# CULTURE ON DEMAND:
# A CASE STUDY ON THE
# VALE-CULTURA POLICY IN BRAZIL

_____

Renata Tavares Furtado – 412578

412578rt@student.eur.nl

This thesis is dedicated to my Mom, Dad, Solange and Lucas
– the four people who made my Dutch adventure possible.

# ABSTRACT

This research consists of an exploratory case study of the Brazilian cultural policy named Vale-Cultura, the country's first national program devoted to the consumers of culture. The  recently implemented policy provides a card to formal workers, with a R$ 50 (approximately U$20) monthly credit to be spent exclusively on cultural products and services. The credits are accumulative and the costs are shared between the employer and the federal government. This thesis analyzed the program, headed by the Brazilian Ministry of Culture, through three spheres: the system's operationalization, the media coverage and the user's experience with the card. The goal was to analyze which values of the policy were underlined in each sphere. Does the policy value cultural democratization or a cultural democracy? Are the justifications based on a civilizing value or on economical developments? By using a cultural policy theoretical framework, this inquiry investigated the values supported by the Vale-Cultura and critically analyzed its consistency among the three spheres. The methods applied were: qualitative analysis of official information of the program; discourse analysis of articles published in the media and ten semi-structured interviews with users of the card in Brazil. These findings enabled me to develop critiques of the possible consequences of the policy's implementation in the country and to suggest aspects of the program that should be monitored in the future.

# FOREWORD

I write this foreword, as the very final thing, after months of dedication to this thesis. My urge is to simply thank my supervisor and get it over with. However, looking back at the past months, I have so much and so many people to thank for that I realize I cannot do it recklessly. To become a student again, after being away from the academia for some time, is indeed a privilege. Therefore I need to, firstly, demonstrate my profound gratitude to my supervisor, who I Brazilianly call Prof. Koen, for being extremely patient with my ambitious project, supporting me all the way when he could have simply told me to take down a notch. Secondly, I also need to thank the whole Erasmus University staff and professors for welcoming me so gracefully. Thirdly, the interviewees of this thesis that, even far away, helped me so much. I also need to acknowledge my support group outside of this project, who helped by keeping me sane during this adventure. In Brazil, Marina, who helped me improve my English before I got here. Claudio who helped me find a job to support this exchange. My friends, especially my bigues and KPs, who always supported this crazy move-to-the-Netherlands idea. Here, in Dutch grounds, I need to thank my amazing crizlly friends and Chiara, who I plan to continue friends for life. Gogo and Ed, the two most helpful and wonderful friends one can have. Lucas,the best person in the world to have on your side (I am so lucky). And, of course, my Mom and Dad, who are not in the Netherlands, but have done everything in their power so I can be here. I am and will forever be grateful.

Last but not least I would like to thank the people of the Netherlands for welcoming me into their country and sharing their culture with me. I hate the rain, but thanks for all the poffertjes!

# TABLE OF CONTENTS

**Appendix List**

**Tables List**

What would you do if every month you had an extra U\$20 to spend only on culture? Would you use it to invite someone to the movies and have a fun evening? Would you invest in your education by buying books? Maybe you would choose to spend it only on frivolous things that make you happy but are not your priority. Or you could choose to accumulate the money and spend it on something bigger, like a musical spectacle or an instrument.

These questions are now part of many Brazilians' routines thanks to the new cultural policy of the Programa de Cultura do Trabalhador (Worker's Cultural Program). The program has only one initiative so far, named Vale-Cultura, which consists of a card with R\$50.00 (around U\$20.00) monthly credit provided to workers with salaries up to five times the minimum wage, spendable only on culture. These credits are accumulative and can be spent in any part of the Brazilian territory. The card costs are shared between the worker's employer and the government. Because it is the only program of the policy, from this moment on I will use "Vale-Cultura" as referring both to the whole policy and to the card itself.

The Vale-Cultura is the first Brazilian cultural policy focused on the demand side of the cultural production field. In this way, it is a very unusual cultural policy, even among others that are focused on the audience[1], since it provides the individual with credit to spend on culture anyway he/she wants. The key concept is to make the Brazilian cultural production field stronger by providing the consumer with resources to spend, instead of directly investing in the production itself. Therefore, it considers the receiving end of the field as active consumers and not just a passive audience. Up to December 2014, 264,025 cards have been emitted and R\$46.7 million has been spent with its use (Portal Brasil, 2014b).

