

# **(G)local marketing strategies in the Museum of Folklore**

**Paper presented to the 25th General Conference of ICOM - Kyoto**

**International Committee of Marketing and Public Relations**

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## **Introduction**

One of the issues that this ICOM General Conference proposes to discuss is how museums can connect with global issues. After all, this is a way for these cultural institutions to remain relevant today, that is, do not lose the focus on themes that affect people's lives and daily lives. In a country such as Brazil, the key issue that hinders a definitive consolidation of social justice and human rights is still the social inequality, although the growing levels of income distribution and access to certain goods and services throughout the last decades. This problem has its roots in the less autonomous configuration of Brazil in the international capitalist system, which is currently structured in a "globalized" way.

The dynamics between the "global" and "local" domains, which are configured in a dichotomous, and at the same time hybrid, spectrum [1] from the 1980s with the fall of frontier economic barriers and the advance of new information and communication technologies, potentiates interactions, and, consequently, conflicts within the societies that compose the world-system. From a cultural and ideological point of view, this hybridization between localisms and globalisms "is not synonymous with fusion without contradictions" [2]. To optimists, the challenge of cultural subsistence to these new epistemological configurations is to demystify false oppositions, as modern and traditional, and to allow the development of "a creative multiculturalism" [3].

From this background, in this article we evaluate to what extent the project of the Sala do Artista Popular - SAP ("Hall of the Popular Artist"), simultaneously articulates the axes of tradition and commercialization, from marketing tools, to safeguard the sustainability of Brazilian's popular culture productions. The project, which began in 1983, brings every year to the city of Rio de Janeiro exhibitions of works that are born of the activity of secluded groups of Brazilian artisans. We identified in the initiative two main axes that make it a

marketing case to be investigated and made public: 1) the exhibition of the ethnographic research carried out to curate the works, which adds value to the object exposed; and 2) the commercialization of the works exhibited at the end of the exhibition, which gives the museum a gallery character, in addition to its museum function

We start from a theoretical foundation that articulates issues such as globalism and localism; cultural hybridization; commodification of otherness; fetish of the patrimony; and mass culture. As a method, we carried out a bibliographical review on the Museum of Folklore and the SAP, an interview with Luís César Baía [4], researcher of the Museum of Folklore and member of the team responsible for curating the exhibitions, and a participant observation of the current exhibition "Maria de Lourdes Candido: family album", on display at the museum from June 6, 2019 to July 7, 2019.

### **A diagnosis of the global: multiculturalism and localism**

In order to adopt the current meaning of culture by the end of the nineteenth century, assuming it as "a characteristic way of life" [5], which opposes the universalism of the Philosophy of Light and embraces popular expressions from different times and nations, ethnic groups and social classes, among or imagined communities [6], it was necessary to break with the paradigm of culture as a scholarly expression of some social groups. Raymond Williams distinguishes three modern concepts of culture, the first being equated with 'civility' with etymological roots in rural work; the second, from the eighteenth century, Enlightened, as synonymous with 'civilization'; and the third, closer to the present, which has its conception at the end of the nineteenth century and consolidation in the twentieth century, designating, in a neutral way, a form of life. According to Terry Eagleton, in writing about the idea of culture,

It is this sense of the word [cultures of different nations and periods, social and economic classes] that will tentatively take root in the mid-nineteenth century, but which will not settle decisively until the early twentieth century. Although the words 'civilization' and 'culture' continue to be used interchangeably, especially by anthropologists, culture is now also almost the opposite of civility. [7]

It is in the transition from a concept of normative culture, as a civilization and erudition, to a

neutral concept, as an expression of a way of life, that questions arise about the preservation, research and diffusion of cultures hitherto not considered as such, then silenced and, often, forgotten. We can add to these changes and new social protagonisms the phenomenon of globalization. At the same time that new cultural expressions emerge, forged by traditional but silenced cultural identities, economic and political barriers are broken, and new information, communication and transportation technologies are spreading. In this scenario, local cultures and global expressions rival and hybridize in a multiculturalism full of contradictions. We can ask ourselves, as Canclini [8] puts it, whether the globalizing movement democratizes the possibility of combinations between local traditions and globalisms to the extent of providing creative multiculturalism [9] or offers risks to traditions excluded from the global market.

