Abstract

The possibilities of information and communication technologies, especially the new digital technologies, have contributed to the change of conceptions and arrangements between art-technology-market. The so-called creative economy refers to the production, transaction and consumption of goods and services whose value is constituted by its originality or authenticity, being debated today amidst questions about future alternatives. The article discusses centrally the recent growth of this economy and its implications for employment in Brazil. The conjecture is that companies and jobs in sectors related to the creative economy tend to expand faster than what occurs in other sectors of economic activity, depending on the quality and availability of relevant resources in the territory and the political-institutional frameworks that contribute to structure such activities. It is used different documentary sources, diagnoses of research agencies and official statistical databases for the knowledge of this reality in the Country.

Keywords: creative economy; employment; information and communication technologies; economic growth; Brazil.
Introduction

The possibilities of information and communication technologies, in particular the new digital technologies, have contributed to the change of conceptions and arrangements between art, technology, and market. The so-called creative economy refers to the production, transaction and consumption of goods and services whose value is constituted by their originality or authenticity, being debated today in the scope of questions about future alternatives. International diagnostics and reports (DCMS, 2014; UNCTAD, 2008; 2010; UNESCO, 2013) have recorded the expressive growth of the creative economy in different political-institutional and territorial contexts, highlighting the expanding contribution of developing countries to trade in this immaterial economy.

Brazil becomes an experience of interest for observation because it combines changes related to the diffusion of digitalization, greater access to higher education and consumption induction among low-income classes. More recently, the country entered a time of crisis and economic stagnation after a period of certain growth. In this context, there is a relative growth of the creative economy, drawing the attention of business, academic and governmental actors to the importance of their participation in the economic process as a whole (Costa & Santos, 2011; Golgher, 2011). The share of this economy in GDP was estimated at 2.26% in 2006 and 2.61% in 2017 (FIRJAN, 2019). Income from activities related to this economy is on average double that of the economy as a whole (FIRJAN, 2014). The international economic and social transformations related to digitalization combined with the peculiarities of the country's trajectory raise questions about the performance of companies and jobs in sectors of this creative economy.
This article discusses aspects of the recent growth of this economy, following the performance of companies and employments in Brazil. The conjecture is that firms and jobs in creative economy-related sectors tend to expand faster than in other sectors of economic activity, depending on the quality and availability of relevant resources in the territory and the contributing political and institutional frameworks to structure such activities. It is argued that the creative economy can be an alternative contribution to development for certain contexts, although it is not in itself a solution to economic growth and social welfare, nor has a predetermined course. In a trajectory of rupture with the industrial paradigm, the current global informational paradigm is constituted not only by the possibilities of a new materiality of communication and social interaction, but also by the affirmation of identities that aspire to greater autonomy and aestheticization of life, favoring forms of production and consumption practices of goods and services based on originality and authenticity.

The main objective of the paper is therefore to analyze the performance of economic sectors linked to the creative economy in Brazil, considering the evolution and characteristics of companies and employments. Indicators are number of firms and jobs, size and regional distribution of firms, age group, gender, education, pay and working hours. Different documentary sources and statistical databases are used, especially the Annual Report on Social Information of the Ministry of Labor and Employment of Brazil (RAIS-MTE). The study in this database selected 46 classes of economic activities, according to the CNAE 2.0 (National Classification of Economic Activities)\(^1\). Considering that this classification starts in 2006, we chose to

\(^1\) The selected classes were: Manufacture of musical instruments; Construction of special works of art; Book publishing; Publishing of newspapers; Magazine publishing; Editing of entries, lists and other graphic products; Edition integrated with book printing; Integrated publishing for newspaper printing; Integrated publishing for magazine printing; Integrated publishing for printing entries, lists and other graphic products; Film production, video and television program activities; Movie post-production, video and television program activities; Distribution of film, video and television programs; Cinematographic exhibition activities; Sound recording and music
consider the period between 2006 and 2017. The choice of the classes of activities was to approximate the proposed selections in reports and diagnoses made in the country that try to express the areas creative industries indicated by United Nations Conference on Trade and Development - UNCTAD (FIRJAN, 2008; 2014; UNCTAD, 2010).

