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Archeology of the narrative about voucher for culture in Brazil: political performance in formulating the program's legal framework

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Abstract

The Program of Culture for the Worker (Programa de Cultura do Trabalhador), launched in 2012 by the Federal Government of Brazil, is a public policy established to encourage cultural consumption by offering a voucher to access cultural events called – Vale-Cultura. From the bill to its publication (Law 12761 of 27 December 2012), it was handled between Government and Congress for four years, incorporating signification from both. This article aims to historicize the Vale-Cultura's narrative during the period the program's legal framework was being formulated. For this, an archive of 47 documents was analyzed using NVivo qualitative research software. The archaeological method of discursive analysis attributed to Michel Foucault was performed. Two discursive formations emerged from this analysis: "Culture's Commerce" and "Social Inclusion". Conclusions were presented and what was at first understood as contradictory, was later perceived as complementary. Finally, suggestions are proposed, considering the current performance of the program.

Keywords: Vale-Cultura. Public Policies. Legal Framework. Cultural Consumption. Foucauldian Archaeological Method.

Arqueologia do discurso do Vale-Cultura: performance política durante a constituição do seu marco legal

Resumo

O Programa de Cultura do Trabalhador, lançado em 2012 pelo Governo Federal do Brasil, é uma política pública destinada ao incentivo do consumo cultural por meio da oferta de um benefício comumente chamado de Vale-Cultura. Do projeto de lei até a sua publicação (Lei Nº. 12.761 de 27/12/2012), o programa tramitou entre o executivo e o legislativo por 4 anos, incorporando significados de acordo com os posicionamentos do Governo e do Congresso. O presente artigo visa historicizar o discurso do Vale-Cultura durante o período de constituição do seu marco legal. Para isso, foi composto um arquivo com 47 documentos, posteriormente submetidos à análise pelo *software* de pesquisa qualitativa *NVivo*. Para tal, utilizou-se o método arqueológico de análise discursiva atribuído a Michel Foucault. Duas formações discursivas emergiram dessa análise: "Comercialização da Cultura" e "Inclusão Social". Conclusões foram apresentadas e o que poderia parecer à primeira vista contraditório mais tarde foi percebido como complementar. Finalmente, reflexões também foram sugeridas, considerando o desempenho atual do programa.

Palavras-chave: Vale-Cultura. Políticas Públicas. Marco legal. Consumo Cultural. Método Arqueológico Foucaultiano.

Arqueología del discurso del Vale Cultura: desempeño político durante la constitución de su marco legal

Resumen

El Programa de Cultura del Trabajador, lanzado en 2012 por el Gobierno Federal de Brasil, es una política pública para fomentar el consumo cultural, a través de la oferta de un beneficio comúnmente llamado Vale-Cultura. Desde el proyecto de ley hasta su publicación (Ley N° 12761 del 27/12/2012), el programa tramitado entre el ejecutivo y el legislativo durante cuatro años, incorporando significados de las posiciones del Gobierno y del Congreso. En este artículo se pretende ubicar históricamente el discurso del Valle-Cultura durante el período de constitución de su marco legal. Para esto, fue compuesto un archivo de 47 documentos fueron analizados mediante el software de investigación cualitativa NVivo. Para este propósito, se utilizó el método arqueológico de análisis del discurso atribuido a Michel Foucault. Dos formaciones discursivas surgieron de este análisis: "comercislización de la Cultura" e "Inclusión Social". Las conclusiones fueron presentadas y lo que podría parecer a primera vista contradictorio, se percibe más tarde como complementar. Por último, también sugirieron reflexiones teniendo en cuenta el rendimiento actual del programa.

Palabras clave: Vale-Cultura. Políticas Públicas. Marco legal. Consumo Cultural. Método Arqueológico de Foucault.

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VALE-CULTURA: FROM CONCEPTION TO APPROVAL

The structuring of what would later become the Worker's Cultural Program was initiated by the Ministry of Culture during the regime of Minister Gilberto Gil and instituted by Law 12.76/2012, whose objective was to offer workers the means to exercise their cultural rights and access to sources of culture. When the program was initially conceived, the actions of the Ministry of Culture was basically oriented by three principles: (1) culture does not consist solely of fine arts, and also has anthropological, economic and political dimensions; (2) cultural policy should be constituted as a policy of the State; (3) government cultural policy seeks to broaden access to the production, distribution and fruition mechanisms of cultural goods (BARBOSA, 2008). With this, the Ministry resurrected the broader concept of culture with an anthropological focus – which had been abandoned in practice since the middle of the 1980s – and emphasized culture as a right of every citizen guaranteed by the Federal Constitution¹ of 1988. The concept of culture thus was broadened and extended, integrating various cultural manifestations and daily practices of the Brazilian population (AMORIM, 2013; BOTELHO, 2001; CALABRE, 2008; 2010).

To implement the program, the Federal Government created the Vale-Cultura, a cultural voucher for workers who earn up to five times the minimum wage. The beneficiary receives a rechargeable magnetic card with a monthly value of fifty reais, which offers access to cultural goods in the following areas: the visual arts, dramatic arts, literature, humanities and information, music and cultural heritage. Participation in the program is voluntary and can be accomplished by registering with one of the participating companies. They cover, at least, 90% of the value of the benefit, or in other words, R\$ 45.00, with the rest, up to 10%, discounted from the worker's salary. On the other hand, the companies that provide this benefit list it as an operating expense for tax purposes, with a value of less than 1%, which is taxed based on net profits.