In the current stage of capitalism, articulated globally, consumption is a fundamental part of the constitution of social relations. As the Brazilian sociologist Renato Ortiz explains, "in the process of globalization, consumer culture enjoys a prominent position. (...) it has become one of the main world-wide instances of defining the legitimacy of behaviors and values." [10] Thus, the same global logic of serialization of cultural goods that is defended by some as a possibility of increasing diffusion of them by means of mass consumption, is pointed out by others, in a Frankfortian rationale [11], as a risk to traditional cultures that do not fit into a new industrial logic of cultural production. We emphasize that, in a kind of conciliation between apocalyptic and integrated visions [12], Ortiz defends the possibility of coexistence between a serialized industrial economy and the resistance of cultural traditions. The author states that

When we speak of a global economy, we mean a unique structure, underlying every economy. (...) The cultural sphere can not be considered in the same way. A globalized culture does not imply the annihilation of other cultural manifestations, it cohabits and feeds on them. [13]

Thus, the sociologist believes in the possibility of cultural coexistence between tradition and serialization, as well as he advances in his reasoning suggesting an idea of feedback between them both arriving at the concept of mundialism, which refers to the adaptation of hegemonic culture to the local culture: "hybridism" [14] typical of modernity, non-purist, non-traditionalist. For him, there is the possibility of coexistence between the serialized production of cultural artifacts, which he calls 'standardization', and other cultural expressions that counteract this serialization [15].

Another important contribution of the social sciences to thinking about the consumption of cultural heritage and, in this case, the possibility of adapting traditional forms of artisanal production to modern market dynamics are the British cultural studies [16]. This current, which from the 1970s onwards situates and analyzes the emergence of new cultural identities in academic research, offers a fundamental theoretical framework for thinking about the insertion of popular culture (a concept that has gained a body, as opposed to erudite culture, in the middle of the century, although its genesis can be found in the late nineteenth century [17], as seen) in globalized society. Stuart Hall argues that beyond the possibility of coexistence between tradition and serialization, or between local and global, the appreciation of difference becomes larger the more the serial techniques spread. He states that

Alongside the trend towards global homogenization, there is also a fascination with the difference and the commodification of ethnicity and 'otherness'. (...) Globalization, in fact, exploits local differentiation. Thus, instead of thinking of the global as 'replacing' the local, it would be more accurate to think of a new articulation between 'the global' and 'the local'. This place should not, of course, be confused with old identities, firmly rooted in well-defined localities. Instead, it operates within the logic of globalization. [18]

Simultaneously to the changes in the concept of culture, which absorbs almost all of the creative expressions, whether erudite or popular, the sociology of art also advances in updating its concepts in the face of the phenomenon of globalization. If, on the one hand, cultural studies demonstrate the emergence of new cultural identities in postmodernity, which hybridize with Cartesian formulas of culture and constitute new alterities, and thus new exoticisms, the sociology of art contributes to the argument for the valorization of authenticity and non-massification by updating the reflection on the "aura" of the work of art that is treated by Walter Benjamin [19]. The sociologist Nathalie Heinich, unlike Benjamin who sees in technical reproducibility the devaluation of the "here and now" [20] of the work of art, states that

This set of arguments [Benjamin's arguments about the loss of the "aura" of the work of art from its mass reproduction] runs the risk, however, of concealing the fact that these reproduction techniques are precisely the condition of existence of this aura: it is because the photography multiplies the images that the originals gain a privileged status. [21]

Either from the commodification of alterity and localism in the global world, or from the valorization of authenticity against the risk offered by the development of the cultural industry, the fact remains that the following paradox of multiculturalism in global society persists: to what extent industrial methods and globalizations make indigenous cultural expressions more widespread, contributing to their safeguarding, and to what extent do they cannibalize them, contributing to their disappearance?

The concept of cultural appropriation, currently used as a resistance tool for historically oppressed groups that witness the commercial exploitation of their cultural expressions without the free sanction of a competent authority [22] of the cultural group in question, has its genesis in the ethical inflection on "appropriations " committed by museums in the nineteenth century. These cultural institutions would be practicing 'appropriations' by collecting and displaying collections originated from expeditions and looting at a time when the legal framework of cultural heritage was non-existent in the places of origin of the goods in question.

The concept of cultural heritage is the result of the same modernity [24] that engendered the current "globalization". From the outset, the thinking and practice of cultural heritage presuppose that the social, economic, and technological transformations of modernity are a potential threat to the existence of the material and immaterial legacies of human creation [25].

First of all, the concern was with the heritage of national culture, on which the very notion of national identity was built. Subsequently, the diffusion of the anthropological concept of cultural heritage allowed its extension to the domains of the popular and the local, considering it not only in relation to objects and practices (dance, cooking, building), which can be appropriated by cultural industry, but to the processes of elaboration of meaning and reference that preside over the production of those same objects and practices.