Theoretical foundations

Sociological inquiry into the so-called creative economy requires its positioning within the framework of different social transformations that mark historical discontinuities vis-à-vis the industrial societies of the past. Beck (2018) affirms the “metamorphosis of the world”, due to the unexpected effects of the combinations between technological innovations and lifestyle diversity. The focus on social reproduction gives way to the apprehension of creative action that produces new social realities, building new sociological concepts. According to Castells, Cardoso and Caraça (2013), this type of analytical effort is oriented to the prospect of future alternatives, rather than the refusal of what is presented or the setback to the past.
The established theses of cultural industry and distinction, alone or together, have drawn attention to the power relations in mass industrial societies and their consequences in reproducing class inequalities. According to Habermas (2015), the cultural industry expresses the absolute power of capital that operates by technical means, undermining the expertise of the creation process and alienating society from itself through the massification of culture. Bourdieu (2007) asserts about the construction of a social hierarchy that is expressed by the difference between “popular preference” (fruition and sensible pleasure) and “legitimate preference” (pure and disinterested), operating binary distinctions between subjects and classes. These concepts were constructed by the observation of mass industrial societies, denouncing the unilaterality of the communication technologies of the time and their forms of class domination in the markets. They express a sociological work pattern based on the dichotomy and homogeneity of social groups.

From another perspective, the concept of creative economy proposes to register a region of the new economy, relating to the affirmation of the informational production paradigm (Castells, 1999) and to the pluralization of lifestyles and the consequent aestheticization of practices of consumption (Lipovetsky; Serroy, 2015). Today’s economic process is confronted with the “creative destruction” that information and communication technologies — digitization, mobile internet, big data — have created, which engenders entirely new productive sectors through their effects on existing economic arenas (Freeman & Soete, 2008), as well as with cognitive horizons imposed by global sociopolitical challenges, such as aspirations and controversies about “sustainability” and access to “public goods”, including immaterial resources such as knowledge, collective memory and artistic and cultural heritage (Kaul; Grumberg; Stern, 2012). This has drawn the attention of multilateral agencies and governments to the growth of “creative” sectors and professionals and their potential for economic, environmental, social and cultural sustainability, triggering, since the late 2000s, a wide-ranging discussion on the topic (UNCTAD, 2010; UNESCO, 2013).
In this sense, the creative economy can be defined by the production, transaction and consumption of goods and services whose value is constituted by their originality or authenticity, tending to become intellectual property rights, especially copyrights. Creativity — the basis of this economy — consists in the ability to generate original or authentic solutions that are recognized as useful or even influential, resulting from cognitive, social and institutional processes of adaptation or transformation of ideas and symbols into historically new (originality) or unique (authenticity) artifacts. Creativity involves the ability to carry a mundane idea in one group to another where it is considered new and significant and therefore valued (Burt, 2004). It can also stem from tensions between different groups that combine different ideas. This type of exchange is favored by decentralized organizational forms with less control of information and knowledge (Ramella, 2013; Uzzi; Spiro, 2005). De Vaan, Stark and Vedres (2014) draw attention to the creative recombination of resources — ideas, information, knowledge and symbols — generated by the intersection between cognitively distant working groups, with different forms of knowledge and evaluation criteria. However, the transformation of the product of these creative activities into economic wealth depends on institutional legitimacy. The formation of the creative economy involves not only cognitive attributes and social conventions about the reasonableness and calculation of the economic transaction, but also a set of guidelines for contracts and laws that underpin trade. The product of creative action may or may not be accepted, depending on varying rule regimes or social norms (Burns, 2014).

