

How Magic is Cinema? – Assessing the Effects of the Artistically Successful Cinema Cluster in Paulínia, Brazil

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ABSTRACT

Can artistic production foster the flourishing of cultural values and add them to cultural capital? This paper analyzes the case of the small-sized Brazilian city Paulínia where in few years the local government managed to build an entire cultural cluster for cinema production, from its inception in 2006 to being co-producer of the film with highest box-office ever in Brazil, in 2009. Despite sound achievements of the “*Pólo Cinematográfico de Paulínia*” in terms of cultural impact and nationwide reputation, a pressing question is whether its success is reflected in daily life of its citizens and in the local economy. The question is relevant since the local government is the Pólo’s major direct financier. To answer this question we analyzed reports and surveyed local citizens to account for the local cultural, social, and economic contributions of the cluster.

Keywords:

Brazil, cinema, cultural cluster, cultural policy, evaluation, film industry, financing arts, logic model, survey, theory of change, urban development.

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1. Introduction

Paulínia is a city in the state of São Paulo, Brazil, founded in 1964. It is part of Campinas' region – a major Brazilian industrial, technological pole and regional economic center (Pacheco, 2009). The demographic census of 2010 indicates a local population of 84,512 inhabitants in an area of 145 km². Since Paulínia's emancipation, the most important economic event happened in 1972 when the state-owned oil company Petrobrás build REPLAN – the largest oil refinery in the country (Moraes, 2012a).

From this point on, Paulínia began to attract a number of industries, especially in the petrochemical sector such as Exxon, Shell and Transo (Pacheco, 2009); later due its location and transportation facilities, also a number of logistics companies (as Katoen Natie) installed there their unities. This high concentration of industries allowed Paulínia to achieve peculiar socioeconomic patterns in the Brazilian context. According to data from 2009, Paulínia occupies the 63rd position among the cities with the highest GDP in Brazil; figuring as the 7th city with highest GDP per capita in the country. The local Human Development Index (HDI) is 0,847, above both the state of São Paulo average (0,833 in 2005), and the Brazilian average (0,718). In such economic context that the municipal government decided to focus investments in a different activity:

In 2005, the municipal administration of mayor Edson Moura¹ (then in his third term) began to invest in the development of a new economic sector to provide new opportunities and to generate employment and income: the audiovisual industry. It was then created the project “Paulínia Magia do Cinema” (Paulínia Magic of Cinema) (idem, p.6).

Since its inauguration in 2006 the project gained large relevance in the Brazilian audiovisual production sector – due to financial incentives, some producers relocated part of their operations from the traditional centers Rio de Janeiro and São Paulo to the new cluster in Paulínia; in 2009 the project was renamed “Pólo Cinematográfico de Paulínia” (Paulínia Cinematographic Cluster – Pólo).

¹ Brazil is a democratic presidential regime with strong political power for the chair's tenant, who indicates the cabinet and controls the budget. This pattern is similar in all three levels of government: federal, states and municipalities.

Pólo fulfilled positive economic impacts in terms of film production – now it plays an important role on the Brazilian movie sector. The venture also attracted attention to the humdrum city and general cultural capital (Throsby, 2001). However it is necessary to comprehend whether and to which extent Pólo affected the cultural capital of Paulínia citizens, reflecting it in their tastes, preferences, and daily lives; and how the local society is connected to the cluster.

1.1 Four spheres

The pressing question of how could we discuss whether Pólo is a successful case is complex. To address it we'll systemically understand it in four spheres of valuation (Klamer, 2009).

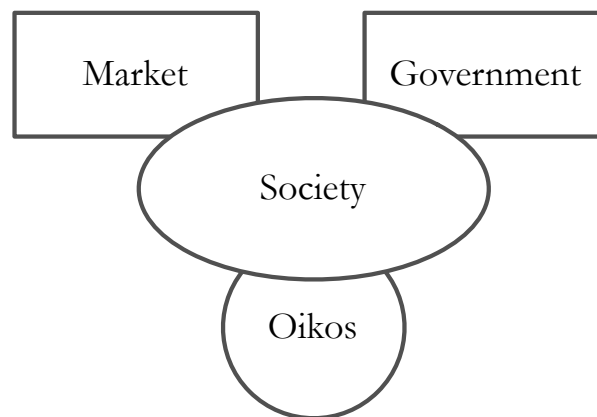


Figure 1 – The Four Spheres

The first sphere represents the logic of the market – the logic that measures all in monetary terms, comprising all as transactions. It's the business realm. The second sphere is the logic of the government – it embraces collective action, rules, restrictions and incentives, law and bureaucracy. It's the kingdom of the authorities and policymakers. Both are the usual approach of economists, managers and politicians, where some state that everything could be converted in monetary terms, including education, healthcare, and even welfare or happiness.

The Four Spheres' contribution to the conversation is to add two more dimensions of interactions. The third sphere is the social, where interactions and exchanges (out of the market) take place. Reciprocity is the driving force. It's the domain of friendship. The fourth sphere is the oikos (or home), i.e., the logic of the family, where solidarity and kinship lives. Involves belonging and proudness.

A project as Pólo developed with public resources aiming social development can't be solely evaluated and discussed in 'market' or 'government' terms. It isn't enough for any report to state "Pólo is successful because generated X jobs", or "Pólo is successful because fulfilled the rules of the Municipality". We'd like to know what happened to the citizen, in terms of their individual growth and the whole society development.

2. Film industry in Brazil

For a complete understanding of Pólo's position, we must provide a historical perspective of film production and consumption² in Brazil. First we'll describe the Brazilian film sector, and how Pólo entered this market just after the lowest valley production. Then we'll discuss the Brazilian audience for films, and how they appreciate them.

2.1 The production

Analogous to the story of the mythological Phoenix who dies and reborn from its ashes, Brazilian film industry was born in the early twentieth century as a young adventurer from the new media; it grew as a romantic singer of the 1940's; got to maturity as the movie heartthrob or a comedian of the 1950's; declined as the outlaw of the 1960's; degenerated as a soft-porn-star of 1970's and 1980's; died by starvation during the 1990's; and reborn as the TV-star in the 2000's.

Brazilian film production history would inspire an interesting plot. Cinema arrived in Brazil few months after Lumière brothers' invention, and quickly gained audience's attention. The production evolved from the amateurism of the first decades to grand productions during the decades of 1940's and 1950's. Emulating Hollywood style and aesthetics large studios like *Atlântida Cinematográfica* and *Cinematográfica Vera Cruz* gained nationwide success. However, three major factors interrupted the trajectory of those enterprises: the lack economy of scale for Portuguese-spoken movies in the international context, the increasing production costs for hollywoodian-like films, and the tough competition against North Americans' feature films (Johnson, 1987).

