

BORDERLINE CINEMA

by

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Abstract

The term 'Borderline Cinema' may sound strange at first, even for scholars and film aficionados. It may also sound like something unprecedented, modern, a result of the changes and re-adaptations in the film industry that happen through the advances of digital media and new advertising markets. The term connotes a range of possibilities, from national borders to lines between cinema and other forms.

In recent years, driven by the industrialization process and the rapid changes in digital technology happening around the world, new formats of film productions have emerged. One of these new production formats is Borderline Cinema. This type of cinema has existed for years specifically in the Brazilian suburbs, yet it remains largely unknown and marginalized. The process of creating a Borderline production involves more than technical knowledge, but also a social, political and economic conjuncture which is intrinsically linked to the history of Brazilian cinematography.

Despite being marginalized by the mainstream film market, Borderline filmmakers are not entirely excluded from having access to cameras, media, and technology. This creates a form of social engagement with global and local cultures. Nestor García Canclini (1995) and Stuart Hall (2000) define this relation as a form of cultural hybridity that is capable of forming new spatial and social relationships, as well as creating new types of production models.

With the implementation of the incentive law mechanisms in the 1990s, Brazil boosted its film production in the country and created new formats for the sponsoring of cultural activities. Once invisible, Borderline Cinema started to gain attention from the market, which was interested in promoting festivals and debates around these films.

These changes raised questions, such as what are the incentives behind the promotion of Borderline Cinema festivals? Is the scenario for this type of film finally being legitimized in Brazil? After the establishment of incentive laws mechanisms for the cultural sector in Brazil, the country was involved in a conjuncture where the cultural production is directly associated with marketing strategies and commercial appeal, placing Borderline Cinema in a critical position that needs to be analyzed and studied.

This thesis will contribute to the research already undertaken in Brazil by exploring new avenues surrounding the construction of Borderline Cinema in the history of Brazilian cinematography as well its recent market changes. Can Borderline Cinema be considered as a social and political movement that aims to contribute and show the nationalism and regionalism of Brazil, just like Cinema Novo? To answer this question, it is important to debate issues of rurality, colonialism, and post colonialism in the Brazilian context. These topics will allow us to better understand the construction of the Borderline Cinema field, and later on, analyse the changes that are occurring right now.

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List of Abbreviations

SOCINE – Sociedade Brasileira de Estudos de Cinema e Audiovisual (Brazilian Society of Cinema and Audiovisual Studies)

EMBRAFILME – Empresa Brasileira de Filmes (Brazilian Film Company)

CONCINE – Conselho Nacional de Cinema (National Council of Cinema)

IBGE – Instituto Brasileiro de Geografia e Estatística (Brazilian Institute of Geography and Statistics)

FCB – Fundação de Cinema Brasileiro (Brazilian Cinema Foundation)

MINC – Ministério da Cultura Brasileiro (Ministry of Brazilian Culture)

Chapter 1

Introduction and Historical Context

1.1 Connections between Borderline Cinema and my research experience

This research will analyze the current situation of Borderline Cinema in Brazil. While it has been relatively little studied, and sometimes misunderstood, it is rich in cultural and social contrasts. Throughout this thesis, I will analyze the traits of Borderline and its place in the history of Brazilian cinematography. I will also investigate the recent market and financial changes that are occurring around this type of production, which have contributed to giving visibility to this art.

In an effort to analyze these elements, this thesis will be divided into five chapters, including a case study. The first chapter will describe the development of cinema in Latin America, from the 1960s until today. The second chapter will describe the methodology that will be applied for this research. The third chapter will investigate Borderline Cinema, and its characteristics and nuances. The fourth chapter deals with the market changes around the Borderline field, including a case study regarding a film that was produced in the light of the Borderline experience. The fifth chapter sets a scenario for future research.

In this chapter, I will refer to the interactions and changes that, since 1960, have enabled the construction of new formats for film production in Brazil. This aesthetic renewal is happening through a dynamic process that involves economic and governmental measures, as well technology and global changes, extending the borders of a local cinema onto a global scale.

I will here outline some of the factors contributing to the emergence of Borderline Cinema while analyzing ways in which such film production is linked to the social construction of the country.

I am Brazilian, and since my youth, I have always been a film fanatic. However, I spent most of my time being exposed to North American productions, especially Hollywood, and on rare occasions, successful European mainstream movies, such as '*Le Fabuleux Destin d'Amélie Poulain* (2001)', '*Amarcord* (1973)', and '*Talk to her* (2002)', for example. I was not interested in researching foreign film productions, because, in my view, Hollywood was providing me with the entertainment that I needed at the time.

When I entered university for the first time in 2011, my interest in films had changed. I was enrolled in the Communication program and had just started conducting research on cultural and regional appropriations through television and propaganda. As I graduated with a specialization in Publicity and Advertising, most of my research has always been geared towards the understanding of mainstream products, rather than local markets, as my current topic of research on Borderline cinema indirectly commits itself to do.

During my four years as an undergraduate student, I studied a communication process known as folkcommunication. According to Severino Lucena, this word has its origin in the Latin word *communicare*, which means, "sharing, transmitting stimuli, exchanging ideas, feelings, information and meanings, and the word 'folk' meaning people. The joining of these two terms, folk + communication results in the single word folkcommunication that in broad terms means the communication in the popular sphere" (translated by the author 2012:17).

While there are similarities between folklore studies and the folkcommunication field, as both deal with folkloric representations, the latter is more centered on understanding the ways in which popular artifacts and manifestations are appropriated by the hegemonic media spaces.

Authors such as Maria Erica de Oliveira Lima, Luiz Beltrao de Andrade Lima, Severino Lucena, and Jose Marques de Melo, are some of the scholars that have developed studies around the folkcommunication field. The research group ‘Rede Folkcom’¹ was created in 1998 by Brazilian scholars with a focus on debating the issues of folkcommunication theory. Every two years, participants of the group reunite for a Brazilian conference as well an international meeting, which brings together hundreds of scholars from different parts of the world. The studies resulting from these events are published in the International Journal of Folk Communication² periodically and have contributed to expand the knowledge surrounding the field of popular communication in Brazil.

The field of folkcommunication is useful for the study of Borderline Cinema as they both deal with issues of locality and identity, and its dissemination through various forms of mass media, expressions, and ideas. Like Borderline Cinema, folk-communication is studied by very few scholars, mostly in Portuguese speaking countries like Brazil and Portugal. These researchers also face resistance within the academy regarding the veracity of the folk-communication theory, mostly driven by the little international acceptance of this term.

Some examples of folk-communication can be found in famous Brazilians soap operas. Television shows can appropriate cultural characteristics, such as accents, clothes, and food, among others, to recreate narratives that are based on regionalities and that can carry much folkloric content. This cultural production is then adapted to reach mass audiences through marketing and advertising strategies that aim to entertain the public by using local and rural apparatus.

¹ Research group ‘Rede Folkcom’. Available at <http://www.redefolkcom.org/sobre-rede-folkcom/> Accessed June 14, 2018. Web.

² International Journal of Folkcommunication. Available at <http://www.revistas.uepg.br/index.php/folkcom/index> Accessed June 4, 2018. Web.

In the folk-communication field theory, author Maria Erica Lima argues that “the folkloric manifestation arises from the community, from the creation of the people, from their traditional culture, or from hybridization with elements from other cultures. Variants of the same folkloric manifestation can be found in different localities since these had common origins, but they present differences in their interpretation” (translated by the author, 2013: 98). This raises the question, what is the relationship between folkcommunication and Borderline Cinema? At first, they are both Brazilian categorizations that suffer from the lack of acceptance, especially from academia. This is caused, in part, by the distancing of Brazilian researchers in accepting cultural theories that do not receive international academic support, especially from North America and Europe. Secondly, the content is also important, as both fields deal with the influence of global cultures on popular representations, especially within the media.

Borderline Cinema is produced by self-taught directors, and people from the smaller cities of Brazil. It is a relatively new phenomenon, although it is not possible to determine for how long this type of production has been around. Brazilian scholars such as Gelson Santana and Bernadette Lyra from the University of Sao Paulo are some of the researchers that have analyzed and conducted research about Borderline Cinema, having released books and articles on this subject. As mentioned previously, it is not well understood when Borderline Cinema had its beginnings, or even when the first productions began to have commercial appeal around Brazil, but what is certain is that these films bring in their composition a certain authenticity that differentiates them from mainstream films which we are accustomed to watching.

Borderline Cinema carries some specific characteristics, which makes it unique in nature, such as: the precarious use of technical tools; the presence of more than one cinematographic genre in a single film; local and regional scenarios; little or zero financial resource to produce the

movies; and the use of digital platforms as the main channel of distribution. What makes Borderline Cinema so difficult to classify, while being close to so many other movements and film genres – such as cult, experimental, trash, innocent and marginal cinema³ is precisely in the way these films are produced.

The reason for this distinction can be explained in several ways, which will be examined in this thesis. As much about Borderline Cinema is still unknown and invisible, this thesis aims to contribute to the development of research surrounding this topic, placing Borderline Cinema in the history of Brazilian cinematography, as well focusing on the recent market changes that influence how Borderline Cinema is perceived.

It is essential to analyze how these market changes are impacting the productions and set a possible future scenario for the Borderline field. What is the context of production and emergence? Can Borderline Cinema be only considered as an experimental production? What cinematic elements are included in the films, and in what circumstances do they differ from the ones used in the so-called industrial movies?

The scholars who are studying Borderline Cinema, are currently developing their research through the Brazilian society of cinema studies (Socine), and also through the research group "Formas e imagens na comunicação contemporânea", linked to the graduate program in Communication Studies of the Brazilian university of Anhembi in Morumbi, located in the capital of São Paulo, Brazil.

The term “borderline” was initially coined by researchers at the Contemporary Cultural Studies Center at the University of Birmingham, who described it as, “a product produced on the borders/edges of our society”. According to them, a Borderline product can be considered low

³ Cinematographic movements that present similar characteristics to the object of study of this research and that will be analyzed later on throughout this paper.

culture or pertaining to a subculture and faces much resistance from our society mainly due to its nature. In Brazil, the Borderline Cinema term initiated from the conception given by author Bernadette Lyra to the term 'Border Culture' that was originally presented in the article 'Heterônimos e Cultura das Bordas: Rubens Lucchetti' by author Jerusa Pires Ferreira. Jerusa says:

Com Bordas quero enfatizar a exclusão do centro, aquilo que fica numa faixa de transição entre uns e outros, entre as culturas tradicionais reconhecidas como folclore e a daqueles que detém maior atualização e prestígio, uma produção que se dirige, por exemplo, a públicos populares de vários tipos, inclusive àqueles das periferias urbanas (Ferreira, 1990:171)

The presence of borders serves to emphasize the exclusion of everything that is not legitimized by the mainstream culture. Borders thus express a 'transition culture' that is located between popular, commercial, and marginalized cultures. The process of globalization and digital access has enabled people worldwide to produce their own films and reach a broad audience, resulting in Borderline productions expanding significantly, reaching all types of excluded communities.

1.2 Third World Cinema in Latin America

Since its origin, cinema has undergone several modifications: it went through the projection apparatus invention in France in 1895, there was the introduction of sound in films, the passage of black and white images to the colored ones, and the digitalization of the productions. Nowadays, cinema establishes itself as more than just a financial industry, but also

a lifestyle, capable of providing entertainment to diverse communities, generating jobs, and building social and political dialogues.

Flavio Mascarello Costa says that there wasn't a unique way of discovering cinema. Instead, it was a mix of inventions and apparatuses that led to the enhancement of technical sources capable of creating quality videos and narratives, such as "perfection in photographic techniques, the invention of celluloid (the first flexible photographic medium, that allowed the passage through cameras and projectors) and the application of techniques of greater precision in the construction of projection apparatuses" (translated by the author 2006:18). It is safe to say that the history of cinema involves not only the technical and digital inventions that have undoubtedly contributed to the enhancement of this art but also the creative narratives and popular characters that originated a space for the construction of ideas capable of captivating the audience imagination.

According to Michael Chanan, "moving pictures first reached Latin America with representatives of the Lumière brothers, who sent out teams around the world on planned itineraries designed to sweep up on the fascination which the new invention created everywhere; two teams went to Latin America, one to Rio de Janeiro, Montevideo, and Buenos Aires, the other to Mexico and Havana" (1996:427). The audience of these movies was primarily an urban one, limited to cities connected by some sort of public transportation.

With the monopoly of the North American and European cinemas, that were considered of the first world, or first cinema, the films of countries considered underdeveloped, like Latin America and Africa, were subordinated to a category that became known as 'Third Cinema' or 'Third World Cinema.' Third World cinema films were concerned with distancing themselves from the North American and European narratives by displaying a more realistic portrayal of life

and emphasizing topics such as national identity, poverty, regionalism, and other cultural practices.

The term “Third Cinema” was coined by Argentine filmmakers Fernando Solanas and Octavio Getino, the producers of *La hora de los hornos* (1968; *The Hour of the Furnaces*), one of the best-known Third Cinema documentary films of the 1960s, in their manifesto ‘Hacia un tercer cine’ (1969; ‘Toward a Third Cinema’). Third Cinema began in Latin America in 1967 with strong anticolonial aesthetics, experimental film techniques, and an invitation to explore new movie formats and scenarios (LeBlanc, 2014). According to Antonio Solanas and Octavio Getino, “third cinema is, in our opinion, the cinema that recognizes in that struggle the most gigantic cultural, scientific, and artistic manifestation of our time, the great possibility of constructing a liberated personality with each people as the starting point - in a word, the decolonisation of culture” (1968: 04).

According to Luisela Alvaray, “for many years, and primarily for critical discourse, referring to the cinema of the subcontinent was to allude to a corpus of films that would serve the transformation of the so-called underdeveloped societies; a cinema consciously utilized to inform the political through aesthetic means, and vice versa” (2008: 48). Globalization and market expansion helped revitalize Latin America Cinema and create opportunities for new filmmakers to break away from social boundaries and produce notable profitable movies, thanks to foreign investments, government incentives, and regulations laws. “It is, however, critical to emphasize that different film industries move at different paces and are contingent to distinct social and political processes. Hence, Venezuelan, Peruvian, or Chilean cinemas, just to mention three contrasting examples, have achieved a lesser dimension than the three major industries-those of Mexico, Brazil, and Argentina” (ibid.: 49).

1.3 Cinema Novo and the surge for national identity

Brazil's famous Cinema Novo shares similarities with the less famous Borderline Cinema. It also stands as an important context of emergence, and thus we must analyze Cinema Novo to understand better how Borderline films have developed. If we take into consideration the Cinema Novo characteristics such as the regional and rural elements of its productions, and the artistic expressions used by their directors, we can already observe the influence of this movement in establishing a solid foundation for Borderline productions.

From the 1930s, Latin America awakened the curiosity and interest of many foreign filmmakers, who were seeking exotic landscapes and beautiful women for their movies. This influence continued until the mid-twentieth century, in addition to the changes in the cinematographic narrative provided by Italian Neorealism and the French Nouvelle Vague. By 1950s, the cinema culture started to take shape in Latin America, and the field was now more open to experimental and alternative movies, captivated by the essence and narratives of young filmmakers that started to explore the Latin American landscape from a different perspective, and not the exotic and erotic view that Hollywood established before.

It was during the 50s that the most innovative phase of Latin American cinema happened, as the cultural sector started to stimulate and value important social and political discussions. This new phase was known as 'New Latin America Cinema' or 'Cinema Novo'. This movement emerged as a reaction to Hollywood hegemonic cinema, as a way of showing the independence of Latin American cinema in relation to mainstream productions. In Brazil, the movement originated during the 60s from the desire of Brazilian directors and producers in creating a new and authentic Brazilian cinema.

The movies of this period⁴ were focused in producing independent and inspiring stories as well regional narratives, thus distancing themselves from the Hollywood mainstream productions. Author Zaira Zarza (2010), states that the characteristics of some of the films produced during the Cinema Novo phase showed a grave concern in reporting the social problems of the time, especially hunger, as well as producing its own narratives focused on exalting the fullness of Brazilian popular culture. Young filmmakers, including Glauber Rocha, Joaquim Pedro de Andrade, Paulo César Saraceni, Leon Hirszman, David Neves, Carlos Diegues, Nelson Pereira dos Santos, among others, reunited to establish a new phase of modern Brazilian Cinema.

Cinema Novo director Glauber Rocha, in his manifesto ‘The Aesthetic of Hunger’, argues there is a specific point of view of the European observer on Latin American art, which Glauber described as ‘nostalgia for primitivism’. The term is used to demonstrate how Latin America continues to be seen as a colonial and impoverished territory, having its political and economic processes dependent on other ‘first world nations.’