---

[1] The Vale-Cultura is a policy that creates cultural demand by financially incenting the audience, instead of cultural producers. For instance, the cultural policy implemented in the United Kingdom by the Arts Council, in 1998, named "New Audiences" provided subsidies to projects or cultural organizations to implement actions of audience development (Kawashima, 2000). The funds were granted to strategies that varied from developing transportation schemes to enhancing educational program and establishing partnerships with media channels. Therefore, what is being stressed here is that, on the contrary of the New Audiences policy and others actions normally pursued by museums or cultural organizations, the Vale-Cultura is not a public fund directed to the producers (supply side), but to the attendee him/herself (demand side). Nonetheless, the money is not given directly to the card's users; there are some intermediaries actors (such as employers and operators companies) that will better explained along the thesis.

This policy constitutes the case study of this thesis, which aims to develop the first research in English on the topic. Therefore, the intention is to present an exploratory inquiry that critically reflects on many aspects of the Vale-Cultura by a qualitative analysis of data. However, this thesis is also a critical research that intends to not only to present facts about the policy's organization, but also to instigate reflections on critiques of the policy's structures and eventual consequences. As McGuigan (2004) explains, criticism is not synonymous with negativity or cynicism, and can be seen as an "indispensable dynamic in the production of knowledge and the project of human betterment. Questioning what has gone before, identifying faults in current arguments and thinking independently instead of simply accepting the nostrums of conventional wisdom..." (p.3).

It is important to highlight that the Vale-Cultura was implemented in 2013 and only gained popularity in 2014. Since this thesis is realized in 2015, there are still no empirical results of the policy's full impact. Although I will rely on published statistics and user testimonials to support my critical assessment and prognoses, this thesis is not and cannot be a true type of evaluation research due to the case study's premature stage. Nonetheless, even at this stage, it is possible to reflect on the concepts and goals underlined by the Vale-Cultura, their potential future results, and what they mean in a cultural policy framework.

The subject of cultural policy has been vastly studied, especially in the school of cultural studies. Even though cultural policy can be viewed simply as laws or actions taken by the public sector to interfere in the cultural field, many scholars have reflected on its broader significance: the relation between power and culture. To investigate how this relation has unfolded throughout history in many different practices can point us to the values and intentions underlined by many governments. This will help to further understand the Vale-Cultura and its position in the cultural policy field.

At first glance, the program seems like a strong governmental intervention to enhance cultural democratization by providing the population with the means to access cultural products and services; however, it carries many peculiarities. First of all, it employs quite a broad definition of culture. It includes the purchase of instruments, payment for artistic courses ("Ministra apresenta"), entrance to all sorts of events, from biennales to funk parties ("pode em baile funk", 2014), and even the

acquisition of porn magazines ("Pode comprar", 2013). The cultural field as defined by the Vale-Cultura covers products or services from the media, cultural industry and artistic world. It does not include sports or gastronomic activities, which can also be considered cultural representatives, although it comprises a wide range of options without differentiating between high- or low-brow statuses.

It is also not a simple "handout to the poor" (Downie, 2014) as put by the *Washington Post*. Although the federal government has invested in many assistentialist[2] programs for the past fifteen years, which literally distribute money to those in need (as is the case of the Bolsa-Família), the Vale-Cultura has a different structure. It is dedicated to formal workers, which represent 58% of the economically active population (IBGE, 2014), and the worker's employer must be the one to provide the card. The program is not a mandatory worker benefit (such as transportation or food), but it can be advantageous to the company, which, depending on its size, can deduce the spending from the company's annual taxes. Afterwards, the beneficiary company must sign up with an operator company that will provide the card to be spent on the cultural receivers. The operator company is also responsible for registering the cultural receivers (cultural organizations, centers, stores, art schools) and enabling them to accept the card as a form of payment. Finally, the operator company is the one responsible for the financial transactions between employer – card – receiver, which is the reason why the operator companies are credit card companies.