² In this article, once we're discussing aspects of Creative Industries, we decided to consider the role of the audience as mere spectators of the creative product, i.e., the movie. There has been great discussion in the current bibliography in regards to the levels of involvement of local agents in terms of production and consumption of creative products. For further discussion on such theme in the local context, see Moraes (2012a and 2012b).

Nevertheless, the industry remained active with smaller productions during the 1960's, when films were strongly influenced by experimental and authorial films influenced by European movements as Italian Neorealism and French *Nouvelle Vague*, renamed as "*Cinema Novo*" (New Cinema). One of the highest moment of this decade was the film "*O Pagador de Promessas*" (The Prayer of Promises) directed by Anselmo Duarte – which won the "*Palme d'Or*" (Golden Palm) at the 1962 Cannes International Film Festival, becoming the first (and so far the only) Brazilian film to reach such a achievement; an year later it become the first Brazilian (and South American) film nominated for the Academy Awards for Best Foreign Language Film.

By the end of the 1960's until the next ten years, cheaper TV sets and the expansion of broadcasting changed the taste of the audience from cinema to popular soap operas. Those were also the toughest years of the military right-wing regime (1964-1985), which never approved the social-oriented themes of the "*Cinema Novo*" – those were years of tough censorship, and the regime used this instrument to steer production. To maintain the film production, in 1969 the Federal Government created Embrafilme, a state-owned film company to foster production and distribution of Brazilian movies. It was the main movies' sponsor, selector and financier the production, until its termination.

In the middle of the decade 1980 Brazil saw the dawn of the democracy. Even politically positive, economic aspects weren't so bright – an international economic crisis and internal macroeconomic problems led to major economic difficulties and hyperinflation processes. In 1990, still within economic uncertainty, the federal government decided to defunct Embrafilme – without it, national film production virtually ended, leading to a general collapse of audiovisual initiatives in Brazil. Many consider the period between 1990 and 1995 the death of the Brazilian film industry.

The year 1994 was a milestone in Brazilian film production – it was the "*retomada*" ('resumption') of the Brazilian production. The federal government created a series of laws to foster artistic and cultural production based on tax reductions for sponsors, the so-called "*Lei Rouanet*".³ Since then Brazilian films' production increased in number and quality – leading to films as "*Central do Brasil*" (Central Station, 1998), directed by Walter Salles – which won international prizes as the "*Goldener Bär*" (Golden Bear) at Berlin International Film Festival (Germany), also BAFTA's Best Film Not in the English Language (UK), and was nominated as Academy Awards' Best Foreign Language

³ The 'Rouanet Law' was created in 1991, and came into force in 1994. Therefore is possible to consider 1994 the starting point of the 'resumption'.

Film (USA); and “*Tropa de Elite*” (Elite Squad, 2008), directed by José Padilha – won the “*Goldener Bär*” (Golden Bear) at Berlin International Film Festival. A final chapter in the institutional framework of the Brazilian film industry is the creation of the Federal Agency of Cinema (ANCINE) in 2001. The agency acts within many fronts, being the regulation and planning of audiovisual politics its main focus, although ANCINE also acts as a fostering institution.

Even the virtual death of film production in middle 1990’s, Brazilian capacity to create dramas in media never decreased. During the years of military regime, the virtual totality of drama production was focused on television and its main product: “*telenovelas*” (soap operas). Globo TV achieved high quality production, positioning itself as one of the greatest creators in the world. For instance, millions of Brazilians and spectators of other 80 countries watched the soap opera “*Escrava Isaura*” aired between 1976 and 1977, becoming one of the most popular TV series in the world.

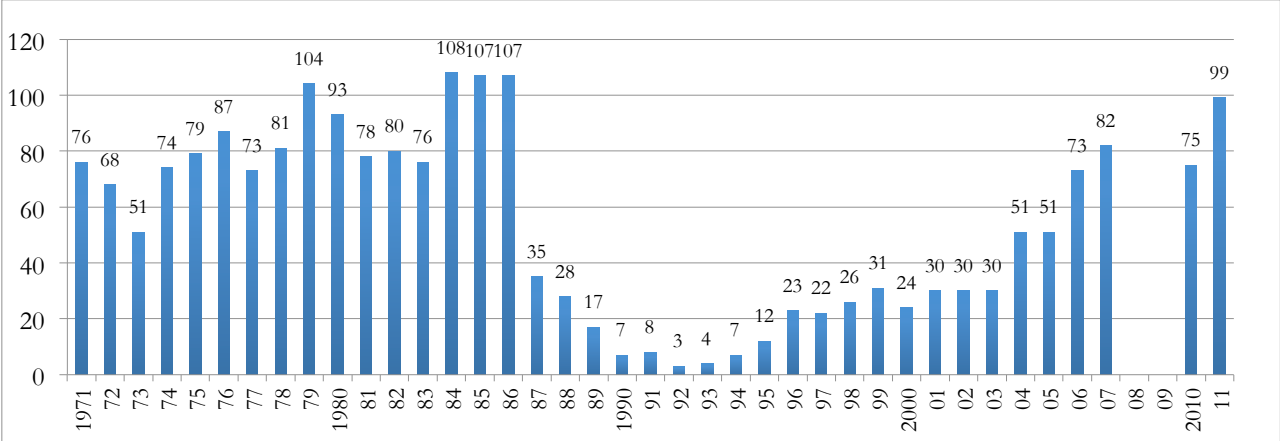


Figure 2 - Number of films (source “*Filme B*” and Brazilian Ministry of Culture). Data from 2008 and 2009 are unavailable⁴.

Brazilian TV shaded national cinema, but was also its foundation for the ‘resumption’. Producers working for TV are geographically concentrated mainly in the cities of Rio de Janeiro and São Paulo, where film production restarted during the 1990’s. In 2005, Brazil had 327 registered media producers, from which 161 (49%) were settled in Rio de Janeiro, 94 (29%) in São Paulo, and solely 72 (22%) in all other 25 states (Pizysieznig Filho, 2005).

⁴ Historical data of number of films produced in Brazil are unavailable until 1971.

2.2 The appreciation

Brazil is an unequal country, divided in five grand regions; each one embraces states with comparable stage of socio-economic development. It is notable the high correlation of socio-economic development and the number of theaters, as presented on Table 3.

| Brazilian Regions | Regional GDP | Proportion of movie theaters |
|--------------------------|---------------------|-------------------------------------|
| North | 5% | 3% |
| Northeast | 14% | 13% |
| Southeast | 55% | 59% |
| South | 16% | 16% |
| Center-West | 10% | 9% |

Figure 3 – Distribution of Brazilian regional GDP, and movie theaters (IBGE, 2011; Earp and Sroulevich, 2010)

In 2009, Brazil had 2.098 cinema theaters in the whole country. From the total of 26 states, five of them have theaters solely in the state capital, and in 14 states, half of the theaters are located in the capital only. São Paulo is the country's wealthiest state (34% of nation's GDP in 2009), which hosts 722 venues (34% of the total) (IBGE, 2011; Earp and Sroulevich, 2010).

