


**THE ROUANET LAW IN BROADWAY PRODUCTIONS AND CELEBRITY
THEATER**

**XA LEI ROUANET NAS PRODUÇÕES DA BROADWAY E NO TEATRO DE
CELEBRIDADES**

**LA LEY ROUANET EN LAS PRODUCCIONES DE BROADWAY Y EL TEATRO
DE FAMOSOS**

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ABSTRACT

The chapter aims to show, through interviews with representatives of private companies and public institutions, directors of projects sponsored and made unfeasible through the Rouanet Law and a quantitative survey of plays sponsored in 2011 through the Rouanet Law's tax waiver, the existence of a concentration of Rouanet Law tax exemption resources on Broadway productions and on actors and directors known to the media to the detriment of authors and directors and actors unknown to the press. In this way, the big companies benefit shows that give a financial return and institutional marketing, the entertainment culture that seeks to entertain and please the "general public". A survey by the Ministry of Culture found that 50% of funding is concentrated in just 3% of applicants. The theoretical framework was drawn from authors such as Adorno; Horkheimer; Abreu; Barichello; Barbalho; Botelho; Bourdieu; Coelho; Cruz; Debord; Fragoaz; Katz; Moreira; Ortiz; Rubim.

Keyword: Rouanet Law; Broadway; theater; institutional marketing.

RESUMO

O capítulo tem como objetivo mostrar, por meio de entrevistas com representantes de empresas privadas e de instituições públicas, diretores de projetos patrocinados e inviabilizados por meio da Lei Rouanet e de um levantamento quantitativo das peças de teatro patrocinadas no ano de 2011 por meio da renúncia fiscal da Lei Rouanet, a existência de uma concentração de recursos de isenção fiscal da Lei Rouanet em produções da Broadway e em atores e diretores consagrados pela mídia em detrimento de autores e diretores e atores desconhecidos da imprensa. Dessa forma, as grandes empresas beneficiam espetáculos que dão retorno financeiro e de marketing institucional, a cultura do entretenimento que busca divertir e agradar ao "grande público". Pesquisa do Ministério da Cultura constatou a existência de uma concentração de 50% dos recursos em apenas 3% dos proponentes. O referencial teórico foi extraído de autores como Adorno; Horkheimer; Abreu; Barichello; Barbalho; Botelho; Bourdieu; Coelho; Cruz; Debord; Fragoaz; Katz; Moreira; Ortiz; Rubim.

Palavras-chave: Lei Rouanet; Broadway; teatro; marketing institucional.

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RESUMEN

El capítulo pretende demostrar, mediante entrevistas con representantes de empresas privadas e instituciones públicas, directores de proyectos patrocinados e inviabilizados por la Ley Rouanet y una encuesta cuantitativa sobre obras de teatro patrocinadas en 2011 gracias a la exención fiscal de la Ley Rouanet, la existencia de una concentración de los recursos de la exención fiscal de la Ley Rouanet en las producciones de Broadway y en los actores y directores conocidos en los medios de comunicación, en detrimento de los autores y directores y actores desconocidos por la prensa. De este modo, las grandes compañías favorecen los espectáculos que proporcionan un rendimiento financiero y un marketing institucional, la cultura del espectáculo que busca entretener y agradar al «gran público». Una encuesta del Ministerio de Cultura reveló que el 50% de los fondos se concentran en sólo el 3% de los proponentes. El marco teórico fue elaborado a partir de autores como Adorno; Horkheimer; Abreu; Barichello; Barbalho; Botelho; Bourdieu; Coelho; Cruz; Debord; Fragoaz; Katz; Moreira; Ortiz; Rubim.

Palabras clave: Ley Rouanet; Broadway; teatro; marketing institucional.

INTRODUCTION

The master's research entitled Rouanet Law: the visibility of the cultural product as a criterion for sponsorship of artistic production analyzed the performing arts shows sponsored in 2011² through Salic Net (Support System for Cultural Incentive Laws) and concluded that 45 million of the resources destined to artistic production via tax exemption of the Rouanet Law are concentrated in major Broadway productions, as shown in the table.

Table I: Broadway productions sponsored in 2011

Project name	Director	Project value
A Family Addams - The Musical		13.170.000,00
The Witches of Eastwick – Musical		4.795.763,49
Mamma Mia		12.623,00000
Shrek - The Musical		6.000.000,00
New York, New York - The Musical		4.590.000,00
Disney On Ice - Disneyland Adventures'		2.950.000,00
Musical- The color purple	Fred Hanson	760.000,00
My friend Charlie Brown	Fred Hanson	530.000,00
Total		45.418.763,5

Source: prepared by the authors

These formats of large shows provide great media visibility to companies, add value to sponsoring brands and are box office successes. However, by investing in performing arts projects of American format to the detriment of national artistic production, Brazilian authors and directors, who are not consecrated by the media and the general public, are harmed by not taking their artistic productions to the Brazilian population. The sponsorship of North American productions with public resources of tax exemption implies a whole complex of values and behaviors added to these products, given that corporate decisions are defined by global competition and not by national loyalty (Ortiz, 2000, p.153).

