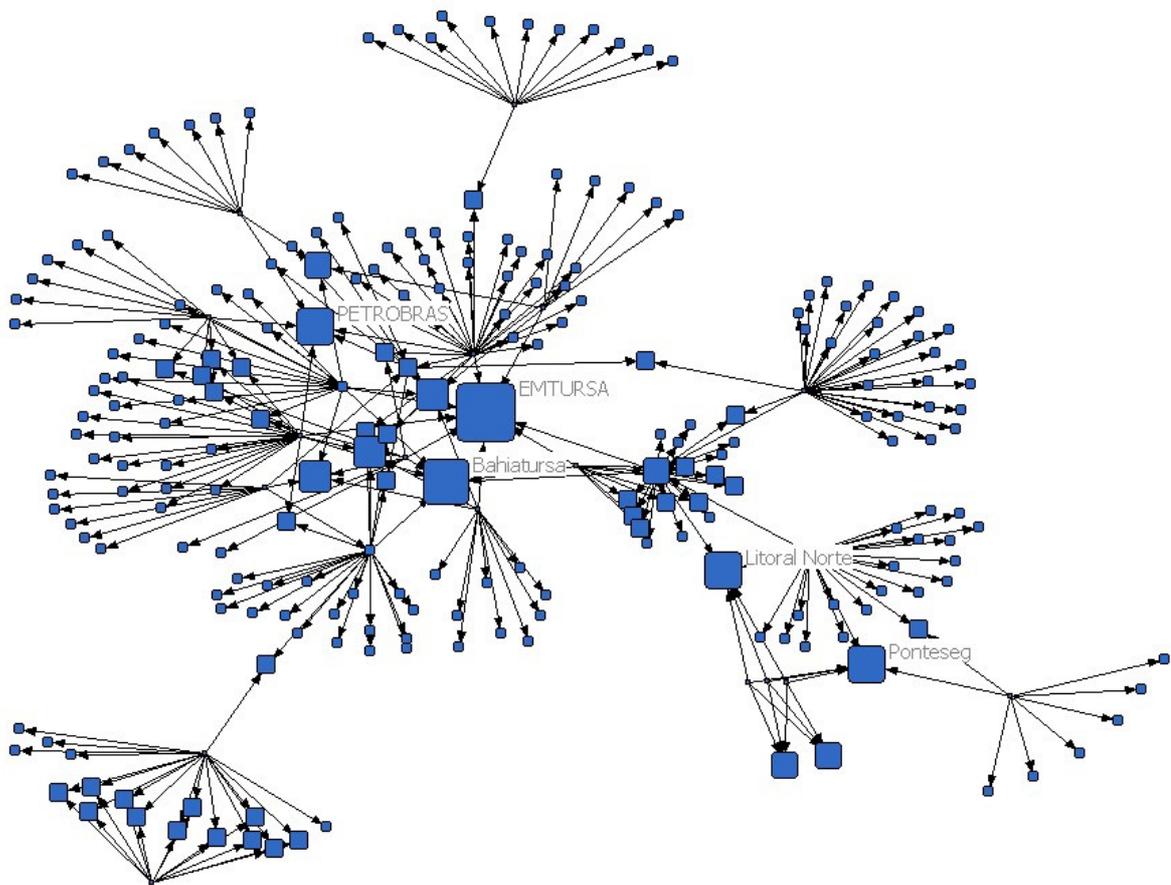


Figure 5 – Sociogram of the centrality of the level of input of the General Network

The high centrality observed for EMTURSA, current SALTUR, derives from its role of institution responsible for planning, organizing, and implementing carnival. These are relevant and imperative activities for the current configuration of the festival. Because of it, all carnival entities and any organization that for some reason have an interest in the festival resorts to SALTUR. The company also centralizes the regulations of the festival, overlapping in this function, the Carnival City Council. Besides guaranteeing necessary municipal resources to the festival, EMTURSA finances or co-finances the participation of some carnival entities, such as independent Trio Eléctrico.

Regarding BAHIATURSA, a company of the State Government, its centrality can be explained by its importance for the role it plays in the touristic trading, as for the role

of funder, sponsoring several carnival entities.