Beside the poor distribution of movie theaters, movie going is the seventh position of preferences for culture – in cities where those venues are available, solely 14% of Brazilians go to cinemas at least once a month. Ticket price may be an issue for the low attendance. In 2007 the national minimum wage was R\$380,00 Brazilian reais⁵ (circa \$211 American dollars⁶), and the average ticket price was R\$8,82 (circa \$4,90 then); this way one single ticket accounted a share of 2,3% of the total income for some families – however, in some sites as São Paulo, the ticket price may reach R\$30 (circa \$14,6⁷).

Furthermore, Brazilians prefer to watch foreign films then national production. It is a paradox once they enjoy watching TV dramas as soap operas produced in Brazil, but their taste for films is biased by foreign production. While during the “golden age” of the 1950's the share of Brazilian films was circa 40%, in 2007 this number dropped to circa 10% (Earp and Sroulevich, 2010).

⁵ Brazilian minimum wage in May 2012 is R\$622,00 (circa \$250).

⁶ Rate of December 2007.

⁷ In this paper, all conversion from Brazilian reais to American dollars was made with exchange rate of May 2012, otherwise is indicated.

From the appreciation side, the scenario for any investment in film production is discouraging. The number of theaters is low and poorly distributed; in places where they are available, Brazilians don't attend the cinema; and if they go, they prefer foreign productions.

3. The “Pólo Cinematográfico de Paulínia”

“The tide raises all vessels” is a popular saying. Although the bibliography identifies the year of 1995 as the starting point of the ‘resumption’, it is clear the rump up during the 2000s – it was a landmark on the Brazilian film production history, not just because of the increase on the number of production in traditional sites, as Rio de Janeiro and São Paulo; also because of the entry of the new player: *Pólo Cinematográfico de Paulínia*.

3.1 Motivation

The scenario of difficulties for distribution of Brazilian films within the national market (and virtually no access to international audience), in conjunction to the poor acceptance of these films by Brazilians didn't discouraged the municipality of Paulínia to create the project.

We must understand the dichotomy between film production in traditional sites and the foundation of Pólo within the local political context. The decision of creating the initiative did not come due to a particular economic sensibility. Neither did it spring out of a popular demand for such specific cultural investments: the decision came out as an issue from the municipal government in 2005.

By then, the revealed objective was to diversify the economic activities in the city by fostering a technically complex sector capable to supply (and even overtake, in long run terms) the traditional industrial activities heavenly dependent on the oil refinery and its satellite corporations.

Over the years and the after a number of successful cultural events in Paulínia, the official discourse changed. Together with the sole economic objectives, public authorities started also to highlight the importance of the Pólo in terms of local pride, by stating that, due to such efforts, Paulínia had entered in the “cultural map” of Brazil (SCP, 2009).

3.2 Physical structure

The original project ‘Paulínia Magic of Cinema’ (*“Paulínia Magia do Cinema”*, then renamed *“Pólo Cinematográfico de Paulínia”* – Paulínia Cinematographic Cluster) consists in several initiatives to foster the *in loco* production of audiovisual products. Some of these initiatives are related to physical structures built since 2006. Others rely mostly on institutional and legal support, although in both cases the politics aims to promote films in the city – Paulínia’s Municipality plays a central role as policy maker, supporter and co-producer.

From the cultural constellation of activities, the ‘Magic of Cinema Film Exhibition Screening’ and the ‘Paulínia Film Festival’ (*“Festival Paulínia de Cinema”*) are the most spectacular activities. The primary goal of the first is to “bring free entertainment to all sections of the local population” (Moraes, 2012a, p.7). As part of its program to attract society’s attention to Pólo, it provides screening of feature films in various sites around the city.

The Festival gained national relevance even in its brief existence. Since its first edition in 2008, it awards the prize *“Menina de Ouro”* (Golden Girl) to feature and short films in 16 artistic and technical categories, inspired by the Hollywood’s Academy Awards. It is a highly promoted event that takes place annually at the Municipal Theater, with the participation of national film stars, celebrities and important figures of the Brazilian audiovisual scene. According to the former Paulínia’s municipal Secretary of Culture Tatiana Quintella, the construction of the theater was a result of the Festival:

The starting point of the project was that the film festival. We did not have an appropriate place to do it, since the town had no movie theaters, so we decided to build a theater, following the lines of the Kodak Theatre⁸ (Miranda, 2008).

The *Magic of Cinema* project counts with other physical initiatives: as a whole, the project provides producers with a total of five film studios and post-production rooms. The local government offers also a technical center created in partnership with SENAC (National Service for Commercial Education), dedicated to the training of local technicians in the craft. This project also created the Paulínia Stop Motion Studio as a partnership with the municipal Secretary of Education, dedicated the production of animations, and to train children in their primary school

⁸ Venue where the Oscar ceremony in Los Angeles takes place, renamed “Dolby Theater” in 2012.

to develop all stages of a short-film production: writing scripts, create scenarios, shooting the film (mostly using colorful clay, but also other resources), record the sounds and soundtracks and final editing.

Since the beginning there has been huge debate among producers, critics and media on the relevance of the physical infrastructure and its opulence. In its whole six years of existence, Paulínia's municipality invested circa R\$550 million⁹ (circa \$275 million).

3.3 Institutional framework

Along with the use of federal mechanisms of tax subsidies, the base resource for investment attraction to film producers in the city of Paulínia is an annual municipal edict that offers resources for projects that manage to involve the local citizens and economy. The Paulínia Film Commission intermediates the producers and the government (Pacheco, 2009, p.7).¹⁰

Besides this initiative, it was also developed the Municipal Culture Fund (FMC). According to the Act 2.837 from 2007 the Fund is defined as a "percentage of up to 10% for tax exemption of income from Income, Urban Land and Property Taxes for the settling of firms that invest in culture" (Moraes, 2012b). The main idea of the fund is to foster that film production spend at least 40% of the amount received from the Municipality in the city of Paulínia. According to the law:

The FMC is responsible for financing cultural projects within 100% of the budgeted amount with the approval of Paulínia Film Commission. Innovative productions, improvement projects and research from authors, artists and technicians living in the city and organization, expansion and equipment of museums, libraries, archives, collections, and other artistic initiatives will be covered in the allocation of resources of the FMC (SCP, 2007).