Cinema Novo is an ongoing process of exploration that is making our thinking clearer, freeing us from the debilitating delirium of hunger. Cinema Novo cannot develop affectively while it remains marginal to the economic and cultural process of the Latin American Continent. Because the New Cinema is a phenomenon belonging to new peoples everywhere and not a privileged entity of Brazil (1965: 02)

⁴*Vidas Secas* (1963), based on the novel wrote by Graciliano Ramos and directed by Nelson Pereira dos Santos, *Terra em Transe* (1967) by Glauber Rocha, *Caminhos* (1957) and *Arraial do Cabo* (1960), by Paulo César Saraceni, are some examples of films that were produced during Cinema Novo.

The films produced during this phase would face much resistance from specialized critics, who considered the Cinema Novo productions of low quality and a mere product of a cultural rebellion on the part of the young filmmakers. On the other side, the Cinema Novo directors narrate that they were searching for the meaning of Brazilian cinema in a period where money and distribution channels were scarce, and there was almost no visibility for the production of local films. According to Maria Carvalho, the Cinema Novo movies had the following characteristics:

The low technical quality of the films, the involvement with the problematic social reality of an underdeveloped country, filmed in an underdeveloped way, and the aggressiveness in the images and themes used as a creative strategy would define the general features of Cinema Novo, whose emergence is related to a new way of living life and cinema, which could be done only with “a camera in hand and an idea in the head (*uma câmera na mão e uma idéia na cabeça*)” – phrase that later became the motto of this movement (translated by the author 2006: 290-291).

According to Zarza (2010), the Cinema Novo movement is divided into three different phases. The first phase, from 1960-1964, was where more realistic productions were being filmed, and they brought narratives surrounding the anxieties and yearnings of the more impoverished communities in Brazil. The second phase (1964-1968) is marked by intense political activism, in the search for a better judicial system and humanitarian conditions for the Brazilian population. The last phase (1968-1972) is considered a lighter phase, due to the repressions and censors that forbade many productions from being displayed.

It was during its last phase that Cinema Novo experienced significantly the retaliation of the military dictatorship in Brazil (1964-1985), which lasted twenty-one years and is still

bitterly remembered by the Brazilian population. During the late 70s, there was strong censorship directed at filmmakers, artists, and any cultural manifestation. Many directors, producers, and singers were arrested, tortured, or even exiled outside the country.

This scenario made it even more difficult for directors and filmmakers to discuss the ‘original project’ of what Cinema Novo proposed to do: to openly discuss Brazil, “emphasizing social issues or communities of people with no voice in society, showing the ‘real’ Brazil and developing a Brazilian way of making ‘cinema de verdade’ or – real, truth cinema” (Mascarello, 2006: 298). It was during the proclamation of the most anti-democratic act in the history of Brazil, which happened during the military dictatorship, known as AI 5 (*Ato Institucional Número 5*) or Institutional Act Number 5, that the Brazilian film production suffered its most severe interruption, marked by intense fear and lack of freedom to produce any movie whatsoever.

Despite all the difficulties that many Cinema Novo directors, producers, and critics had suffered, this phase in the film history of Brazil carries an essential and invaluable historical reference, and it certainly helped shape the contemporary scenario in the media and cinema field that we have today in Brazil.

1.4 Contemporary Brazilian Cinema and Cinema de Retomada

With Cinema Novo, Latin America displayed a more authorial character, emphasizing its regional and local productions, the styles of each country, and trying to distance itself from the Hollywood standards. Like Cinema Novo, another social and artistic movement was created during the 60s, and it was called ‘Marginal Cinema’. The model of film production proposed by

the Marginais was to question the entire cinematographic policy and its standard model⁵. There was, therefore, a significant desire of going against the mainstream system. The movement was also primary urban and was concentrated in the big Brazilian cities of São Paulo and Rio de Janeiro.

This movement advocated for a counterculture, an anti-aesthetics (or *estetica do lixo/trash esthetic*), and an artistic rebellion that was influenced by the Tropicalismo⁶ movement. One of the main characteristics of the Marginal Cinema was the use of urban aesthetic elements, advertisements, novels and mass media to display its vision. The Cinema Marginal also used segments of eroticism and surrealism in its films. The leading directors of this movement were Carlos Reichenbach, João Callegaro, and Carlos Alberto Ebert. Some notable films which are part of their work include: '*As Libertinas* (1969)', produced by Carlos Reichenbach, and '*República da traição* (1970)'.

It is safe to say that Cinema Marginal is undoubtedly a cinema of opposition to the Cinema Novo movement. There were differences not only in the aesthetics of both film movements but also in the personality of the directors. While the young Cinema Novo filmmakers idolized the Europeans and their productions, the Marginais were fans of American directors such as Hitchcock.

The end of this movement takes place in the same way that happened with the Novo Cinema - with many of its directors being forced to leave the country due to the military regime. By the end of the 80s, with the decline of the military regime and during the process of re-democratization of the country, an economic crisis shook, among several sectors, the audiovisual

⁵ One of the film genres originated during this period was the '*Cinema da Boca do lixo*' (Mouth of garbage). Cinema da Boca do Lixo was responsible for the production of several low-budget movies, mostly focused on genres such as sex comedies, later known as '*Pornochanchadas* and *Chanchadas*'.

⁶ Tropicalia or Tropicalismo was a Brazilian artistic movement that arose in the late 1960s. The movement was characterized by a combination of the popular Brazilian culture with foreign influences.

market. There was a severe closure of many movie theaters around the country, as the population went through a difficult financial period.

The situation worsened in the 90s, when Fernando Collor de Mello, the first president to be elected in by a democratic regime, suspended through provisional measures almost all the incentive mechanisms for film productions. It was only in 1995, with the election of President Fernando Henrique Cardoso, that Brazilian Cinema returned to 'existence'. Fernando Henrique Cardoso's government created laws to encourage and raise funds to make cinema viable, stimulating private sponsorship based on fiscal and tax renunciation in exchange for investments in Brazilian productions (Mega, 2015). This phase is known as 'cinema de retomada', or 'returning cinema'. During this stage, the production of fictional and documentary films increased, and "there was the establishment of partnerships between cinema and television, which led to the adaptation of many Brazilian soap opera narratives to the big screen. Major television stations, such as Rede Globo produced dozens of movies based on its own TV shows" (Macarello, 2006: 290).

Unlike many Novo Cinema and the Marginal Cinema filmmakers, who invested in experimental productions and, in most cases, remained indifferent to the incentive laws and the market changes, the 'Cinema de Retomada' wanted high production values and to present narratives similar to North-American movies, especially Hollywood. Therefore, the Brazilian movies were no "longer linked to specific genres or themes or wanted to be associated with any social and political movement" (Mascarello, 2006: 293). Instead, they went through a vast variety of subjects, with the use of new formats, narratives, and technologies. An example of a film that was produced during the period was '*Cidade de Deus*' (2002), directed by Fernando Meirelles.

Regarding the current phase of Brazilian Cinema, some scholars, such as Maria Erica de Oliveira Lima (2010) and Sebastiao Albano (2010) believe that the ‘Cinema de Retomada’ period can be no longer applied, as much has already been produced and exported since the initial phase of this period. Author Maria Erica argues that the current period should be called the ‘New phase of digital cinema’ (Lima, 2010), which resembles modern and contemporary cinema. Regardless of the name we give to the cinema phase we are living in today, the current scenario for Brazilian productions is positive, with more and more films being produced annually than in the previous period. In 2016, according to the Brazilian National Film Agency (ANCINE), 143 films were released in Brazil. In all, 184.3 million viewers watched a movie at a cinema theater, generating a gross income of R\$ 2.6 billion. Brazilian films accounted for 30.4 million tickets sold, the highest level since the 1990s.⁷

⁷ According to the Brazilian National Film Agency (ANCINE). Available at: <https://oca.ancine.gov.br/> Viewed June 13, 2018. Web.

Chapter 2

Conceptual Framework

2.1 Introduction

Cinema has been a field of study for researchers since the early 20th century. Because of its dynamic characteristics, cinema is always changing, either through technical or narrative resources. Through its history, cinema went from the first paid exhibition of a projection screen in 1885 at the Grand Café in Paris⁸, accomplished by the famous Lumiere brothers, to the digital and interactive format that we know today.

For scholars, the attraction for this art is in part due to its multifaceted character, which allows its exploration from diverse practices and theories in the cultural and media fields. This diverse range of concepts and ideas allows researchers to study cinema as more than a simple commercial representation, but also as an essential social tool. The technological, economic and social dimension of cinema outlined above serves as a vast platform upon which to unfold the historical setting that led to the emergence of Borderline Cinema in Brazil. The theoretical framework that follows is based on an interdisciplinary approach grounded in the politics of popular film production that has recently received market attention.

⁸ This phase marks the first public and paid exhibition of a film screening by the Lumière brothers in 1895 at the famous Grand Café in Paris. This historical event is known as the “beginning of cinema”. From then on, cinema went through different eras, phases, and schools. The first phase of cinema is dated from its *creation* in 1895 until mid-1910s.

The interdisciplinary nature of Cultural Studies allows me to analyze *Borderline Cinema* in Brazil as a process of cultural production that is directly linked to the historiography of Brazilian Cinema. In particular, the 1960s and 1970s liberation movements, such as *Cinema Novo* and *Cinema de Retomada*, were responsible for giving a new identity to Brazilian Cinema by constructing original narratives that were focused on showing the realities of the country. This approach is predicated in the understanding that Cultural Studies is, “concerned with describing and intervening in the ways cultural practices are produced within, inserted into, and operate in the everyday life of human beings and social formations, so as to reproduce, struggle against, and perhaps transform the existing structures of power” (Grossberg 2010:7-8) .

When referring to identity, this thesis will build a narrative that seeks to investigate how film production in Brazil helps to articulate the historical power relations that exist in the country. In looking at this newer generation of film producers that have recently enjoyed more market and critical attention, including *Borderline Cinema* and other local film productions, one encounters a narrative that seeks to gain new territory by establishing a dynamic process of what Nestor García Canclini (1997) calls ‘cultural hybridization’ .

The term hybrid cultures can be defined as a disruption between the barriers that separate what is considered modern, traditional, and cult from what is seen as popular or created by the popular mass of society. In other words, “cultural hybridization consists of the miscegenation between different cultures, that is, a cultural heterogeneity present in the quotidian of the modern world” (Arrais, 2011: 283). In the case of *Borderline Cinema*, the hybridity is built from the following: national cinema, Hollywood cinema, local/popular cultural forms, and cross-platform digital forms.

The studies surrounding Borderline Cinema are directly linked to the studies of popular cultures, and the changes triggered by the process of globalization and its developments, such as transculturation, cultural heterogeneity, globalization, and hybridism. However, given the cultural heterogeneity present in the daily life of the modern world, these new formats of cultural organization and hybridization of traditional classes and ethnicities requires us to analyze the studies regarding Borderline Cinema with more than just one conceptual tool.

I am also motivated by the ways in which the Brazilian government and the industry play a role in the process of identity for film production in the country. The historical process of globalization has enabled people worldwide to produce their own movies and narratives, thus contributing to the creation of national identities, which is situated within a postcolonial context. Thinking of the studies regarding films that are produced on the borders of our society, how does one analyze the cultural manifestations which do not fit in the cult, experimental or the mainstream style of film production?

To answer this question, I will analyse how the process of globalization, including the cinematographic market and its systems, can create or impact the emergence of new formats of cultural productions. According to Canclini, new technologies bring about new production tools and spaces for the construction of new cultures and ideas. “This process, which is linked to globalization and its immediate reproduction of things, reduce distances and is responsible for revealing multiculturalism” (1995: 307). Canclini also states, “cultures are no longer grouped into fixed and stable parameters” (2011: 304). The fall of these cultural barriers within the same society requires a reformulation of the old concepts and theories that were based on the assumption that communication in society was established in concentrated and delimited spaces, without the recognizing other forms of culture.

If we analyze Borderline Cinema based through the concept of cultural hybridization exposed by Canclini (1995), we will be able to observe some important aspects that allow us to glimpse new perspectives of analysis for the understanding of the processes of recognition, territorialities, and interpretation, that is embedded in the concept of Borderline Cinema.

In this thesis, I argue that while Borderline films are engaging in more than just a local setting in Brazil through the exhibition in national festivals, financial bursaries, and industry support, there are unequal power relations at play, which can influence the production processes as well the content and distribution of these films.

2.2 A working definition of borders

Examining borders or popular culture in the Latin American context, with its intense cultural plurality, and ethnic and cultural mestizaje seems questionable at first. What is meant by borders? How does the notion of borders relate to popular culture? As many theorists point out, such as authors Jerusa Pires and Bernadette Lyra, the first step is to determine what one means by borders. As mentioned previously, the notion of Borderline Cinema had as a main methodological support the definition provided by author Jerusa Pires Ferreira on the idea of ‘border culture’. This notion of ‘borders’ or ‘exclusion’, according to Lyra “serves to understand a cinema that not only fits into the concept of margins, that is, something eccentric and peripheral, but that is also included in a type of production that for many years was put aside from our society” (2006: 131).

In the Borderline Cinema field, there is another ‘barrier’ that can be identified and is linked to the authenticity of this type of cinema. In Brazil, there is a historical (mis)conception that treats with some disdain, any nationally formulated theory that does not receive international legitimization. As a country with a robust elitist character, where more than half of the population⁹ still does not have access to universities nor post-secondary education¹⁰, it is relatively common for academic institutions to choose at their sole criterion and good interest, the theories and studies that should be addressed.

This practice leads to the understanding, especially in the cinematographic field, that only those theories that fit the commercial or artistic standards must be analyzed. It goes without saying that such a criterion of selectivity is harmful not only to the studies of the traditional and relevant theories of the audiovisual field but also to those that need more attention and comprehension, such as Borderline Cinema. The neglect of alternative and experimental forms ends up depriving the Brazilian society of knowing more about the construction of our own country, with its multi-ethnicities and social contrasts, which has helped shape the history of our nation.

It is not known when Borderline Cinema emerged, or even when the first such film was produced. The first studies are dated from the year 2005 and intended to catalog certain films that were produced outside the Brazilian commercial axis, away from metropolis such as Rio de Janeiro and São Paulo. According to the authors, such as Gelson Santana and Bernadette Lyra, Borderline Cinema emerged from the need to catalog the productions that were being made in Brazil using an appropriate designation that could define them. There was already an

⁹ According to the 2016 National Institute of Studies and Educational in Brazil, only 15,3% of the Brazilian population aged 25 or more have access to higher education.

¹⁰ National Institute of Studies and Educational Anísio Teixeira (INEP). Brasília, Brazil, [n.d]. Viewed May 01, 2018. http://portal.inep.gov.br/artigo/-/asset_publisher/B4AQV9zFY7Bv/content/mec-e-inep-divulgam-dados-do-censo-da-educacao-superior-2016/21206 Web.

understanding on the part of the academy that such productions could be framed in other film genres, such as experimental cinema or paracinema, however, for the authors, such denomination lacked appropriate references that could fit Borderline Cinema in these two movie genres.

The author Bernadette Lyra describes in her essay ‘The peripheral experience of the borders in the Brazilian Cinema (2006)’ when the Borderline Cinema term was first introduced to scholars during a congress meeting titled ‘Putting the pieces together, recycling the garbage: on the borders of Brazilian cinema’. This debate was part of the IX Meeting of the Brazilian Society of Cinema and Audiovisual (2005), that took place in the city of São Leopoldo in the state of Rio Grande do Sul at the Unisinos University.

After this initial introduction to the term, the author was joined by a group of researchers that introduced the studies surrounding Borderline Cinema. Together, the scholars created the Independent Group of Borderline Film Studies (Grupo Independente de Estudos de Cinema de Bordas in Portuguese). This group is responsible for most of the studies and activities that involve analyzing and cataloging these productions. According to Lyra, the Borderline Cinema studies in Brazil are slowly emerging, “thus there is no concrete theory or methodology that can simply summarize the understanding of this phenomenon” (Lyra, 2006: 2).

2.3 Borderline Cinema and National Identity

The process of globalization has allowed many producers to gain more space in the audiovisual field, driven by the easy access to new digital technologies and narrative techniques.

According to Martine Danan, this so-called post-national phase of film production represents a significant “move away from the protectionist and interventionist approach to a film culture able to transcend national boundaries” (1996: 77).

In other words, the post-national filmmaking was capable of overcoming these borders by promoting and increasing the cultural exchange between film professionals and the global market. Applying this notion to Brazil, this change allowed many amateur and independent filmmakers to produce films that were focused on displaying the reality of the entire country, thus having a social engagement with local communities that were usually located outside of the traditional Rio de Janeiro and Sao Paulo hub of film production.