Thus, the movements of protection of cultural heritage, in their popular perspective, start from the perception that industrialization and capitalist modernization present risks of disarticulation and resort to the concept of fetishization [26] of the ways of living, knowing and doing of the local cultures, endangered by market instances. From this fetishization, the processes by which particular cultural expressions emerge are blunted in favor of the spectacularization of its result, or its product. The alienation, parallel to the fetishization,

silences the rites in the name of the goods, which, from the globalist logic, can be peremptorily consumed and discarded. That is, cultural goods, material or immaterial, are transformed into objects of consumption, to the detriment of the cultural manifestations by which they are generated [27]. Moreover, in the globalized world, large supranational corporations of media and culture are added to those of the nation-state, which historically proposed to subjugate potentially conflicting differences and specificities in the name of harmony and national identity.

In order to demystify criticized fetishism, then, one must understand cultural heritage through the concept of *cultural reference* [28], by which it has its value defined by the dynamics of shared meanings and values communicated between the subjects to whom the artifacts or rituals make sense and serve as a reference. The concept of cultural reference withdraws the patrimony of the market sphere by focusing on the symbolic relations created by the producers of the good, instead of considering it only as a consumable item. The fact that a good is the result of a collective production is what gives the heritage strength and legitimacy to survive the changes in culture field.

Thus, a challenge for museums that want to maintain an active and political role as a nucleus of community engagement is how they could compensate the negative aspects of globalization that are most likely to be imposed on the culture of local communities. This concern is present in the ICOM resolution of the Round Table of Santiago de Chile in 1972, which proposes a "mutation" in the role of the museum in Latin America, so that it becomes an "integral" institution, that is:

(...) at the service of society, of which it is an integral part and which has in it the elements that enable it to participate in the formation of the consciousness of the communities it serves, that it can contribute to the engagement of these communities in action, situating their activities in a historical framework that allows to clarify the current problems, that is, linking the past to the present, engaging itself in the changes of structure in course and provoking other changes within their respective national realities. [29]

Based on this theoretical framework based on a conciliatory negotiation between preservationism and developmentalism [30], the SAP is orchestrated for the survival of folk cultures of the most pluralistic Brazilian corners.

## **In Brazil ... safeguard, public policy and Museum of Folklore**

In Brazil, the 1960s and 1970s represented the moment when the conservative modernization of the structures of national capitalism in association with multinational capital represented the growth of production and consumption indices, but with large social costs such as external indebtedness, the increase in income concentration and social and regional inequalities, whose potential manifestations of criticism and resistance were neutralized by the legal-repressive apparatus of the military dictatorship instituted in 1964 [31].

In this period, tensions arise between the practice of cultural heritage in Brazil and the consequences of developmentalism, such as urbanization, industrialization and population migrations. Since its founding in 1938, the federal agency for the preservation of heritage, the National Service of National Historic and Artistic Heritage (SPHAN [32]) has worked mainly in safeguarding the elements of "stone and lime", such as monuments and historical sites, related to the aesthetic and artistic values of the elite and to a past in which the roots of national identity, especially in the Lusitanian influence, would be found.

However, the artistic and cultural importance of historic buildings and monuments was no longer sufficient argument to keep them intact if they were seen as obstacles to progress and its modern "monuments" - the city, the factory, the road. Thus, in line with UNESCO's guidelines, SPHAN sought to demonstrate the convergence between heritage interests and development interests, correlating cultural value with economic value. Cultural goods would be considered as tourism potential goods and indicators for an appropriate form of development [33].

Until then, popular culture was not part of the sphere of public policies of cultural heritage, only being present in museums as items of ethnographic collections. It remained an object of interest to folk scholars, who researched, documented and interpreted popular knowledge and practices, their rites, feasts, knowledge and forms of expression from values outside the communities that generated them. The distinction was thus maintained between erudite and popular culture, between art and crafts.

Also in the 1970s, the creation of the National Cultural Reference Center (CNRC) in Brasilia by the plastic artist and graphic designer Aloísio Magalhães represented a change in the direction of the relationship between cultural heritage and popular culture in Brazil. As a non-governmental institution, the CNRC functioned between 1975 and 1979 and its projects were oriented at the cultural assets previously excluded from the official representations of

Brazilian culture. This was the case of goods generated by popular culture, in the manifestation of their knowledge and doings, which had come to be recognized by their historical and artistic value.