We can see that, with the exception of directors and actors Nicete Bruno, Paulo Goulart and Marília Pêra, most Brazilian directors and actors without sponsorship are not consecrated by the media. Thus, by investing 44 million in productions by American authors with standardized formats and expensive tickets, companies devalue national artistic production by failing to invest public resources in productions by directors such as Bárbara Bruno, Bibi Ferreira, Jairo Matos, Imara Reis, Marília Pêra, Nicete Bruno and Paulo

² We selected cultural projects sponsored in 2011 through criteria such as values of the shows, potential for media visibility of directors, actors and authors, repetition of authors, directors and actors in viable productions. The table with all the plays sponsored in 2011 is available in the dissertation entitled Rouanet Law: cultural visibility as a criterion for sponsorship of artistic production available at: <https://teses.usp.br/teses/disponiveis/27/27154/tde-26112015-125631/pt-br.php>. Accessed on: 25 jan. 2025.

Goulart, Roberto Lage, Eduardo Silva and Ivo Muller, in addition to the numerous unfeasible productions mentioned in the table.

The equation public money = private business has, among other consequences, the notable concentration of benefits both in relation to producers and artists (with privilege to those who have a public image to sell at the counters of the companies' marketing departments) and to portions of the population that are accredited to enjoy the shows supported by the Law (basically those who can generally pay the high price of tickets, which then result from the surcharge of what already arrives on the scene subsidized). Those who feel – and in fact are – excluded are left with the intuition that if the times of full freedom have definitely set in, it is a matter of asking what this means in practical terms (Abreu, 2014, p.19)

In this way, companies decide, according to market criteria, which shows will be made possible with public money from tax exemption from the Rouanet Law. Market censorship establishes a cultural hegemony and repels the diversity of artistic expressions. According to the analysis of sponsored and unfeasible shows from 2011 to 2012, we can see that authors, directors and actors not consecrated by the media with smaller budgets were unable to raise funds via tax exemption from the Rouanet Law by private institutions, given that experimental or alternative shows, from a cast unknown to the general public, offer risks of economic viability and unpredictability at the box office. "Musical theatrical shows or those linked to comedies of manners have a larger audience than alternative and experimental plays" (Fragoaz, 2013, p.209).

Luiz Carlos Moreira, in the documentary "Open Rehearsal: Promotion of Theater" directed by Luiz Gustavo Cruz, explains that businessmen have control over national artistic production.

What is the so-called Brazilian modern theater or the so-called business theater? You have the figure of the producer or the entrepreneur who can sometimes even be an artist who is, deep down, the one who decides what is going to be done because he is the owner of the money. When I say that he owns the money, I mean that he not only has the money to pay for the production, but he has control of the means to produce a show. What would these means be? One of them is the theater. Either he owns a theater or he has a theater rent in hand. He has the resources to invest in the media, he has the resources to pay for a copyright and as he is the owner, he defines what he is going to put together. So, normally, the standard scheme, he chooses a text and chooses a director "who will have all the freedom to create the show", but it is obvious that if he chose that director and not this director and that if he chose this text and not that text, he has already defined, he already knows the show he wants (Cruz, 2012).

Faced with this scenario of concentration of public resources in actors and directors consecrated by the media, it is worth differentiating what has become known as "commercial theater" and alternative or experimental theater.

Commercial theater is classified as a theater of fun and entertainment, which does not require much reflection from the audience and involves production with corporate sponsorship through tax incentives, with dissemination carried out by the mainstream

media, through paid advertising. It is presented in theaters with a large audience capacity and involves prestigious actors and directors linked to television and who are known to the general public who, most of the time, are attracted to watch these productions, as they have a desire to have a closer contact with their idols. There is a commercial interest and financial return through sponsorships and box office (Fragoaz, 2013, p.229).

The so-called alternative or experimental theater is characterized by the proposition of new scenic languages and goes against the traditional, commercial and bourgeois theater that aims at financial profitability. It is a political position of artists in the face of tradition, institution and economic exploitation.

Therefore, if group theater competes with commercial theater, even if in a situation of inequality, for the financing of its productions, it is not necessarily configured as a competitor for the presence of the public, since experimental theater has its audience made up mostly of cultural producers, and commercial theater is composed of the so-called "general public", seduced by the attraction of one or more celebrities, usually television, or by the comedy of easy laughter (Fragoaz, 2013, p.237).

Rodolfo García Vázquez, director of the theater company Los Satyros, says that there is a hegemony of plays that come close to a television aesthetic and that leave little room for criticism and social contestation. In the neoliberal political-economic context, social relations mediated by images and the valorization of appearance provoke the replacement of the sensible world "by a selection of images that exists above it, and that at the same time has made itself recognized as the sensible par excellence" (Debord, 1997, p.28).