To understand the relation between Borderline Cinema and the complex issue of a search for national identity within Brazilian Cinema, my framework will engage with both transnationalization and post-colonial perspectives (Shaw, Lisa, and Dennison, Stephanie 2007). According to Andrew Higson, the concept of post-national cinema describes films that embrace multiculturalism, difference, and hybridity (2008: 04). “Identity is far too complex an issue to be reduced to nationality. It is in this context that it seems worth persisting with the use of the term post-national” (ibid).

The post-colonial studies will provide this thesis with a significant theoretical contribution to understand how the movements of resistance and subversion are historically related to continents such as Africa, Asia and South America (Nayar, 2016: 199). In Brazil, the emergence of ‘Cinema Novo’ in the 60s and 70s articulated this resistance and was responsible for portraying the realities of the marginalized communities of the country, mostly located in the northern areas of the country. Directors such as Glauber Rocha and Nelson Pereira dos Santos symbolized in cinema the ethnic and cultural diversity present in Brazil. Their movies

represented the problematic situation of many ‘nordestinos’ (northeasterners or residents of rural and marginalized areas).

Productions such as ‘*Vidas Secas* (1963; Barren Lives)¹¹ directed by Nelson and based on the literary work of Graciliano Ramos, and ‘*Deus e o Diabo na Terra do Sol*’ (1964; Black God, White Devil)¹², directed by Glauber Rocha, are demonstrations of the post-national cinema that emerged in Brazil and influenced Cinema Novo and its productions, giving an identity to Brazilian cinema. With this phase, filmmakers were capable of introducing a new aesthetic format, alongside new models of production, which was based in revolutionary narratives and ideologies, aiming to revive in the Brazilian society the pleasure for national movies.

The question of ‘national character’ is still present in Brazilian cinema, and to address this gap of the struggle between the regional/national and the post-colonial, this research will engage with the work of authors Fernando Mascarello (2006) and Stephanie Dennison (2012), which argues that film-making in Latin America is still influenced by the idea of the ‘Third World’, or the neo-colonial past. This idea is based on the premise that in Latin America there isn’t room for technical and elite cinema, once the territory itself is undeveloped and dependent from other ‘first world nations.’ This approach allows us to study Borderline Cinema as a type of film production that is positioned in a line between the regional (represented by the rural communities situated in the North and Northeast of Brazil), and the mainstream market of film production.

To understand the multiple dimensions, and the mix of symbolic, economic, and social aspects that are present in the construction of Borderline Cinema in Brazil, this work is focused on analyzing Borderline film simultaneously as a market industry and a popular culture

¹¹ Pereira dos Santos, Nelson, dir. *Vidas Secas*. Film. Rio de Janeiro: Hebert Richers, 1963.

¹² Rocha, Glauber. *Deus e o diabo na terra do sol*. Film. Rio de Janeiro. Copacabana Filmes, 1964.

representation. Not only that, it is important to observe that since 2010 there was an intense market change within the Cinema field in Brazil, influenced by new cinematographic regulations that are today the primary source of financial support for most of the Brazilian productions.

2.4 The construction of Borderline Cinema in Brazilian historiography

The history of Latin American cultural formation is intertwined with the political and economic trajectory of its countries. This history is marked by authoritarian regimes and economic dependence of other countries. “When authoritarian groups try to persuade and establish social norms as an attempt to culturally delimitate our identity as a nation, we are at risk of losing our cultural elements, thus rejecting our ‘multicultural hybrid character’” (Canclini, 2001: 147). In this way, Canclini exposes that much of the artistic and literary production continues being made as a representation of the old traditions and they are mainly produced for a closed audience. However, another part begins to operate in a deterritorialized way by stimulating international exchanges (Lirio de Oliveira: 2001).

The above framework allows me to analyze Borderline Cinema as a film production that circulates through both cultural markets, the regional and globalized. For authors such as Randall Johnson (2007) and Stephanie Dennison (2012), the colonial exploration that occurred in Brazil opened up space for foreign domination of film production. Randall says:

Brazil gained its political independence from Portugal in 1822, and by the mid-nineteenth century, the process of cultural nation-building was under way. With the overthrow of the monarchy in 1889, the First Republic (1889–1930) had settled the many border disputes that had remained unresolved throughout much of the century by the time cinema became established in

the country. That said, it has been argued that as a result of Brazil's neo-colonial Third World status, one of the manifestations of which is the foreign domination of the film market, filmmakers have been necessarily concerned with the ramifications of nationalism (ibid.:02).

“The result of this neo-imperial threat, whether real or imagined, is a greater concern than the search for a national identity within Brazilian films” (Salles, 1998). Other themes linked to the common problems of the Latin American people, such as decolonization (Darlene Sadlier, 2017 and Fatima Cabral, 2002), (Michael Chanan, 1997), and sub-development (Luisela Alvaray, 2011) and Vinicius Navarro, 2017) will serve as a theoretical basis for analyzing the evolution of Borderline Cinema in Brazil.

For the second part of this research, topics such as the new Latin America Cinema (Michael T. Martin 1997), and the issues of globalization and visual culture in post-colonial Brazil (Nestor Garcia Canclini, 2014 and Marcelo Ikeda, 2012) will provide this research with a panoramic view of how the current phase of film production in Brazil is being carried on (with its new film regulation laws), and how that puts the Brazilian cinematographic field in a critical position of industrial market control. This approach leads us at first to a reflection on the issues of social exclusion, centered on Brazil's colonialist and oppressive past. Since the colonization of Brazil¹³, there is a racial intolerance and class division that segregates not only the poorest areas of the country, but also marginalizes communities, and creates a barrier, or a ‘border’, that prevents access to quality education and culture.

¹³ The territory where Brazil is located was discovered on April 22, 1500 by the Portuguese troop of Pedro Álvares Cabral, but it was already habited by local Brazilian natives.

Working with this perspective of exclusion, we can identify how Borderline Cinema is constructed. When referring to ‘borders’, authors such as Bernadette Lyra, Gilson Santana, Alfredo Suppia, and Rosana Soares, define the term as films that are produced away from the big centers or the areas where most of the commercial/cultural services are displayed.

2.5 Industries and policies

This thesis will map the conditions that allow an adequate conceptualization of this type of film production, as well as examining the recent market changes around it. This approach is based on the understanding that Borderline Cinema “meets the demands of a popular production from an erudite society and culture” (Lyra, 2006: 45). This implies the existence of a parallel film production in Brazil, which hopes to fulfill the leisure necessities of communities that have been marginalized for years. Thus, not only was the history of Latin American cinema determinant in shaping the nature of Borderline films, the social contrasts of Brazil and Latin America created a rich field for the development of various cultural manifestations throughout the years.

Moreover, what market changes have been taking place recently in relation to Borderline productions? Where is this phenomenon in relation to what has already happened in the cinematographic field? To answer these questions, I draw on the studies of Latin American film history, and the current scenario of film production in Brazil. What distinguishes these films from mainstream productions is precisely in the way they are produced. The self-taught directors are usually residents in the outskirts of the big Brazilian centers, and they are usually distant

from mediatic transformations and sophisticated technological access. More commonly, these films are treated as independent productions or cultural junk.

I also explore how Borderline movies have a story of their own, which is constantly overlooked. Thus, the focus of this research is methodological, by studying the authors and scholars that have analyzed the film industry, and exploratory, based on bibliographical research and a case study which aims to understand the Borderline productions in Brazil.

Antonio Carlos Gil states, "exploratory research is developed with the aim of providing an approximate general view of a certain fact. This type of research is carried out especially when the subject chosen is little explored, and it becomes difficult to formulate precise and operable assumptions" (2008: 12). I, therefore, historicize this cultural production in a specific contextual moment in Brazil. Furthermore, I understand that since its origins, Borderline Cinema has undergone significant transformations. One of the recent ones being the financial investment of large Brazilian corporations, such as Bank Itaú, that are now sponsoring Borderline film circuits and festivals around Brazilian cities. This is a new scenario for Borderline movies since sponsorships, and fiscal government incentives were previously intended for major market films. From here, I take the analysis of two current and controversial film incentive laws that exist in Brazil: Audiovisual law, and Rouanet Law¹⁴.

As author Fabio Cesnik says, in the late 1990s the State's support for film projects began to take place on a new basis in Brazil, in a different model from the previous cycle (where there was almost no direct support) "with the creation of incentive mechanisms, based on fiscal renunciation, in which individuals or corporations make capital contributions in a given project

¹⁴ The Federal Law of Incentive to Culture is the denomination given to Law nº 8.313 of December 23, 1991. This law is intended to promote cultural investments that can be used by companies or citizens interested in promoting cultural projects.

to later receive deductions in their income taxes” (translated by the author 2005: 149). This new model, which is still used nowadays, represented the introduction of outside investments and the opening to new commercial markets. According to Marcelo Gil Ikeda, the “state began to act in the process of developing the Brazilian audiovisual system only indirectly, stimulating the action of third parties, and no longer intervened directly in the economic process of producing and distributing the films” (translated by the author 2015: 171).

While the financial contributions are still coming from the government through the use of incentive laws¹⁵, many companies, mostly private, still control the choice of the films that receive their support. This means that productions with less visibility, such as *Borderline Cinema*, until very recently remained anonymous, and would hardly be sponsored or chosen to be exhibited at major national festivals.

I indicate that the challenge of my research is to determine why corporations are now choosing to promote *Borderline* movies. Looking at the Brazilian cinematographic past, the early 90s was marked by a difficult scenario in the production of films. This scenario was motivated by the closure of important state film agencies, such as *Embrafilmes* (*Empresa Brasileira de Filmes*) and *Concine* (*Conselho Nacional de Cinema*), during the mandate of former Brazilian President Fernando Collor de Mello (1990 – 1992), which practically reduced investments in this area to zero. The closure of the Brazilian cinema agencies was led by filmmaker Ipojuca Pontes, former Minister of Culture during the mandate of president Fernando Collor. Ipojuca had a market view for Brazilian Cinema and believed that the private sector of the country could solve the issues with Brazilian cinema and not the federal Brazilian government (Autran, 2000).

¹⁵ This topic will be further explored in chapters 3 and 4.

The change in this conjuncture began in 1993, after the impeachment of President Fernando Collor¹⁶, and the approval by the Brazilian Congress of two major regulation laws¹⁷ that would be responsible for changing the field of film production entirely in the country.

With this renaissance of Brazilian cinema after a period of near stagnation, there was a generalized growth of national productions, which received substantial investments through the federal government's fundraising laws. While this subject will be further discussed in the third chapter of this thesis, its contextualization here is important to understand how Borderline Cinema is currently developing in the country, and what makes some of the major Brazilian corporations interested in promoting this type of cinema, which has been marginalized for so long.

The answer to this question lies in the way incentive laws work, which is based on the visibility attributed to the sponsoring companies, and their brands in the films rather than the actual promotion of the culture (Mega, 2015). With this new context, it is important to analyze the changes that are occurring concerning the distribution and consumption of these films. The type of audience for Borderline is now changing as the films are getting more visibility. I recognize the difficulty in presenting concrete data regarding the distribution and cataloging of Borderline movies in Brazil, as a lot of these productions remain anonymous.

In order to present a clear view of what a Borderline movie looks like, the fourth chapter of this thesis will present a case study based on the film *Rambo da Amazonia – O resgate da Professora (Amazon Rambo)*, which was produced in 2016 and tells the story of a soldier that fights against the bad guys in the Amazon jungle. Through a technical analysis of this film, it will be possible to determine the ways that Borderline films are presented.

¹⁶ Fernando Collor de Mello was suspended from office in December 29, 1992, accused of corruption.

¹⁷ Laws nº 8.313 is dated from December 23, 1991 and 8.685/93 is dated from July 20, 1993.

According to Bernadette Lyra, to affirm that there is indeed such a “Borderline Cinema,” it would be necessary to “critically assume the existence of another cinema, of which there would be rules and terms” (2006:12). However, Lyra tries to soften this polemical aspect by linking Borderline Cinema to a type of experience that occurs as a simple “trivial leisure regime,” with no financial gains. The author says that “without attempting to trace the material limits of this same cinema, we intend to verify that there are, in the immutability of forms, conditions for some films to be so called as Borderline” (ibid.:13). It is therefore understood that Borderline Cinema in Brazil is being produced neither as a liberation movement nor as a social escape from the economic and political issues of the country. Rather, Borderline Cinema is a space for creativity, where producers and participants can create and explore different narratives, without any rules and regulations attached.

Lastly, in the Borderline Cinema context, I examine ‘identity’ as a process of cultural production, capable of creating and maintaining the individuality of the people, which is also subject to external influences by the globalized world. Cultural identity is, therefore, “organized around points of difference as well as similarity” (Barker 2000:176). This process of ‘becoming’ “reflects an identity that is constantly being produced and never complete” (Hall 1996: 210). Applying this view to the Borderline Cinema field, we can identify how the search for a ‘national identity’ in the history of Brazilian Cinema can provide us with the ideological tools that are necessary to understand the reasons that led to the appearance and development of this type of cinema in the country. Hall (1996) notes that “...our cultural identities reflect the common historical experiences and shared cultural codes which provide us, as “one people,” with stable unchanging, and continuous frames of reference and meaning beneath the shifting divisions and vicissitudes of our actual history” (ibid.:211).

This conception of cultural or national identity played a critical role in the postcolonial struggle and building of a revolutionary ideology (ibid.). To conclude, as the author Dennison points out, “the post-national films presents us with the opportunity to move away from an entrenched sense of cultural essentialism, that is, viewing films against some kind of series of national identity markers/values and denying their ‘imagined’ status, while disqualifying those that do not speak to such markers” (2012:13).

In this chapter, I have addressed the issues with Brazilian cinema and have identified that they are too complex and go beyond simply dealing with distributors and exhibitors. The lack of encouragement for the development of the cultural sector in the country over the years has left many young people and projects with no space to be developed. There is also general discontent on the part of the Brazilian population with everything that was considered local, which is seen as poor quality, especially when compared to other international productions, mainly Hollywood.

Local producers almost always struggle in finding space to exhibit their movies on the big screens, as most cinema theaters prefer to give space for foreign productions. Due to this scenario, Brazilian films are relegated to exhibition in film festivals in Brazil and the world, which makes their audience very restricted. This is the case for Borderline Cinema and will be examined further in the next chapter.

Chapter 3

Borderline Cinema

3.1 Borderline Cinema practices

In this chapter, I aim to provide specific elements that comprise a Borderline movie. Alongside, I will engage with the social characteristics that are inherently linked to these films. In this sense, I focus my research on the market and cultural changes that are happening around this type of cinema in Brazil, as these new scenarios call for new critical perspectives as well. I also conduct a theoretical analysis of the conditions that contributed to the development of Borderline Cinema in the country.

A more specific – and equally important – question involves the notion of borders themselves. Besides referring to locations which are usually marginalized, what does the notion of borders cinema imply? Is there a sense of inclusion evolving from these films? We can observe that due to the abundance of relatively cheap technological equipment, such as mobile phones and digital cameras, Borderline filmmakers are capable of producing their own films. While there is a sense of digital inclusion caused by the process of globalization, there is also a sense of exclusion as there is no social or governmental policy available to enhance the digital knowledge of these filmmakers.

According to Vinicius Navarro (2017), this sense of inclusion invites us to draw our attention to a particular form of engagement with the social world, and with local identities. A Borderline movie can be interpreted as a conjunction of global and local experiences that directly interfere with the narratives and ambiance of the film. Brazilian researchers Bernadette Lyra and

Gilson Santana propose some specific conditions to help categorize these films, which put them in a state of singularity in relation to other known film classifications.

Borderline films are usually produced away from the big cities, which means far from the economic and cultural centers of film production in Brazil, which are usually concentrated in the cities of Rio de Janeiro and São Paulo. The movies are also produced by self-taught directors, or individuals who do not possess the technical and narrative knowledge about the production of a film: 1. Borderline films follow a particular way of production, and for this reason, cannot (easily) be adapted to any other film category or genre. 2. They are commonly mistaken as being trash or experimental film. This is partly because Borderline films use precarious resources, such as “cheap cameras, nonprofessional actors, ‘pure’ or natural scenarios, among others” (Lyra, 2009: 35). 3. They are also produced without financial or commercial intentions, and its target audience is usually the makers’ own local community that also participates in the production of the film.