Brazilian constitutional law, which the legislative process refers to, establishes that a federal law needs to be thoroughly discussed by Congress before being signed by the President of the Republic (LENZA, 2006; MORAES, 2014; PADILHA, 2008). With this, to the extent that congressmen discuss and consider a bill, questions, statements, and favorable and unfavorable positions emerge based on the project's merit or technical aspects or electoral or party issues. During the four years that the bill was considered by the legislature, the benefit incorporated various forms of significance in accordance with the positions taken by the federal government and Congress.

Specifically in the legislative environment, government speeches, committee reports, congressional pronouncements and proposed amendments gave the initial version new nuances. The presence of three agents may be perceived in this context: the government, coalition congressmen, and opposition congressmen. All are part of the political discourse which is polarized and divided into two sides: those in favor of the benefit (the government and its allies); and those opposed to, or dissatisfied with the benefit (the opposition). And it is within this scenario, that the present study seeks to understand the evolution of the discourse concerning the Vale-Cultura during the passage of its related legislation. Thus, we consider here:

- politicians as discursive agents, including the discourse of the executive branch as well as Congress;
- the legal framework² which is the base on which one constructs and determines the nature and extent of political, legal and social participation in an act or institution.

Based on the assumption that the social construction of reality is included in the discourse, whether this is based on words or images, various texts can contribute to raising and destroying theories and practices. The construction of knowledge includes the search for the truth, which is modified over time and depends on the understanding of who is transmitting it. To arrive at a given truth, it is necessary to use efforts which make it possible to reach the bases for these discourses, in a way that constructs knowledge in a manner similar to archeology (MACHADO, 2006). In this sense, this study uses as its base the archeological method developed by the philosopher Michel Foucault.

Archeology understands the first cycle of Foucault as the search for knowledge, the second (genealogy) includes the understanding of the exercise of power, and the third deals with subjective ethical issues (GIACOMONI and VARGAS, 2010). Even though

¹The common policy of the jurisdictions of the Union, the states, the Federal District and the municipalities, established in Article 23 of the Federal Constitution, is listed in Subsection 5: providing the means of access to culture, education and science.

²This is normally made up of a group of regulatory provisions and interrelated laws (MORAES, 2014).

Foucault did not leave behind an explicit methodology to be followed, the author's first cycle presents indications of analytic categories that can guide an archeological analysis (GIACOMONI and VARGAS, 2010; MUCHAIL, 1980).

Using research of a documentary nature as a base, archeology seeks to find in this logical chain, which extends from statements to discursive formations, a regularity that sustains the practices supported by this discourse. Thus, it is necessary to create a document archive, which can be made up of various items from the most diverse sources: the media, government, public opinion, art works, music, photographs, etc. Each part of this archive can reveal specific historically situated truths, which are articulated around a common order, in the sense of supporting a given practice or form of knowledge. However, more than in the emitting body, the main interest here is in the context within which the message is transmitted, as well as the reason for its pronouncement and the effects that it has had.

The archeological method includes real discourse analysis, of that which is pronounced and materially exists, through the composition of statements, rules and discursive formations. Its composition therefore is defined by its main objectives: the discourse, the statement and knowledge (MACHADO, 1981). Thus, the present study is restricted to following the methodological delimitations of only the first cycle, utilizing the analytical procedures delineated by Costa and Leão (2011; 2012) and by Leão, Ferreira and Gomes (2016). During the analysis of this study's archive, composed of 47 data sources, transcriptions of some of the documents and pronouncements by congressmen and ministers were presented, to reinforce the understanding of the government's discourse and signal how the benefit was crafted to meet the interests of various political forces.

THE DIMENSIONS OF CULTURE IN BRAZILIAN CULTURAL POLICY

The academic discussion regarding the Vale-Cultura as a public policy is mainly based on the area of cultural policy, which is still considered very broad, fragmented and sometimes divergent. Rubim (2008) shows that the existing bibliography regarding the country's cultural policy is dispersed among many disciplines and lacks a truly systematic attempt to address this theme. However, espousing a contrary view, Mato (2008) argues that there is a need to retrieve cultural studies from the "slum" that they have been placed in, which is very limited compared to the vast world outside. To this author, the understanding of culture from other points of view confers on it a much broader analytic and theoretical productivity.

To Calabre (2016), if there is unanimity among studies within the field of culture, it is the affirmation that cultural policy consists of shared decision making, which is the fruit of actions by the State, civil institutions and community groups. To achieve this effective result in terms of the relationship between the State and society, it is necessary to construct instruments and paths to implement public policy in a democratic and participative manner (BOLÁN, 2006; SARAVIA, 2006; RUBIM, 2007).

In relation to the formulation of public policy in the field of culture, it is useful to separate those which consider culture from its anthropological dimension and those which consider it from its sociological dimension. This distinction is necessary, because depending on which dimension we use, public policy takes on different strategies: or in other words culture is treated in a broader form or is restricted to the field of arts.

In the anthropological dimension, culture is understood as all that man performs and produces, symbolically and materially speaking. Public policy which is based on this concept seeks to promote more radical and profound structural changes in society, in the daily lives of individuals, interfering in lifestyles, customs, social relationships, etc. Normally it's considered to have a medium to long-term impact.