A relevant point is that in the original design of the project, Pólo should release regular accounting reports to follow up Pólo's activities and policies (via cultural indicators). In the only report available (published in 2009) the Municipality presents the results and returns of various productions realized in the city – we'll discuss these in session 4. *Economic Benefits*.

⁹ Actual numbers are unavailable.

¹⁰ Paulínia's budget for cultural programs was 2,75% of its the total revenue, in 2009. In compression, Brazilian federal government and São Paulo state government both spend less then 1% of their total budgets in culture; while UNESCO suggests 2,50% of the budget, as a target index.

3.4 Pólo as a cluster

Pólo is an interesting arrangement of organizations. It may be considered a cluster, once congregates a group of firms in one restrict geographic region, operating in a particular sector, linked by commonalities and complementarities (Porter, 1990) – proximity brings easy access to specialized supplies, services, human resources, information and innovation. This definition is valid for most economic sectors, from shoe making, to ceramics, cars and even petrochemical industries. But what differentiate a cultural cluster in general (and a film cluster in particular) from their humdrum counterparts? And what makes Pólo unique from other examples?

The complex nature of cinema production “require[s] not one but many creative inputs” (Caves, 2000, p. 87), some artistic and some others non-artistic – “each bringing personal tastes with regard to the quality or configuration of the product” (Caves, 2000, p. 5). The “motley crew property” demands a number of firms more likely to arrange in a cluster.

An important characteristic of a cluster for film production is the presence of one large key firm (or few of them) that dominates the entire district, surrounded by several small and specialized firms. Markusen (1996) named this configuration as “‘hub-and-spoke’ industrial districts”. The studio dominates the scenario as the ‘hub’, and smaller firms who provide ‘technical’ services (creative inputs, e.g., cinematography, scenography, recording sound, costumes, equipment, and figuration) or ‘supporting’ (non-creative inputs, e.g., accommodation, catering, transportation, renting of places and props) services plays the ‘spoke’.

The producer is the core of each film, and function as the ultimate ‘hub’. In fact, is all around the producer that the entire creation gravitates. As producers we account the actors, director(s), and the producer himself (who manage and fundraise the entire project).

Even dividing ‘spoke’ firms in two groups, concerning their duties, they present two further similarities. (Storper and Christopherson, 1987). First is that they’re specialized in their activities (e.g., recording, special effects, costumes), but not necessarily in one specific output, as production of films – ‘technical’ firms may work for video, television, recorded music, theater, and so on, while ‘support’ firms may provide their services for any contractors. Second, these firms are hired in short-term project-length contracts, and “individual workers experience

considerable variation in and uncertainty about the amount of work they are offered from time to time” (idem, p. 113). Firms and workers require constant projects.

Specialized and complementary firms, operating in a complex project (as a film production), requires coordination – that’s the basic of the property ‘time flies’, as described by Caves (2000). This is not so different from what ‘project management’ studies for non-cultural sectors. The characteristics briefly differentiate film clusters from their humdrum equivalents. However could we distinguish Pólo from other clusters? We’ll present three cases with distinct features.

In Leipzig (Germany), a media cluster was created from the 1990’s to recover the post-reunification local economy, around the activities of the MDR (*Mitteldeutscher Rundfunk* – Central German Broadcasting) with subsequent spillover of media producers. However, is possible to trace back the media production in the region to the Middle Ages when Leipzig was an important trade and services center, playing a leading role in European trade fairs. Also developed over the centuries a dynamic book publishing industry – “in 1938, it housed over 300 book publishers and 500 allied firms, as well the German equivalent of the U.S. Library of the Congress” (Bathlet and von Bernuth, 2008, p. 271). Further, it was a center for music and newspaper publishing. The roots of media in Leipzig are deep, no matter the means: on paper, radio, or on a TV set.

The story of Bristol (UK) started later. Since 1957 the city hosts the BBC’s Natural History Unity. However, it is possible to trace back the natural history media production to 1946, when Desmond Hawkins aired radio programs as “The Naturalist”. Later in Bristol was created a core of wildlife specialists (Bassett et al., 2002). The scientific inquiry spirit within film production was key to the success of Bristol’s cluster: “this attitude has sustained a particular genre of natural history films based on scientific rigor and close observation in the field” (idem, p. 168). A one-man-initiative formed the basis for what later became a film cluster.

Canada produces feature films since 1913, particularly after the creation of the National Film Board in 1939, who coordinates and supports films production. Toronto media cluster plays the leading role producing most of the English-speaking content, for internal and foreign markets (Vang and Chaminade, 2007). From the total of almost C\$1 billion Canadian dollars of revenues in 2002, circa 58% came from foreign feature films (19%) or TV productions (38%). “Typically, 13 to 22 domestic and foreign feature films are made annually in Toronto, the budget per Hollywood film being more than 10 times larger than for a Canadian film” (p. 408). The decade

of 1990 witness the explosion of outsourcing of Hollywood films, mainly to Toronto. North-American producers were seeking quality e lower cost – Toronto provided both, with the benefit of geographical and cultural proximity. In Toronto, film cluster shows that economic competitiveness leads the creation a solid market for the production.

By its turn, Paulínia’s municipal government developed Pólo as the ‘hub’ – it build the infrastructure for production and post-production, and established subsidies for the producers (the creative input) to move temporarily their headquarters to Paulínia and develop there the films. So the key elements for Pólo’s inception were policies instead of tradition, natural ability, or even a dedicated market – it was top-down rather than bottom-up. This method works? How can we evaluate the accomplishment of the initial stated motivations?

For our analysis, we’ll use four spheres framework (Klamer, 2009), focusing on three logics. The first will discuss the market – accounting for the economic benefits that Pólo brought for Paulínia. The second will address the government – its decisions and the citizen’s approval. The third will investigate the society – whether there is adherence between of steps of the film production and the citizens.

4. Economic benefits

A standard evaluation would measure the achievements of the Pólo solely in terms of the economic benefits that it could bring to the city. This is the realm of the ‘market sphere’ (Klamer, 2009). That’s what this session will discuss: whether Pólo is profitable.

Economic impact (Total Impact – TI) of a cultural production is accounted in three broad categories. The first is the ‘consumer impact’ (C) includes customer’s expenditures for their appreciation. Second, the ‘short run spending impact’ (SRS) which accounts the monetary injections on the local economic activity as a whole, as direct consequence of the cultural asset. Third is the ‘long run growth impact’ (LRG) that sum the increase in productivity and economic development, after the cultural asset – due the existence of the cultural asset, LRG is measured with increasing of properties’ values, tax revenues, better education and training, and expansion of the population and economic activities growth by a higher attractiveness (Seaman, in Towse, 2003).