So, you end up supporting an anodyne culture, a culture that will not bring you risk and this is contaminating a lot of Brazilian culture, which is a culture that no longer has a critical spirit, which is more of immediate consumption, pasteurized and that is very close to the aesthetics of television. So, what you see in culture is very close to what you see on television. When it should be a much more space of social contestation³

It is clear how comedy entertains and pleases the general public and companies, given that 16 plays of this genre were sponsored in 2011. The comedy shows were: How to Become a Jewish Super Mom in Ten Lessons, Tea with Lemon, I Loved What You Did, Knock Knock, The 39 Steps, Without Thinking, More Respect That I'm Your Mother, Dare You, There Is No Difficult Woman, Unlikely Tour, One Like Another Baking, How To Have Sex All Your Life With The Same Person, Without measure, Pregnant, Eri Pinta Johnson Borda, Behind the Cloth - The comedy, AS BOTOCUDAS - A Surgical Tragicomedy. Marcela Guttman, from the company Fixação Marketing Cultural, explains that "apart from

³ Interview by VÁSQUEZ, Rodolfo García [Feb.2015]. Interviewer: Vinícius Mizumoto Mega. São Paulo, 21 Feb. 2015.



Broadway musicals, comedy is one of the much easier genres to sell and to have a box office result as well"⁴

The preference of companies to sponsor comedies with easy laughter is due to the fact that comic shows create a pleasant environment among customers, suppliers, investors and employees through the laughter and the appearance of happiness provoked by celebrities, show business, the depoliticization of content and the absence: of social criticism, of thought, of fantasy and the intellectual activity of the spectator. "*Fun* is a medicinal bath, which the pleasure industry prescribes incessantly. Laughter becomes in it the fraudulent means of lubricating happiness" (Adorno, Horkheimer, 1985, p.116).

Having fun means agreeing. This is possible only if it isolates itself from the social process as a whole, if it is idiotized, and if it abandons from the outset the inescapable claim of every work, even the most insignificant, to reflect the whole in its limitation. To have fun always means: not having to think about it, forgetting suffering even where it is shown (Adorno, Horkheimer, 1985, p.117).

Bruce Gomlevsky explains that companies do not want to have their image associated with critical or "sad" plays.

I've heard stories of established actors who want to put on plays that aren't so commercial, that aren't comedic or easy in content, I don't know if a big company will want to invest in a play that is a tragedy. It doesn't even have to be pornographic or weaponry, but a story that is "sad", that is not a cheap comedy or anesthetic, I don't know if the company will want to associate its name with that.⁵

The logic of entertainment and hobby culture is the most suitable environment for companies to sell their products and prospect new customers through the fun provided by comedies starring celebrities.

Pure entertainment in its logic, the relaxed abandonment to the multiplicity of associations and the happy absurdity, is surrounded by current entertainment: it is hindered by the counterfeiting of a coherent meaning that the culture industry insists on adding to its products and which, at the same time, it cleverly abuses as a mere pretext for the appearance of the stars (Adorno, Horkheimer, 1985, p.119).

Bourdieu (2013) explains that medium culture or medium art is related to the products of the cultural industry that manufactures cultural merchandise according to the taste of the "average spectator", seeking to reach and conquer a heterogeneous audience through the exclusion of controversial and taboo topics with the aim of creating a pleasant environment and maximizing the profit of companies. If, on the one hand, authors and

⁴ Interview by GUTTMANN, Marcela. [Feb.2015]. Interviewer: Vinícius Mizumoto Mega. São Paulo, May 9. 2015.

⁵ Interview by GOMLEVSKY, Bruce. [Feb.2015]. Interviewer: Vinícius Mizumoto Mega. São Paulo, 10 mar. 2015.

directors unknown to the media and the general public were financially unviable, on the other hand, the productions of authors, directors and actors consecrated by the media concentrate most of the resources destined for the 2011 tax exemption.

THE CONCENTRATION OF RESOURCES IN TV GLOBO DIRECTORS AND ACTORS

It is also perceived that, due to the criterion of media visibility instituted by the companies, there is a hegemony of plays sponsored with tax exemption resources from the Rouanet Law of directors and actors of soap operas such as Marisa Orth, Beto Marden, André Garolli, Roberto Vignati, Jô Soares, Monique Gardenberg, Miguel Falabella, Otávio Martins, Emilio Di Biasi, Roberto Bomtempo, Luiz Villaça, Alexandre Reinecke and the actors Denise Fraga, Kiko Marques, Kauê Telloli, Virgínia Buckowski, Isabel Wolfenson, Verônica Sarno, Paula Ravache, Ana Lucia Torre, Flavia Garrafa, Marco Antonio Pâmio, Denise Weinberg, Luiza Tomé, Selma Egrei.

We also noticed that the proponents use expressions such as "renowned", "awarded", "all with work at Rede Globo" "one of the most popular musicals in the world" in order to win over sponsors through the potential for critical success, audience, prestige and notoriety of the artists and show how directors and actors have media visibility."Not only the types of the hit songs, the stars, the soap operas reappear cyclically as fixed invariants, but the specific content of the spectacle is itself derived from them and only varies in appearance" (Adorno, Horkheimer, 1985, p.130).