The church and the monumental buildings are cultural goods, but of a very high level. They are the most accurate result of the culture. (...) [On popular arts, crafts:] For the very reason of being a popular activity, there is no awareness of its value. Whoever builds a church is aware of the value of what it builds. But whoever works with leather, for example, is not sometimes. [35]

Thus, the difference between this broad and anthropological conception of heritage and that which was developed by the official organs at that time was that the first was concerned with "living" things and the second with "dead" things. But according to Magalhães, "it is through living things that it should be ascertained that those of the past should not be cast as dead." [36]

The CNRC's multidisciplinary team was responsible for researching and documenting the knowledge and practices of Brazilian culture, firstly to understand the functioning of each community's cultural processes: how communities treated raw materials, what pre-industrial technologies they used, how they invented utilitarian objects . [37] From this understanding, one could work with and on these communities in order to energize those processes and their final products.

The underlying intention was to promote a socioeconomic development model appropriate to the local conditions of these communities and compatible with the various Brazilian cultural contexts. [38] An alternative "industry" emerged, marked by the diversity of Brazilian artisan knowledges, countering what Magalhaes saw as a "flattening" of the world generated by industrialization and which resulted in the loss or diminution of the specific characters of culture. [39] Thus, for Aloísio and his colleagues, the dynamics and plurality of the tradition (living, not static) is what confers national character to Brazilian cultural assets; the authentic and living culture was the wealth, the "export article" [40] of Brazil.

This extended and anthropological conception of heritage was already present in the rejected project of the modernist and folklorist writer Mário de Andrade for the creation of the SPHAN in 1936. The CNRC's thinking and practice served as a motto for the creation in

1979 of the Fundação Pró -Memory, chaired by Magalhães, within the structure of the Ministry of Education and Culture. The influence of this moment of transition in the context of cultural heritage policies continued throughout the 1980s and served as the basis for the articles referring to this sector in the 1988 Constitution, the first enacted after the end of the military dictatorship [41].

In this context, the Museum of Folklore was founded in Rio de Janeiro in 1968 by the National Folklore Defense Campaign, an organ of the Ministry of Education and Culture. The founder of the museum was the ethnologist, folklorist and historian Edison Carneiro [42], a member of the National Folklore Commission, a Brazilian governmental body that emerged from the recommendations of UNESCO, to which it was linked. In 1976 the CDFN was transformed into National Institute of Folklore, integrating the newly created National Foundation of Art (Funarte); and the Museum of Folklore was named after Edison Carneiro in posthumous honor to its creator.

Since 2003 integrating IPHAN, the Museum of Folklore has been working with its new name, National Center of Folklore and Popular Culture (CNFCP). Its area of performance is national and its mission is to research, document, disseminate and execute public policies for preserving and valuing the most diverse processes and expressions of popular culture. Currently, its museum collection has about 17 thousand items. The Amadeu Amaral Library has been working since 1961, which brings together bibliographic, archivist and audiovisual collections from primary sources, ethnographic research and the museum's scientific and administrative production, comprising more than 200,000 items.

If in the 1960s and 1970s there was an articulation between the anthropological conception of culture and the national development projects, from the 1980s on what is seen in Brazil is the deepening of the neoliberal model of economic development. In the area of Culture, the framework of this process was the implementation in 1991 of the Culture Incentive Law, whose operation confers to the market the primacy of the decision on the application of resources in cultural projects. Little by little, the State withdrew itself from traditional areas of investment, opening space for market action in sectors such as health, culture and education. Since 1995, the Fernando Henrique Cardoso government has consecrated the motto "Culture is a good business" in the actions of the Ministry of Culture.

From 2003, this orientation was also followed by the governments of the Workers Party, while the creation of the Secretariat of Creative Economy by the Ministry of Culture in 2011

crowned the vision of culture as an economic asset, whose inexhaustible raw material would be human creativity. In this period, the public policies of culture reflect the influence of the idea of "creative industry", manifested in the "Convention for the Protection and Promotion of the Diversity of Cultural Expressions", elaborated at the Unesco meeting in Paris, 2005 and ratified by Brazil. This perspective beckons with the shift from a collective symbolic practice, culture, to the sphere of the creative capacity of individuals, liable to generate economic value innovation [43].

This shift in perspective, aligned with the dictates of globalization, also influenced the course of action developed by CNFCP. In 1998, the Program of Support to Artisan Communities (PACA) was implemented, which, starting from the anthropological concept of culture, sought to develop support and protection of traditional craft activities in communities where they were threatened with extinction or disfigurement. The PACA worked in partnership with the Solidarity Community Program of the federal government through the Solidarity Crafts Project. However, these actions were closer to the market by prioritizing aspects such as income generation, employment, competitiveness and management.