The equation below summarizes the economic impacts:

$$TI = C + SRS + LRG$$

In Pólo's case, even positive its consumption impact is irrelevant. Data from attendance are unavailable¹¹, even though it's possible to state the small effect due the small size of local population, Paulínia Municipality's policy to grant free access to screen of films from local production.

Before discuss SRS, we'll present some considerations concerning LRG. It is too soon to point out whether Paulínia face any growth as result from Pólo's creation, or even whether it will have. The comparison with the refinery and satellite corporations shadows any possible Pólo's contribution¹² – actual data is also inaccessible. However some non-economic benefits will be investigated as the Social Benefits in the next session of this research.

By its turn, the SRS accounts for “new money” in local economy. Nevertheless, an interesting characteristic ought be highlighted: the difference between creative industries (as movie making) from other cultural manifestations, as museums, orchestras, or festivals is that the appreciation takes place independent from the production, with time and space displacement. A film is produced in one location and may be enjoyed in another place far away, many years after its release date. Thus, different from Bilbao that aimed to attract visitors after the construction of the Bilbao Guggenheim Museum, Paulínia aimed to attract investments and cultural capital from film producers and artists. Consequently, Pólo attracts producers because of its local subsidies and infrastructure.

The main motivation revealed by the Municipality was to foster a new economic sector in the city, capable of providing income and jobs for the local citizen and opportunities for the industrial occupations. Only an accurate analysis of the accounting information of the city could provide us a complete understanding of such benefits.

¹¹ Even if some were open, a complete picture is unclear.

¹² In 2005, the oil refinery paid R\$500 million (circa \$245 million) as taxes for Paulínia's Municipality – this accounts 64% of the total revenue of the city in taxes (Cunha, 2005).

| Film | General Information | | | Expenditure Information | | |
|--------------------------|----------------------|---------------------|--------------------|-------------------------|-----------------------------------|---------------------------------|
| | Total budget (R\$mi) | Total budget (\$mi) | Local spending (%) | Local filming share (%) | Technical costs (%) ¹³ | Support costs (%) ¹⁴ |
| Chico Xavier | 12.1 | 6.1 | 12% | 33% | 50% | 50% |
| Doze Estrelas | 3.3 | 1.7 | 18% | 50% | 34% | 66% |
| Transeunte | 1.7 | 0.8 | 35% | 42% | 52% | 48% |
| Doce Veneno do Escorpião | 3.8 | 1.9 | 18% | 41% | 18% | 82% |
| Meu País | 2.8 | 1.4 | 24% | 41% | 7% | 93% |
| Sex Delícia | 8.5 | 4.3 | 9% | 27% | 42% | 58% |
| O Palhaço | 4.6 | 2.3 | 22% | 60% | 48% | 52% |
| Average | 5.3 | 2.7 | 20% | 42% | 36% | 64% |

Figure 4 – Data of films that received municipal subsidies, in 2009 (source SCP, 2009). (Aggregation by the authors)

In 2009, seven feature films received from the Municipality an average of R\$5,3 million each (circa \$2,7 million) as subsidies to use Pólo’ structure. In terms of total budget of each of these productions, one can observe different shares of Paulínia: we can see that sometimes the city contributes with only 9% of the total budget of the production. Other times, this sum reaches up to 35%. It is important to highlight that all the resources given by the Municipality must be spent in town. Producers must keep a rigid control on their production costs and present them after the shooting.

Although the filming period in the city was relatively high (average 42%), what could suggest a high involvement of the city in these projects; such partnership is turned to be low if we analyze the type of costs in which these productions incurred during their stay in the city¹⁵.

It’s important to notice that the support costs are higher (average 64%) than the expenses on technical tasks (average 36%). This data sustains the Municipality’s aim to develop local economy – due to its simplicity and local availability; support activities are more likely to be realized within Paulínia’s region.

Such empirical evidence raise questions about the sustainability of creative activities in Paulínia within Pólo structure; and, once again, which are the objectives of the Pólo. In order to further comprehend these aspects we could analyze the project of the Pólo within the theoretical discussion of cultural clusters.

¹³ “Technical costs” involve creative inputs (e.g., cinematography, scenography, recording sound, costumes, equipment, and figuration), i.e., costs that actively involve the local economy in the audiovisual core of the film.

¹⁴ “Support costs” account non-creative inputs (e.g., accommodation, catering, transportation, renting of places and props), as well as other non-identified costs.

¹⁵ Data is not homogeneous, however we managed to group them in two separate groups: ‘technical’ and ‘support’ costs.

5. Social benefits

There are some methodologies to examine the value projects similar to Pólo. For instance, ‘Contingent Valuation’ aims to investigate society’s willingness-to-pay to obtain certain goods or services. The measure is monetary, and the interview’s questions are hypothetical. “How much would you pay to maintain open Theater X?” is one example.

However this survey aims to understand something different. We aim to investigate the connection between Paulínia’s citizens and Pólo, in three aspects: (i) project as a whole; (ii) steps of the production; and (iii) changes on citizen’s taste, i.e., on movie appreciation. All these three aspects are part of the society sphere (Klamer, 2009), presented before, where connections, relationships, aspirations and individual development matter.

5.1 The Logic Model framework

Evaluation approaches are typically separated in two grand groups: analysis of the process of production, and the results produced. It’s a continuum look. “A program Logic Model links outcomes (both short- and long-term) with program activities/ processes and the theoretical assumptions/principles of the program” (Kellogg Foundation, 2004 p.1).

The Logic Model divides the entire process in four steps¹⁶: (i) *inputs* – are everything that come before the entire process start: motivations, ideas, planning, resources, or even cultural capital (Throsby, 2001); (ii) *activities* – it’s the actual production of the good or service; (iii) *outputs* – are the products. Outputs are the short-term results from the production. Are the results from the activities (e.g., after the production of a film, it’s the film itself, and the audience attending to it). Further, in films, outputs are the changes in the audience that happened immediately after the appreciation, as enjoyment. Finally (iv) *outcomes* – are the long-term changes, initiated after the outputs. They’re the changes in perception, behavior, and habits.

¹⁶ Some authors incorporate a fifth step “impacts”, however it overlaps with the fourth step, and is useless for our aim in this paper.