Kil Abreu (2010) explains that there is hegemonic theater headed by the stars of soap operas who conquer, seduce and entertain the Brazilian middle class.

The hegemonic theater, however, continues to be what is sustained in the variations of teledramaturgy taken to the stage or, more recently, in the slice of the great musicals. The audience of the concert halls in Brazil is the middle class, and this mostly refers to the so-called television or the model of American mega shows. As for the musicals, in spite of one or the other with more padding and restlessness, in general they are shows that impress with the large volume of production and excellent technical apparatus. Unfortunately, in contrast, they lose in originality. The country has yet to see the expansion of the increase to a truly Brazilian dramaturgy in this area in future years, without the trappings and tricks of Broadway.⁶

The hegemonic theater is one that values art as entertainment, fun and pastime. In this context, the comedy of easy laughter is benefited when choosing the cultural projects to be sponsored through the tax exemption of the Rouanet Law, as confirmed by Vany Alves.

Because if it doesn't change, it will always be the bias of the self-referential universe, if I only saw Gorete Milagres, what will be important are its derivatives, so

⁶ Available at: <http://www.cooperativadeteatro.com.br/kil-abreu-traca-panorama-teatral-do-pais/>. Accessed on: 28. Mai. 2015.



I'm going to sponsor the comedian of Zorra Total, I'm going to stay in this place that is dangerous because there is a predilection for entertainment, for what makes me laugh and what numbs me and this also generates a selection criterion of who goes to the theater and who doesn't. If your theatrical process is more linked to existentialism and the poetic, you have already lost 50% of the market because the sponsor wants comedy.⁷

If, on the one hand, directors such as Miguel Falabella, Fred Hanson and Alexandre Heinecke raised more than one million reais for their projects, on the other hand, directors such as Bicudo Junior, Eduardo Silva, Moisés Miastkowsky, and Jairo Matos were unable to make theater plays that did not reach the value of 200 thousand reais viable. The authors who did not have sponsorship are: Atílio Bari, Plínio Seixas, Leonardo Alkimim, Marta Góes, Patrícia Engel Secco, Cristina Nicolotti, Maria Duda, Jorge Julião, Bicudo Junior, Érika Fabíola Barbin, Romeu Evaristo, Paulo F, Fábio Torres, Madalena Bernardes, Lupicínio Rodrigues.

It can be seen that of the R\$ 159,565,036.54 allocated to performing arts projects in 2011, the values of Broadway productions (R\$ 45,418,763.5) added to the amount of Brazilian authors, actors and directors consecrated by the media (R\$ 43,395,256.21) reach a total of R\$ 88,814,019.71. That is, 55.66% of the budget for that period. We remind you that 5.66% of the resources, more than half of the total amount, correspond to the amount of R\$ 9,031,381.06 and are concentrated in productions with media visibility.

However, we also have that 55.6% of the total amount of R\$ 159,565,036.54 implies R\$ 88,814,019.71 and that 44.4% refers to R\$ 70,846,876.22. (cultural projects by authors, directors and actors unknown to the media and the general public). There is a very significant difference between the amounts allocated to productions with media visibility, which corresponds to R\$ 17,967,143.49.

Considering a simple average, since the values of each project are different, there are 71 plays with Brazilian authors, directors and actors who received around R\$ 611,000.00 to the detriment of R\$ 5,677,345.00 for only eight Broadway plays. Still in this line of reasoning, we find from R\$ 88,814,019.71 for 79 plays between Broadway projects and projects with media visibility the average value of R\$ 1,124,227.84 to the detriment of R\$ 70,351,016.83 for productions with a cast unknown to the press and the general public.

We thus highlight the considerable difference in percentages, which is 52.14% more for each play by authors, directors and actors with potential for critical success, public and media visibility.

Today, 2011, the Cooperativa Paulista de Teatro seeks in the state more than 95% of its annual revenue of 40 to 45 million reais, an amount probably only lower than the

⁷ Interview by ALVES, Vany. [Feb.2015]. Interviewer: Vinícius Mizumoto Mega. São Paulo, 10 Feb. 2015.

movement of the Broadway producer. And this with more than 3,000 members and 1,000 groups, of which about 200 manage, in some way, to show themselves to be active (Moreira, 2012, p.23).

If, on the one hand, the 45 million reais via tax waiver of the Rouanet Law were allocated to eight Broadway productions, on the other hand, the Cooperativa Paulista de Teatro used the same budget in 2011 to make 200 theater groups viable.

Although experimental and research theater productions have difficulty accessing the tax exemption resources of the Rouanet Law, in 2011, Teatro da Vertigem, Companhia do Latão and Teatro Oficina managed to raise funds via tax exemption from the Rouanet Law.

In the case of Broadway productions, the amount of 45,418,763.5 corresponds to 28.46% of the total resources allocated to the tax exemption in 2011 and was used to sponsor only eight shows (A Family Addams - The Musical, The Witches of Eastwick - Musical, Mamma Mia, Shrek - The Musical, New York, New York - The Musical, Disney On Ice - Disneyland Adventures, The purple color, my friend Charlie). If we divide the R\$ 45,418,763.5 by the eight American plays, we have an average of R\$ 5,677,345 (five million, six hundred and seventy seven thousand per show).