The novelty of the creative economy is therefore related not only to the new materiality of communication and production generated by digitalization in the connection between groups and ideas, but also to the legitimacy of aesthetic consumption that is achieved with the current plurality of lifestyles. Different strategies of operationalization of the concept try to capture the recent growth of this economy. For Howkins (2013), the creative
economic sectors are based on information and communication technologies and their possibilities of generating symbolic content, being classified as: advertising, architecture, fine arts, handicraft, design, fashion, cinema, music, arts publishing, research and development, software, toys and games, TV and radio, and video games. According to Florida (2011), the “creative class” is made up of professionals who design creative products (computing and mathematics; architecture and engineering; science; education and training of human resources; arts, design and media), becoming a factor of propulsion of a creative city. UNCTAD defines creative industries as knowledge-based and arts-based activities, potentially generating sales revenue and intellectual property rights. With a view to favoring the approximation of diverse statistical bases and greater precision in qualitative and quantitative studies, creative industries are classified into groups: cultural heritage (traditional culture and cultural sites); arts (visual and performing); media (audiovisuals and publications / print media); and functional creations (design, new media and creative services) (UNCTAD, 2010).

The accumulation of research records not only the novelty of the creative economy, but also its heterogeneity, due to its inscription in different social mechanisms. This economy is compatible with different institutional logic in regulating the links between professionals and other agents, and may involve large and small companies, long-term employment contracts or outsourcing activities (Caves, 2003). The record on national experiences indicates different incentive “models”. One type of orientation is observed in England and the United States, focused on cultural sectors and activities related to information and communication technologies, intellectual property and venture capital, seeking to promote the post-industrial world (Florida, 2011; Howkins, 2013); Another approach, closer to the case of Australia, New Zealand and Canada, is the use of information and communication technologies to promote local culture and high culture, in a tone of resistance to “Americanization” in international culture (Flew; Cunningham, 2010; Reis, 2008).
Moreover, the record of what happens in different contexts (such as the United States, Canada, England, Germany and Brazil) has shown the relevance of regional and territorial factors in the course of this economy. One type of resource highlighted in this literature is the presence of qualified and knowledgeable professionals who become a factor of attraction and formation of creative companies in a region (Florida, 2011; Golgher, 2011; Tremblay; Darchen, 2011). Another outstanding factor refers to the availability of technological and institutional infrastructures. Access to information and communication technologies depends on infrastructure and skills obtained through education (Moraes; Schwartz, 2011). Also important would be funding capacities (public, private, venture capital, grant), regional marketing and non-profit organizations (Markusen; Gadwa, 2010; Kings, 2012). Symbolic and cultural factors (collective memory, cultural heritage, “vibrant atmosphere”, diversity of lifestyles) have also been identified as relevant in the performance of sectors of the creative economy, as they contribute as sources of new ideas, differentiation and authenticity artifacts (Eikhoř; Hounschild, 2006; Koster et al., 2013).

Therefore, the creative economy expresses a set of new and restructured sectors, and their performance (economic activity, wealth generation, employment expansion) depends on political-institutional conjunctures and on the dynamics of interaction between diverse actors in access to territorial resources.

**Companies**

The growth of enterprises and jobs linked to the creative economy is in the context of performance: a) of the economy as a whole, b) the political and institutional capacities of the country, and c) the availability of relevant resources in the territory.
Considering the period analyzed, the country’s economic process is marked by a phase of relative growth, followed by a phase of economic activity stagnation and political crisis: the average GDP growth rate was 3.93%, in the period between 2006 and 2013; This rate is severely reduced to -1.47% in the period 2014-2017 (World Bank, 2018). Another feature of the period is the reduction in the importance of the industrial sector in relation to the agriculture, mineral extraction and services sectors, considering trade balance performance indicators, attracting foreign investment and the distribution of employment among sectors. In this way, the creative economy ended up arousing some interest in the public debate, becoming new public and private actions aimed at its stimulation and development in the country. In 2010, the Ministry of Culture (MinC) created the Secretariat of Creative Economy to focus federal mapping and action planning initiatives on creativity supply chains, creative territories and creative hubs, revealing a central concern with inclusion social and cultural heritage. Business associations and universities are also conducting diagnostics, training and activities in favor of these economic sectors, focusing on the diffusion of new business models and sustainability.