From a sociological point of view, culture is a production performed with the explicit intention of constructing certain meanings to reach some type of audience through specific means of expression. It is artistic expression in the strict sense. It consists of actions that stimulate by various means, the production, circulation and consumption of symbolic goods, understanding culture as being based on common sense. This type of public policy has a more immediate impact and is concrete and more easily measured (BOTELHO, 1997; 2001). The author also adds that it is difficult to extend cultural policy to the anthropological dimension, even though it is considered more noble and democratic, given that from this point of view, everyone produces culture.

Assuming a discourse that argues that culture is everything does not bring with it a breadth of public policy that makes it viable in practice. Thus, a broad and diffuse understanding of culture is a problem that managers face in implementing cultural policy, unlike other segments such as health and education (CAVALCANTE, 2012). Added to this is the fact that in Brazil, "[...] culture has to make a lot of effort to demonstrate its inclusion in the priorities of public intervention and general interest, and has few allies in the face of great difficulties" (SEMPERE, 2011, p. 118).

Silva (2013) explains that the field of culture has had the State as a powerful ally, especially since 2003 during Lula's first term, with there being a conceptual change in public policy, in terms of the role of the State as well as the opening of participation up to everyone who is a member of the cultural segment. This corroborates the understanding presented by Calabre (2009, p. 263): "[...] the concept of cultural policy is broad [...] it is not limited to the actions of ministers of culture or similar government bodies." Based on this assumption, since 2003 the entire re-elaboration of the role of the Ministry of Culture has been until recently designed through intense dialogues with society. This can be seen in the National Conferences on Culture and their effects on the decisions taken by the executive and legislative branches, as well as the implementation of the National Cultural System (SNC) and the National Cultural Plan (PNC).

It should be noted that this action was not the only merit of public management at the time. Pogrebinschi and Santos (2011) emphasize that various participative practices – participative budgets, conferences, boards, referendums, plebiscites, and public hearings– have been mainly driven by the Constitution of 1988, which has provided more favorable conditions for governments which profess more democratic beliefs. In terms of the results of popular participation in the formulation of cultural policy, Silva (2013) lists various legislative proposals which were, in general, supported by the Ministry of Culture, because they were part of its model for new regulations governing cultural activities. Thus, if we examine legislative activity in congress from 2003 to 2012, we see a series of bills which together have established a new legal framework for culture in this country.

Considering this context, Calabre (2009, p. 264) adds a political dimension as well as the anthropological and sociological dimensions of culture: "[...] more coercive, less authoritarian, inclusive, socialized," because "[...] this exercise makes it possible to understand the relationships between power and space in terms of social participation." In this political dimension, Chauí (1995) presents four positions of the State in relation to culture: a liberal position, which identifies culture and especially the fine arts as a privilege of an educated elite which consumes cultural products; an authoritarian position, in which the State places itself as the official producer of culture and the censor of civil society's cultural production; a populist position, governed by a generalized abstraction of popular culture; and a neoliberal position, which identifies culture as *mass media* and tends to privatize public institutions of culture (BEZERRA and GUERRA, 2012).

ARCHEOLOGY IN THE LEGAL FRAMEWORK OF THE VALE-CULTURA

The archive used for this study is composed of 47 sources of collected data, which constitute the legal framework of the Vale-Cultura, as can be seen in Box 1. In this instance, the path to its approval began on 12/29/2008 when the Ministry of Culture sent the President of the Republic the Worker's Cultural Program Bill. Then it was sent to Congress for discussion, revision and approval, and a final version was sent back to the President to be sanctioned as law, subject to his approval. Finally, the Ministry of Culture elaborated and decreed its regulations. In this manner, the archive's sources represent the period from 12/29/2008 to 8/26/2013 when the President published Decree nº 8,084/2013, which regulates the Vale-Cultura.

Box 1

Composition of the research archive

Type of data	Quantity
Bill	1
Speech made by Minister Juca Ferreira to launch the program	1
Requests to Send the Bill to the President	9
Congressional Committee Reports on the Bill and Congressional Amendments	11
Presentation of Bill Amendments	2
Diaries of all the Congressional Debates on the Bill	3
Congressional Requests to Place the Bill in the Daily Schedule	18
Law 12,761 of December 27, 2012	1
Decree 8084 of August 26, 2013	1
Total	47

Source: Elaborated by the authors (2016).

The sources of the secondary data were exclusively official: the websites of the Ministry of Culture and Congress. All of the data was organized chronologically by order of occurrence and released using the NVivo software for the Mac, Version 10. This qualitative research software made it possible to perform a close reading of the documents and contributed to the analysis phase along with the use of tools for organizing, selecting and grouping information.

After the collection, organization and release of the data on NVivo, we began a close reading of the documents, with the selection of the statement evidence. For illustrative effects, 323 instances of documents were prioritized; the great majority were concentrated in the three dairies of the ordinary sessions of Congress. This evidence was placed at first in 20 groups, facets or nodes, in the language of the software.

On this occasion, considering the nature of the data, for each piece of evidence selected, we sought to identify its discursive agent. This work was more detailed, because in the committee reports, it was necessary to frame the discourse as being from the government (including its allies) or the opposition. This was only possible after we understood the political arrangement that governed the federal scenario when the data was collected.