Another reason for the films to be interpreted as trash or experimental is due to their visual aesthetics, which can be considered of “low cultural quality,” as it does not accompany the conventional preference presented in films that are produced for a mainstream audience, such as “good quality script and good technical resources (lightning, simple framing, linear arrangement of images” (Lyra, 2009: 37).

The notion of paracinema¹⁸ (Sconce, 1995) and pastiche¹⁹ (Jameson, 1985) seem, at first, to be the cinematic conceptions that come closest to the understanding of Borderline Cinema. On

¹⁸According to Jeffrey Sconce (1995) in his work titled ‘Trashing the Academy: taste, excess, and an emerging politics of cinematic style’ Paracinema is “thus less a distinct group of films than a particular reading protocol, a counter-aesthetic turned subcultural sensibility devoted to all manner of cultural detritus. In short, the explicit manifesto of paracinematic culture is to valorize all forms of cinematic ‘trash’, whether such films have been either explicitly rejected or simply ignored by legitimate film culture (p.372)”.

the one hand, paracinema connects to Borderline Cinema when analyzed within the notion of contrast or opposition in relation to what is considered legit by the cinematographic institutions (Lyra, 2009). In this way, paracinema can be seen as an open place for aesthetic experiments, which differ from the so-called traditional aesthetics found in commercial productions.

According to Jeffrey Sconce, the cataloging of paracinema does not include only the traditional genres of films, such as humor and terror, but also the most diverse genres, such as, “badfilm, splatterpunk, 'mondo' films, sword and sandal epics, Elvis flicks, government hygiene films, Japanese monster movies, beach-party musicals, and just about every other historical manifestation of exploitation cinema from juvenile delinquency documentaries to soft-core pornography” (1995: 372). To Sconce, “paracinema is thus less a distinct group of films than a particular reading protocol, a counter-aesthetic turned subcultural sensibility devoted to all manner of cultural detritus” (ibid.:372).

On the other hand, the notion of pastiche can also be a key to examine Borderline Cinema, as the latter presents characteristics that are similar to the studies of pastiche in the cinema field. Such similarities can include the conjugation of genres and narratives in the same film, where two or more genres can co-exist, such as terror and humor or the combination of an American western style movie with Asian Kung Fu. Borderline filmmakers, however, do not make this combination on purpose, but rather as a mere source of inspiration. As Lyra says, “Borderline films, although situated in the ‘territory of genres,’ are not only the result of the conception of their idealizers but of all the circumstances that surround this conception” (2009:39).

¹⁹ According to the Houaiss Dictionary, pastiche is the "servile imitation of literary or artistic work ". Jameson (1985, p. 18) characterizes pastiche as “parody that lost its sense of humor”.

The film genres presented in the Borderline productions are part of a global influence into the local, which is made possible by a combination of factors that are present in the life of the directors and producers (Lyra, 2009). Some of these factors can include the Hollywood film narratives, the fascination for foreign culture, and the need to feel included in the midst of digital changes. The Borderline Cinema audience sees in the movies the reflections of their own lives, both through the narratives as well as by the local elements that are so commonly present in the movies.

It is understood that Borderline Cinema reflects a social experience of its own that cannot be easily adapted to any traditional film genre. As explained previously, while there are similarities between Borderline Cinema and other film genres already known by the public, such as trash and paracinema, what differentiates Borderline Cinema is its empirical nature, which is shaped by the mix of local/rural and global cultures. Borders here serves to demonstrate not only the localities where the films are being produced, but also the historical marginalization that Brazil has carried out with its cultural field for decades. Through Borderline Cinema, researchers and society, can experience the reality of Borderline Cinema filmmakers through their own lenses and narratives.

3.2 Borderline Cinema and global culture

As mentioned earlier, Borderline filmmakers share stories that are inspired by traditional styles and film genres, especially from North America. Despite this influence, the movies still carry a sense of regionality, or of local belonging. The author García Canclini (2008) calls this the process of ‘cultural hybridization’. It is understood by cultural hybridization, the process of

"mixing" of different cultural matrices. The term is used to address processes related to the relationship between modernization and modernity, as well as tradition and modernity in Latin America. There are many hybrid artifacts and practices that permeate society and, in Canclini's view, the concept gains strength and relevance as it is increasingly intensified by globalizing processes.

García Canclini (2008) seems to observe hybridism through a positive prism that is based, above all, on multiculturalism as a space that enables dialogue between cultures, or as a new factor that results from the clash between two or more different cultures. Canclini points out that postmodern cultures are no longer 'frontier places', but rather "the result of the contact with the 'other', which results in a process of dialogue between different cultures" (2008: 348).

In this sense, cultural hybridism invites us to think of all the "consequences" of these interactions and what cannot be classified as global or local or archaic or modern, but rather what is related in their coexistence. In all places where modernity arrives, hybridization arrives, since it does not break what was traditional, but it inserts itself by mixing characteristics and making the juxtaposition of different temporalities, artifacts and places (Canclini, 2008: 350). Borderline Cinema can be seen as part of this process once it breaks with geographical barriers by mixing in some traditional habits pertaining to rural communities with global digital influences. In this sense, one example is the producers of Borderline films, the majority of whom live in isolated and rural areas of Brazil, and have minimal access to digital equipment, but are still included in the mediatic processes. The process of hybridization also brings in its reflection the (re) configuration of places and identities. As Canclini points out:

The emphasis on hybridization does not enclose only the claim to establish "pure" or "authentic" identities. In addition, it highlights the risk of delimiting self-contained local identities or attempts

to assert themselves as radically opposed to national society or to globalization (Canclini, 2008: 23; translated by the author).

With this, there is a need for inclusion, and especially for interaction, in a society that is becoming more informed every day. With the diversity of products available in the market, at different prices, Borderline filmmakers become part of this system when using digital cameras as well other resources of image and sound to produce and distribute their movies (Lyra, 2009).

Canclini dwells on the role that art can play in understanding the phenomenon of hybridization in Latin America. He states: "The place from which many Latin American artists write, paint or compose music is no longer the city in which they spent their childhood, nor is it the place in which they lived a few years ago, but a hybrid place, in which the places actually lived intersect" (translated by the author 2008: 327).

Cultures today can be analysed as mixed processes that can interact with each other. For many scholars (Canclini, 2008; Hutcheon, 1991), they have become heterogeneous, being no longer possible to refer to 'culture' as something solo or homogenous. This factor was made possible by the intensification of the process of globalization, which led to the shortening of distances and the worldwide spread of media narratives, which are responsible for connecting people worldwide.

For the Borderline Cinema field, the economic and political process of the post 1990s, when Brazil ended its military dictatorship period and entered in a democratic reopening of its political scenario, was an important moment to the cinematographic field, when many filmmakers had the freedom of producing their own narratives without suffering censorship. It was during this period that Brazil started to re-gain access to global influences, through newspapers, magazines, and foreign films, becoming fully immersed in the global exchange.

3.3 Borderline Cinema and the regional aspects

Before dealing with the market changes that are currently happening with Borderline Cinema in Brazil, I call attention to the relevance of the regional factors that characterize these films. As mentioned before, Borderline films carry a strong sense of regionality that is mostly present within the movie narratives and scenarios. It is precisely within this regional aspect that we establish a clear notion of the hybridization process proposed by Canclini (2008) between the global market of film production and Borderline Cinema.

The foreign elements that are present in Borderline films can be seen as a way to incorporate global characteristics, which will be later adopted by Borderline filmmakers in their own way, resulting in a curious mixture of sound and images of heroes, music, and several other references. These references have been remodeled to express the local identities of the Borderline producers (Lyra, 2009: 42). Within these local references, we can see the Brazilian northeast landscapes, local cemeteries, houses, and forests. The narratives of the films also unfold within a mythical localized, almost folkloric, ambiance, but that is still linked to universal references so commonly seen in mainstream movies. One of the most relevant examples that can be observed in the characters of these films—the common heroes. These figures can be a combination of a western hero that fights using Asian martial arts while combating aliens in a cemetery or village.

Following the Cinema Novo aesthetic influence, the post-national film phase in Brazil broke with this concept of linear narrative, bringing into the discussion a new way of making cinema. Because Borderline filmmakers are geographically distant from the production centers and the big cities, most of the films are produced in regions known as 'sertao' or the Brazilian backlands. This area is commonly known as the underdeveloped part of Brazil, and until now

suffers with economic struggles and prejudice. According to Dennison, people from the ‘sertao’ of Brazil, have “historically suffered prejudice at the hands of their southern neighbors, and continue to do, because of their marked accents, style of speech and looks, as well as their supposed social conservatism” (2012:06). This historical prejudice had its origins during the 50s and 60s when the south-central region of Brazil was already vigorously strengthened in relation to the northeastern region. Because of this, the northeast region was seen as a symbol of backwardness and archaic, notions that persist until today (Tolentino, 2002: 197). Despite being marginalized, the northeast region is responsible for most of the cultural production of the country, and has influenced many artists and their poetic landscapes, their population, and their arid land.

According to Dennison, “since the war of Canudos (1897), the ‘sertao’ has been portrayed as a site of the archaic, contrasting strongly with the modernist project of the coastal regions” (2012: 06). The north-eastern culture continues being seen as a place of strong cultural production, that was mainly influenced by the presence of native Brazilian Indians and African slaves during the 18th and 19th century, who kept their traditions despite European colonization. These customs and conventions were passed to the next generations and are celebrated until today.

In the South and Southeastern regions of the country, which has not received the influence of the African population to the same extent as the Northeastern part of Brazil, there is less regional and folkloric representation. This scenario contributes to establish the northeastern region as the base for the greatest Brazilian festivities, such as the traditional party of ‘Festa Junina’, which despite having its origin connected to the northeast region, is celebrated throughout the country.

My premise here is that Borderline Cinema place can serve to educate ourselves about life in Brazil's remote regions and show all the peculiarities of each region of the country. It was necessary for the country to distance itself from the foreign influence, such as the western movies, so that the national cinema could establish the rural theme on the great public, later affirming it as a tradition (Tolentino, 2002: 197). Borderline Cinema commits to showing what 'real' Brazilian identity looks like, just as there is an intention to reveal regional landscapes that define the Brazilian territory. According to Navarro, "the sense of place that crops up in the films is closely related to the dynamic character of social experience. Place, in this sense, has less to do with territorial fixity than the situations that connect different subjects, the relations that make up the social world" (2017:61).

As Doreen Massey writes, "places are not 'points or areas on maps' but instead are 'integrations of space and time [...] woven together out of ongoing stories'" (2005: 130–31). Places, in other words, are related to social experiences and historical constructions. Looking at places and images of the countryside, commonly known in Brazil as 'sertão', reveals itself as a place of living experiences and authenticity in which the arid lands can be more than just a mere cinematographic illustration, but also a place that represents a national identity in Brazilian cinema. The life in the Brazilian sertão is calmer when compared to the way of living in the big cities, such as Sao Paulo and Rio de Janeiro, and relatively safer. The sertão communities are more connected to one another, and solidarity among members is quite common. The ways of speech, clothes, and customs end up becoming "typically of the sertão", making it easy to identify one of its inhabitants.

As mentioned earlier, during the 50s, the sertão appeared as an obstacle to urban development in Brazil. This scenario changed in the 60s due to the movement of the Cinema

Novo, which initiated the discussions for the search for authenticity in Brazilian cinema. “The sertao then began to be treated as an essential part of this quest, but this time it was being shown through a distinctly romantic and nostalgic perspective” (Tolentino, 2002: 198; author’s translation). Therefore, Cinema Novo has brought to light a rich period of discussion on complex economic, social, and cultural issues. The movement aimed to promote, first and foremost, a genuinely Brazilian culture, that could be found not only in the urban spaces, but also in the backlands. By unifying these spaces, Cinema Novo was capable of uniting different cultures and politics in a single project.

3.4 The regional, the national and the post-national in Brazilian Cinema

García Canclini states that “[e]l posmodernismo no es un estilo sino la copresencia tumultuosa de todos, el lugar donde los capítulos de la historia del arte y del folclor se cruzan entre sí con las nuevas tecnologías culturales” (1989: 307). For the author, the historical and folkloric aspects of our society will, at some point, be readapted into the modernization process with its new cultural technologies. “The processes of modernization, in other words, function as the rupture between high and low culture, all due to the requirements of the market” (Robbins, 2011: 57).

The emergence of Borderline Cinema has a complex history that combines different forces, one of them being the search for a sense of identity in Brazilian cinema. As previously mentioned, the Cinema Novo movement had as its main objective, the attempt to distance itself from foreign films by showing a more ‘realistic’ Brazil, focusing on the political and economic

struggles of the country. The films of this period²⁰ portrayed stories with caricature characters, usually coming from the sertao and arid landscapes of the northeast. This period can be seen as an attempt to show the regional as the representative of the Brazilian national cinema.

Glauber Rocha, the most outstanding filmmaker of the Cinema Novo movement, produced and wrote a vast filmography alongside several manifestos²¹ that helped create the project of unifying Latin American cinema. Cinema Novo has instituted new mechanisms for the opening of new forms of producing Brazilian cinema, which is not explicitly linked to the North-American or European film narratives, resulting in a local production of cinema aiming to demonstrate the identity of the Brazilian people. This same understanding also reveals the importance of Borderline Cinema, as it allows us to learn more about these marginalized groups and their everyday experiences. Borderline Cinema, therefore, creates new perspectives, approaches, and ways of pointing out how the continuity of the Cinema Novo ideas are still present, even if indirectly, and are being re-used by the Borderline Cinema communities.

Although Borderline Cinema is an individual creation on the part of its filmmakers, the aesthetic forms that are being used by the producers were only possible due to the manifestations that have arisen with Cinema Novo, which provides the basis for the construction of a regional cinema approach that was much closer to the Brazilian film aesthetic. From this premise, we can conclude that the Cinema Novo movement, which in Brazil had the participation of important filmmakers such as Cacá Diegues, Ruy Guerra, Paulo César Saraceni, Leon Hirszman, David Neves, Joaquim Pedro de Andrade, Luiz Carlos Barreto, Glauber Rocha e Nelson Pereira dos

²⁰ Examples are: '*Vidas Secas* (1962)' produced by Nelson Pereira dos Santos and '*Deus e o diabo na terra do sol* (1964)' by Glauber Rocha.

²¹ In 1965, Glauber Rocha inaugurated a "sequence" of *manifestos* with "The Aesthetics of Hunger", presented during the '*V Mostra de Cinema Latino Americano*. In this *manifesto*, the thematization of hunger presents a metaphorical discussion about the precarious conditions of making movies in an underdeveloped country (Moreno, 2010: 86).

Santos has opened space for the creation of individual projects which can be explored through different narratives (Moreno, 2010: 75).

The early 1990s saw a restructuring of the government mechanisms “that help fund film production in Brazil, which then spurred a resurgence of filmmaking in the country – the so-called *retomada*” (Navarro, 2017: 60). This period marks the post-national Brazilian cinema phase, which is marked by a strong sense of multicultural collaboration. One of the scholars who considered the issue of post-national film-making in relation to Brazil is Fernando Mascarello (2007). The author contextualizes the process of post-national cinema in Brazil as being an attempt to appeal to a global audience and to fit with the global themes and styles.

There is, therefore, according to the author the silencing of the regional to give space to the global market. For S. Dennison, there is not necessarily a rejection or sense of loss in showing the regional and the *sertao* on the screen, “but rather a rejection of Brazilian national cinema’s mission to seek out and celebrate the authentic” (2012:10). Elsewhere Suzana M. Picks writes, “Latin American filmmakers in different countries, in the absence of solid infrastructural and budgetary structures, have adjusted their cultural and economic strategies and operated within viable alternatives, testing intrinsic political contradictions in the cultural arena” (1993: 27).

According to Annm Stock, “post-national practices of making and viewing demand a critical strategy which does not privilege origins, which does not insist upon purity, and which is not intent on closure” (2006: 157). There isn’t a single notion of identity in Brazilian post-national cinema, but rather a combination of factors (rural/urban, north/south), that define the perception of cultural identity in the country, especially in *Borderline Cinema*. Dennison writes:

Thus, the post-national, both in terms of filmmaking and as a critical strategy, presents us with the opportunity to move away from an entrenched sense of cultural essentialism - that is, viewing films against some kind of series of national identity markers/values and denying their 'imaged' status while disqualifying those that do not speak to such markers to a position that encourages us to read Brazilian films within a much wider framework, such as those of World Cinema, film festival/arthouse or commercially driven popular cinema (2012: 12-13).