---

[2] Assistentialist, or assistentialism, is a concept widely used in Latin America to refer to actions or programs that aim to help those in need and eventually encourage community development. Although similar to the concept of welfare intervention, it is not the same. Assistentialism is characterized by "giving assistance to people without transforming the structure that created the necessity of that assistance" (Boesten, 2010, p.65). Therefore, they are normally short-term actions focused on the individual; since it defends that an improved individual "will then do their part in improving society" (Peterson, 1996, p.160). Nonetheless, in the Brazilian context, assistentialist measures carry a negative stigma. It has been constantly used during Brazilian history by many governments, from the Portuguese Imperial epoch until the current post-Military Dictatorship (Nassif, Prando, & Consentino, 2010). Not only have many assistentialist programs faced accusations of corruption, political parties have vastly used it as a strategy to gather electoral votes (which is mandatory in Brazil) (ibid). Nevertheless, the Bolsa-Família, the biggest assistentialist programme in the country's history, is extremely successful and internationally recognized, since it "was responsible for approximately 28% of the total poverty reduction in Brazil" (Nóbrega, 2013). Even though the effectiveness and implementation of the Bolsa-Famíliahas raised many debates in Brazil in the last decade, it was not able to erase the historical stigma of the concept. In this thesis, assistentialism will be mentioned sometimes with the implication of a negative label.

The system might be too complicated to fully grasp at this moment, but it will be explained in detail in Chapter 4. Nevertheless, what needs to be acknowledged now is that the government neither directly provides the card nor controls the system. As opposed to other assistentialist programs, this one is neither only dedicated to the poor nor is fully implemented by the state, since it depends on intermediary companies.

Another unique aspect of the program is that it empowers the audience (or the consumers) with a choice and allows them to spend the card as they please. In this system, it is the audience that must go to the product, and not the other way around, as is common with other yet similar policies that focus on attracting non-visitors or fostering the regular ones. It is, from the perspective of audience development, a very forward measure.

This is a summary of the program's structure. But how is it presented by the Ministry of Culture (MINC)? Which values are underlined by the system and which values does the MINC identify with the card in its advertisement? And, finally, which values are actually put into practice by the card's users? Is the program actually heading towards the goals stated by its law: "enable the access and enjoyment of cultural products and services; stimulate the attendance to artistic and cultural organizations; encourage the access to events and artistic cultural spectacles" (Law 12.761 from December, 27th 2012)?

To answer those and other questions and develop a critical analysis of the case study, this thesis is guided by the main research question: To what extent is the advertising, implementation and use of the Vale-Cultural cultural policy in Brazil coherent? This question leads us to essential sub questions: Which values of the policy does the Ministry of Culture underline? Are these values consistent with the implementation system? And how do, in fact, the users spend the card?

The methodology selected to try to answer this question is the development of a qualitative analysis of different materials collected. First I will analyze the system's structure, its function and what it offers. Second, I will present a discourse analysis of media materials published concerning the Vale-Cultura. In this analysis, I intend to highlight the MINC's discourse about the program, gather more data about it, and reflect on issues raised by Brazilian opinion leaders. Finally, I will present the result of a series of semi-structured interviews that I have done with Vale-Cultura users in

which I have investigated how they use the card and how it has affected their cultural habits.

This research aims to eventually be an instrumental tool for the policy-makers and administrators involved in the policy. It could help the development of measurements and adaptations of practical issues by relying on qualitative material. At the same time, it also intends to enrich the academic field by discussing a national-level policy of audience development, which is rare since most of the academic material addresses strategies from cultural organization. It will also be the first thesis written in English about the theme, which might help to internationalize the debate on the Vale-Cultura policy. But most importantly, this research aims to contribute to the discussion of how to strengthen the Brazilian cultural production field. As an academic and professional of the field myself, I expect that this thesis can add to the political debate among cultural producers and their (our) continuous struggle to establish a sustainable sector.

### 1.1) Some guidelines

There are some features of this thesis that need to be stressed to facilitate its reading. Firstly, all the translations of quotes and excerpters were done freely by me and, to help their identification, they are signaled with quotation marks. And, the translation of Portuguese names will follow its original, like this scheme: Programa de Cultura do Trabalhador (Worker's Cultural Program). Secondly, I mention a lot of monetary values in reais (Brazil's currency) and present the approximately value in American Dollars right after. The exchange rate established for this paper was U$ 1 = R$2.5, which is an average of the fluctuations of the period I have written this work. Thirdly, since many cities and regions of Brazil are referred along the text, this thesis contains a map of Brazil on its Appendix D to facilitate the geographical understanding for the reader. Fourthly, I will eventually introduce helpful information between brackets to contextualize the references that are being made. Fifthly, I will use "MINC" as an abbreviation for the Brazilian Ministry of Culture and mostly refer to national public figures by their first name, as it is common in Brazil. And, finally, this thesis was structured to be read in the presented order, but, whenever the reader faces doubts about the Vale-Cultura's rules, I recommend to consult the section 4.2 since it presents a detailed overview of its system.