As for the resources relevant to the performance of this economy, we can observe, for example, the expansion of personnel training in higher education, as well as the diffusion of the use of information and communication technologies, considering the period examined. However, such resources, which are relevant to activities in this economy, reveal a variable distribution among regions of the country, which may contribute to explain differences in their growth, as discussed below. In fact, the rate of people with complete higher education increased from 8.6% in 2006 to 15.7% in 2017 in Brazil (Graph 1). Even though all regions experienced growth in this level of education in the period, higher levels remain in the Southeast and South than in the Northeast and North. In the Midwest, lies the Federal District and the national capital, Brasilia, where much of the federal administration bureaucracy is concentrated. When the Federal District
Access to information and communication technology devices also expanded among households in the country during the period: the presence of mobile phones increased from 68% in 2006 to 92% in 2017; and the presence of desktop computers increased from 19% in 2006 to 23% in 2017. This availability of equipment advanced in all regions, but remained more accessible in the Southeast and South, compared to the Northeast and North. The Midwest region approaches the highest rates when considering the Federal District, but moves away from them without its contribution (Graph 2).
In this context, the creative economy expanded in the period between 2006 and 2014, with some retraction between 2015 and 2017, when the crisis of the whole economy of the country begins. Graph 3 shows the growth in the number of companies in selected sectors of the creative economy in Brazil, from 57,336 establishments in 2006, with a peak of 88,236 establishments in 2015, shrinking to 86,665 establishments in 2017. The establishments in the selected sectors of the creative economy grew by 51% between 2006 and 2017, while all other economic sectors increased by 36% over the same period. The data on jobs reveal similar movement to the establishments. There were 708,700 employment posts in 2006, reaching 1,107,283 posts in 2014. This number retracts to 977,869 employment posts in 2017. The jobs in the selected creative economy sectors grew by 38% from
2006 to 2017, whereas in the other economic sectors they varied 31% in the same period in the country. Thus, the data suggest that the creative economy has grown faster than the rest of the country's economy, being somewhat less affected by the more recent economic crisis.

**Graph 3 - Evolution of the number of companies and the number of employment posts in selected sectors of the creative economy in Brazil - 2006 to 2017**

As for the size of the companies, the data show that the largest number of establishments is concentrated in the range with up to four employees. This range also showed the highest growth rate in the period: there were 35,326 establishments with up to four employees in 2006, rising to 56,840 in 2017, varying 61% in the period. This range represented 62% of total establishments in the selected creative economy sectors in 2006 and 65% of this total in 2017. Other company size ranges also grew over the
period, albeit at a slower rate than companies with up to four employees (Graph 4). What we have is not only the predominance of smaller companies, but also the expansion of their participation among the selected sectors of the creative economy in Brazil, considering the period under analysis.

**Graph 4 - Evolution in the number of establishments in selected sectors of the creative economy according to size in Brazil - 2006 to 2017**

![Graph 4](image_url)

Source: Composition from Brasil (2018).

The growth of companies in selected sectors of the creative economy occurs in state capitals and the rest of municipalities, as well as in different regions of the country. However, the evolution between these territorial boundaries reveals performance differences that are of interest to the analysis, especially when comparing this result with the distribution of resources relevant to the creative economy, as previously reported. The performance of the set of state capitals in the country showed a 45% variation...
between 2006 and 2017 (there were 26033 establishments, rising to 38025), while in the set of other municipalities in the country this variation was 55% (31,303 establishments, in 2006; 48,640 in 2017). However, the volume of jobs is higher in the capitals than in other municipalities, differing from what occurs with the establishments. This may be due to the greater concentration of large companies, with a larger number of employees per unit in the capitals than in the rest of the municipalities.

As shown in Graph 5, the largest concentrations of companies in the creative economy sectors are in the Southeast and South, while the smallest are in the Midwest and North, with the Northeast in an intermediate position. Between 2006 and 2017, variations in the number of establishments in the selected sectors of the creative economy were 45% in the Southeast, 49% in the South, 71% in the Northeast, 63% in the Midwest, and 62% in the North. The evolution of jobs between regions tends to correspond to what occurs with the establishments, and also the largest volume concentrated, especially in the Southeast, then South, Northeast, Midwest and North. This corresponds to the availability of relevant resources, such as higher education and information and communication technologies, between the different regions of the country.