Continuing the work of the PACA, in 2009 the museum launched the Program for the Promotion of Crafts of Cultural Tradition (Promoart), which aims to directly support the traditional craft producing poles in the outskirts of major cities and in the cities of the interior, especially in the North and in the Northeast of the country. Promoart acts directly on the processes of production, distribution and dissemination of handicraft, in a way to balance the preservation of the knowledge and practices of artisan artists with the inclusion of those communities in the internal and external markets. The methodology of the program is elaborated by the museum and its execution is guaranteed by the agreement between the Cultural Association of Friends of the Museum of the Folklore Edison Carneiro (Acamufec) with IPHAN and the institutional partnership with the National Bank of Social Development (BNDES) until 2011 and , to this day, with Companhia Vale do Rio Doce.

The CNFCP is located in the district of Catete, in the southern part of the city of Rio de Janeiro, a coastal area of aristocratic origins, associated with the political and economic power of the Brazilian Republic, since there is placed the Catete Palace, seat of the Presidency of the Republic between 1897 and 1960. This palace was transformed into the Museum of the Republic in 1960, responsible for a historical, artistic and cultural patrimony legitimated by the State via tombing in 1938, consecrating and preserving a space traditionally associated with the political and economic elites of Brazil from the nineteenth

and twentieth centuries.

Symptomatically, both the Museum of Folklore and the Museum of the Republic were created with the participation of the National Historical Museum (to which the Museum of the Republic was linked between 1960 and 1983), created in 1922 to represent the history of Brazil under the bias of the formation of nationality as one and harmonious entity. Therefore, in this potential cultural hub of the Catete district, we have two museums that represent conceptions of historical and cultural heritage that, although distinct, have historically been articulated to each other as they combined the conception of a "culture" related to the elite and a "popular" culture that was seen as exotic, primitive, "crafts" and not "art."

### **Hall of Popular Artist and (g)localism**

The Hall of Popular Artist (SAP), the main project of the Museum of Folklore, was created in 1983 on the initiative of the writer, poetess and art historian Lélia Coelho Frota, at that time director of the National Institute of Folklore. Her idea was to bring artists from all over the country, with transportation and stay, to exhibit in the museum and sell their pieces without having to pay any intermediary, leaving in return a piece of their production for the institution [44]. The objective of the SAP is to "constitute itself as a space for the diffusion of popular art, bringing to the public objects that, because of their symbolic meaning, the technology of making or raw material used, bear witness to living and doing of the popular strata" [45].

Aligned with the mediation between popular culture and national development, which was the focus of the CNRC and FNPM actions at the time of its creation, SAP would combine knowledge production and marketing to build an alternative relationship with the market, thus permitting that the popular cultural practices were carried out in a more autonomous and independent way, protecting them from the risks of homogenization of techniques and styles and the loss of traditional knowledge. Simultaneously with this process, there was the re-elaboration of the long-term exhibition of the museum, inaugurated in 1984. From then on, the long-term exhibitions would inform the public of the anthropological concept of culture, presenting the artist as creator and his work as symbolic creation [46].

The format of SAP is a short-term exhibition, which for the communication's actions of the museum with the public represents an element of dynamism in motivating the public to return to see what is new. If, on the one hand, this type of exhibition obeys a marketing logic of "renewal of supply", on the other hand it allows the discourse of the museum to be

renewed, diversified or even to have its complexity enriched by new ways of seeing a good or set of cultural goods [47].

Those who usually make tourism in search of an authentic experience are certainly familiar with *souvenirs* produced in large scale in several corners of the planet that have little affinity with the place that is visited. Even typical products from certain regions, such as the Murano glasses in Venice, Italy, are massively replicated by industrial reproducibility techniques that do not resemble artisanal processes that bestow authenticity stamps on such products. Even so, the economic ease and the aesthetic similarity of these replicas conquer tourists and become a risk to the original ways of making and to the trade of handcrafted products.

Due to a competitive marketing mix [48] promoted to the products of large corporations, it is a challenge in the globalized world to transform the uniqueness of something into something exciting to the point of preserving the sustainability of traditional ways of making, preventing its extinction, in spite of the commercialization of otherness and the valorization of authenticity as seen previously. Interventions by public institutions through tombing and public policies are a way of safeguarding the preservation of traditional production techniques. At the same time, communication and marketing are fundamental tools for the wide dissemination of knowledge about these techniques, focusing on the public's awareness and engagement with traditional practices, their details, and their importance.