Moreira (2012) explains that, in Brazil, Broadway shows are the only profitable theatrical productions.

Even Broadway, which, producing in series all over the world, is probably the only profitable theatrical enterprise, here in the land, combining Mexican capital and Editora Abril, pays for its ghosts and miserable with public money. Anyway, what was and is being encouraged? (Moreira, 2012, p.18).

Vany Alves, director of the cultural project sponsored Julietas, explains that Broadway shows should not receive public subsidy for their productions.

I think Broadway productions should receive investment, not sponsorship. I think it takes away a lot of the possibility of what is more artistic being produced. And as much as I benefit a lot from the Rouanet Law, the sponsor and everything else, I think it's dangerous to let the marketing department decide what will be produced in the country because the money goes to that. I think this is a mistake for the development of a country. Companies should use marketing resources in these projects, there should be another bias of the law that the company should enter with an investment counterpart.⁸

If we compare the amount of R\$ 45,418,763.5 used in eight Broadway productions with the amount of R\$ 43,395,256.21 invested in 71 shows by Brazilian directors and actors consecrated by the press and the general public, we realize that there is a concentration of 45 million reais in a small number of plays that could have been applied in, at least 71

⁸ Interview by ALVES, Vany. [Feb.2015]. Interviewer: Vinícius Mizumoto Mega. São Paulo, 10 Feb. 2015.

different shows. In this way, companies devalue national artistic production and prevent resources from being directed to meet the diversity of artistic expressions.

The process of standardization of culture is carried out through market criteria established by the cultural industry, which manufactures products according to their potential for commercialization and as an instrument of profit. In this way, the concentration of control over the content of plays, films and musical styles imposes a limit on the autonomy of the work of art.

There is indeed a standardization of different domains of modern life. This is largely due to industrialism that penetrates the cultural sphere itself. The industrial manufacture of culture (films, television series, etc.) and the existence of a market require a standardization of products (Ortiz, 2000, p.32).

Thus, market censorship is related to the economic interests of companies that use sponsorship of artistic production as a communication and marketing tool that evaluates and selects the cultural project according to the cost-benefit, target audience of the institution, its potential for media visibility and box office success. Artistic productions, financially unviable, have more difficulty in accessing public resources due to the hegemony of a neoliberal ideology, in which profit is the greatest imperative. "When we talk about hierarchy, we automatically talk about censorship. From the moment you choose something, other things are concomitantly excluded" (Katz, 2011, p.156).

The concept of market censorship points to systematic mechanisms of curtailment of freedom of expression that are immersed in the context of private control of cultural production, especially when the command is concentrated in the hands of a small number of large corporations. Under these conditions, some ideas receive attention and coverage from various media outlets, while other worldviews are marginalized and ignored because they are controversial and pose risks to economic viability. In short, market censorship is related to conditions of production and consumption inserted in the context of a cultural hegemony (Jansen, 2010, p.14).

MARKET CENSORSHIP: TARGET AUDIENCE, COST-BENEFIT, FINANCIAL VIABILITY AND MEDIA VISIBILITY

There are categories that group the shows in relation to market censorship, namely:

1) Stakeholders and cost-benefit ratio:

The first objective of sponsorship is the notoriety that involves the name of the company or the brand of the product to a wide range of the market and the criterion for



measuring the number of people in contact with the brand at the venue of the events or through the media is decisive in the choice of the cultural project to be supported.

Sponsorship is a communication and marketing tool that aims to meet the desires, needs, interests, values and beliefs of customers, employees, suppliers and investors and combine positive attributes to the brand, being a differential in relation to the competition, as it enables the commercialization of products and services during the event, the maintenance of loyalty and the guarantee of profit. It consolidates and reinforces the company's identity and brand through social, ethical, and cultural values associated with a play, film, or musical style. Potential for media visibility and adding value to the brand's reputation and image.

It fixes, improves and adds prestige and recognition to the company's image through cultural actions that communicate a product or service by placing a certain brand or product in a musical style, play or film of interest to that consumer. It disseminates the image of the institution as a social and internal communication entity (elaboration of an organizational culture and development of team spirit). Art aggregates images, speeches, worldviews, emotions, feelings, affective qualities and meanings that are transferred to the sponsoring institution in a pleasant and advantageous relationship between the company and consumers.

2) Artistic productions financially unfeasible for sponsorship:

Plays, films and musical styles with controversial themes such as drugs, weapons and pornography convey images, speeches, worldviews, emotions, feelings, affective qualities and negative meanings to brands and can add risk factors for a crisis in the company's reputation through legal proceedings against sponsoring institutions, loss of customer loyalty, decreased sales and, consequently, of profit. Market censorship has two aspects. In the first, the restriction on artistic production with controversial subjects prevents meanings, values and feelings that diverge from social convention from being brought to the public. In the second, it makes it difficult for experimental and research theatrical productions to access the public resources of the Rouanet Law, as these artistic expressions have unpredictability of box office, critics, audience and income.