The issue of nationality in *Borderline Cinema* is particularly complex. Perhaps, most of these issues can be seen in the narratives of these movies. While most characters are presented as being inferior or uneducated, they somehow display a sense of global understanding regarding the use of digital technologies, such as computers, smartphones, etc. This is particularly clear when a movie character is using a computer to find a bad guy or trying to solve a crime mystery, for example. To authors, Dennison and Shaw in their book titled *Brazilian National Cinema*, the issue of nationality in Brazilian cinema bring another problematic question, which is that of inclusion. "If there is one issue which problematizes the national, where the stitching of the neat fit of the national cinemas 'pattern' on the Brazilian filmmaking body comes undone, it is the question of inclusion" (2007: 09).

In Brazil, the problem of social inequality is alarming. Government after government, the problem of income distribution never seems close to ending. There is a clear division between the rich strata of society, who gain access to quality private education, health, and housing, and the poorer classes who are at the mercy of any improvement in their quality of life. The number

of Brazilians living in extreme poverty increased by 11.2% from 2016 to 2018, according to a report published by the Brazilian Institute of Geography and Statistics.²²

According to the same report, almost 15 million Brazilians are living monthly on R\$ 136, or less than 45 Canadian dollars with the current exchange rates.²³ In relation to 2016, the number of people in extreme poverty in the country increased by 1.49 million. With this enormous social gulf, only the richest people can have access to a healthy and stable quality of life. “Thus, the argument for a national cinema is complicated by the fact that the vast majority of the population is removed from the opportunity and process of writing, directing, producing, starring in and even watching films” (Dennison and Shaw, 2007: 10). Despite the growth in access to technology made by the Brazilian government in recent times, through programs of digital qualification²⁴, the vast majority of the population still does not have the basic knowledge necessary even to use a computer.

In Brazil, the first initiatives to provide Internet to the general public began in 1995 with the role of the federal government (through the Ministry of Communications and the Ministry of Science, Technology, and Innovation) to deploy the necessary infrastructure and set parameters for further operation of private companies to provide access to users. Programs such as ‘Hacker Aprendiz’, ‘Um Computador por Aluno (One computer per student)’ and ‘Estrategias para transformacoes digitais (Strategies for Digital Transformation)’, allows citizens to use computers and the internet in specific spaces, and have access to job opportunities as well participating in vocational courses and workshops.

²² National Continuous Household Sample Survey (PNAD) in collaboration with the Brazilian Institute of Geography and Statistics. Data available at <https://www.ibge.gov.br/estatisticas-novoportal/sociais/trabalho/17270-pnad-continua.html?=&t=microdados>. Viewed June 14, 2018. Web.

²³ Based on exchange rates of June 14, 2018.

²⁴ The *Hacker Aprendiz* government program aims to provide access to digital tools and contents to young people in a response to the growing demand for skilled labor.

Brazil currently occupies the 80th position in the Global Competitiveness Index (GCI)²⁵, which measures the technological competitiveness of countries with respect to their economic and social development. The position is critical and shows that despite the efforts of the Brazilian government in creating digital programs, majority of the population is still unaware of the digital changes. The distance today is not primarily geographical, but economic (rich, poor, the concentration of income inequality), cultural (effective access for continuing education), ideological (different ways of thinking and feeling), and technological (access and domain or not having communication technologies).

The income inequalities are certainly a distinctive factor of Brazilian history, which is also present in the technological sector. Due to the high price of internet and cable TV services, many Brazilians are not capable of purchasing a computer or paying for internet bills. For Borderline filmmakers, having a National Broadband Plan that provides users with faster and better-quality service, may represent a significant expansion in terms of production and distribution.

3.5 Incentive laws and Brazilian Film Industry

To analyze cinema in Brazil requires an understanding of all the social, political, and economic factors that built the Brazilian film industry. The cinematographic field in the country went through periods of great successes and failures that were important to define the development of the audiovisual market.

²⁵ Available at <http://agenciabrasil.ebc.com.br/pesquisa-e-inovacao/noticia/2018-03/programa-propoe-aco-es-para-transformacao-digital-na-economia> Viewed June 14, 2018. Web.

In 1969, the Brazilian military government created a public agency named Embrafilme, a state-owned company to promote and control the film industry. The primary focus of Embrafilme at the time of its creation was the distribution of Brazilian films abroad in an attempt to leverage the national and external industry. For more than twenty years (1969-1990), the company had secured space for the production of national films through public finances guaranteed by law (Curci, 2015).

When the military government fell in Brazil, there was a severe economic recession in the country, and the cinema field faced a severe crisis regarding production and distribution. Without having a budget, the government film agency Embrafilme stopped financing films, and the production of movies in the country declined dramatically. Another factor that contributed to the downfall of the company was the emergence of new technologies, such as cable TV and home video, that started to attract the public's attention (Curci, 2015: 17).

In 1990, the first democratically elected president, Fernando Color de Melo, was elected. One of the first measures that were implemented after his election was the closure of various cultural agencies, among them the Brazilian Film Company (Embrafilme), the National Cinema Council (Concine) and the Brazilian Cinema Foundation (FCB) (Ikeda, 2011). The film industry in the country was immediately affected as a result of these measures: in 1992, only 3 national films were released commercially, so that the national films' participation was less than 1% (Almeida and Butcher, 2003).

Brazilian society, as well the film industry, immediately reacted to these measures, forcing the government to reconstruct the support given to this field. However, state support for film projects began to take place on a new basis with the creation of incentive mechanisms based on fiscal renunciation, in which individuals or legal entities carry out the capital contribution in a

given project, and the amount is deducted - in part or in full - in the income tax owed (Cesnik, 2002).

The Brazilian government continued to be the inductor of the cinematographic production. However, it was not sharing with the market the responsibility of managing the field. Ikeda writes:

Although the financial resources ultimately came from the State, the decision to invest and the choice of projects came from outside companies in the productive sector, whose business was often not related to the cinematographic activity. This model, based on fiscal renunciation, was, on the one hand, a response to the accusations of clientelism in the choice of projects financed by Embrafilme, but on the other, it represented a search for a rapprochement with the private sector (2011:15; translated by the author).

This period was known as 'Cinema de Retomada' and represented the rebirth of filmmaking in Brazil in the mid-1990s. The term retomada means 're-starting', or more literally, 'resumption'. The Cinema de Retomada refers to the most recent cycle in the history of Brazilian cinema, which has emerged through a change in the cultural policy of the country that is now based on fiscal incentives. The elaboration of this cinematographic policy altered the relations between the filmmakers, and at the same time demanded new forms of relationship with the state, its main financier (Marson, 2006: 40).

It was during this period that the Brazilian government created two of the central incentive laws currently present in the country: the Rouanet Lei (1991) and the Lei do Audiovisual (1993). Both laws are responsible for raising most of the resources needed for the production of any cultural collaboration in Brazil. The State, which previously had a direct role

as the financier of Brazilian films, began to transfer part or all of this responsibility to the private sector by allowing the market to have a decisive character in the choice of the movies that are yet to be produced or sponsored.

Article 25 of the Rouanet law is perhaps the most controversial. Through this norm, the government provides companies with a variety of film projects that are waiting in line for financial support. The choice is, therefore, in the hands of companies that create their own selection criteria. By choosing a project, companies can partially or fully deduct their government income tax amounts. Thus, although the resources are originality and ultimately public, as in, it comes from the Brazilian government through fiscal renunciation, the decision regarding which projects are going to be financed, utterly depends on the companies. The Rouanet law is divided into two sub-sections: through direct donation, in which the company donates the full value needed to support a film project and then receives a full deduction in the tax owed to the government. In this modality, the company cannot advertise its brand in the commercial part of the film. The other way is through sponsorship.

In this category, the company is able to partially reduce the tax due, however, it can expose its brand both in the credits of the movie as well as in its promotional material. The tax exemption promoted by both laws is now an important ingredient in the marketing planning of large companies, which reinforces and positions brands in the market, through films with famous actors and insertion of brands in the context of history. Moreira (2012) explains that banks, industries, and large companies used the Rouanet law as a way of promoting “cultural marketing,” that is, demonstrating the company’s concern with the cultural activity of the country. Author Avelar says:

In this context, cultural sponsorship is used as a communication strategy of the company with its target audience and a form of cultural marketing that seeks to "identify clients in an individualized and nominal way; create a lasting and advantageous relationship between the company and its customers; manage this relationship to benefit customers and the company itself (2008: 54; translated by the author).

In reality, however, these decisions were extremely market-oriented, as the real incentive was mainly the tax deduction and the marketing exposure. This incentive mechanism did not stimulate the search for creative cultural projects since it was clear that without the tax reduction, the companies would not be interested in contributing.

Another criticism relates to the selection of the projects that are being chosen by unqualified professionals with little knowledge about the cultural and film market. Smaller or experimental projects, for example, are almost always discarded, since the commercial return directed at the company would be minimal, due to the low visibility of the project among viewers. In this way, the sponsorship of artistic production reinforces only the company's image with employees, investors, and customers. It also reinforces the institution's values, promotes the organization's products and services, but not necessarily values or stimulates smaller productions. As Pierre Bourdieu says: "The view of sponsorship as a communication and marketing tool is in keeping with a notion of patronage as an occasion to maintain relations with a selection of large clients, with commercial partners, with creators and opinion multipliers within a pleasant environment" (1995: 38).

What is the incentive for the sponsorship of Borderline Films, which has in fact just recently started to occur in Brazil? Large corporations, such as Banco Itau (Itau Bank), were for

many years²⁶ the foremost articulator for the promotion of debates and film festivals in light of Borderline movies. Minor festivals²⁷ around Brazil are still happening, but they are mainly independent, or city sponsored, and do not receive any direct private investment. This topic will be analyzed in my next chapter.

²⁶ The last project sponsored by Itau is dated from 2016.

²⁷ Festival de Cinema de Bordas de Porto Alegre, Festival de Cinema de Vitoria, Festival de Cinema Lapa, Festival de Cinema de Muqui still brings in its agenda de Borderline Cinema section, although it is not focused solely on this topic.

Chapter 4

Market Changes

4.1 Market changes in the Cinematographic field in Brazil

In this chapter, I analyze the current situation of Borderline Cinema in Brazil. As previously mentioned, the creation of new government models for film support in Brazil has been the subject of debates for many years. There is much criticism surrounding this topic, and therefore, an appropriate critical debate becomes necessary.

The introduction of the Rouanet Law (1991) and the Lei do Audiovisual (1993) changed not only the production norms for the film industry in Brazil, but also introduced new mechanisms for the promotion and distribution of the movies. In this aspect, an alternative way of presenting this thesis would be to investigate to what extent these changes affected the cultural sector, and consequently, Borderline Cinema. Despite the efforts of this author, it is necessary to emphasize that there is no database regarding the production of Borderline movies, which makes it difficult to provide concrete information, especially when it comes to the number of movies that are being released and their distribution. Most of the movies are not always available online, in platforms such as YouTube, or are only presented during specific Borderline Cinema festivals.

The implementation of the tax incentives model has sparked debate amongst many scholars and cultural producers, who consider it unfair and anti-democratic.

Former Brazilian Minister of Culture Roberto Freire, and current Minister, Juca Ferreira²⁸, are amongst those that have harshly criticized the laws. In the cultural field, Brazilian filmmakers such as Marina Person, Paulo Miklos, and Antonio Pitanga, have also expressed a complete dissatisfaction²⁹ with the current format for film production in the country. Public debates have also been taking place between filmmakers and politicians, and a government committee was formed with members of the Education, Culture and Sports Council aiming to clarify and debate the new formats for the incentive laws.³⁰ One of the main criticisms is related to the proper management of the laws, which does not include space for projects considered experimental, independent, or of small commercial appeal to the public.

Another strong criticism is regarding the selection criteria for the choice of projects. Since many external investors do not have qualified professionals capable of understanding the cultural sector with depth, many projects are selected taking mainly into consideration the possible financial return that the company will receive. The absence of inspection mechanisms also makes it difficult for the cinematographic field to rely on the benefits provided by these laws, as there is no guarantee that both companies and government will genuinely invest all the original money into a project.

According to Randal Johnson (1993), this incentive model did not promote a sense of independence from film producers in relation to the State but ended up provoking the opposite

²⁸Ministry of Culture, Juca Ferreira is debating with the current government a new format for the sponsoring of cultural activities in the country. Available at http://www.cultura.gov.br/leis/-/asset_publisher/aQ2oBvSJ2nH4/content/lei-rouanet-mudancas-em-debate-219566/10895 Viewed June 14, 2018. Web.

²⁹ In 2017, Brazilian filmmakers protested during a meeting in the camera of the deputies in Brasilia, DF against several restrictions that was imposed by the Federal Government to the cinematographic field. Available at <http://www2.camara.leg.br/camaranoticias/radio/materias/radioagencia/543068-cineastas-e-atores-protestam-contra-veto-a-incentivos-ao-audiovisual-brasileiro.html> Viewed June 14, 2018. Web.

³⁰ Ministry of Culture, Juca Ferreira is debating with the current government a new format for the sponsoring of cultural activities in the country. Available at http://www.cultura.gov.br/leis/-/asset_publisher/aQ2oBvSJ2nH4/content/lei-rouanet-mudancas-em-debate-219566/10895 Viewed June 14, 2018. Web.

effect: a deepening of dependency. Although the author made this observation in a text published in 1993, the situation has remained the same. There was no study or governmental policy capable of encouraging competition among filmmakers. Instead, there was merely a policy of supply, which assumed that the occupation of the cinematographic market would be fulfilled essentially with the production of films, without considering the inclusion of other smaller film producers or independent filmmakers (Ikeda, 2015).

According to Ikeda (2015), the implementation of incentive laws as a way to stimulate the production of films in Brazil, did not corroborate to create a “film factory”, but rather a “project factory”. Most of the projects approved by the Brazilian government to receive resources, either through sponsorship or direct financing, will remain only on paper, and the final decision for the production of the movie would be in the hands of big corporations.

This mechanism thus proved unable to take into consideration the diversity of Brazilian culture. Data extracted from the Ministry of Brazilian Culture (Ministerio da Cultura Brasileiro, MINC)³¹, shows that from 1992 - 2016, the South and Southeastern parts of Brazil received 80% of the funds intended for the cinematographic field. The Midwest had 11%, the Northeast had 6%, and the North with only 3%.

The majority of people are also not aware of where their money is going as there is almost no transparency about the application of these public resources. In Brazilian newspapers,³² there are reports of overpriced projects, false tax invoices, and fictitious products, all paid with public money through the use of incentive laws. Under these conditions, will it be possible to think about the survival of the cinematographic field in Brazil without fiscal

³¹ Cultura, Ministerio da. “Portal Da Lei Rouanet.” Salic, sistemas.cultura.gov.br/comparar/salicnet/salicnet.php. Viewed May 01, 2018. Web.

³² Operation ‘*Boca Livre*’ triggered by the Brazilian federal police in 2016 revealed a corruption scheme behind the incentive laws that diverted millions in public resources.

incentive? Although the intention of the federal government in 1991 was to revive national cinema and stimulate the industry so that in 10 years it could self-finance, this does not seem to be possible yet (Melo, 2009).

The cultural diversity of Brazil needs more resources which can be equally distributed through all cultural areas and segments. This distribution also needs to reach all regions of the country, so that all communities can have fair access to the development of their own projects. It is important to point out that filmmakers and other artists cannot depend exclusively on these incentive laws, or the sponsoring mechanisms.

According to the Ministry of Culture in Brazil, the tax relinquishment mechanism is intrinsically linked to the profits and liquidity of companies, turning the cultural sector of the country hugely dependent on the financial performances of the big corporations. Numbers released by the Brazilian Institute of Geography and Statistics (IBGE) in 2014, shows that only 10.4% of the 5570 Brazilian municipalities have at least one cinema theater.³³ The last report, which was released in 2016, shows that in the same year, 155 cinema theaters were added throughout the country, resulting in 3160 cinema theaters in operation.

From 2009, when the first report was published, until the year 2016, when there was a slight growth of 7% per year in the creation of new cinema theaters, as shown in the figure below.

³³ Data published by the Brazilian national film agency and IBGE. Available at https://oca.ancine.gov.br/sites/default/files/cinema/pdf/Anuario_2014.pdf Viewed May 18, 2018. Web.



Figure 01: Evolution on the number of cinema theaters in Brazil from 2009 - 2016. Statistical Yearbook of Brazilian Cinema, 2016. Brazilian Institute of Geography and Statistics (IBGE) and National Cinema Agency (ANCINE).

These numbers, despite demonstrating an effort on the part of the Brazilian government to encourage the creation of new cinemas theaters around the country, are still below what would be expected of a country as big as Brazil. If we compare these same numbers with other nations such as China and the United States (see figure below), we can observe the disparity in the number of cinema theaters that are available in all three countries. The United States, for example, has more than 40000 cinema theaters in operation, while Brazil a little over 3000, which represents less than 10% when compared to the USA.