The SAP project presents the public of the Museum of Folklore not only the material product of the practices of craftsmen, but it resorts to expographic and audiovisual resources to bring visitors the result of what would be a kind of ethnographic curation, although the Folklore Museum team prefer to abdicate the term 'curation' on behalf of what they call only 'ethnographic research'. In other words, the traditional production process with which the Museum's researchers have contact throughout their investigations comes up in the exhibitions, providing the visiting public with not only the result of the processes, but the craftsman's performance on the raw material, through its techniques and its creativity, until the finalization of the piece to be sold or exposed.

It is assumed that the knowledge about the productive process of the piece adds value to it, because it brings in a block of information the certainty for the consumer of being in contact with an authentic and socially responsible produced object. We emphasize that both the authenticity of the object, as opposed to the work reproduced technically [49], and social responsibility are characteristics valued by the current consumer. The catalogs that result from the exhibitions of SAP [50], for example, unlike an exhibition catalog that brings

photographs of the exposed elements, also presents the record of the ethnographic expedition that generated the exhibition, setting up, according to Baía [51], an ethnographic catalog.

The mediation provided by SAP between the production of knowledge about popular culture and the demand for authenticity of the culture of consumption is revealed in the example of the utilitarian ceramics produced by the women of the village of Passagem, Bahia, exhibited in the museum between May 8 and June 9, 2003. These ceramics are traditionally made in an "open burning" process, of indigenous origin, and consists of preparing the pieces of clay in a layered structure of firewood and tinplate [52]. The pieces that come from this process have stains arising from the burning that, however, were seen as "defects" by the dealers, thus devaluing their price in the market. The CNFCP gave the potters a furnace, so they could make unblemished pieces for the market, while encouraging the community to keep the open burning process. The result of this action, besides safeguarding a knowledge that would be lost with the death of its holders, also had repercussions in the market: as soon as the information was spread that the stains were the result of a "traditional" process of production, the price of the pieces burned in the open sky surpassed that of the pieces made in the oven.

This competitive differential created by the Museum of Folklore through the SAP project meets the paradox of the modern cultural industry raised by the sociologist Edgar Morin, in which "the cultural industry must... constantly overcome a fundamental contradiction between its bureaucratic-standardized structures and the originality (individuality and novelty) of the product it must provide" [53]. He explains that if institutions tend to focus on innovation "it is because there is ... a need for variety and individuality in consumption, and because maximum commercial efficiency lies in this strange but relatively decentralizing form of self-competition" [54], despite the overall trend towards serialization.

In addition to fostering traditional forms of production, SAP removes from the marketing process the figure of the intermediary, who usually buys the pieces from them at very low prices and resells them to specialized stores, which will, in turn, meet the consumption needs of tourists and residents of large urban centers, *id est* outsiders [55], or those who are not members of the culture in question. And the gains from such high-price marketing do not return to the communities that produced those cultural goods. It is also necessary to consider the presence of "imitators", artists who make simpler versions of certain types of popular art for the express purpose of selling them, increasing supply but decreasing quality and price standards in the market, generating problems for the artisans who have an

authentic reference relation with the practiced art. This last case was verified for bottles with landscapes of colored sand produced in Majorlândia, Ceará [56]. At SAP, the artist has control over the pricing of his works and even how they are exposed.

The artist sets the amount he wants to receive for each piece, plus a 20% fee, which is collected for the museum through his association of friends. According to the greater or lesser demand of the public for their pieces, the artist can propose adjustments in prices, replace them if they run out or ask them back to try to succeed at another point of sale or event. The geographic centrality of the Museum of Folklore in the city of Rio makes it a privileged selling point. The holding of fairs, musical shows and similar events in the garden of the neighboring Museum of the Republic makes many people to "discover" the existence of the Museum of Folklore, increasing the number of visits and sales during the weekends in which those events happen .

The project is open to artists from all over Brazil. A committee of museum technicians receives and selects exhibition requests submitted by artists or public or private cultural institutions. The ethnographic research that leads to the expositions is done in an active and reactive way. Some of them are based on suggestions from artists and communities, others are spontaneously forged by the Museum team, always maintaining a concern to act in an impartial way to the pressures of collectors and merchants for the exhibition of certain pieces.

During the year there are eight to ten editions of the event, each one lasting about a month. Before each exhibition, an ethnographic research is carried out, which involves the visit of technicians from the institution to the place of origin of the cultural event. At that moment, the audiovisual records that will be presented to the public at exhibitions are also produced, situating "the artisan in his socio-cultural environment, showing the relations of his production with the group in which he is inserted". The work of anthropological research becomes a catalog available to the public in physical and digital form.