Specifically in the case of the four committees which published reports about the bill – the Work, Administration and Public Service Committee; the Education and Culture Committee; the Finance and Taxation Committee; and the Constitutional, Justice and Citizenship Committees – the politicians who participation in each committee were identified to subsequently frame their reports as discourses of the allied parties or the opposition. Even though the committees are, in their essence, apolitical in character and their goal is to conduct a technical analysis of the bill from various perspectives, we perceived that they were mainly composed by representatives or senators of the allied parties. In this way, these reports, for the purposes of this archeological analysis, were also considered to be a discourse of the government.

Along general lines, Foucault inspired archeological analysis consists of the search for regularity in the dispersion of statements that delineate and sustain certain discursive formations according to the functions and rules that these discourses perform. Operationally, we use this archeology to generate **statements** and their **statement functions**, which are turned into **rules** which give support to **discursive formations** (characterized in Box 2). After generating the statements, we identified their functions, in such a way that one statement could be related to various statements (LEÃO, FERREIRA and GOMES, 2016).

Box 2

Analytic Categories of the Archeological Method

Concept	Description
Statements	They are functions of existence that belong to signs, but do not deal with a structure or certain units, but rather the functions that cross domains and analyses, revealing concrete themes delineated in space and time. Thus, even though they refer to signs, we do not find these statements in signs or groupings of particular signs. On the other hand, these statements may not be identified in an isolated manner, given that it is common to find relationships between statements.
Statement Functions	Indicates that the statement “acts” in a certain manner: instead of being found in grammar or logic, it is located in the spaces of differentiation of a discourse, producing its own distinctive characteristic; instead of being proffered by a subject of a statement, it is found in the different voices of a given subjective position; it coexists in a field associated with other statements; it does not refer to a substance but rather a materiality, which has countless ways of being used.
Rules of Formation	Discursive formations follow certain rules of formation, which are existence, coexistence, maintenance, modification and disappearance. Foucault (2014) presents four rules of formation: objects , which are defined by the locations, delimitations and specifications of statements; statement types , which refer to the style and way in which these subjects based on their positions proffer statements; concepts that have to do with the meaning attributed to certain notions and are always delineated in a statement field; and finally strategies which have to do with how the discourse is guided by certain ideas, theories and themes that determine its points of diffraction (incompatibility and equivalence) and reveal the choices that were integrated with the discourse and the functions of this discourse in terms of the field of non-discursive practices.
Discursive Formation	The statement groupings that establish discursive formations are conveyed by the way in which these functions make the conditions for these rules possible. Foucault (2014) understands that discourses are always dispersed. Discursive analysis, however, makes it possible for us to understand a discourse based on a certain regularity, identifiable by its formations.

Source: Leão, Ferreira and Gomes (2016).

In this manner, we sought to analyze each group of evidence, verifying consistency, similarities and differences as compared to other groups, in the attempt to identify statements. At the end of this analysis, we arrived at seven statements which were translated into clear and concise phrases, whose grouping adequately represents its content. Then we identified 3 statement functions that translate the intentions of the statements. It should be emphasized that this analysis, up until this point, was purely empirical, without any theoretical interference.

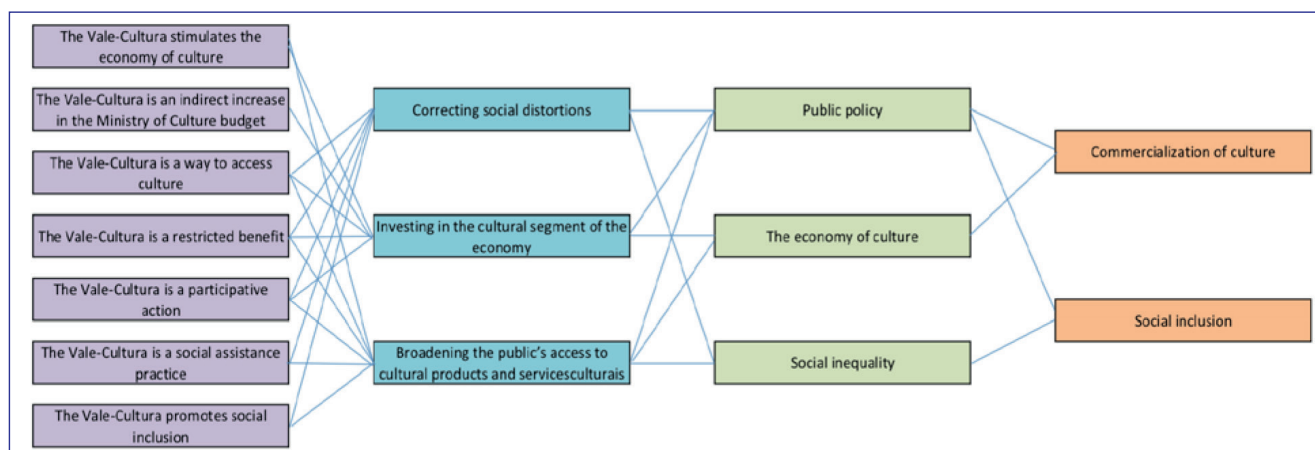
We therefore categorized the identified statement functions and arrived at 3 rules which determined the discursive formations. To do this, we considered the objects and the concepts contained within them, as well as types and strategies (FOUCAULT, 2008). At this point, in addition to an empirical evaluation of the data, we made use of the textual supplements which presented the guiding principles of the Ministry of Culture during the regime under which the bill was proposed. Therefore we intentionally verified whether the truths revealed in this process were in line with, and adhered to the principles that marked this regime. Finally, using an exercise of verticalization analysis and deeper reflection, we identified 2 large discursive formations capable of demonstrating regularity in the middle of the dispersions contained within the government's discourse regarding the Vale-Cultura during the process of constructing its legal framework. Below we unveil the results.