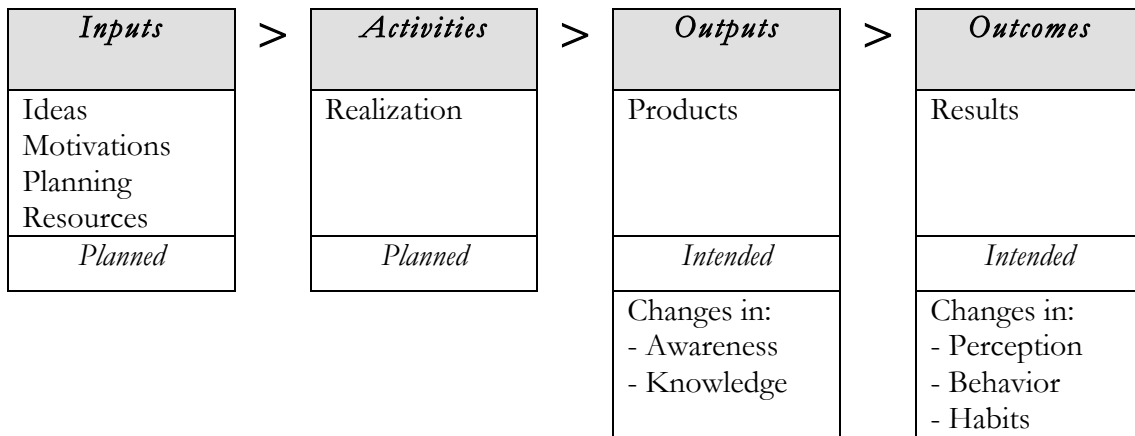


Figure 5 – Logic Model steps

5.2 Rationale behind the questionnaire

To develop a research questionnaire is a process requires close attention to two key aspects. First we need to precise the aim of the survey – in our research case, the motivation was to establish whether Pólo affected Paulínia’s citizens, so we’ll inquire various aspects of the connection between the players. To have a systematic approach, we used the evolution framework provided by the Logic Model – each of the five blocks of the questionnaire will investigate one particular dimension of the interactions. Block #1 will trace a brief description of the interviewees, with demographic questions; still all other four blocks will study one dimension: Block #2 – inputs; Block #3 – activities; Block #4 – outputs; and Block #5 – outcomes. Each block and questions will be presented in the next session ‘5.3 Questionnaires, results and analyses’.

The second key feature of this questionnaire is to account interviewee’s profile, i.e., the questionnaire must be simple, clear and straightforward enough that respondents can easily understand the questions and be able to respond them. Furthermore, it should be as short as possible to provide all required information, without provoke fatigue in the interviewee that would lead to biased answers (as if one responds all question “item A”), which will require to discard the data.

To maintain simplicity to the oral interviews, we decided to use two kinds of questions: (i) “multiple-choice questions”, where we provide a list of options – these questions are useful to set apart groups of respondents and opinions; and (ii) the qualitative Likert scale questions, when we provide a statement and ask respondent’s opinion about it in a gradient form, from ‘total

agreement’ to ‘total disagreement’, in five points scale. In any case, there is always the option for the interviewee not respond the question.

5.3. Questionnaire, results and analyses

We carried the survey in a single-day-stay in Paulínia on October 22nd, 2011. Four volunteers realized the research in two different sites of the city: a central pedestrian area, and in a local shopping mall close to Pólo’s¹⁷. We carried 103 interviews¹⁸. One of the major efforts of the interviews was to grasp a widest variety of answers, and also a heterogeneous spectrum of citizen from the city. Therefore, interviews were made within different social groups, trying to comprehend the variety of the local inhabitants.

Block #1 aims to trace demographic data, i.e., interviewee’s basic profile, his connection with the city, awareness about the Pólo, age, and education. If the respondent doesn’t live in the city or is unaware about the Pólo, the interview was terminated.

| <i>Question 1: Do you live in Paulínia?</i> | |
|---|---------------------|
| (1) <i>Yes</i> | 93,1% ¹⁹ |
| (2) <i>No</i> | 6,9% |

| <i>Question 2: How long do you live in Paulínia?</i> | |
|--|-------|
| (1) <i>Since before Pólo</i> | 87,1% |
| (2) <i>Since after Pólo</i> | 11,8% |
| (3) <i>Came because of Pólo</i> | 1,2% |

So 93% of the interviews were carried on. The majority of interviewees lived in Paulínia longer than the establishment of the Pólo, so they may provide information about its effects. Relevant to notice that just 1,2% (1 person) moved to the city because of the Pólo.

| <i>Question 3: Are you aware about Pólo?</i> | |
|--|-------|
| (1) <i>Yes</i> | 81,4% |
| (2) <i>No</i> | 18,6% |

¹⁷ Interrupted by the mall administration due to lack of a formal authorization.

¹⁸ Due to the objective of the present article – to comprehend the impact of the project in daily life citizen – we have given priority to a rather subjective approach of the interviews.

¹⁹ All non-valid figures were disregarded and omitted. The percentage refers solely to valid data.

Although 81% of respondents had heard about Pólo, even with its high publicity within a small city, 18% affirmed to be unaware about it. It may mean that they were not reached by the project, or are unaware to a so high extent that they don't really care about it.

| <i>Question 4: What's your educational level?</i> | |
|---|-------|
| (1) No education | 7,4% |
| (2) Less than 4 years | 7,4% |
| (3) From 4 to 6 years | 19,8% |
| (4) From 7 to 11 years | 33,3% |
| (5) College (incomplete) | 13,6% |
| (6) College (complete) | 18,5% |

Interviewees were not illiterate (93%), so they are potentially interested in films, however this figure is lower than the number of the ones who are aware of Pólo. It suggests that Pólo reaches more than the declared educated citizens.

- *Question 5: What is your age?*

This was a direct question, instead of separated by intervals (e.g., 'from 10 to 16 years old', and 'from 17 to 24 years old') because we'd like to obtain the actual data. The mean age of the respondents was 33,4 years old (between 15 and 75).

In Block #2 we explore citizen's perception about Pólo, investigating the adherence of the society's awareness to the "inputs" from Logic Model, i.e., the ideas and motivations of its inception and development. That's what comes "before" the concretization of the Pólo.