Quantidade de Salas de Exibição em países selecionados* (2016)

País*	Salas de Exibição
China	41.179
EUA	40.392
México	6.225
França	5.842
Alemanha	4.739
Rússia	4.372
Espanha	3.557
Japão	3.472
Brasil	3.160
Australia	2.121
Colômbia	1.006
Argentina	933
Portugal	549
Venezuela	449
Chile	366

Figure 02: Statistical Yearbook of Brazilian Cinema, 2016. Brazilian Institute of Geography. The data referring to Brazil has ANCINE and IBGE as sources. Information regarding the other countries comes from the Focus 2017 - World Film Market Trend report.

Looking to change this scenario, the Brazilian National Congress has now in hand a bill aiming to establish a new format for the financing of films and other cultural projects in the country. The new law adopts objective and transparent selection criteria, based merely on a meritocracy, which ends the subjective analysis and guarantees the impersonality of the evaluation process. (Ministerio da Cultura, MINC, Brasil, 2016).

Currently, the Rouanet Law has become a form of business that submits artistic production to market criteria and prevents the prerogatives of the Brazilian Constitution from guaranteeing support for the diversity of cultural manifestations (Mega, 2015).

The distortions in the Rouanet Law, range from the concentration of money in specific projects; the restricted access of the population with low purchasing power in buying tickets; having most of the cultural projects concentrated in only one area of the country (usually the South and Southeastern regions); censorship; and restrictions regarding certain themes and topics, such the use of drugs, weapons, and nudity, that impede the free expression of culture, among others (Mega, 2015).

The submission of cultural production and artistic creativity to the logic of capitalist production “masks not the social relations as such, but the production connections that are increasingly international” (Appadurai, 1994: 323). Tax incentive laws should open a space for unprofitable cultural activities, for vocations, for experimental art, "but companies are concerned about their visibility, and this does not give a return in terms of image" (Franceschi, 1998: 81).

While we can observe an effort on the part of the Brazilian federal government to reverse decades of stagnation in the Brazilian cultural field by creating incentive laws such as the ones mentioned earlier, the issues with these sponsoring mechanisms are also evident. Brazilian filmmakers are today almost entirely dependent on these laws, and more so, are commonly subject to creative restrictions and even censorship. This means that many small or experimental projects will likely need to be adapted in order to attend the standards of a certain company. This is a critical scenario for the cultural field, which should be, at least in theory, a free creative space.

The laws resources are also largely concentrated in big Brazilian capitals, such as Sao Paulo and Rio de Janeiro, and this also proves to be another major obstacle to film producers. Historically marginalized regions of Brazil such as the Northeast and North, which already suffer from lack of investments in the cultural and educational fields, public libraries, universities,

among others, are once again excluded from the potential that could be achieved if the financial resources of these laws were properly applied in local projects.

4.2 Market changes in the Borderline Field in Brazil

Borderline Cinema as described previously is a heterogeneous cinema formed by filmmakers from diverse regions of Brazil, coming from different age groups and social classes. Majority of Borderline filmmakers are men, such as Seu Manolzinho, Petter Baiestorf, Afonso Bezerra, Joel Caetano, Simiao Martiniano, Ivan Cardoso, among others. They come from the South, Southeast, and Midwest regions of Brazil. most Borderline men filmmakers range from 30-60 years old and are heterosexual.

It was not possible to identify any women Borderline filmmakers at the time of writing this thesis. This does not mean, however, their absolute abstention, but rather the lack of concrete data available. While there may be a few women working as directors in Borderline Cinema, this percentage is minimum. This is a scenario that has lasted for several years in the entire cinematographic field, which is considered by many to be sexist and discriminatory. This barrier is evident not only with the choice of directors, but also in the production of films, scripts, and leading acting roles. We commonly observe outstanding actresses performing in supporting roles, and action/super hero movies starring men. The notion that women should dedicate their time to their families, or that they are not capable of working in male-dominated environments is definitely a topic that needs urgent change. While it is uncertain if this is the case for Borderline Cinema, the lack of data demonstrating the presence of women as directors might be an indicator that the scenario for the Borderline field is not much different from the mass film industry.

As most of the Borderline narratives do not deal with topics of sex, drugs, or race, we can observe a sense of conservatism coming from these movies, which is typical of the sertao regions of Brazil. As these regions are usually inhabited by families or older people, there is a preference for not choosing narratives that are viewed as controversial by traditional communities of the sertao. For example, Seu Manolzinho is a Borderline director that became famous for movies that combine sci-fiction with terror narratives. He is illiterate, a former mason and farmer, and lives in a humble small house in Mantênópolis, a small town which is 250 km away from the capital of Vitória, state of Espírito Santo, Brazil³⁴. Most of Seu Manoelzinho films, such as ‘*A Maldição da Casa de Vanirim* (The Curse of Vanirim's House)’ and ‘*A gripe do Frango* (The Chicken Flu)’, deal with topics that are already familiar to Brazilian residents or do not require any pre-required knowledge about a certain subject.

Borderline Cinema is produced by self-taught directors, people from small communities of Brazil, who live away from the technological changes that happen daily around the world. The style of these productions tends to be precarious due to lack of good quality resources, such as cameras, editing programs, and other equipment. Given these conditions, it not surprising to see the marginalization of these films, not only from the critical and recognized film producers and government, but also from the broader society. As mentioned in the third chapter, Borderline Cinema is almost ‘invisible’, as only scholars, researchers, and intellectuals are aware of the existence of this ‘alternative’ film community.

The community of makers and viewers themselves are also decentralized, as each filmmaker belongs to a certain region or community and does not usually have contact with other

³⁴ Based on interviews given by Seu Manoelzinho to Brazilian newspapers. Available at <https://www1.folha.uol.com.br/fsp/ilustrada/57906-diretor-analfabeto-e-destaque-de-mostra.shtml> Viewed June 14, 2018. Web.

directors. As the movies have a specific audience – the community where the director resides – there is also no interaction with outside viewers or co-production agreements. As previously mentioned, the majority of Borderline directors are present in the South, Southeast and Midwest regions of Brazil, although it is difficult to provide a concrete number of how many are there.

Since 2009, however, there was a swift change in the scenario for Borderline Cinema that began to attract the attention of big and smaller companies in Brazil, interested in spreading the word about this type of cinema. The most important company that decided to use the incentive laws in Brazil to promote the Borderline Cinema festival was Bank Itau (Banco Itau).

The history of this bank in supporting cultural projects in Brazil comes from 1987 when a project titled ‘Itau Unibanco Cultural Institute’³⁵ was first created. According to data available on Bank Itaú's website³⁶, which includes the institution's timeline, the bank states:

Our history begins in Poços de Caldas (MG), Brazil, at Casa Moreira Salles, a trading point. On September 27, 1924, the Casa Salles won a banking section. Later, it would become Unibanco. In 1969, the bank acquired the picture ‘Village on a Wooded Plain,’ a picture by the Dutch painter Frans Post. At that moment, the bank's relationship with art began (translated by the author).

According to information available from the bank’s official website, the Instituto Itaú Cultural (Itau Cultural Institute) is defined as:

Itaú Cultural Institute is an institute focused on the research and production of content, and for the mapping, encouragement, and dissemination of artistic-intellectual works. In this way, it

³⁵ Unibanco was a Brazilian bank which operated from 1924 to 2009, when it was merged into Banco Itau.

³⁶ Banco Itaú's timeline sets the history of the institution according to its own version. Available in: <https://www.itau.com.br/sobre/memoria/linha-tempo/>. Accessed on June 14, 2018.

contributes to the appreciation of the culture of a society so complex and heterogeneous as the Brazilian one. In considering culture as an essential tool for the construction of the identity of a country, the Itaú Cultural aims to democratize and promote social participation (translated by the author).³⁷

The Itau Cultural Institute is a significant initiative that supports cultural projects in Brazil through sponsorships and direct financing. It was founded in 1987 under the name Centro de Informática e Cultura (Center of Computing and Culture) and opened to the public on October 5, 1989, in Sao Paulo, Brazil. According to official data released by the Bank in 2016, the “Itaú Unibanco invested more than R\$ 172.7 million in cultural projects. Of these, R\$ 89.2 million, or about 50%, was invested with the group's own resources. The remaining - R\$ 83.5 million - were executed through the incentive laws.”³⁸ The bank did not disclose how much money was invested in each project, which makes it difficult to presume how much of the resources were invested in the Borderline Cinema Festival.

Today, the Itau Cultural project is a major initiative that combines cinema theaters, the Itaú Culture Institute, and the ongoing construction of the most extensive corporate art collection in Latin America, and one of the largest in the world, which will serve as space for more than fifteen thousand art pieces. The cultural projects chosen by the Bank Itau through the use of incentive laws take into consideration several marketing criteria, such as cost-benefit, venue of

³⁷ Banco Itaú's timeline. Available in: <https://www.itaubank.com.br/sobre/memoria/linha-tempo/>. Accessed on June 14, 2018.

³⁸ Data published by the Itau Bank. Available at <http://www.itaucultural.org.br/institucional/perfildoinvestimento/culturabrasileira.html> Viewed May 18, 2018. Web.

the project, brand visibility potential, media coverage and possibilities of endomarketing³⁹, relationship marketing, and business.

The Itaú Cultural is heavily investing in cultural projects in Brazil for many decades now, being responsible for not only supporting and sponsoring projects, but also serving as a cultural manager to many artistic institutions in the country, especially in the Sao Paulo – Rio de Janeiro axis. Recently, the bank became the major manager of the Ibirapuera Auditorium, one of the biggest auditoriums in the city of São Paulo, which hosts international music festivals, sports games, and other activities. Another recent achievement is the transformation of the already established Espaços Unibanco de Cine, in Itaú Cinemas, further expanding the bank's presence in Brazilian cultural life. The bank also offers discounts for its clients in cinema theaters, bookstores, and entertainment events, demonstrating once again the company's initiative in combining culture with business.

Among the Itau Cultural projects that were selected through the use of Brazilian incentive laws, we find the Borderline Cinema Festival. The festival debuted in 2009 in the city of Sao Paulo, Brazil, and was promoted as ‘Festival Itau de Cinema de Bordas’ or Itau Festival of Borderline Cinema. The Festival happened yearly in the city of Sao Paulo only, from 2009 until 2016, when it had its last exhibition. We can initially observe that the bank promoted the festival by linking the name of the festival to its brand, showing a clear intention of sponsoring artistic productions as a cultural marketing tool.

The Borderline Cinema festival was curated by scholars Bernadette Lyra, Gilson Santana, and Laura Loguercio Canépa, who work as full professors at the University of Sao Paulo in Brazil. They are also part of the Borderline Cinema research group at the same institution. The

³⁹ Endomarketing are institutional marketing strategies, commonly used by companies as a way to promote internal actions.

festival is aimed at anonymous filmmakers and new names in the audiovisual field that have broken the financial barriers to producing their movies.

In addition to the screening sessions, the festival also featured the participation of Borderline directors such as Manoelzinho, Joel Caetano, Roberto Farias, Rubens Mello, and others. Some of the other activities that happened during the festival include workshops, courses, and lectures, where the general public could interact with the directors, ask questions, and learn more about the Borderline Cinema field. The Borderline Cinema workshops were free and presented by filmmakers Joel Caetano and Mariana Zani. Twenty participants could sign up every year for free, and they received a certificate and instructions about all the stages of production for a Borderline movie: script; pre-production; how to use a camera; and finalization. The movie which was produced by the participants during the workshops was also displayed for the public at the end of the festival.⁴⁰

During each year of the festival, there was an exhibition of Borderline films which varied in genres and duration. The selection process for the exhibition of the movies during the Festival was formed by a team of researchers, including scholars Bernadette Lyra and Gelson Santana. It was not possible to identify if there was any type of criteria or requirement needed for a certain movie to be selected, or if the selection process was, in fact, entirely up to the curators. Some of the Borderline movies that are presented during the festival are almost invisible to the public eye, as they were never shown before, while others have already been screened in alternative festivals or displayed in social media. The first Borderline Cinema festival in 2009 screened a total of 17 movies. In its last years of exhibition, an average of 29 films were being shown for the public for free during two sessions each day. The tickets for the festival were

⁴⁰ Borderline Cinema workshops. Available at <http://www.itaucultural.org.br/cinema-de-bordas-contempla-filmes-realizados-sem-recursos-pelo-interior-do-brasil> Viewed June 15, 2018.

distributed on the days of the event, generally 30 minutes before. The indicative classification for majority of the movies was of 14 years old, but some of them, due to the presence of coarse language or violence, contained viewer discretion advices. From 2009 - 2016, a total of 176 Borderline movies were screened during the Borderline Cinema Festival promoted by the Itau Bank, with an average participation of about 25 different filmmakers in each edition.⁴¹

Since 2013, the Borderline Cinema Festival also started to present Borderline TV shows, in episode formats, such as *'Tropa Zumbite'*, produced by Brazilian director Michel Anthony Klafke. The festival lasted for about three to four days, and there is no data regarding the audience numbers that joined the event throughout the years. However, the festival certainly attracted the media's attention as several newspapers and online portals⁴² in Brazil, announced the event in their cultural sections, inviting the public to attend.

In this context, sponsorship of artistic projects is being used as marketing strategy for many Brazilian companies, aiming to target different audiences through a form of 'cultural marketing' that aims to "identify clients in an individualized and nominal way; create a lasting and advantageous relationship between the company and its customers; manage this relationship to benefit customers and the company itself" (Avelar, 2008:154).

When considering Borderline Cinema, one can predetermine that unlike the audience that usually watches this type of cinema, the ones who attend a Borderline Cinema festival is an entirely different public. The captive audience of these films is formed by poor and uneducated communities that watches the movies in improvised settings, resembling a social gathering in someone's house. While the festival goers are intellectuals, journalists, writers, or literary

⁴¹ Borderline Cinema Festival. Available at <http://www.itaucultural.org.br/sites/cinemadebordas/index.html> Viewed June 15, 2018. Web.

⁴² Some of the largest and most prestigious information newspapers in Brazil, such as Folha de Sao Paulo, Portal UOL de noticias, produced news regarding the Borderline Cinema event.

enthusiasts, who wish to learn a little more about this type of cinema, thus they become potential clients of the Itau Bank products, once they have a higher power of consumption. “Cultural marketing then establishes the company's image through cultural actions that communicate a product or service by introducing a particular brand or product into a musical style, festival or movie” (Carvalho, 2007: 97).

The association of the bank with the promotion of a Borderline Cinema festival demonstrates the search of the company for establishing differentiated relationships with its public, and most importantly, the need to be presented as a ‘culturally responsible’ company (Mega, 2015). The success of cultural sponsorship can be measured by the spontaneous dissemination through electronic and digital media, and the perception of the public in knowing that a company is sponsoring a particular project. Carvalho says: "It is important that there is a relationship of conformity between the cultural action performed and the sponsoring brand, its identity, its image, and its positioning so that the consumer perceives the communication that is being carried out" (Carvalho, 2007:99).

The Itau Bank uses cultural marketing to communicate directly with the public that attends the Borderline Cinema festival, creating a link between current and future clients, and between the institution and the community. There is no fee to enter the festival, however, some of the activities that happen alongside the event are paid, such as specialization courses.

This once again demonstrates the purpose of the bank in reinforcing its brand to a very specific audience while promoting the company’s social role. From a capitalist perspective, the incentive laws created by the Brazilian government do not stimulate the cultural exchange between various artistic manifestations in Brazil. "Cultural marketing is a tool for corporate

communication and brand building, creating positive associations within a market characterized by strong competition" (Ajzenberg, 2005:118).

It is important to point out that the Itau Festival is linked to other cultural activities that happen together at the same location. We can assume, for example, that a person attending the Borderline event was not necessarily there to learn more about this topic but could be a trespasser who was curious about what was going on there. This is a strategy used by the *Itau* bank, as a way to attract more potential clients, instead of focusing on putting together a unique quality event.

The problem with globalization is that there is no genuine interest on the part of big corporations in putting money into something that is not mainstream or that will result in little or zero financial return. While globalization aims to ensure equal access to products in a global context, it does so by generating inequality and diversity. "For the prophets of a free and global market, all that matters is the sum of wealth produced and economic growth, with no reference to how much wealth is distributed" (Hobsbawm, 2009: 69).

The process of globalization does not produce cultural uniformity, but awareness of new levels of diversity. "If there is a global culture, it would be better to think of it not as a common culture but as a field in which differences, power struggles and disputes over cultural prestige are exercised" (Featherstone, 1997: 24). Canclini says that the process of globalization opens space for a process of internationalization, which searches for "the opening of the geographic frontiers of each society so that they can incorporate the material and symbolic goods of others into their own" (2010:32 translated by the author).