ANALYSIS AND DISCUSSION OF THE ARCHIVE

In order to promote a better understanding of this study's results, we present here a synthesis of the evolution of the prepared archeological analysis chain (Figure 1). Each column of the figure (statements, functions, rules and formations) is then explained element by element, always contemplating a brief explanation and presentation of the illustrative evidence together with possible inferences.

Figure 1

Synthesis of the Prepared Archeological Analysis based on the Government's Discourse regarding the Vale-Cultura during the Constitution Phase of its Legal Framework



Source: Elaborated by the authors (2016).

IDENTIFIED STATEMENTS (S)

Joanilho and Joanilho (2011) define a statement based on the requirements presented by Foucault. They should be considered fully historical, linked to their rules of formation and should be correlated with other statements for the potential composition of meaning. Revel (2005) adds that, to Foucault, a group of statements that obeys the same rule of functionality make up a discourse.

In the selected archive, 7 statements in the government's discourse were identified, which were manifested in a proposed form when the bill was presented, as well as an explanatory form when the proposal was detailed, seeking adherents and responding to questions and impasses that arose during the process. Each one of these statements is presented below in the form of a topic and a comment.

- S1: The Vale-Cultura stimulates the economy of culture

The benefit is used through cultural consumption, injecting resources into the economy of culture which, as a consequence, develops a greater and more diversified offer of cultural products and services. This broadening of the offer of cultural goods meets a new demand that up until now has been repressed. In parallel, the State also contributes by way of structured actions in the field of culture, through investments in infrastructure that allow cultural producers to formally offer their production.

The discussion of the beneficial impact of this initiative on the economy of culture is present during practically all occasions to justify the program, in addition to stressing the importance of this segment for the country's economy. The specific issue of investment in infrastructure was presented as an indispensable condition for the success of this benefit. This is perceptible in the discourse of the Ministry of Culture during the launching of the program. From its point of view, there is a need to invest in infrastructure that enables the entire population to have contact with culture. In this manner, in parallel to the Vale-Cultura, there are investments by the Ministry of Culture in cultural equipment through specific programs such as, for example Mais Cultura (More Culture).

- S2: The Vale-Cultura is an indirect increase in the Ministry of Culture budget

The budget of the Ministry of Culture is one of the smallest in comparison with other ministries. Based on this data, the government seeks to broaden the amount of financial resources invested in culture, offering a benefit that comes from forgone revenue. This treatment of the Ministry of Culture by the President of the Republic has been occurring since 2003 with the Proposal of a Constitutional Amendment – PEC 150, which envisions an annual contribution of 2% of the federal budget, 1.5% of the budget of the states and the Federal District, and 1% of municipal budgets to culture. The argument for the need to increase the Ministry of Culture's budget was used by various congressmen to justify the implementation of the program. It is estimated that with the Vale-Cultura there was an injection of up to R\$ 11.3 billion in the cultural chain of production between 2013 and 2016, through foregone revenue.

- S3: The Vale-Cultura is way to access culture

In addition to the conditions that already exist in terms of cultural fruition, the use of the Vale-Cultura is a means for the contemplated workers to access and enjoy cultural products and services. With R\$ 50.00 a month, the government argues that the portion of the public that benefits from it has the opportunity to decide where, when and how to use it to enjoy the cultural products and services contemplated by the program. It's an attempt by the government to guarantee the full exercise of cultural rights and access to sources of national culture, to on one hand make this access more universal, and also to provide the motivational component inherent in this benefit which stimulates visits to cultural and artistic establishments, events and shows.

- S4: The Vale-Cultura is a restricted benefit

This benefit is restricted in relation to the contemplated public as well as the cultural products and services that can be acquired with the Vale-Cultura. The target public of the program is mainly composed of workers who earn up to 5 times the minimum wage and are registered in institutions that opt to be taxed on net profits, which corresponds to roughly 13 million Brazilians. In terms of cultural products, the Ministry of Culture has listed the cultural goods that can be acquired with the Vale-Cultura. This was the most controversial point and the greatest object of discussion in Congress in regard to this program, being the motive for the postponement of the voting to better define its configurations and limits. In this case, there was a fervent and insistent discourse by the opposition to include segments of the public not cited in the original text of the bill. The greatest emphasis was placed on retirees and pensioners followed by public servants and interns.

On this occasion, the government's discourse assumed various tones, becoming ambiguous at times. There were congressmen who defended the idea of a larger target public that would benefit from the Vale-Cultura, but with different monetary values. Other government congressmen defended the original format of the program, explaining why retirees and pensioners were being excluded given that they are already covered by other programs of the State. The decisive point, stronger than the political and electoral ones, was the legal impediment to offering the Vale-Cultura to retirees and pensioners. In terms of public employees, it was perceived that the federal government did not have the power to interfere with the decision of the states and municipalities in terms of the implementation of this benefit. Thus, a consensus was formed to not include this group. The argument for including interns, meanwhile, gradually lost support and was totally ignored in the final vote.