All the pieces displayed in the hall are for sale to the public. Artists are always present at the opening of the exhibitions and occasionally participate in workshops and live demonstrations of their techniques. The publicity provided by SAP through the exhibition, catalogs and press coverage allows artists to increase the visibility of their production, opening up new opportunities for market expansion. The public, in turn, acquires objects and comes into contact with the reality of other cultures and communities other than their own.

As for the consumer public of SAP, there are those who hold a cultural capital that enables

them to recognize the economic, artistic and symbolic value of the pieces, as is the case of collectors, shopkeepers, and researchers. For general museum visitors, the range of motivations is broad and also significant from current perceptions regarding the art, craft, and culture of the subaltern classes:

Reading the SAP Opinion Book reveals that many of these visitors just want to have a piece of 'our Brazilian artist who, despite everything, make such beautiful pieces'. Others are more explicit and claim that 'some pieces are of very rare beauty, although most of them are illiterate', referring to their authors; 'because it reminds me of my childhood'; 'Remember my homeland.' Already in the 'shop' you hear daily opinions such as 'because I like clay figurines', when they talk about the figurative art of Alto do Moura / PE; or 'because I like the little blue of those little peacocks' [sic], wanting to talk about the pieces of the Figureiros de Taubaté / SP; or 'the little oxen from Maranhão'; finally, 'because we can buy beautiful things with a low price'. [57]

The sale of the objects produced by the SAP artists takes place in the space of the exhibition, which is immediately offered to the public that enters the Museum by Catete Street, since it is right in front of the door; the permanent exhibition is on the right. Leaving that first room, the integration between the museum spaces and heritage and sales narratives continues along a corridor, where objects related to past editions of the project are exposed and sold, linking SAP to what would be the "store" of the museum itself.

Although the museum staff affectionately calls this last space "little store", it is officially defined by the institution as a "marketing point", which marks its difference from a conventional museum store and also its complementarity with SAP, of which it arose organically by bringing together the items displayed on it. Another difference is that, since it is the museum's objective to increase the commercial capillarity of artisans, there is no concern to hide the contact of suppliers, whose exclusivity is strategic information for conventional craft stores. Even today, all the objects for sale are exclusively from SAP. Except for the publications produced by the museum, there are no items sold by artists outside the project or traditional souvenirs such as pens and T-shirts bearing the institution's mark. This mark is present, however, in the visual identity of the cardboard bags where the consumer takes his purchase.

This point of commercialization may well be the first place of the museum to be known, in case the visitor enters through the access located inside the garden of the Museum of the Republic. In one and the other case, the buying and selling spaces in the museum are located in the entrance of the museum and integrated to the exhibition circuit, one of the expedients recommended and reproduced in their congeners around the world.

Regarding this aspect, although the commercialization of the objects derives from the need to sell the production of the artisans of SAP, contrary to the perspective of profit and sustainability that presides the retail stores of museums in general, the "little store" of the Museum of Folklore obeys several requirements recommended for contemporary museum merchandising. Among them, [58] the relationship between the "exclusive" character of the pieces and the museum's discourse is highlighted, since consumers wish to find different products in museums than those found in ordinary stores (physical or online) and, in addition, that represent a continuation of the "experience" provided by the institution. Even if the visitor's criteria for acquiring the pieces are quite diverse, as the citation previously reproduced affirms, the contextualization of the forms of production, materials and origin of objects reinforces the authority of the museum's discourse on the works it preserves and exhibits.

In terms of the variety of materials, techniques and origins of items sold there, the store serves as a microcosm of the museum's collection and discourse. In general, objects are accompanied by a label with information about the object, conditions of creation, who produced it, and where. It should be noted that several editions of SAP presented the production of artists and communities supported by CNFCP projects, such as PACA and Promoart. On the other hand, the diversity of the utilitarian character of the objects (decoration, toys, household goods, clothing) offers the multiplicity of options sought by consumers not only in stores and, more specifically, in museum shops, but in the cultural experience itself, as demonstrated by the emergence of the concept and practice of cultural hubs.

Added to this is the fact that many of the objects, by their size and arrangement on the shelves, can be handled freely by the visitor-consumer, a meaningful interaction if we consider the fact that many similar objects are found there, in that same building, preserved, exposed and valued in the condition of musealized cultural heritage. Unlike the traditional museum shops where are offered common objects of consumption in which the museum brand is included, or cuts of works and pieces in it, the Museum of Folklore is the "work" itself that is on sale, which provokes a kind of demystification of the aura of the work, which, instead of passing between exhibition space and technical reserve, as it happens in traditional museums, goes from work exposed to consumption object and is therefore desacralized.