The actors with greater potential expansiveness are those who present a high centrality of level of output (number of actors who indicated them). Table 3 shows the actors that made more than 20 indications (variation between 17 and 32, and average of 14). These actors are Afoxés and Blocos de Trio and may be seen in the sociogram on Figure 6, in which the size of the dots represent the measure of centrality of the level of output.

Table 3 – Centrality of the level of output of the actors of the General Network

Actor	Role	Legal role	Level of output
Filhos do Congo	Afoxé	Associations and NGOs	32.000
Papa Bloco	Bloco de Trio	Company	28.000
Filhos de Gandhi	Afoxé	Associations and NGOs	24.000
Ara Ketu Bloco	Bloco de Trio	Company	22.000
Korin Efan	Afoxé	Associations and NGOs	22.000
Central do Carnaval	Bloco de Trio	Company	20.000
Camarote 2222	Camarote	Company	18.000
Male Debalê	Bloco Afro	Associations and NGOs	17.000

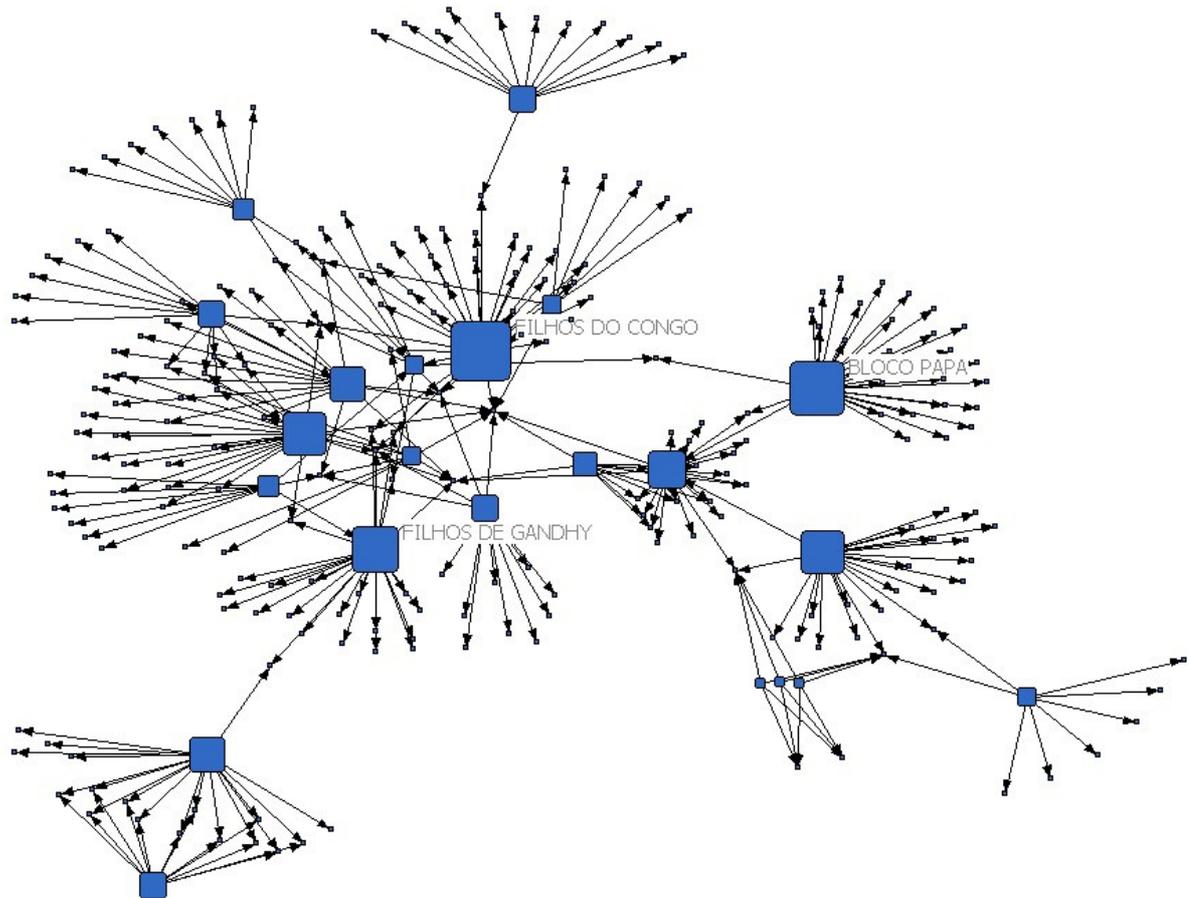


Figure 6 – Sociogram of the centrality of the level of output of the General Network

It is important to point out that the potential expansiveness in the network depends on the positions of the actors. For example, even though the Camarote 2222 indicates 18 actors its connection with the rest of the network is totally dependent on an only actor, Gilberto Gil, which can be explained by his double symbolic of an internationally known Bahian artist and the fact that he is the Ministry of Culture.