It is interesting to analyze that, at the end, the public that benefits from the program – registered workers with a salary of up to 5 times the minimum wage – is of much more interest to the Workers' Party than the nation as such. The Workers' Party

(PT), since its origin in the 1980s, has promoted changes in the lives of workers in the city and the country. That being so, the other portions of the public which were the subject of the discussions in Congress, are of less relevance to the interests of the government.

No less controversial was the discussion in Congress regarding the cultural goods that could be acquired with the Vale-Cultura. In this case, the government assumed that these limits still had not been determined, even though it had already defined them in the bill. This discussion took on a much more complex character, because it became an understanding of what culture is, and also a judgment of the value of a higher quality cultural good as compared to a lower quality good. On this occasion, two congressional amendments were presented, seeking to include sporting events in the range of options available through the Vale-Cultura. During the voting, both were withdrawn.

To provide context, it should be noted that outside the discussions in the legislative branch, society pronounced its opinion about the segments contemplated by the program. The government was put under strong pressure to include cable TV and video games in the goods offered by the Vale-Cultura. This pressure, indubitably, was felt in Congress and the congressmen defended their interest groups.

- S5: The Vale-Cultura is a participative action

From the program's conception by the Ministry of Culture, the Vale-Cultura benefit was thought of, conceived, and formatted with the active participation of other government bodies, boards and public and private institutions that act directly or indirectly in the field of culture. In addition, during the implementation phase there was a mobilization of the sectors of the economy of culture, unions and other class organizations for the spontaneous adhesion of companies to the program. This can be perceived by the letter of approval sent by the Ministry of Culture to the President of the Republic, which contains a series of justifications to guarantee the success of the program.

Congressmen evoked the importance of the involvement of various sectors in the field of culture as a proof of the success of the initiative. On the other hand, it is good to understand the dynamic of cultural producers with the State when they benefit above all from the fundraising and incentive laws instituted by the Ministry of Culture and state and municipal secretariats of culture through competitive grants, which harm for the most part, the sector's self-sustainability.

- S6: The Vale-Cultura is a social assistance practice

The offer of a benefit like the Vale-Cultura is a contribution to workers that meets their specific needs in the enjoyment of culture. This assistance seeks to correct a scarcity of access provoked by unfavorable conditions faced by a portion of the Brazilian population. This can be verified by the existence of social inequalities and the unfavorable situation that workers find themselves in, in terms of access to cultural goods. Unlike the following statement – whose content can lead to it being thought of as similar to this one – it may be observed that this statement is an integral part of the government's discourse in response to accusations by opposition congressmen accompanying practices considered to be assistentialist, paternalist and tutelary by virtue of the governmental offer of “vouchers” and “grants” that can create a dependency and atrophy in the beneficiary population, due to its inducements and control by the State.

- S7: The Vale-Cultura promotes social inclusion

This benefit seeks to repair social inequalities, promoting social inclusion in a portion of the Brazilian population that is considered to be at the margin of the field of culture, because it does not exercise its cultural rights or ‘cultural citizenship.’ To Chauí (2006), ‘cultural citizenship’ is a political and democratic right, without privileges or exclusions to having access to the means of production or enjoyment of cultural goods. Contrary to the previous statement, it was not evoked by the government in response to accusations, but is rather a social banner of the program in line with the political principles of those in power. The Vale-Cultura by promoting social inclusion is a reparatory practice which attempts to improve the quality of life of the population.

DESCRIPTION OF STATEMENT FUNCTIONS

Foucault does not present a definition of a statement function, but rather a series of its attributes. To Deusdará (2008), a statement function is delineated by the emergence of a field of possibilities, of a regularity in the circulation of an exchange of statements. These are the actions exercised by statements and revealed by discursive practices.

In the present study, three statement functions have been revealed: correcting social distortions, investing in the economy of culture, and broadening the population's access to cultural products and services. Each one of these will be considered below.

- F1: Correcting social distortions.

With the Vale-Cultura, the government seeks to offer conditions for the workers who are beneficiaries of the program to exercise their rights or 'citizenship' (not just culturally) in a fuller form, minimizing the differences between the classes that exist in Brazilian society. The government already offers other benefits to the population through grants, vouchers and incentives. With this, it reinforces its discourse that this practice represents social assistance and compensation for the socioeconomic inequality that confronts the poorest portion of the population. This function is present in statements S3, S4, S5, S6 and S7, which reinforce the predominantly social nature of the program, even though this benefit is restricted to one portion of the population, in this case, a portion that is not necessarily the most needy in Brazilian society, given that all have formal employment.

- F2: Investing in the cultural segment of the economy

The government argues that the cultural segment of the economy should be systematically thought of as a means for economic and human development. This is why it alludes in its discourse to investing in this area as offering a greater and more diversified selection of cultural products and services to the population, and as a consequence it stimulates the economy of culture.

This function is present in statements S1, S2, S3, S4 and S5, which touch on economic theory. At first, one might think that the statement which refers to the participative action of the benefit has no relationship with the cited function. However, among various public participants, the actions of cultural producers during the conception of the bill were so notable that economic interests became a perennial subject in the congressmen's discussions.