Therefore, the data collected show the growth of companies and jobs linked to creative economy sectors in Brazil. This process has attracted the attention of governmental, academic and business agents, with initiatives that seem to have stimulated the formation of new and small enterprises. However, the recent economic crisis facing the country has slowed this growth of a creative economy in the country. There is also a certain relationship between the expansion and availability of resources important for this economy and their levels of participation and growth between regions of the country.
Graph 5 - Evolution of companies in selected sectors of the creative economy in the regions of Brazil - 2006 to 2017

Source: Composition from Brasil (2018).

Employments

The growth of companies in creative economy sectors in the country is reflected in the increase in jobs in the creative economy over the period 2006-2017. Companies and jobs in the creative economy expanded faster than other sectors of the activity in Brazil. Companies in the creative economy grew more (range 51% in the period) than jobs in the creative economy (range 38%) in the period. It is worth noting that larger companies hold more jobs than smaller ones. It can be assumed that institutional initiatives have had an effect on stimulating the creation of small businesses that have been braked by the recent economic crisis.
Regarding the age distribution of jobs, it is observed that there is a higher concentration of links between younger age groups (up to 29 years; between 30 and 39 years). All age groups of workers experienced job growth between 2006 and 2017, ranging from 12% in the age group up to 29 years old, 68% in the age group 30-39, 29% in the age range 40-49, 86% in the age range 50 or older. However, the recent economic crisis and the consequent downturn in creative economy activity in the country have ended up affecting the youngest (age range up to 29) more intensely. The range of older workers (50 years old and over) experienced the largest growth in the period, allowing to assume some appreciation of accumulations of professional experience in this economy. The significant expansion in the 30-39 age group may be due to the entry of higher education workers in this economy, considering the recent expansion in this level of education that may have absorbed a repressed demand from the young adult population (Graph 6).

**Graph 6 - Evolution of employments in selected sectors of the creative economy by age group of employees in Brazil - 2006 to 2017**

Source: Composition from Brasil (2018).
Employment growth for males (up 39% from 424332 in 2006 to 589949 in 2017) was slightly faster than for women (up 36% from 284368 in 2006 to 387920 in 2017) in the period under review (Graph 7). Note the largest share of male employment in total. The outbreak of the country's economic crisis affected slightly more female employment (12% retraction in the period 2014-2017) than male employment (11% retraction in the 2014-2017 period).

Graph 7 - Evolution of employments in selected sectors of the creative economy by gender of employees in Brazil - 2006 to 2017

The data are expressive about the changes in the workers' education in the period. Employment of workers with elementary education dropped from 128,457 in 2006 to 70,888 in 2017 (-45% change). The employment of workers with high school education increased from 320,618 in 2006 to 386,626 in 2017 (variation of 21%). Employment of workers with higher education increased from 259,625 in 2006 to 520,355 in 2017 (100% change). With this performance, the participation of employees with higher
education reached 53% of the total in 2017 (Graph 8). Between 2014 and 2017, there was a significant retraction of employees with elementary education (-40% change), while there was a less significant retraction of employees with secondary education (-16% change), remaining practically stable employees with higher education (-1% variation).

**Graph 8 - Evolution of employments in selected sectors of the creative economy by education level in Brazil - 2006 to 2017**

[Graph showing employment trends by education level]

Source: Composition from Brasil (2018).

As for salaries paid to workers, the lowest pay ranges present the largest share of the total creative economy workers in the country during the period investigated. The remuneration range of up to 2 reference salaries varied 42% between 2006 and 2017, while the range between 2 and 5 reference salaries varied 39%; the range between 5 and 10 reference salaries ranged from 40%; the range between 10 and 20 reference salaries varied by 20%; and the range of more than 20 reference salaries declined by 10% over
the same period. All compensation ranges grew until the crisis triggered in 2014, but the lower compensation ranges had a faster expansion vis-à-vis the higher compensation ranges. Between 2014 and 2017, more jobs were lost proportionally in the higher wage brackets (between 10 and 20 reference salaries; and more than 20 reference salaries - 27% retraction in both) than in the other wage ranges, in this interregnum (Graph 9).