**Part. 1 – Cultural Policy**

This chapter will focus on establishing the theoretical framework for the analysis of the case study of this thesis, the Brazilian cultural policy of the Vale-Cultura. Through an overview of models, ideologies and goals that support cultural policies around the world, I intend to develop an outline of values embedded in different types of cultural policies. These values will serve as the ground for the analysis of the data gathered about the case study such as discourses, system information and reception by the users. My main goal with this research, though, is to explore the values supported by the policy among these three spheres. If the values defended by the Ministry in its discourses are too discrepant from the values pursued by its implementation and perceived by the users, then it is more likely that the policy will not reach the effectiveness propagandized.

In order to elaborate an outline of values underlining cultural policies, it is necessary to understand the development of the subject through the last decades and the concepts usually ascribe in it. Naturally, the subject of cultural policies is extremely broad and can encompass issues related to a wide variety of social aspects. Thus, the approach taken in this chapter was especially conceived to the analysis of the case study and does not aim to touch upon all the issues of a general cultural policy study. For instance, the struggle between local culture and global culture is usually a hot button in the area; however, it does not relate to the Vale-Cultura's issues and therefore will not be addressed in this overview.

Many studies on cultural policy begin with the complex definition of 'culture'. That is because the difficulty of having multiple definitions still affects how cultural policies are understood, shaped and implemented. Depending on the subject, methodology, or analysis, 'culture' and therefore 'cultural policy' can be considered as encompassing different things and part of distinct administrative public sectors. Thus, it is important to first distinguish these definitions and then deal with the methods and respective values supported by them in a globalized context and also in the Brazilian configuration.

**2.1.1) Definition of culture**

The discipline of culture studies, firstly articulated by the Birmingham Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies (CCCS), relies primordially on the dominant paradigm named "culturalism", developed over interpretations of Raymond Williams' work (Gray, 2010; Miller & Yúdice, 2002; Mulcahy, 2006; McGuigan, 2003; Hall, 1980). In this paradigm, the concept of 'culture' encloses two aspects: the first defines culture as "a whole way of life" (Hall, 1980, p. 59; Miller & Yúdice, 2002) and refers mainly to the aspect of human social practices, or, "the activity through which men and women make history" (Hall, 1980, p. 63). The second aspect is devoted to the dimensions of ideas since it considers culture as the "production and circulation of symbolic meanings" (McGuigan, 1996 as cited in Gray, 2010). Therefore, this latter interpretation focus on one specific social practice: "the giving and taking of meanings, and the slow development of 'common' meanings – a common culture: 'culture', in this special sense, 'is ordinary'" (Hall, 1980, p. 59). In a modern interpretation of the symbolic dimension, culture refers to institutions and practices that represent, use and/or recreate a society's shared meanings (McGuigan, 2003). Therefore, in practical matter, this approach becomes closer to the world of art, symbolic traditions, linguistic, and media and communication.

The "culturalism" paradigm combines the aspects of 'definition' (meanings and values) and 'way of living' (practices) under the concept of "culture". However, practically, this concept is too broad to be pinned down to a certain type of action (or policy) since it encloses all social aspects of human existence. According to Gray (2010), such an opaque concept makes it hard to distinguish "what makes something specifically 'cultural' at all" (p.220).

Nonetheless, this paradigm has been criticized for neglecting the structure in which the cultural agents (humans) are embedded. For this reason, Stuart Hall (1980) the former director of the CCCS, also highlights the importance of the structuralist paradigm for the discipline. The main divergent point between the two paradigms (structuralism versus culturalism) would be: "the conception of 'men' as bearers of the structures that speak and place them, rather than as active agents in the making of their own history" (p.66). Therefore, despite being somehow antagonists, Hall (1980) concluded that both paradigms serve as the base for the conceptualization of "culture" in the discipline of culture studies.