Experimental artistic and research productions are financially unfeasible because the cost of the project's investment ends up being greater than the benefit provided in terms of spontaneous media.

3) Potential for media visibility and adding value to reputation and brand image:

The hierarchy and appreciation of sponsorship criteria for artistic production such as the notoriety that involves the name of the company or the brand of the product to a wide range of the market, the criterion for measuring the number of people in contact with the brand at the place of cultural events, the potential for marketing products and services during the event, The maintenance of fidelity, the guarantee of profit and the potential for exposure of the sponsoring institution in the media form a cultural hegemony of shows by directors, authors and actors consecrated by the media and the general public and make it difficult for directors and actors unknown to the press and experimental and research theater groups to access tax exemption resources because they are controversial and present risks of economic viability, unpredictability of box office, critics, audience and income.

If, on the one hand, shows with authors, directors and actors unknown to the media and the general public have unpredictability of box office and economic viability. On the other hand, productions with authors, directors and actors consecrated by the press add prestige, notoriety and positive values to the sponsoring brands. The table of sponsored theater shows in 2011 shows us that R\$ 45,418,763.5 were used to sponsor eight Broadway shows (A Family Addams - The Musical, The Witches of Eastwick - Musical, Mamma Mia, Shrek - The Musical, New York, New York - The Musical, Disney On Ice - Disneyland Adventures, The Color Purple, My Friend Charlie). If we divide the R\$ 45,418,763.5 by the eight American plays, we have an average of R\$ 5,677,345 (five million, six hundred and seventy seven thousand per show).

These large theatrical productions enable the exposure of the sponsoring institution's image in spontaneous media, box office predictability, marketing of products and services during the event, maintenance of the brand's strategic relationship through the distribution of tickets to customers, distributors, investors and employees, and the guarantee of profit. In addition, these shows with authors, directors consecrated by the press and the general public add notoriety and legitimacy to companies.

Augusto Boal, in the documentary "Open Rehearsal: promotion of theater" directed by Luiz Gustavo Cruz, explains that sponsors are interested in the profit of the show to be sponsored via tax exemption from the Rouanet Law. "The interest in profit and not in what you are going to do, it doesn't matter if the play is a play that you hated and hated, but it will be successful, so the person plays to get money. I think this is horrendous and a person who does something like this cannot call himself an artist" (Cruz, 2012).

Botelho (2001) explains that the logic of the market does not work with risk factors and that it looks for projects with visibility, leaving little room for experimental productions.

On the other hand, it is known that the logic of the market is that of visibility, and that in it one does not want to take risks. In this way, does anyone believe that it is possible that innovative, experimental, therefore unlegitimized and highly risky art can flourish without the help of government support? Or those manifestations of a more local nature, which do not have the necessary visibility to interest potential sponsors? (Botelho, 2001, p.79).

Marcela Guttman, from the company Fixação Marketing Cultural, responsible for capturing the cultural project sponsored via tax exemption from the Rouanet Law How to become a Jewish super mother in ten lessons, explains that companies are interested in actors consecrated by the media and that there is little space for experimental and research theater.

I think that selling a show with an unknown author and director is still viable, but an unknown actor is no longer viable. Companies have already understood that they have potential and bargaining power in relation to cultural producers. So, I have clients in all segments in the part of cultural production, project formatting and fundraising. What I usually say is this: if you have a research theater project that does not have a commercial relevance, do not waste your time on the projects of the Culture Incentive Laws because people do not want to sponsor this kind of thing because the market is already perverted in the bad sense of wanting global actors. I know actors who have an absurd artistic quality and who are profound theater actors and who are not known to the mainstream media. It's no use making a cast full of good actors, to sell it's better that I have a cast with actors of visibility, what is most important today to sell a project is to have someone who is in the 9 o'clock soap opera of the Globo network and not the Record network, more perverse. Because the question is: but is there a global actor? That's the real question⁹

The potential for media visibility of the cultural project is related to the measurement of reports, scripts in weekly guides, reviews in newspapers, specialized magazines and social columns. It was called spontaneous media, that is, not paid. "The claim of visibility of the sponsor's name is, therefore, an affirmation of the company as a subject, albeit a supporting actor, of the creation process, whose relevance intends to be recognized by the insertion of the brand in the journalistic text" (Fragoaz, 2013, p. 308).

The institutions, which have the specific objective of fulfilling a function of consecration, preserve the selective transmission of cultural goods "or else, working in favor of the reproduction of producers willing and able to consume them" (Bourdieu, 2013, p.136).

The consolidation of the image of companies on television, in newspapers and on the internet is related to a process in which institutions seek prestige, legitimization of their public image and their relationship with their audiences of interest in the media sphere.

⁹ Interview by GUTTMANN, Marcela. [Feb.2015]. Interviewer: Vinícius Mizumoto Mega. São Paulo, May 9. 2015.