It is important to note that there are other Borderline Cinema festivals⁴³ that also happen in Brazil, however, they receive less media and public attention, as they are independent or city-sponsored. This also means that these independent events do not receive any federal tax incentive, such as the ones provided by the Rounaet Law.

These film festivals mainly take place in the south region of Brazil, in states such as Espirito Santo and Parana. Just like the Borderline Cinema festival promoted by the Itau bank, these independent festivals happen alongside other cultural activities that usually take place in the same place and at the same time.

From this understanding, it can be concluded that the market changes that are happening around Borderline films are strongly influenced by financial and commercial interests. If we look back, the sponsorships practices go back to the early days of patronage when emperors, kings, merchants, and the Church itself, in different historical times, sponsored artists and associated themselves with culture and knowledge as a form of power and recognition (Barros, 2016).

The incentive laws in Brazil, despite their unquestionable importance as an incentive for the production and consumption of cultural goods, has serious disadvantages that affect primarily the small producers and independent filmmakers. Even when there is exposure, like is the case for the Borderline Cinema Festival sponsored by the Itau bank – the debates surrounding the scenario for these Borderline films are minimal, as there are no long-term actions or commitment in displaying these movies for different audiences, and in different locations around Brazil.

Companies, in addition to using tax incentives to promote their own cultural actions, also publicize call notices that cause media and image impact. By guaranteeing access to producers through these instruments, they also gain more visibility for their brand by making the selection

⁴³ Festival de Vitoria, Festival de Cinema de Muqui, Festival de Cinema do Espirito Santo.

process a public competitive instrument. Sponsorships, especially those with a tax incentive, can be seen as any other marketing strategy, oriented by commercial profit.

The depth, originality, and creativity of artists and filmmakers are left aside and can sometimes be considered as risk factors for the company brand, especially when some specific project debates controversial topics, such as sex, religion, etc. Theodor W. Adorno explains that the sameness and lack of innovation in mass culture come principally from the lack of experimentation. He says:

A constant sameness governs the relationship to the past as well. What is new about the phase of mass culture compared with the late liberal stage is the exclusion of the new. The machine rotates on the same spot. While determining consumption, it excludes the untried as a risk. The movie-makers distrust any manuscript which is not reassuringly backed by a bestseller. Yet for this very reason, there is the never-ending talk of ideas, novelty, and surprise, of what is taken for granted but has never existed. Tempo and dynamics serve this trend. Nothing remains as of old; everything has to run incessantly, to keep moving. (2007: 16)

The Itaú Cultural Institute complies with the principles of accessibility and gratuity, by promoting cultural events to society (Barros, 2016). However, a question arises: is it fair to use public money, coming from the taxpayer pockets (through the use of incentive laws), to finance private investments, which are being camouflaged as cultural projects? As the selection of the projects are inherently linked to mercantile interests, the intention of constructing a social and cultural inclusion, available to all the economic levels of society, so far still remains only on paper.

4.3 The global and the regional through an analysis of technology

In Brazil, there is a sense of admiration and prestige directed at foreign productions, always considered as being of better quality, especially when compared to the country's own productions. To justify this perception, phrases such as "Brazilian cinema is horrible", and "Brazilian films can only show poverty and misery", are commonly heard. The themes of poverty and misery can be seen as a cinematic tradition that started with the Cinema Novo movement (Reis, 2017). There are several examples that confirm this perception, such as: '*Deus e o diabo na terra do sol* (God and devil in the Land of the sun, 1964)' directed by Glauber Rocha, '*Vidas Secas* (Dried lives, 1963)' directed by Nelson Pereira dos Santos, '*Central do Brasil* (Central of Brazil, 1998)', directed by Walter Salles, among others.

In this sense, Ismail Xavier states that "it is common to observe in the Brazilian film a schematization of conflicts that articulates, in a very peculiar way, a political dimension of class struggle and material interests" (2001:20-21). This understanding can be analyzed in what is known as Borderline Cinema, once this type of film production presents characteristics that are distinct from the ones observed in mainstream movies.

According to Lyra, this type of film presents "conditions of production and circulation that involve elements that have always been considered marginalized by both the industrial and consumption circuits" (2008:43). Thus, according to the author, such films are made under a 'peripheral contract', but they cannot be considered as peripheral cinema⁴⁴, which is a term used to designate a set of films made by different individuals or social groups (Lyra, 2008). According

⁴⁴ Peripheral cinema is the term used to designate a set of films made by different individuals or social groups, with a specific mode of production and circulation. These films aim to give voices to marginalized communities by protesting against forms of social exclusion.

to Zuleika de Paula Bueno, “Borderline Cinema results from a process of mediation built on the combination of three main variables: a specific process of consumption of media products, a particular form of social interaction, and access to production technologies” (2007: 44).

In fact, the process of globalization opened up space for the consumption of many media products, which allowed the exchange of knowledge between different social communities. With the growth of audiovisual products, such as television sets, DVD players, and television networks, which are capable of reaching the most remote regions of a country, previously marginalized communities were introduced to a new universe of images and sounds. The interactions demanded by a universe increasingly in need of rapid answers also helped with the formation of an information circuit that created new forms of social interaction, now instantaneous and active. The multiplication and cheapness of cameras and sound devices that allow anyone to gain access to record a movie also help with the construction of Borderline Cinema.

The case study that will be presented demonstrates in depth what a Borderline movie looks like. The movie *O Rambo da Amazonia – Em o resgate da professora (Rambo of Amazonia - the rescue of the teacher, 2016)* is the newest production in a series of movies directed by Manoel Castro Junior and starring Aldenir Coti, a famous character of the Amazon region. The actor says that the nickname ‘Amazon Rambo’ started in 1985 when friends compared him to the classic character played by the American actor Sylvester Stallone.

At the outset, I want to explain the choice of two concepts – global, and regional, through an analysis of technology. It is important to observe the rapid changes in which technological tools are appearing in our society in recent decades. This is a society that demands of its individuals a new way of being, producing, thinking, and living. The culture of our contemporary

society has undergone significant changes. We are experiencing new forms of social behaviors, with more and more people being connected to smartphones and social media, changing not only the traditional forms of social relationships, but also facilitating communication, breaking temporal barriers, and allowing access to information worldwide.

One of these cultural adaptations refers to the ways we are learning how to deal with these technological resources, especially within media spaces. The cultural field has adapted to the technological changes that are happening over the years in various ways. In the cinematographic field, we experience the use of digital effects and better-quality sounds. In the corporate area, we observe the digital interactions between companies and consumers. According to Roque de Barros Laraia, “the communication field has gone through a real technological revolution, generating new social relations, transforming culture and placing new challenges and needs on individuals, especially with regard to the concepts of time and space” (2001: 310).

Technology presents itself as an important piece in the cultural constitution of society. It is necessary for individuals to learn how to use not only the new digital products and equipment, but to also modify their behaviors, thus adapting to new cultural formats. For Borderline Cinema, technology had allowed marginalized individuals to be included in this process by creating ways in which filmmakers can upload their films on social medias, such as YouTube and Facebook and to have access to digital devices. Technology has also created new consumption spaces, allowing most people to have access to the Internet, where they can produce and share their work.

As mentioned earlier, the process of globalization brought new forms of multi-interaction communications, which can reach diverse societies in a transnational space. This advance had created what Henry Jenkins called as ‘global consciousness’ and is “inspired by the transcultural

flows of popular culture” (Jenkins 2006: 156). The immediate and fast exchange of information has reached all levels of society, despite social and economic classes. The internet has promoted the fall of geographical barriers between communities from different parts of the world, stimulating global cultural exchange among its users as well creating new spaces for discussions and interaction. For the Borderline Cinema field, this exchange had led many filmmakers to gain access to online content, upload their work, interact with netzines, follow trends, and also learn new digital tools for film production. The Internet has also allowed citizens from different parts of the world to digitally emerge in the realities of each country, making it possible for Brazilian directors, especially Borderline filmmakers, to present their most authentic works, with their regional traces and cultural specificities.

Television has also contributed to the construction of Borderline Cinema narratives. The political and economic conjuncture of Brazil comprises networks run by governments and private corporations, such as Globo SAT and Record TV, who create new content based on international narratives or replicate what is being produced outside of the country. Such diverse media exchange is creating more fluid interactions across cultures and nations, and Borderline filmmakers assimilate this influence when developing their plots.

Alvaray says that “due to the flow of transnational economic transactions, the movement of people around the world and the rapid traffic of images, dissolution of borders and the creation of hybrid, liminal spaces have become quite common in most spheres” (2011:72).

Whereas Arjun Appadurai remarks:

Neither images nor viewers fit into circuits or audiences that are easily bound within local, national or regional spaces. Of course, many viewers may not themselves migrate. And many mass-mediated events are highly local in scope [...], but few important films, news broadcasts, or

television spectacles are entirely unaffected by other media events that come from further afield.
(1996: 4)

Borderline Cinema, as will be seen next in my analysis of the Rambo movie is a very favorable place to think how Brazilian society represents their identity, which comes from cultural practices that can be seen throughout the country. The narratives discourses created by Borderline Cinema serve to create a bond and a sense of regional identity since it brings together participants of the same community sharing common values and life experiences. This way, "the identity changes according to the object form that is being questioned or represented" (Hall, 2005:21) resulting in different identities, turning Borderline Cinema in a place of singularity.

The cinematographic forms in Borderline Cinema are characterized by certain procedures, techniques, and modes of production such as the valorization of ideas and phrases made by mainstream movies. The accumulation of sensationalist meaning and emotional involvement, contempt for the originality criterion, the load of descriptiveness, with absence of psychological contour of the characters are also present (Santana, 2006). Borderline Cinema also makes use of narratives and formulas that have already been explored to the maximum by the mainstream cinema, like stories of superheroes, ghosts, witches, etc. These are also narratives that are widely reproduced by Brazilian television, and thus draws the attention of Borderline directors and producers.

4.4 Case study – O Rambo da Amazonia – Em o resgate da professora (Rambo da Amazonia - the rescue of the teacher, 2016)

I first identified the Borderline theme long ago but developed greater interest after coming across some Borderline movies on YouTube in 2015. At the time, I perceived Borderline Cinema only as a hobby, which almost always made me laugh because of the comic narratives of the movies. Over time, when my interest in research began to develop fully, I felt the need to understand what was behind the construction of these movies in Brazil.

The first Borderline movie that I came across on YouTube was by Borderline director Seu Manoelzinho, a resident of the city of Mantenópolis located in the northwest of the state of Espírito Santo, Brazil. Manonelzinho is an elderly gentleman who produces Borderline movies for pure entertainment and in exceptional conditions. His movies combine a process of consumption of media products, being a mix of old Hollywood films with television show models. The popular stories that are present in his films, evidence the daily life of the community where he lives and the exchanges and interactions that coexist between the director and his social partners.

Over the years, I was exposed to a variety of Borderline movies, such as ‘*O homem sem lei* (2006)’, ‘*O rico pobre* (2009)’, ‘*A valise foi trocada* (2007)’, ‘*A dama da lagoa* (1997)’, among others. These films are mainly found on YouTube, on the official channel for the Itau Cultural program⁴⁵, among a variety of other videos from different projects sponsored by the Bank Itau. There are nearly 40 Borderline Cinema films that are available on this same channel. The movie *O Rambo da Amazonia*, which will be analyzed as part of my case study, was

⁴⁵ Itau Cultural Official YouTube channel. Available at <https://www.youtube.com/user/itaucultural/featured> Viewed June 14, 2018. Web.

uploaded to YouTube on November 20, 2016 by the director of the movie, Castro Junior.⁴⁶ As of August 2018, the video has 39,255 views on YouTube. The 2016 movie is the continuation of a sequence of other movies starring Coti Junior as a heroic figure of the Amazon jungle in Brazil. Some previous movies include: *Rambo contra a galera* (Rambo against everyone, 1992), *Rambo III, o rapto do Jaraqui dourado* (The abduction of the golden jaraqui, 2007), *Rambo e o clone* (Rambo and the clone, 2008), *Rambo, o boxer da Amazonia* (Rambo, the boxer of the Amazon, 2009). The Amazon Rambo movies are the main representative of the northern areas of Brazil in the Borderline Cinema circuit.

The *Rambo da Amazonia* movie was released in 2016 and directed by the Brazilian director Castro Junior. It was shot in the North region of Brazil in the state of Amazonas with a budget of R\$ 25,000.⁴⁷ The budget used to shoot *Rambo da Amazonia* is very different from major American movies, which usually reach millions of dollars. The community, actors, and director had to put their own money in order to finish filming. In addition to Aldenir Trindade Lopes Coti, who plays the main character of Rambo, the film also features the Brazilian actors Jean Nogueira, Alessandra Vieira, Renan Carvalho, and Bill Barroso. All the actors are resident of the Amazon state and are only known in the local area, with the exception of Jean Nogueira, who has worked in different parts of Brazil and already had a solid artistic career.

According to the director Castro Junior, it took about a year for the movie to be finalized. The entire cost of the production was paid by the filmmakers themselves. Castro Junior is also the owner of a small film production company in the state of Amazonas, and has produced a variety of movies over the years. According to the director, because of the narratives of the

⁴⁶ Director Castro Junior official channel on YouTube. Available at https://www.youtube.com/channel/UC1s3iJ5Z0TowC_TNOW9dV3g. Viewed June 14, 2018. Web.

⁴⁷ Based on media interviews given by the director of the movie. Available at: <http://g1.globo.com/Noticias/Brasil/0,,mul689225-5598,00-sosia+do+rambo+lanca+filme+no+amazonas.html>. Viewed June 10, 2018.

movies, which combines comedy and action, there was an increase in the public's interest in watching the Rambo movies, especially in the state of Amazonia.⁴⁸ It is safe to say that although Castro Junior is a self-taught director, he has more technical film experience than the average Borderline filmmakers, especially when compared to illiterate director 'Seu Manolzinho', as previously mentioned. However, the fictional character Rambo, the production of the movie, and the movie narratives align with what is understood as being Borderline Cinema. As for every rule there is an exception, Borderline Cinema is no different, as many young directors, such as Rodrigo Aragao, Renato Dib, and Coffin Souza are producing Borderline narratives with more sophisticated tools and technical knowledge.

The narratives and the lack of financial support that characterizes Borderline Cinema however, has remained the same over the years. In the movie *O Rambo da Amazonia – Em o resgate da professora*, an ambitious villain plans to dominate the world and enslave the human race. The villain kidnaps the princess in distress, represented by Brazilian actress Alessandra Vieira, a beautiful biology teacher, who has the secret formula for turning humans into machines. The Amazon Rambo at first, refuses to accept the adventure of saving the teacher from the bad guys and subsequently saving the world, but later follows his destiny as that of the homeland savior⁴⁹. The villain's soldiers include bizarre comic references from American films such as *Star Wars* (1977) and the fictional character Jason Voorhees from 'Friday the 13th' movie (2003). The Amazon Rambo director, Castro Junior, explored Rambo's serious personality in this film and left the comic side to the character that plays the villain's right-hand man, a former student of the teacher whose nickname is "Wild Butterfly".

⁴⁸ According to the director of the film during an interview for a local website. Available at <https://noticianacuaia.wordpress.com/2013/10/21/novo-filme-do-rambo-da-amazonia-estreia-com-sessao-especial-em-manaus/> Viewed June 20, 2018. Web.

⁴⁹ The movie is available on YouTube: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=PINGZndsOEw> Web.

To examine the cinematographic work of *O Rambo da Amazonia – Em o resgate da professora*, we first need to analyze the production and consumption conditions that are present in this film. Rambo is the fictional name given to Adenir Coti, a resident of the state of Amazonia, Brazil. The state is named after the famous Amazon rainforest, which covers much of northwestern Brazil and extends into Colombia, Peru, and other South American countries, making it the world's largest tropical rainforest.⁵⁰ Culturally, this part of Brazil is home to various Indigenous communities and carries a tremendous social value to the country.

According to the last IBGE report dated from 2010⁵¹ there are around 306,000 indigenous people living in the Amazon, most of whom live in rural areas. The indigenous population was also one of the first communities to inhabit Brazil, even before European colonization during the 15th Century. Nowadays, most of these communities live in isolated conditions, with little or almost no contact with the outside world. The population of the Amazon state according to the last reported published by the Brazilian Institute of Geography and Statistics (IBGE) in 2010 is almost 4 million, making it the second most populous state of the North Region of Brazil. The state capital is Manaus.⁵²

Despite its rich cultural history, the Amazon region is one of the most undeveloped regions of Brazil, with high rates of illiteracy, public health, and sanitary problems. According to

⁵⁰ Information retrieved from the Ministry of Science, Technology, Innovation and Communications in Brazil website. Available at <http://www.mctic.gov.br/portal>. Viewed May 10, 2018.