These are not far from the definitions developed in the discipline of social sciences, although in it "culture" can also be defined by different concepts according to the methodology or school of thought. For instance, one conceptualization in cultural sociology considers "culture" as the "set of meanings, symbols and structures" (Alexander, 2006 as cited in Gray, 2010, p.220) thus analyzing the emergence of meaning in a particular context of values. Hence these studies normally focus on "institutional circumstances and constraints affecting meaning-making processes" (Spillman, 2007) and although they were vastly conducted in the field of art and mass media, they can also concern, for example, social movements and religion (ibid).

Nevertheless, despite the type of approach, it is important to acknowledge that the social sciences do not deem "culture" as the whole way of living nor only as symbolic production, but as a process of meaning-making (Spillman, 2007). As explained, the focus of the dimensions of this process may vary according to the study one considers, which might lead to inquiries that combine these distinctive approaches or underline the tension between them.

Since cultural studies is a recent school highly influenced by the social sciences, it is natural that both have similar interpretations of the concept of "culture" referring to a collective shared meaning process in a specific context. The difference between the disciplines rests mainly in the inquiries and methodologies developed on the theme, since culture studies commonly make use of interpretative critical qualitative analysis while the social sciences traditionally applies a wide range of methodologies to establish a more pragmatic and empirical inquiry (Gray, 2010). Although, as Clive Gray (2010) argues, these trends are debatable and not set in stone.

The school of economics also has its own important definition of culture, which was developed from a concept that was similar to the concept of "arts". But nowadays, cultural goods are not only in the realm of the arts, but can be considered as those with "creative or artistic element" (Towse, 2003 as cited in Gray, 2010, p.221), therefore encompassing actions and activities concerned with the intellect, moral and aesthetic values.

Other disciplines, such as health studies, psychology and law, have their own definition of the concept of culture, but they are out of the scope of this thesis. To further understand the intentions and implications of the Vale-Cultura cultural policy

these are the perspectives that need to be understood: culture as an institutionalized circulation and production of symbols; culture as a meaning-making process of groups and individuals; and culture as creative goods. Despite the different dimensions of the three concepts developed by each discipline, it is possible to acknowledge that all of them refer to a "form of social glue that provides a common framework of understandings for the members of society to organize and interact around" (Gray, 2010, p. 221). But, although all these concepts somehow relate to William's broad definition of ways of living (and their interactions), the diversity of understandings of "culture" has developed a variety of cultural policies that will be further explained in the next section.

### 2.1.2) Definition of cultural policy

Academically, cultural policy has been primarily an area of research of cultural studies, although other disciplines have recently started to investigate the theme. Its main interest regards the relation of Estate and culture but the subject has been widely debated focusing on the relationship between power and culture and thus the influence of governance on the development of subjectivities (Lewis & Miller, 2003). These studies have been vastly supported by the theories of Foucault and Gramsci.

Gramsci's key concept of "hegemony", when applied to culture, refers to dominant cultures that "uses education, philosophy, religion, advertising and art to make its dominance appear normal and natural to the heterogeneous groups that constitute society" (Miller & Yúdice, 2002, p. 7). The dominant ideology is transferred so subtly that, after consent is achieved, it is transformed into what Gramsci names "common sense" (ibid, p.8). One of the most important features would be the language, capable of unifying different groups in a same hegemonic project. He also addresses the relation of the dominant culture with the residual culture (traditional practices that are still influential) and emergent culture (new values usually incorporated by the hegemony) (ibid).

Therefore, national cultural policies are a fruitful terrain for hegemonic projects since they can help to perpetuate certain values of the dominant culture.  In fact, these types of cultural policies that subtly pass along or induce behaviors were vastly used in fascist regimes, although in these cases, a specific political hegemony was quite explicit. Nevertheless, other fields besides the governmental public sphere

can be studied through the lens of hegemony, such as the field of popular culture. According to research at the CCCS, popular culture is the arena where "cultural hegemony is secured or challenged" (Barcker, 2007), where conflicts are constantly fought, and thus can result in forms of resistance, as can be seen with countercultures. This perspective has lead to a tradition of inquiries that analysis popular culture not based on their aesthetics or cultural values, but on their struggles with politics and ideologies.