The media sphere does not act alone and pure and simple visibility in the media is not enough, it is necessary to have an arsenal of identification between the image and the audience. This indicates, for institutions that seek to legitimize themselves, that it is not enough to be in the media, it is also necessary to think about the relationship established with the public (Barichello, 2007, p.13).

Gisele Petty, proponent of the performing arts project Dorotéia: one hundred years of Nelson Rodrigues filed for exceeding the deadline without fundraising via the Rouanet Law, explains that the inequality in the distribution of resources via tax exemption among proponents indicates the absence of an effective and democratic cultural policy.

The Rouanet Law is a public policy totally doomed to failure, it is a lie. Say: ah, now you can compete, you can have a little project of your own, you will capture smaller proportions than you can. He can't! You see that you can't, there are few people who manage to raise funds in a project that is not of this size. Commercial size, large... Now, cultural policy should look in a much more effective way at this other portion, which is large and increasing, and it is in this sense that it should have a true distribution because there is a difference between me allocating 3 million to a musical and this amount to 200 research groups. Think like this: what if this one million reais that goes to Miguel Falabella went to 300 research theater groups.¹⁰

The fact that the selection of artistic production via tax exemption is decided by the marketing departments of the companies and also states that the resources of the Rouanet Law provide "mistaken support to the mercantile culture that has a commercial return" (Rubim 2007, p. 28).

Thus, the logic of the cultural market means that proponents have to adapt their cultural projects to the institutional marketing of the companies. Subjectivity is transformed into a commodity and needs to be attractive and desirable to sponsors and stakeholders. "It would no longer be mass production that would guide the commercial strategy of large companies, but the exploration of segmented markets (*customized products*)" (Ortiz, 2000, p.14).

Raphael Valadares, head of the Secretariat for Culture Incentive (SEFIC) of the Ministry of Culture, says that companies seek to sponsor cultural projects that have some link with the business universe in which the institution is inserted through the exploration of a segmented market in order to serve a specific audience. "You will notice that oil companies will sponsor events that have a connection with cars such as formula 1, something that refers to that business universe of theirs."¹¹

Meeting the needs of consumers through symbolic production is part of the cultural industry system, in which the probability of the company communicating to its strategic

¹⁰ Interview by ALVES, Vany. [Feb.2015]. Interviewer: Vinícius Mizumoto Mega. São Paulo, 10 Feb. 2015.

¹¹ Interview given by VALADARES, Raphael . [Jan.2015]. Interviewer: Vinícius Mizumoto Mega. São Paulo, 10 jan. 2015.

audience often determines the choice of the cultural project to be sponsored with tax exemption resources from the Rouanet Law.

Each one must behave, as if spontaneously, in accordance with his *level*, previously characterized by certain signs, and choose the category of mass products manufactured for his type. Reduced to a simple statistical material, consumers are distributed on the maps of research institutes (which are no longer distinguishable from advertising institutes) into income groups marked by red, green and blue zones (Adorno, Horkheimer, 1985, p.102).

Piatã Stoklos Kignel, responsible for the area of cultural initiatives at Santander, says that the choice of sponsorship of artistic production via tax exemption from the Rouanet Law is related to the companies' objectives of offering something attractive and seductive to customers according to what competitors offer to their consumers.

Aimar Labaki, in the documentary "Open Essay: Promotion of Theater" directed by Luiz Gustavo Cruz, explains that "privatizing public money for culture means making any art that is not capable of being transformed into a commodity unfeasible" (CRUZ, 2012).

The choices of cultural projects are related to their objectives. Sponsorship is a marketing and business tool. The bank needs to have more attractions for customers, Itaú is giving 50% on all the movies you go to. What attractions can we give to our customers? We will look for things that we can give 50% as well. We need to strengthen ourselves in the retail environment, if we lose customers in retail, the other banks will pass us, we will go bankrupt here in Brazil and we will have to leave Brazil, so we will strengthen retail and we will sponsor a popular theater play that everyone will go to, Everyone will see our brand there, will know that we exist and will give 50% to these guys, the guy will have fun, go there and see that we are supporting that.¹²

Teatro Verde was sponsored by car multinationals (Hutchinson Brasil Automotive and Volkswagen) and is aimed at people with reduced mobility. The relationship between automobile companies and those with reduced mobility can be explained by the fact that, in Brazil, traffic accidents are responsible for more than 35 thousand deaths per year, and a greater number of injuries, constituting the main avoidable cause of disability acquisition. Thus¹³, the Rouanet Law promotes culture as a support for the dissemination of the company's products or the institutional image of the sponsors (Coelho, 2012).

CONCLUSION

¹² Interview given by KIGNEL, Piatã Stoklos. [Oct.2014]. Interviewer: Vinícius Mizumoto Mega. São Paulo, Oct. 31. 2014.

¹³ Available in

http://www.pessoacomdeficiencia.sp.gov.br/usr/share/documents/CARTILHA_ISEN_TRANSPORTE_DEF_UREAEDITORIA.pdf. Accessed on 24 Jan. 2015.