5.5 Centrality of intermediation of the Carnival Network of 2007

The Carnival network of 2007 has low centrality of intermediation (0.08%). From the 246 actors, only 4 are able to perform intermediation and do it below their capacity⁹. This network is characterized by a shortage of actors with the role of bridges, which may facilitate information transfer and incorporation of innovation (TABLE 4).

Table 4 – Centrality of the level of intermediation of the actors of the General Network

⁹ Once more, it is important to remember that only 22 actors were interviewed to map the network, out of a total of 246. Thus, a lot of intermediations may exist, even though they were not identified.

Actor	Role	Legal Role	Intermediation
Central do Carnaval	Bloco de Trio	Company	48.000
Filhos de Gandhi	Afoxé	Associations and NGOs	23.500
Malê Debalê	Bloco Afro	Associations and NGOs	17.000
Ilê Aiyê	Bloco Afro	Associations and NGOs	14.500

Central do Carnaval is the actor that performs most of the intermediations, but actualizes only 8% of potential intermediations. Filhos de Gandhi and two Blocos Afro called Male Debalê and Ilê Aiyê, also work as intermediaries. This is understandable since Filhos de Gandhi is the oldest afoxé of Bahian carnival (founded in 1949), internationally known, and Ilê Aiyê is the oldest Bloco Afro (created in 1975), has great political and organizational power in important sectors of the black movement, and Malê Debalê works together with the community of residents of the district of Itapoã.

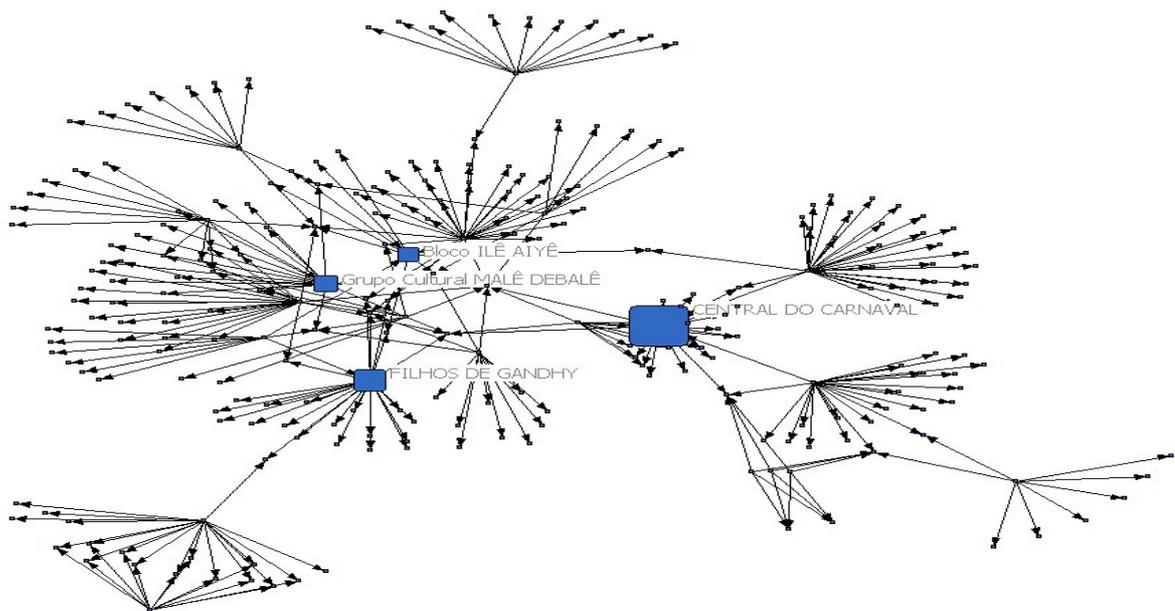


Figure 7 – Sociogram of the centrality of intermediation of the General Network

Analyzing in more detail, it is possible to observe that the actor Central do Carnaval is in the pathway of several groups of actors, to whom they can resort in order to achieve the other side of the network. The same can be said of Filhos de Gandhi, though in a smaller level.