On the other side, Foucault has developed a different notion of power translated in his concept of "governmentality", explained as the process in which governments passed from monarchy to managers of its citizens (Miller & Yúdice, 2002). In this context, power crosses the limits of public agencies and politicians and becomes "more diffuse, proliferating horizontally from a multitude of social sites" (McGuigan, 2003, p. 30). While the hegemony theory envisions the dominant power being exercised top-bottom by the estate, the concept of governmentality allows for power to be produced bottom-up, "thus giving theoretical force to the ubiquitous notion of 'empowerment'" (ibid). Power in this case is unstable, but emerges and is imposed in multiple relations and not only by a unique segment. This notion was at the origin of Foucault's studies on bio-politics.

Based on Foucault's theory, cultural policy (as the relation of power and 'ways of lifes') can also be an advantageous area to practice governmentality, since it subjectively manages and develops a well-behaved citizen, "who learns self-governance in the interests of the cultural-capitalist policy" (Lewis & Miller, 2003, p. 2). A quick application of both theoretical backgrounds can be made when analyzing, for instance, public museums. These institutions can be seen as part of a hegemonic project for displaying the discourse, history and practices of a dominant culture and concurrently defining the subordinated ones by not representing them. Through a Gramscianism's lens, the public museums can be a cultural materialization of top-down power. However, Tony Bennett (as mentioned in McGuigan, 2003) underlines that the museum's audience is also responsible to reinforce the "social differentiation and exclusion in the Bourdieuan sense" (ibid, p.31) by underlining class differentiations through accumulation of cultural capital. This form of micro-power should not be neglected when analyzing the role of the museum and its relation to culture, power and policy.

The debate on how to approach the matter of cultural policy has generated many divergences among academicians but also many critics from the cultural production field. In the mentioned studies, cultural policy is seen as the means of a government "to maintain its symbolic legitimacy" (Ahearne, 2009) and its analysis as "a series of 'texts' that are subject to the interpretations of the individual analyst rather than a set of concrete organizational practices" (Gray, 2010, p.222). This understanding has created a gap between the policy analysis and the "'real world' of politics" (McGuigan, 2003, p. 28). Therefore, the cultural studies field has gradually shifted its focus from theoretical reflections on cultural policy to studies oriented towards a more practical knowledge and development of skills (Cunningham, 2003; Coelho, 2000). Nonetheless, it is undeniable that the theories about the relation of power and culture have influenced the implementation of cultural policies among states. These practical matters and a historical background of them will be presented next.

### 2.13) Acting on cultural policy

As presented, cultural policy has been studied as the arena where government exerts its powers towards the citizens. As such, cultural policy can cover every type of policy that affects the subjectivity of the people thus encompassing a wide range of regulations. Therefore, to properly analyze the Vale-Cultura, it is important to understand what cultural policy means to governments in administrative terms and how it is usually implemented.

Cultural policy can be defined as the instruments through which the state and public institutions manage the cultural resources of a determined place, ranging from city to nations or even supra-nations (Bennett, 2001). These instruments can be considered "processes involved in formulating, implementing, and contesting governmental intervention in, and support of, cultural activity" (Cunningham, 2003, p. 14). Usually, the support of cultural activities happens through the regulation of the production, distribution and consumption of culture; the preservation and promotion of the heritage; and by administrating the respective bureaucracy (Coelho, 2000, p. 292). These interventions usually are shaped as legal regulations and actions that aim to protect or subsidize cultural practices (ibid). Often, these cultural practices are related to the artistic world, but can also encompass areas such as heritage, folklore

practices, education, the private sector, sports, humanities, media and telecommunications, among others. For this reason, cultural policy does not have a precise definition and its delimitation vary from government to government.

States can use cultural policy to achieve a number of goals in many areas: "from urban regeneration, to social inclusion, to health care and treatment, or even for what seems like personal or state glorification" (Gray, 2009, p.574). However, these types of policies do not relate to this research and this thesis will only consider "cultural policy" as policies implemented in the cultural sector. Considering culture as the goods, organization and production related to the meaning-making processes of a society, cultural policy in this research will include, besides the arts, cultural industry, cultural rights, "community cultural development, cultural diversity, cultural sustainability, cultural heritage, the cultural and creative industries, lifestyle culture and eco-culture (…), cultural planning *per se*, (…), the production of cultural citizens as well as being concerned with representation, meaning and interpretation" (Gray, 2010). Also, cultural policies that are regulated by agencies other than the ministry of culture and subordinated offices are beyond the scope of this thesis. Even though private organizations may apply cultural policies for their employees or for the community, this type of initiative does not relate to the study of the Vale-Cultura.