⁵¹According to the Brazilian Institute of Geography and Statistics – IBGE. Available at <https://indigenas.ibge.gov.br/mapas-indigenas-2> Viewed June 18, 2018. Web.

⁵²According to the Brazilian Institute of Geography and Statistics – IBGE. Available at https://ww2.ibge.gov.br/home/geociencias/geografia/mapas_doc5.shtm Viewed June 20, 2018. Web.

the last educational census published in Brazil by IBGE, the North region, where the Amazon state is located, has an illiteracy rate of almost 10%.⁵³

Aldenir has become an icon of his region thanks to his movies. In 2007, the actor was the protagonist of a biographical documentary directed by Anderson Mendes and titled: ‘A incrível historia de Coti: Rambo da Amazônia’ (The incredible story of Coti: Amazon Rambo), which won several film awards in Brazil. The character of the Amazon Rambo might be a hero on the screen, but in reality, the leading actor is an ordinary man who produces fictional films for pure entertainment. The film is inspired by the North American Rambo film series, that launched in 1982 starring the famous American actor Sylvester Stallone as John Rambo. The American production was a box office hit and showed the story of a troubled Vietnam War veteran and former U.S. Army Special Forces soldier. The series consists of the films ‘*First Blood* (1982)’, ‘*Rambo: First Blood Part II* (1985)’, ‘*Rambo III* (1988)’ and ‘*Rambo* (2008)’⁵⁴.

In the American hit, Rambo fights rebels and international criminal organizations to reestablish order and peace in his homeland. In the Amazon Rambo, Adenir Coti does the same, but with fewer technical tools and less financial support. For instance, the Amazon Rambo uses archery and not rifles and machine guns as in the American film version. The archery is a symbolism to the presence of Indigenous communities alongside the Amazon river, who still use old hunting techniques and preserve their traditional culture.

The scenarios present in the Amazon Rambo movie are restricted to tropical forest areas, which happen to also be a part of the character’s daily life routine, as he is a resident of the

⁵³According to the Brazilian Institute of Geography and Statistics – IBGE. Available at <https://biblioteca.ibge.gov.br/index.php/biblioteca-catalogo?view=detalhes&id=720> Viewed June 20, 2018. Web.

⁵⁴ *Rambo – programado para matar* (First blood, Ted Kotcheff, USA, 1982); *Rambo II – a missao* (Rambo: first blood part II, George P. Cosmatos, USA, 1985); *Rambo III* (Rambo III, Peter MacDonald, USA, 1988); *Rambo IV* (John Rambo, Sylvester Stallone, USA, 2008).

Amazon state in Brazil. The Amazon Rambo and the other residents of that region are not completely excluded from having access to cameras, mobile phones, and internet, despite the marginalized conditions of the Amazon region. Because of public WiFi spaces and the facilities in acquiring mobile data plans, more people are becoming interconnected.

Thus, the images, sounds, and narratives presented in the films reproduce an imaginary constructed both by the mass appropriation of audiovisual production and by the elements of the so-called "popular culture" that circulate in the Borderline Cinema filmmakers cities (Lyra, 2008). Jesus-Martin-Barbero called this process as 'mediation', which considers "a process that produces significations and not merely a circulation of information, in which the receiver is not a simple encoder of what the sender deposited in the message, but also a producer" (2006: 287).

To every hero, there is a reflection of their typical habitat, which points out the marks that surround their personalities and traumas. Through this process, a hero can reflect on their social and territorial experiences as being part of themselves. Territories can represent more than space, but also the imagination of a certain character. In the Amazon Rambo movie, the jungle represents the sense of survival and strength. Thus, the Amazon constitutes an element that naturally turns Adenir Cotir into a hero. This natural habitat leaves the Amazon Rambo in a permanent state of heroism.

Unlike the North American Rambo, the Amazonian Rambo adapts to any situation that appears within his territory. His warlike intelligence is directly related to his institutional character, the ability to adapt to the environment, and logically, the weapons, such as the ark and the arrow (Santana, 2008). In Rambo's case, the paradigm of territory shapes an imagination articulated by the primary presence of a camera (which already makes him look like a hero), and in the second case, by the power of an industry that makes him a hero. In this way, Rambo

constitutes a brand of consumption that has as its exchange value a notion of heroism, making it an essential icon of mass culture.



Figure 03: Film release poster for the Amazon Rambo movie – The rescue of the teacher. Secretaria de Estado da Cultura do Amazonas, 2016. Photo: Anderson Mendes/ Personal Archive.

Because the Amazon Rambo lives in a marginalized area, he is a hero just because he is still alive. Rambo has no alternative, he needs to be continuously awakened from the sleep of an ordinary man. The perfect setup that involves Rambo is the hybridization of the hero's image to the explicit reality of the poor community in which he lives. In this sense, the Amazon Rambo takes the hero image as an experience capable of reflecting, even in an inverse sense, a reality experienced locally by him and his community. Rambo builds his territory as a place of

transformation, where “art has the function of contributing to the best use of life” (Alea, 1984: 32).

In this chapter, I have positioned the movie *‘Rambo da Amazonia – O resgate da professora* (2016), as a Borderline Cinema production, which features a combination of lack of financial support, presence of more than one film genre in a single movie, improvised scenarios, and the presence of local and rural peculiarities. The movie also has collaborative scripts, a lot of improvisation, and even when there is an intention to present a more serious or densely dramatic scene, the movie falls under a comedic representation by using precarious scenarios, costumes, plans and framing, visual effects, among others. The actors themselves are encouraged to present a more mechanical interpretation reinforced by clichés and stereotypes.

Rambo da Amazonia tells the story of a man who acts like a hero in his homeland. While in the United States or any other developed country, we find many fictional heroes saving all types of people on the screen, in the *Rambo da Amazonia*, it almost feels like Adenir Coti is saving himself. It is not easy to live in a place where poverty and violence is a constant fear. The invisibility given to Borderline Cinema may not only be present in the lack of incentive for the production of the films, but also in the lives of their characters who often see the movies as a way to get away from their difficult realities.

In this chapter, I have positioned the ways in which private companies are investing public money to finance cultural projects that favor their own market policies. I have addressed the specific case of the Itau Bank, through the Itau Borderline Cinema Festival to critically evaluate the real intentions behind the promotion of Borderline Cinema. Drawing attention to the current debates surrounding the incentive law mechanisms for the finance of cultural projects in

Brazil, it was observed that private corporations are more interested in attracting potential clients to these festivals than actually generating critical debates surrounding the Borderline field.

I have also noted the importance of changing the ways in which the sponsoring laws work, by providing more incentives for the promotion of the field. This has led to my discussion on the current role of the Brazilian government in actively stimulating small and experimental productions in the country, and to promote an equal distribution of films in cinema theaters, valuing the national and local. Borderline Cinema calls into question the overwhelming scenario that many artists in the country are facing, with lack of support systems and power imbalances. This chapter has also revealed that Borderline filmmakers should also expand their film knowledge as well their technological devices in order to produce more films. However, given the filmmaker's social vulnerability, this can only be done when the Brazilian Federal government finally recognizes the brilliant potential of these artists.

Chapter 5

Conclusions

In this thesis, I have investigated how Borderline Cinema practices are currently unfolding in Brazil. There is still much to be investigated and understood about this film practice, especially how producers and directors are dealing with the new market changes that are happening around the field. The studies surrounding the Borderline Cinema field are relevant to understand the social and economic contrasts of Brazil, and also to acknowledge the presence of this parallel film circuit that is still invisible for the majority of the Brazilian population. Cinema in Latin America was born as a place for going against the hegemonic industry of film production, dominated by Hollywood and Europe. With the emergence of movements such as Cinema Novo, Cinema Marginal, and Cinema de Retomada, Brazilian directors built a space for the production of creative, original, and authentic movies focused on showing the real Latin America. Borderline Cinema is another chapter in this film history, with its peculiarities and unique aesthetics which represents the singularity of Brazil's culture.

To characterize a film as Borderline, it is necessary to analyze factors from its production to its reception, which can be an arduous task. Borderline Cinema is a type of film production built under specific characteristics, such as the lack of proper technical resources, the exaggeration of narratives, amateur directors, among others. The interest in learning more about the cinematographic field of my country and the way it is being composed was the primary motivator for the execution of this research. For this reason, I could not choose another subject to carry out this scholarly investigation. I believe that everything in our life needs to be motivated by something that touches our soul, and Brazilian films touch my soul.

As a communication professional, as an apprentice in research, and as a film-lover, I perceive the cinematographic field being a communication mechanism that allows one to look at the other to exchange unknown realities and stories, even if we do not always share the same sociocultural structure. Thus, as a result of all the reflections made during this research, I defend the acknowledgement of Borderline Cinema as a decentralized cinematographic production that portrays particular aspects of regionalized communities, which have their own culture, and forms of representation.

While for the film industry the availability of online movies is a concern, for Borderline producers it is a significant advantage. With the rise of digital products and the cheapness of sound and image equipment, more people are able to get involved with the world of cinema. The reflections that guide this research start from the assumption that “art, which was previously designated as a position of privilege, a touchstone of the highest values of civilization - is now redefined as only a special form of a general social process” (Hall, 2008: 127). In other words, art can no longer be seen as a place of a prestigious position, but rather as a social mechanism capable of bringing together different people with different views.

Chapter one introduced the history of Latin America Cinema, emphasizing the Cinema Novo movement from the 60s, which helped to shape the cinematographic field in the country. This paper also dialogued with the notion of the Third World Cinema, which comprises films that are produced in the so-called Third World countries. It is understood that such movements outlined above helped to shape the identity of Brazilian films, by displaying the history of the country, the people, its customs, and cultures. There was, thus the recognition of Brazil’s cultural autonomy. It is important to emphasize the importance of these movements, which goes far beyond the attainment of international prestige. For filmmakers of the Novo Cinema, exposing

the reality of the Latin American countries, albeit aggressively, was an attempt to discuss the theme of colonization and exploration of many Latin American countries.

For the Borderline Cinema filmmakers, such movements opened space for the elaboration of authorial films, marked by the presence of regional and cultural elements, which are synchronized with the realities of the communities of each Borderline director. It is also necessary to take into account, factors such as the historical evolution of digital media which increased the possibilities of filmmaking and the exposure to global cultures. Both factors, facilitated the understanding of Borderline Cinema as a hybrid phenomenon, as stated by Canclini (1995).

The author himself recognizes that this process of hybridization did not come easily, but instead it was the effort of individuals and collective creativity that created space for the exchange of social practices to generate new possibilities of production and distribution (Canclini, 1995).

In Chapter Two, I have proceeded to outline my theoretical and methodological approach to this investigation. I have adopted a combined colonial and postcolonial framework to examine theories of cultural identity and globalization. Thus, the initial question returns: how does one analyze the cultural manifestations that do not fit in the cult, experimental or the mainstream style of film production? As for the 'border' concept, it can be understood that the same does not apply only to everything that is considered marginal, but rather to the processes and manifestations that are on the other side, outside of the hegemonic media (Lyra, 2008). A Borderline film can be defined as an amateur elaboration of a community's imagination that re-adapts popular culture formats with industrial models. The Borderline characteristics, with its precariousness, instability, and exaggeration give to filmmakers the possibility of constantly reinventing themselves, which can lead to innovative and creative results.

In Chapter Three, my focus shifts to the Borderline Cinema practices and its main characteristics, providing notions that can help define them. I did so by analyzing the works of authors such as Bernadette Lyra and Gelson Santana, researchers who first started the studies around Borderline Cinema. I dealt with issues of regionality (Dennison, 2012) and locality (Navarro, 2017), to approach the diversity of popular interactions that are present in these films. It is within these gaps that I have examined how Borderline filmmakers mobilize and produce initiatives with their own social dynamics (Li 2007:26).

Building on my analysis in Chapter Four, I have critically engaged with the new market scenario that is currently happening in the cinematographic field in Brazil and how this is affecting the production and distribution of Borderline movies. With the introduction of the cultural incentive laws in Brazil, both Roanuet Law (1991) and the Audiovisual Law (1993), a new model for the financing and sponsoring of films was introduced in the country.

Both laws are considered anti-democratic, and much has been heard about the real benefits of these incentives. As the selection of the projects is concentrated in the hands of big corporations, independent filmmakers are at a clear disadvantage, as corporations prefer to choose projects that can give financial or marketing returns to the company. When analyzing how these models are affecting the Borderline field, it was observed that the promotion of Borderline Festivals by the Itau Bank in the city of Sao Paulo, has been motivated by commercial reasons and no actual change or debates surrounding the Borderline field had taken place.

In this sense, it is possible to recognize that the hypothesis that guided the research was proven: actions, like the incentive laws and the promotion of Borderline Cinema festivals, are not modifying the Borderline audiovisual practices in Brazil, nor allowing access to the Borderline

production of the films, revealing that the field is still invisible in the country. The Brazilian cultural field has suffered along the years due to the negligence of the relevant authorities in managing the field, along with severe financial cuts. This is a scenario that was aggravated after the impeachment of the Brazilian President Ms. Dilma Rouseff in 2016, which led the country to an economic recession that is still ongoing. While the Brazilian cinematographic field is going through a new phase, with more and more films being released every year, it is also necessary to debate, reflect and discuss what is being done with the small, experimental and marginalized film producers, that are still not being able to display their projects to the public. In my view, Borderline Cinema will continue being invisible to the majority of society, as long as the lack of investment for the cultural field continues in Brazil. It is necessary to change not only the economic and political situation of the country, but also the mentality of our representatives that government after government continue to treat with disdain the artists, producers, and directors.

In the political-economic context of neoliberalism, art becomes a form of a commodity that must seduce consumers to be salable. In the case of the incentive laws in Brazil, art must also entertain and produce a financial return to the investors, suppliers, and corporations. “A cultura é hoje claramente um produto a que se chega mediante um complexo de operações bem definidas pelo sistema de produção econômica em geral” (Coelho, 2012: 23). The author affirms that culture today has become nothing more than a commercial product with a clear operation process, whose final goal is to plead the economic system of production.

As we have shown throughout this research, the Itau Cultural sponsored a Borderline Festival to be exhibited during the ‘Festival Itau de Cinema de Bordas’ in the capital of Sao Paulo, Brazil from 2009-2016. The bank never expressed a social or artistic sympathy for the Borderline field before, on the contrary, it used the Festival as a way to merchandise products for

its potential. In the neoliberal context of mediatized societies, there is a trend of brand publicity that interferes with the choice of cultural projects sponsored by the tax incentive. In this context, the mediatization of society is materialized in social and cultural practices as well in the consumption habits. According to Canclini (1995), there is currently a debate around the concept of national development that has two perspectives. At first, we must address the cultural diversity of each country and its artistic expressions more effectively. Secondly, we must value the criteria of formal rationality and technical efficiency of the market for a fair competition process.

The incentive law came as an excellent initiative that was willing to encourage the production of cultural events, spectacles, and projects equally distributed around Brazil. However, what happened instead was the concentration of the money in only one part of the country and an unfair selection process, which is now under criminal and corruption investigation. One of the alternatives to improve these laws is to create legal measures that oblige companies to also invest in experimental, invisible, and community projects.

For a country as big as Brazil, it is inadmissible that only a small percentage of the population has access to a cinema theater. Society must pressure the government to take effective, continuous, and planned actions towards the improvement of the cultural sector. Socially and economically marginalized Borderline filmmakers in the peripheries of Brazil will continue dreaming, imagining, and having fun while producing their films. The research carried out here does not end at the moment, on the contrary, this is only the first step in a long journey of studies and research on the Borderline Cinema production.

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Appendix A

Borderline Cinema Festival

Borderline Cinema Festival. The official lineup from years 2009 - 2014.

Available at: <http://www.itaucultural.org.br/sites/cinemadebordas/edicoesanteriores.html>

São Paulo, Brazil.

Borderline Cinema Festival (Mostra Itau Cinema de Bordas), Itau Cultural. Official Lineup for the 2015 festival.

Available at: <http://www.itaucultural.org.br/mostra-cinema-de-bordas#apresentacao>

São Paulo, Brazil.

Festival Rumos and Borderline Cinema, Itau Cultural. Official lineup for the 2016 festival.

Available at <http://www.itaucultural.org.br/lista-de-selecionados-rumos-2015-2016>

São Paulo, Brazil.