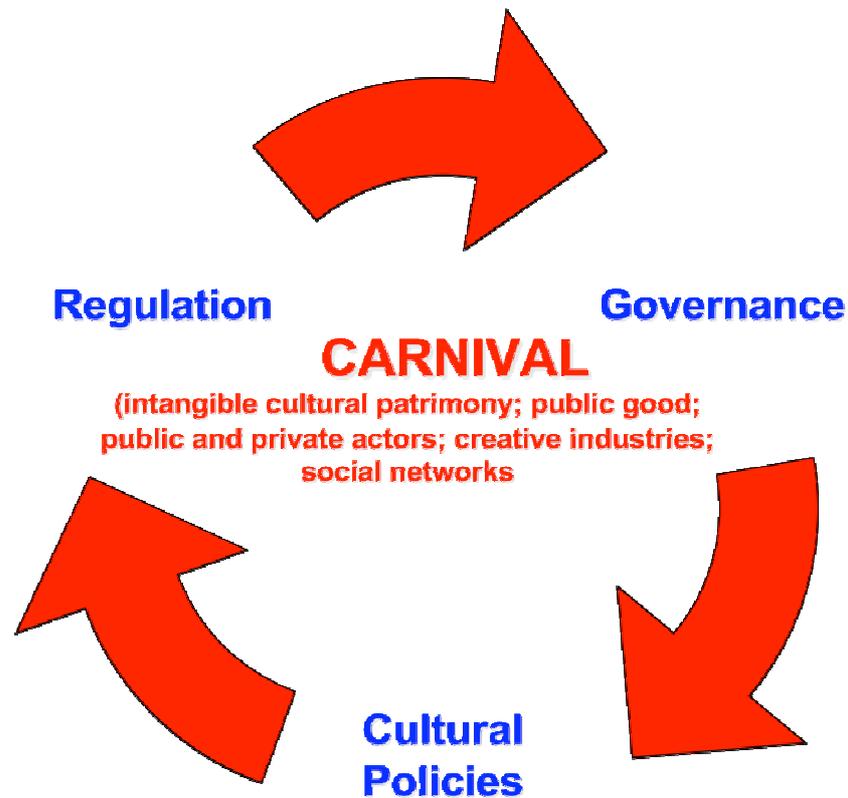
5. CHALLENGES AND RECOMMENDATIONS

As can be observed, the economy of the carnival-business is driven by a considerable number of actors, as for instance the various types of Blocos, the Afoxés and the Trios Elétricos, which are all directly associated to the celebration. This set of actors, when establish between them an intertwined complex of relations, suggest an understanding of the carnival as a phenomenon that is organized in a network, articulating creative industries, according to the definition approached in this work. Therefore, and taking into account the absence of previous studies that have been based on this perception, carnival and its actors were investigated based on the method of networks.

Challenges to the Bahian carnival are neither few, nor simple, if one considers the inflections the festival has experienced throughout the last three decades. The emergence of a mercantile logic, hegemonic in the organization of the festivities and the close relationship of the festival with the tourism economy and the media contributed to a gigantic growth of its range of achievement, forcing the professionalization and specialization of its public and private actors. In parallel to this intense process of transformation of the festival, many challenges emerged.

In order to systematize and synthesize, the repertoire of challenges to the Bahian carnival can be categorized as follows: social networks, governance, regulatory frameworks and cultural policies (FIGURE 8).

Figure 8 – Carnival Challenges



Social networks are pillars for the construction and transformation of the economy of the Bahian carnival, which operate according to the market logic. As evinced, social networks of Bahian carnival are characterized by low density, meaning few effective interactions, despite the great potential of relations which emerged from its empirical mapping. Advantages and disadvantages derive from such configuration, as shows specialized literature.