The concentration of public resources in large productions, with authors, actors and directors consecrated by the media can be explained by the fact that companies want to sponsor plays that are critical and public successes, "thus creating a network of interactions, subordinations and dependence between artists, companies and the population" (Fragoaz, 2013, p.123).

With regard to the Rouanet Law, the centrality of sponsorship decisions in the hands of companies generates a belief that institutions are capable of revealing the great talents, those with the greatest competence.

The struggle in the realm of symbolic production is "that which consists of setting oneself up as an arbitrator or judge, in resolving conflicts that are not resolved in reality, in having, for example, the satisfaction of announcing verdicts (...). Who is an artist and who is not" (Bourdieu, 2007, p.293).

Media potential and audience attractiveness are the most important criteria for public, private or semi-private institutions when choosing cultural projects to be sponsored via tax exemption from the Rouanet Law. "The presence of the public is usually considered one of the main factors for the success of an artistic endeavor" (Fragoaz, 2013, p.207).

In view of this scenario in which the distribution of public resources is determined by private interests to the detriment of the public interest, the Rouanet Law cannot be considered a cultural policy that meets the diversity of artistic expressions, given that there is no realization of a social function of a State policy that, in its legislation, argues that the funds allocated to artistic production should contribute to facilitate, for all, the means for free access to the sources of culture and the full exercise of cultural rights; to support, value and disseminate the set of cultural manifestations and their respective creators and - to protect the cultural expressions of the groups that form Brazilian society and are responsible for the pluralism of national culture.¹⁴

In practice, the funds from the Rouanet Law are not distributed equally among artists who get approval for fundraising from companies. On the contrary, there is a deviation from the purpose of a public policy to encourage artistic production when it is verified the concentration of funds in directors and actors consecrated by the media and in Broadway productions. According to the Ministry of Culture, the Rouanet Law stimulated dependence on public subsidies in areas that have the potential to live off the market (Ministry of Culture, 2014).

The prerogatives of the Rouanet Law to contribute to facilitate, for all, the means for the exercise of cultural rights and to value creators is not respected and placed in actions of

¹⁴ Available at: <http://www.planalto.gov.br/ccivil_03/leis/l8313cons.htm>. Accessed on: 10 jul. 2013.



democratization of resources via tax exemption by companies. As Paiva explains, "I think that most entrepreneurs do not have this awareness, they can see the most visible part of the Law, of the cultural production that is the show happening, the show happening, that crowd of people having contact with your brand and that's why there is a large investment in high visibility projects"¹⁵

The absence of an effective, continuous and planned national culture policy to meet the diversity of artistic expressions, such as experimental and research theater, and the predominance of culture incentive laws as State actions for the area of culture (80% of the total federal public investment in the arts is carried out via the Rouanet Law) "erodes the power of State intervention in cultural policies and enhances market intervention, without, however, the counterpart of the use of private resources, it is never too much to remember" (Rubim, 2007, p.25).

The result is that creators increasingly have to adapt their creations to the mercantile logic. First of all, the cultural marketing manuals teach, it is necessary to know the consumer public, the companies aimed at this audience, the media's interest in the project, to do quantitative and qualitative research... In the increasingly fierce competition between creators for private sponsorship, those who identify with or are subject to the dominant thought and taste are successful (Barbalho, 2015, p.38).

Fernanda Paiva, Natura's support and sponsorship manager, explains that many entrepreneurs use the sponsorship of the Rouanet Law as a form of communication and marketing tool at zero cost.

You have a tax to pay, why do the tax if you can make a sponsorship, gain visibility, associate your brand, build a relationship and at no cost. That's when a great use of brands began, which gives this distortion of sponsorship for visibility. So, if I have money that I can do marketing at zero cost, I will associate it with what gives me visibility, I will associate it with the great plays that have global actors, which is article 18 and is 100% encouraged, so it is marketing at zero cost or I will put it in the great comedies that are also article 18 or the Audiovisual Law that is 100% incentivized. So there is this distortion and even today you find some entrepreneurs who have a little of this vision. You find producers who sell this vision of using the Rouanet Law because it is marketing at zero cost. It's a distortion indeed ¹⁶.

If it is considered that the concept of cultural policy points to meeting the cultural needs of the population and ensuring that the largest number of people participate in the process as creators, then the Rouanet Law cannot be considered, in practice, as a public policy of the State to encourage artistic production, because there is a tendency for companies to benefit large shows that give financial and institutional marketing returns. the culture of entertainment and consumption, art transformed into a commodity that seeks to

¹⁵ Interview by PAIVA, Fernanda. [jul.2013]. Interviewer: Vinícius Mizumoto Mega. São Paulo, 5 jul. 2013.

¹⁶ Interview by PAIVA, Fernanda. [jul.2013]. Interviewer: Vinícius Mizumoto Mega. São Paulo, 5 jul. 2013.



entertain and please the "general public". "The current fusion of culture and entertainment is not only realized as a depravity of culture, but also as a forced spiritualization of entertainment" (Adorno, Horkheimer, 1985, p.118).



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