Questions #6 and #7 aim to know whether citizens identify 'who' and 'why' Pólo was created, i.e., if Pólo's position is clear in the mind of the Paulínia's population. Once Pólo was a decision from the Municipality without direct discussion with society; Question #8 asks how this decision is adherent to citizen's wishes.

| <i>Question 6: Do you know whose idea was to create Pólo?</i> | |
|---|-------|
| (1) Yes. The former mayor | 49,4% |
| (2) Yes. The current mayor | 4,7% |
| (3) Yes. The Municipality | 4,7% |
| (4) Yes. The State Government | 0% |
| (5) Yes. From the Federal Government | 0% |
| (6) No | 41,2% |

Even 49% of the respondents affirmed that the Pólo's idea came uniquely from the former mayor Edson Moura²⁰, 41% doesn't know whose idea was. This pattern also reappears in Question #7, which investigates the consciousness of the motivations.

| <i>Question 7: Do you know why Pólo was created?</i> | |
|--|-------|
| <i>(1) Yes, to improve Brazilian cinema</i> | 14,5% |
| <i>(2) Yes, to improve the city's economy</i> | 47,0% |
| <i>(3) Yes, use taxes paid by the refinery</i> | 1,2% |
| <i>(4) It was a personal decision of the mayor</i> | 6,0% |
| <i>(5) No</i> | 31,3% |

Almost half of the valid answers (47%) affirmed to be aware about the actual reason for Pólo's creation, in contrast of 31% of total ignorance about it. Interesting to point out that 15% indicated that Pólo was designed to improve Brazilian cinema, role that in fact belongs to the federal government and private initiatives. These data suggests an average involvement of the citizen with the project, and maybe lack of interest on it.

| <i>Question 8: Would be better to the Municipality spends the money in other areas (as health or education)</i> | |
|---|-------|
| <i>(1) Totally agree</i> | 31,0% |
| <i>(2) Agree</i> | 17,9% |
| <i>(3) Neutral</i> | 10,7% |
| <i>(4) Disagree</i> | 13,1% |
| <i>(5) Totally disagree</i> | 27,4% |

These results were not conclusive. Even 49% agreed that spending on an audiovisual project was good, 40% disagreed. It's interesting the dichotomy of answers – 89% of the answers indicate agreement or disagreement; just 11% pointing a neutral position.

In Block #3 we investigate the involvement of the citizen in Pólo's activities. Municipality' report presents a bright picture – we'd like to know if citizens subscribe those numbers.

| <i>Question 9: Have you ever participated in any activity promoted by Pólo?</i> | |
|---|-------|
| <i>(1) Yes. Directly in production</i> | 6,1% |
| <i>(2) Yes. Indirectly in production</i> | 2,4% |
| <i>(3) Yes. In ancillary activities</i> | 1,2% |
| <i>(4) Yes. I go to the festival and watch movies</i> | 30,5% |
| <i>(5) No</i> | 59,8% |

²⁰ The actual Pólo's creator.

The percentage of interviewees who answered that did not participate in any activities promoted by the Pólo is high (for an educated population) – 60%. However, 31% attend to films and to the festival, so they're involved as customers only. Interesting the result of just 10% are somehow participating on activities, even if one of the two sites where this investigation took place was physically close to Pólo (our expectation was to get a higher number).

| <i>Question 10: Do you know anyone who benefit from the activities of Pólo? (studies, works, serves, etc..) – (possible select multiple answers)</i> | |
|--|-------|
| <i>(1) Yes. Someone who works directly with the production</i> | 36,9% |
| <i>(2) Yes. Someone who works indirectly with the production</i> | 9,5% |
| <i>(3) Yes. Someone who works as a support of Pólo (educational workshops)</i> | 8,3% |
| <i>(4) Yes. Someone who studies at Pólo</i> | 1,2% |
| <i>(5) No</i> | 44,0% |

Question #10 corroborates the previous one. Even with the possibility to select multiple answers, the number of respondents not connected to Pólo is still high (44%).

Block #4 investigates whether citizens know about the outputs of Pólo, i.e., whether and how the interviewees perceive Pólo's products – they're the short-term outputs.

| <i>Question 11: Pólo is limited to the Festival or are there other activities?</i> | |
|--|-------|
| <i>(1) Only the Festival</i> | 34,2% |
| <i>(2) It has more, but I don't know</i> | 20,5% |
| <i>(3) It has more, and know</i> | 43,8% |
| <i>(4) It has more, and I'm involved</i> | 1,4% |

Awareness toward products may bend toward the negative results. Question #11 asks about the consciousness about the extension of Pólo's activities – 44% knows that Pólo provides more than just the Festival, but still 21% ignore the other products that Pólo produces. Interviewees totally unaware of products other than the festival (34%) highlight the poorest aspect of the connection between Pólo and Paulínia's citizens.

We developed the final set of questions using Likert scale of agreement to a statement. Question #12 presents a dichotomy of opinions concerning the overall benefits of Pólo: 41% of the respondents agree (or totally agree) that it brought benefits for the individual, while 42% presented opposite opinion. However, 'total disagreement' is stronger than the 'total agreement', indicating a tendency towards the negative edge of the scale.

| <i>Question 12: Pólo brings you benefits.</i> | |
|---|-------|
| (1) <i>Totally agree</i> | 31,0% |
| (2) <i>Agree</i> | 9,5% |
| (3) <i>Neutral</i> | 17,9% |
| (4) <i>Disagree</i> | 2,4% |
| (5) <i>Totally disagree</i> | 39,3% |

On the other hand, Question #13 reveals that interviewees are inclined to believe positively about Pólo for the entire society (78% of agreement or totally agreement), leaving just 20% of opinions towards the negative edge, and less the 3% in a neutral position.

| <i>Question 13: Pólo brings benefits for Paulínia's society.</i> | |
|--|-------|
| (1) <i>Totally agree</i> | 62,2% |
| (2) <i>Agree</i> | 15,9% |
| (3) <i>Neutral</i> | 2,4% |
| (4) <i>Disagree</i> | 3,7% |
| (5) <i>Totally disagree</i> | 15,9% |

This way, even if unaware of the complete project, and is inconclusive whether they recognize its benefits for the individual, Paulínia's citizens realize that the entire society is better of with its existence.

Block #5 investigates the long-term outcomes, i.e., the impacts or changes in citizen's habits or values. Question #14 asks about Paulínia's development after the beginning of Pólo. Citizens agree or totally agree (64%) that the city is better since 2005, while 24% disagree or totally disagree with the statement. This is the same pattern of Question #13, indicating that benefits for society and city improvement are fairly related.

| <i>Question 14: Paulínia improved after Pólo's inception.</i> | |
|---|-------|
| (1) <i>Totally agree</i> | 49,4% |
| (2) <i>Agree</i> | 14,5% |
| (3) <i>Neutral</i> | 12,0% |
| (4) <i>Disagree</i> | 2,4% |
| (5) <i>Totally disagree</i> | 21,7% |

On the other hand, Question #15 inquires about the individual behavior, indicating that 57% of the population hasn't changed their movies appreciation because of Pólo's activities, while 34% agree or totally agree that watch more films because of it. Interesting to note that besides being

bended towards the disagreement edge, the agreement is divided in the two possible choices, weakening this group of respondents.