One item that generated heated discussion in Congress was the use of a debit card for this benefit. Some congressmen argued for benefits in kind, but were convinced that the program's goals could not be met by workers acquiring other goods and services, such as food and transport. In addition, the card can be used only for formal cultural endeavors, which is an important aspect for the economy of culture. In this manner, the government is reconciling social and economic policy, meeting the needs of various interests and segments of the public with a single program.

- F3: Broadening the public's access to cultural products and services

This function is related to 6 statements (with the exception of S2) and consists of the reason for this benefit's existence. This could suggest that it would be contained within the previous two functions, but it is important to point out that with this program the government is changing the dynamic of its investments in this segment: where before it was centered on production and distribution, here it is directed towards access and consumption through the free choice of the employee beneficiary. With the Vale-Cultura, despite the restrictive elements cited above, the public has new powers to decide where, when and how to invest its monthly R\$ 50.00. This justifies the singularity of the function.

In this instance, the government takes on the obligation to provide the conditions for the Brazilian population's access to culture. Culture, within this context, is considered a political priority and comes to be treated in a distinctive manner, integrated with each citizen's "food basket." With this discourse, the enjoyment of cultural goods is given greater importance.

DESCRIPTION OF THE RULES

Machado (2006) points out the importance of rules in the archeological method. In his view, these are the conditions for the existence of a discourse. With well defined functions, they explain how a discourse is produced and distributed within a context. Normally, they are found in discontinuous and dispersed processes on the statement level (GIACOMONI and VARGAS, 2010).

The elements presented here as rules are based mainly on an empirical observation of the archive and, to a lesser extent, on the principles that guided the regime of the Ministry of Culture during the conception of the Worker's Cultural Program. Thus, 3 rules have been identified, described based on the categories presented by Foucault (2008), which make it possible, on this occasion, to go from dispersion to regularity.

- R1: Public policy

Public policy consists of a system of preventive or corrective public decisions designed to maintain or modify the reality of one or more sectors of social life, through the definition of performance and resource allocation strategies needed to achieve the established goals (SARAVIA, 2006). This rule is understood through statements identified in the discourse of the agent

under examination, keeping in mind that governmental actions normally are grounded in the adoption of public policy, as is the case with the Vale-Cultura, with the proper institutional and decision making underpinnings.

Specifically in the category of the object of this rule, we can see its consistency with the Ministry of Culture's principle in terms of the State's public policy, with the state intending to go extend this policy beyond one regime so that it evolves into a policy of greater longevity. A conceptual element of this rule is the problem that access to cultural goods is quite unequal in Brazil, and there is a need to make the enjoyment of cultural goods and services more democratic. Thus, on a strategic level, this rule lays the foundation for the satisfaction of political, economic and social interest groups, a good reputation for the government, and the maintaining of the social principles of the governing party.

- R2: The economy of culture

In the recent publication *The Economy of Culture in Europe*, the European Commission (2011, p. 302) presents two concepts related to the economy of culture. In terms of the referred to study, since it is better adapted to the context under examination, it considers the concept of cultural sectors: "[...] which are those that generate goods and services whose core is based on artistic production. Culture here, therefore, is understood as art as well as industrial mass production, which thus serves as a parameter for the definition of cultural sectors."

In comparison to the principle of the Ministry to stimulate cultural diversity using the conception of culture from various perspectives, it may be noted that the object of this rule of sectoral investment, which the agent uses in his or her discourse, favors an economic approach to culture. We can identify in the transcribed selection that follows the type and strategy categories of this cited rule in making the economy of culture more dynamic (with the generation of work, employment and income) through the application of public resources derived from foregone revenues in a public-private partnership.

- R3: Social inequality

Both equality and inequality are created and driven by rules and norms and these rules which drive these actions can be concrete or abstract (HELLER, 1998). In the case of Brazilian social inequality, the gap between social classes is great and extends along various fronts, as is the case with access to culture. We can observe that the strategic category of this rule is consistent with the Ministry of Culture's principle in terms of the democratization and promotion of access to, and the enjoyment of cultural goods. Thus, the object of the rule of reducing social inequality is identified in the related statements.

DISCURSIVE FORMATIONS

Foucault (2008, p. 43) refers to a discursive formation as: "[...] the case in which one could describe, among a certain number of statements, a similar system of dispersion, and in terms of objects, the types of statements, the concepts, and the thematic choices, and whether you can define a regularity (an order, correlations, positions and functionality, transformations), rights, by convention, which deal with a discursive formation [...]"

That being so, Foucault's proposal is directed towards the search for a regularity that exists behind the dispersion of the elements, a regularity which is the result of a process of discursive formation (GIACOMONI and VARGAS, 2010). Along this line of reasoning, Azevedo (2013) explains that the notion of discursive formation is established based on the following regularity present in the archeological work, which is capable of determining its homogeneity and its closed nature: order, correlation, functionality and transformation.

For the present study, after we concluded our analysis of the relationships between the statements, functions and rules, two discursive formations emerged: the commercialization of culture and social inclusion— which are described and commented on below.

- DF1: Commercialization of culture

The discursive formation "commercialization of culture" was demonstrated by the convergence of the statements and functions related to two rules: "public policy" and "the economy of culture." This relationship promotes a unity among the cited rules, which presents a certain homogeneity.