The example of disadvantage is the presence of obstacles to the diffusion of information, of knowledge and innovation, which tends to privilege few actors (individual and collective) who already enjoy positions of prestige and power inside the network. In terms of stimuli, a better distribution of the wealth generated by the

celebration, incentives to the densification of the network can be strategic. On the other hand, the low cohesion of the network can also favor a greater permeability of the network, enabling the entrance of new actors, which could also represent a source of positive stimuli in a project of a more balanced distribution of the wealth generated by the festival.

It seems that actions engendered in order to seek a better distribution of the wealth generated by the carnival should try to encourage the densification of the network, without neglecting the constant need to renew the actors, avoiding the closure of entities and the maintenance of positions of power and prestige already established. Certainly, this is not a task for one or few actors of the network. This is why one of the challenges also supported by this study is to invest in a new governance structure for Bahian carnival.

The challenge of governance is imperative, since carnival is a festival that involves such a multiplicity of actors and interests. Here, representation is a key point necessary for the engagement and effort of many public and private actors constituting the festival. There should be organizations representing the interests of city residents, the more directly involved, such as those who live or work on the spaces physically occupied by the carnival, who experience unpleasant changes in their routines during the occurrence of the festival: and also the larger set of the population, who, indeed, participating or not in the carnival, also has interests regarding the carnival, since it is a cultural patrimony of the city.

It is crucial the construction of a new governance to the festival. Also a reformulation Carnival City Council, which demands an articulation between the executive and legislative branches of the city, since implies in changes of the Organic law of the Municipality. As for the large corporate actors of the festival, such as Blocos de Trio, Camarotes, the hotel industry, lies the responsibility to broaden their perspective about the carnival, identifying new sources for their growth which are not only those that have been propitiated by the industry of the festival.

The challenge of governance reaches also small carnival entities, like the Afoxés. It is up to them to strive for an improvement in their organization, they should potentiate

the importance of the fact that they were influenced by their traditions and connections to the community of origin.

The issue of the regulatory frameworks is the third challenge. It was mentioned because, in spite of the strength of the economy of Bahian carnival, the division of the wealth generated by the festival is absolutely unequal. The majority of the financial benefits are almost exclusively concentrated on the hands of very few companies working in the segments dominated by a great capital, which is responsible for multiple businesses of the Blocos de Trio and hotels. On the other side of the economy, small carnival entities, particularly Afoxés and Blocos Afro, the micro and small companies and an large number of informal workers compete for some income, in a highly competitive environment with very low profit margins. The government collects little taxes, either due to high tax evasion, or due to the high level of informality according to which many businesses are made. In spite of it, government has to shoulder considerable expenses which are crucial for the achievement of carnival, such as infrastructure, public services, health and security, financial support to carnival entities etc.

Therefore, here the challenge consists of a radical renewal of the commercial practices present in the Bahian carnival scenario, since the existing regulatory frameworks seem to be unable to serve the project to equally distribute the wealth generated during carnival and prevent the celebration from enjoying the opportunity of a space, where several alternatives for survival experienced by a considerable number of the population may become a developmental project properly tuned to what we call post-industrial vocation of the city of Salvador.

The last challenge is the need for cultural policies directed to carnival - and this is a double challenge, since both the City Administration and State Administration do not have a tradition in implementing public policies focused on culture.

Facing it demands a solution that goes beyond the economic level of the festival and its governance. In this sense, it is important that the Public Administration improves the methodology needed to elaborate a rigorous mapping of the economic flows of the economy during carnival, so it can be able to resort to indispensable regulatory

measures and limits mercantile interests practiced in carnival. It is absolutely fundamental that the City and the State play the role they are supposed play. This role has been given up in favor of the big capital working in the economy of the carnival. It is urgent that, based on the importance this celebration has for the soul of the city, the City and the State operates to acknowledge and guarantee the visibility and conviviality of different carnival manifestations whose origins are anchored both in ancient traditions and in more contemporary repertoires. This is a crucial element to the maintenance of the participatory nature that has made Bahian carnival a great festival.

Therefore, what should mark out any organizational, technical, managerial or economic policy is the fact that carnival is a immaterial patrimony of Bahian culture. Outside of this landmark, interventions will only contribute to weaken the cultural dimension of carnival, compromising its meaning and even invalidating the promises of social an economical development that this celebration brings.

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