**Graph 9 - Evolution of employments in selected sectors of the creative economy by salary ranges in Brazil - 2006 to 2017**

Source: Composition from Brasil (2018).

According to Graph 10, the selected sectors of the creative economy in the country have a predominance of full-time jobs (41h to 44h weekly, and 31h to 40h weekly). All working hours ranges expanded between 2006 and 2017: up to 30h, grew 62%; 31h to 40h, increased 115%; and 41h to 44h, rose 9%. However, only jobs in the range of 41h to 44h of weekly working hours had retraction between 2014 and 2017 (-19% variation). This contributes to clarify the reduction of the higher compensation ranges, as
previously pointed out. Other relevant information refers to the evolution of the jobs according to the time range in the employment: the bonds of 24 months or more expanded throughout the period, while the bonds up to 24 months in the employment expanded between 2006 and 2012, suffering a persistent retraction between 2013 and 2017. The data expresses both the movement of new hires experienced by the creative economy in the country, as well as its deceleration in the face of the economic crisis.

Graph 10 - Evolution of employments in selected sectors of the creative economy by weekly working hours ranges in Brazil - 2006 to 2017

Therefore, creative economy employment in the country has grown more than in the rest of the economic sectors. The speed of this expansion is higher among older male workers with higher education and lower paid ranges. The participation of young workers is still the most expressive. Full-time employment is prevalent in these selected sectors of the creative economy. The economic and employment crisis has affected young and less educated workers most significantly since 2014.
Conclusions

The new materiality of digital technology combined with new identities and the consequent change in consumption patterns redefines, today, the relationships between technology-art-market that differ, in various aspects, from the mass industrial world. The study on the growth of the creative economy allows us to identify trends in this process, amidst the particularities of the Brazilian economy and society and its conjuncture. This new immaterial economy based on the originality or authenticity of goods and services brings together a set of new sectors and restructured sectors whose performance depends on political-institutional conjunctures and the dynamics of interaction between diverse actors in accessing territorial resources (Burns, 2014; Koster et al., 2013).

Companies and employments in sectors related to the creative economy in the country grow more than in other economic sectors, although still representing small proportion of all economic activity. As pointed out earlier, the speed of this expansion is higher among older male workers with higher education and lower paid ranges. Full time employment is prevalent in the creative economy. However, the recent economic crisis faced by the country ceased this growth, from 2014 onwards, affecting, more significantly, young workers with lower education levels.

Under the stimulus of UNCTAD, actions can be identified in response to this growth of a creative economy in the country, including initiatives by business associations, universities and government agents. However, the country's recent experience still seems to be poorly articulated, with distinct focus and goals, such as income generation and social inclusion, heritage preservation and cultural diversity, environmental sustainability and innovation in cultural business models. This differs from what is found in more consolidated information economics (Flew; Cunningham, 2010; Florida, 2011). In Brazil, there is confusion between creative economy, culture economy and solidarity economy, which may limit the scope and effectiveness of policies and actions in these sectors.
Moreover, differential performance across regions seems to be related to the availability of social resources such as skilled personnel and digital infrastructure. This is consistent with studies that affirm the importance of transforming available resources into territorial assets in the development process of this creative economy. The availability of resources and the ability to use them in the economic process become relevant to explain the flourishing of creative sectors (Markusen; Gadwa, 2010; Tremblay; Darchen, 2011). In this sense, this type of economic activity would not evolve under any conditions, thus depending on the quality of territorial assets and political-institutional conjunctures. The phenomenon does not occur anywhere in the social space, nor does it unfold in the same course, although similar trends are identified.

Therefore, this alerts the analyst to the pertinence of inquiring about the constitution of new development processes on the other side of the crisis, conceiving an open future (Beck, 2018; Castells; Cardoso; Caraça, 2013). In this sense, it is appropriate to indicate the continuation of studies with different approaches and methodologies on the subject in question, considering indeterminations in the process. Debate and scientific criticism can contribute, from different perspectives, to a better understanding and precise outline of this economy and its real reach in an uncertain world. The creative economy can be an alternative contribution to development for certain contexts, even if it is not in itself a solution of economic growth and social welfare.
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