The Vale-Cultura, being a benefit that is used by means of a magnetic card that is filled monthly, stimulates commercial practices in the field of culture. It should be emphasized here that the use of a magnetic card carries with it a large degree of symbolism associated with consumption. Thus, the Vale-Cultura is a **public policy** which respects cultural diversity, however it

contemplates culture mainly through an **economic focus**. Governmental action in the economy of culture, or more precisely through the commercialization of cultural goods, has a multiplying effect which ranges from the more direct aspects of generating employment and income to organizations practicing social responsibility.

With the growing practice of cultural commerce, we cannot ignore the fact that the free offering of cultural products and services to the population will be reviewed when there is also the opportunity to raise funds through this benefit. This induces cultural producers, artists and other agents in the field of culture to adopt market practices more and more, to manage and offer cultural goods.

- DF2: Social inclusion

The second discursive formation “social inclusion” was demonstrated by the convergence of the statements and the functions regarding two rules: “public policy” and “social inequality.” This relationship also generates a unity among the cited rules, representing a homogeneity that is capable of composing the second discursive formation. The debate about culture and its socially emancipating character can lead to an interminable explanation which involves various theories, including those of the Frankfurt School, which treat this theme from various perspectives.

In this case, to sum up, statements and functions that converge on this formation demonstrate that the Vale-Cultura is a **public policy** within the field of culture that, by providing the means to enjoy cultural goods, promotes as a consequence **the means for social inclusion** for a portion of the Brazilian population. In this formation, we can perceive the close relationship between the Vale-Cultura and ‘cultural citizenship’, a polysemic concept that, according to Miller (2011), has been at least theorized by seven groups (sociological, anthropological, political, educational, historical, multiethnic, and neoliberal), all of them counting this public sphere as an essential element in their arguments.

FINAL CONSIDERATIONS

At first, the two discursive formations “commercialization of culture” and “social inclusion,” which result from the realized analysis appear to be contradictory in their conceptions. The understanding of commercialization brings with it a series of values and practices associated with the market, exchanges, products, money, and consumption, among others. Inserting these elements in the cultural segment can restrict the multiple conceptions of culture to a purely economic aspect, treating it basically as a commercialized good (BOTELHO, 2001; NASCIMENTO, 2007; SOBROSA, 2010).

On the other hand, social inclusion is a broad term which can be used in various contexts. In this case, it is understood to be an action that seeks to remove an individual from a situation of exclusion or inferiority in order to place that individual in a condition of equality within society. Through the enjoyment of various cultural products and services, culture contributes to the practice of a more holistic formation of individuals, providing them with knowledge and new possibilities for understanding reality and critiques. With this, in a functionalist approach, individuals will be able to educate themselves to enhance their employability, claiming their rights and thus a better quality of life.

The argument of “social inclusion” used by the politicians who defend this benefit could be considered to be equal to a strategy adopted to neutralize differences, delegitimizing arguments against the program. At various times, the debate in Congress demonstrated the selective nature of this benefit. However, under the banner of social inclusion, the government and its political allies managed to minimize this critique and move forward in their negotiations.

In analyzing the contradictory nature of these discursive formations, we can view them as complementary. The discourse of the Vale-Cultura unites and articulates these two discursive formations in a single public policy which in considering the social inclusion of the worker, also increases that worker’s power of consumption in terms of cultural goods. A similar dynamic occurs in almost all the grants and vouchers offered by the government. In addition, it must be remembered that in the field of Brazilian culture, the State acts as the most important economic driver, and uses countless actions to stimulate culture through competitive grants, contests and sponsorship, among other things.

We therefore can consider the Vale-Cultura to have a more anthropological focus in its conception, given that priority is given to the increase and diversification of the cultural habits of workers. In this manner, it seeks to interfere in the daily lives of

low income Brazilian families, offering them better conditions to enjoy culture. As a consequence, based on a developmental economic policy, this will inject resources into the field of culture to promote its growth, especially in Brazilian regions where the offerings of cultural goods and services are still very precarious.

In terms of the implementation of the Vale-Cultura as a public policy to stimulate cultural consumption, the latest data released by the Ministry of Culture in the beginning of 2015 reveals that there has been an increase in cultural consumption in each of the country's five regions, but this has occurred without promoting a greater balance in this consumption within the various languages of culture or a greater territorial homogeneity. It should be noted that because this is a governmental initiative in which culture has a mainly anthropological focus, it is expected that its implementation as public policy can be better evaluated over the medium to long term.

The search for the truths that emanated from the government's discourse about the Vale-Cultura during the constitution of the benefit's legal framework, as well as the program's performance during its first two years, yields reflections and provocations that go beyond our initial objective. Despite a series of public audiences during the development of the program, many of society's claims were not contemplated in the final version of the program. To what extent has the political dimension with society's participation been limited after the discussion and vote in Congress? In a capitalist society, is it possible to promote social inclusion without including the monetary element? Should the State adhere to hegemonic practices or propose alternative ways to enjoy cultural goods? Is it possible to think of culture in a more anthropological manner without adopting economic incentives? With the Vale-Cultura, are they seeking more diversity in cultural consumption or the cultural habits of the Brazilian people? To what extent does culture actually contribute to social inclusion?

Thus this article ends with an invitation to conduct other analyses that will make it possible to design a broader screen that is richer in details, with different tones to express the interactions between various agents and the inclusion of other elements that have only been addressed here tangentially.

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