This same relation of closeness between the visitor and the object and of direct access to the collection is developed by the museographic conception adopted by the museum in the

decade of 1980, in which the showcases were abolished, being used only when security reasons demand it. The old distance built between the "living" objects of popular culture, lived and updated daily, and the "dead" and sacralized objects of the erudite culture from which the museums were born as depositaries, is somehow broken up.

## **Conclusion**

Projects such as SAP are important for the "future of traditions" because they consider tradition as a dynamic element of culture that, as such, is necessarily in continuous relation with other aspects of social reality, as is the case of consumption. In its slow historical evolution, popular culture underwent several moments of change that, in the long duration, structurally shaped the knowledge and techniques. It is not a question of maintaining the symbolic processes of cultural reference eternally fixed in the past, taking them out of historical time, but of keeping them alive and current. At the same time, the actions of public institutions such as the CNFCP served to absorb and diminish the impacts of market actions and globalization on the identity of local popular communities.

Being the impermanence of culture itself, which means that we define socially what we wish to remember and preserve and what we leave to oblivion, it is a primordial function of memory institutions to use the tools available in society to safeguard cultures that we consider as important to understand our present and our future. It is in this context that the SAP of the Museum of Folklore adopts the marketing tools to position itself in the market of cultural goods in a competitive way, facing the self-competition Morin alludes to, as well as the competition with the global production and industrial culture.

In times when consumption and trade relations become the code of interpersonal and intercultural mediations, it is extremely challenging to imagine subsistence alternatives that do away with market insertion. It is at this point that SAP is a success story in safeguarding popular culture. Through a compromise between the careful preservation of artisanal production methods and the developmentalism associated with market innovations, the SAP team has been able to foster the subsistence and development of artisan communities from their production. It should be emphasized that the public character of the Museum of Folklore, in this case, is one more factor that contributes to the autonomy with respect to the profit of the decisions sent by the institution, which gives more independence to the museum in the definition of public policies for popular culture.

Thus, the SAP represents a case of success of the use of tools of companies of wide competition for the safeguarding of the Brazilian popular culture heritage, although challenges continue to be launched on little mediatized cultural forms. If authenticity and otherness are now considered positive by the consumer market, it is not certain that goods possessing these qualities become known and publicized despite the use of communication and marketing tools and strategies. Thus, we conclude that the case in question brings together two fundamental elements for its contribution to the preservation of Brazilian popular culture: the good use of market opportunities coupled with the curatorial autonomy of the researchers, allowing the construction with artisan artists and their communities of a space for political action in the market crafts that give them visibility and voice.

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- [23] **CRUBELLIER, Maurice. 1974.** *Histoire culturelle de la France: XIXè e XX è*. Paris: Armand Colin.
- [24] "Modernity" is a concept that refers to the social, political, economic and cultural forms that emerged from the sixteenth century onwards, and which consolidated between the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, under the banner of two great processes that took place in Western Europe: the Revolution Industrial, whose epicenter was England, and the French Revolution. The main socioeconomic outcome was the consolidation of the capitalist mode of production and, politically, the emergence of liberal political institutions associated with a "democratic" character. These two results, in turn, enshrined the rise of the bourgeoisie as a hegemonic social class. "Modernity" also spread beyond Europe, which until the mid-twentieth century was the center of the capitalist order, thanks to the development of means of transportation, production techniques and the expansion of consumer markets and suppliers of raw materials by colonization and economic dependence. **BERMAN, Marshall. 1987.** *Tudo que é sólido desmancha no ar: a aventura da modernidade*. São Paulo : Companhia das Letras, 1987; **HOBSBAWM, Eric. 2010.** *A era das revoluções: Europa 1789-1848*. São Paulo : Paz e Terra.
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mercantile economy, in which social relations (between people) are seen as relations between things; the object takes the place of the social relations that produced it. **MARX, Karl. 2014.** *O capital: crítica da economia política, livro primeiro: o processo de produção do capital, volume I.* Rio de Janeiro : Civilização Brasileira, 2014.

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memory of the different formative groups of Brazilian society, : "The forms of expression; the ways of creating, doing and living; scientific, artistic and technological creations; the works, objects, documents, buildings and other spaces destined to the artistic-cultural manifestations; and urban complexes and sites of historical, scenic, artistic, archaeological, paleontological, ecological and scientific value.

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