| <i>Question 15: I watch more films after Pólo's inception.</i> | |
|--|-------|
| <i>(1) Totally agree</i> | 22,0% |
| <i>(2) Agree</i> | 12,2% |
| <i>(3) Neutral</i> | 8,5% |
| <i>(4) Disagree</i> | 1,2% |
| <i>(5) Totally disagree</i> | 56,1% |

Question #16 investigates the proud of being a citizen from Paulínia, because Pólo's existence. One of the strongest benefits Paulínia's citizens recognize in Pólo is the satisfaction of being from there (70%), while just 26% disagree with the statement.

| <i>Question 16: I'm prouder to be from Paulínia after Pólo's inception.</i> | |
|---|-------|
| <i>(1) Totally agree</i> | 53,6% |
| <i>(2) Agree</i> | 16,7% |
| <i>(3) Neutral</i> | 3,6% |
| <i>(4) Disagree</i> | 1,2% |
| <i>(5) Totally disagree</i> | 25,0% |

The final Question #17 is connected to Question #7 (which inquiries 'why' Pólo was created, and where 15% of the respondents affirmed that the aim was to develop to improve Brazilian cinema). Here we ask whether they confirm that Pólo is an important instrument to achieve that development, no matter why. Indeed, 86% agrees or totally agrees with the statement, and just 8% disagrees or totally disagrees with it.

| <i>Question 17: Pólo created benefits for the entire Brazilian film sector.²¹</i> | |
|--|-------|
| <i>(1) Totally agree</i> | 76,2% |
| <i>(2) Agree</i> | 9,5% |
| <i>(3) Neutral</i> | 6,0% |
| <i>(4) Disagree</i> | 2,4% |
| <i>(5) Totally disagree</i> | 6,0% |

²¹ This last inquiry functioned also as a control-question. For those who are aware of Pólo, the benefits for the Brazilian production as a whole are clear, and widespread by media. In fact we expected the totality towards the agreement edge.

5.4 Comments

Along with the closed questions of the questionnaire, the interviewers also noted particular and interesting comments from the respondents. Such information provides a subjective interpretation and personal feeling of the local citizen on the project.

In terms of the ‘resources’ and ‘motivations’ the interviewers found some provocative answers. Interviewee #22 (24 years-old, male, 8-11 years of study) stated “only people from outside Paulínia benefited from the project”. Interviewee #42 (35 years-old, male, 8-11 years of study) agrees, affirming “the city that has benefited most was Campinas, since it had a better infrastructure to receive the coming artists” – Paulínia has not enough hotels to host its visitors.

There were numerous comments as Interviewee #9 (50 years-old, female, less than 4 years of study), especially amongst elders: “I simply don’t understand the reason of the Pólo. We have to pay artists from other places but the City has no money for health or education”. A number of interviewees also highlighted suspicious on the honesty of the project.

A large spectrum of the respondents were interested in Pólo’s activities, but felt themselves relatively distant to it. Interviewee #40 (49 years-old, female, college bachelor) stated that it would be a good idea to transform Paulínia into the “Brazilian Hollywood”, but believes that the activities should receive better promotion, and should have a deeper involvement of the local people. Interviewee #51 (33 years-old, female, less than 4 years of study) agrees, affirming that Pólo “should focus more on the local citizens”. Interviewee #86 (22 years-old, Female, 8-11 years of study) compared Pólo with cultural projects in other parts of Brazil, affirmed “the project should hold the local community closer”.

Interviewee #77 (32 years-old schoolteacher) knows about the city and its “high standards of life quality” – her daughter participates in many cultural initiatives related to the Pólo. The Interviewee #7 (16 year-old, male), coming out from school affirmed, “the city is really rich, so we can invest of such luxuries”. On the other hand, Interviewee #61 (also 16-year-old, male) affirmed that he already took part in many activities of the Pólo and he even wanted to study cinema because of it.

Finally, it is important to highlight the strong “pride-effect” amongst the local citizen. Interviewee #87 (24 years-old, female, college bachelor) stated that the Pólo should be more opened to the public. Nevertheless, she is proud of it, particularly when “*Jornal Nacional*” (Globo TV’s nationwide broadcasting TV news²²). This “exhibitionist” pride was also felt during the answers of the Interviewee #95 and Interviewee #64 (females, 21 and 29 years-old, respectively) who stated that the main idea of the Pólo was precisely to “promote the city” in the national context.

6. Analysis and conclusion

In 2005, when Paulínia’s Municipality inaugurated the “*Pólo Cinematográfico de Paulínia*” the whole film related community cheered the initiative. It would be genesis of new opportunities for the Brazilian film industry, which suffered a virtual death ten years before, and was in a period of growth known as ‘resumption’. However the scenario for audience was discouraging: the distribution of movie theaters is unequal throughout the country; in cities where venues are available, Brazilians don’t watch films in cinemas; and if they decide to do so, don’t see Brazilian films.

Nevertheless Pólo was created with the aim to attract investments and create cultural capital within the humdrum city. The economic benefits were limited – the amount from the Municipality for local production was in fact invested in Paulínia, but other resources (as federal government and sponsors) were likely to be expended elsewhere.

Producers hire directors, actors and lead ‘artistic’ staff outside Paulínia. However also ‘technical’ staff (as sound recording and cinematography) comes from outside the city, from the traditional production sites: Rio de Janeiro and São Paulo. Solely ‘support’ services (as catering, transport and hotels) are hired locally. Even though, those sometimes also those humdrum services come from the larger nearby city Campinas, as indicated by interviewees in their comments.

What remains a doubt is whether these high investments have indeed settled in the local economy and altered qualitatively the life of the citizen. Outputs and outcomes were indeed slightly positive. Citizens are prouder about the city and to be recognized as part of a Brazilian “artistic elite”, but their life wasn’t substantially changed, nor economically neither culturally.

²² Which accounts more then 45% of audience in the whole country.

Cinema industry is a complex sector that requires tradition, coordination, and continuous development of new projects requiring specialized services. All three aspects demand time and social involvement. Pólo isn't based on none; and the few years since its inception weren't enough to develop them.

A major issue related to such projects concerns the changing of government. Since the project wasn't originated from local tradition or a clear market demand, there is always the threat of policy changes, after a new mayor, disconnected from Pólo's ideals, and aiming to lead his own trademark (that may not be connect his name to Pólo).

Therefore, throughout these last years that the activities of the Pólo were held, it is undeniable its support in the 'resumption' context of Brazilian cinema. It is also recognized that financial support offered by the Paulínia was a fundamental mechanism for film and audiovisual production in the last years.

As a dystopian film forecasting a darker future, we ought to conclude this paper with an unhappy remark. On April 12th 2012, the current mayor of Paulínia and the board of the Cinema Festival declared that its 5th edition wouldn't take place as planned in July 2012, due to alleged lack of budget.

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