Public forces have been engaging in cultural policy for a long time and Coelho (2000) argues that, despite the conspiratory theories regarding public power and culture, the original ground of cultural policy was to promote culture's expansion. According to him, some cultural practices and artifacts were considered to have remarkable importance to society, and thus these should be available to the people. Although that is still a current belief of many policies, it was during the French Revolution that these policies began to be implemented. The Enlightenment values of the time praised the gain of knowledge and the access and transmission of culture were part of its principle. The encouragement of the development of taste of the citizens was seen as a tool to construct their characters and good judgment and, during this period, taste was directly related to the arts (Miller & Yúdice, 2002). This period of cultural policy, that started in the French Revolution and lasted until the end of the 1960's, will be referred in this paper as the "first phase".

*I)*     *First phase*

At the first phase, the appreciation of culture (better understood as the arts) was associated with education, and knowledge associated with civilization. Culture became the perfect arena to transmit the republican and democratic values and thus to reshape the identity of the nation, creating a single culture climate. Therefore, the main goal in this phase was to democratize the access to culture.

The beginning of cultural policy in Europe also witnessed many hegemonic projects in the Gramscinian sense. Cultural democratization was seen as a strategy to the nationalist projects of the French Revolution, Fascism, Nazism and communist regimes. But, at the same time, this was the period in which the governance started to care about the individual and manage its behaviors, in the Foucaultian sense. Nonetheless, although the forces of these policies are clearer in totalitarian regimes, it is important to acknowledge that democratization of culture as part of a hegemonic project can also happen in democratic, capitalist states and not only in public spheres. One example of this would be the recent studies of journalistic discourses as a reproduction of ideologies as common sense (Barcker, 2007).

But, independently of the theoretical approach, the phase's elitist characteristic is undeniable, since the elite would establish the dominant culture by 'selecting' what should have universal access and long-term investment, thus determining which were the nation's "cultural treasures" (Mulcahy, 2006, p. 323) and which were not. It was a period constituted basically of top-down monoculturalist policies, oriented from center to periphery. In practical matters, it supported the universal free access to public institutions, the state's patronage of the arts, a tour of artworks around the country and often engaged in educational measurements. As summed up by Bennett:

> The guiding principle of state cultural provision in this period accordingly was focused mainly on leading 'the people' away from cultural activities and traditions that were popular with subordinate social strata and towards greater participation in elite cultural forms that had received the official sanction of state approval. (Bennett, 2011, p.3094)

At this phase of democratization of culture, the arts had a political function, which was to enhance the pedagogic formation of character. The encounter with the

"aesthetic sublime" (Miller & Yúdice, 2002, p. 12), a vision embedded in a romantic approach of the arts, would lead the average citizen to become a better citizen. In this context, the artwork possesses an intrinsic quality that transits from the object to the spectator. This elitist stance, directly based on the distinction between high and low culture, remained strong until the end of the first phase.

In 1959, the first modern Ministry of Culture was founded in France under the lead of André Malraux. Simultaneously, the CCCS was gaining visibility and a new broader concept of culture (based on Williams' perspective) was becoming widespread. Meanwhile, the world of art was experiencing serious changes with the advance of performances, installations and participative artworks that focused more on the encounter with the spectator than on the object's intrinsic features.

All these circumstances, along with the rising of many social movements on the USA and Europe, drastically influenced how cultural policy was made. As a result, between the 1960's and the 90's, new models of cultural policies were implemented and they constitute what will be named as the "second phase".

## II)    Second phase

In the second phase, cultural policy was something reasonably established by governments. Even nations that did not have a Ministry of Culture would have offices devoted to the subject, but subordinated to other instances, such as the Ministry of Education. Administratively, many modern republics acknowledged the importance of cultural policies and, during the second phase, the people also became aware of its importance.

The broadened definition of culture aggregated not only what was displayed at the museums or performed at theaters, but also the popular arts, traditional cultural practices and the cultural industry. It was acknowledged, first by cultural studies academics and eventually by the governments, that the activities of the "subordinate social strata" (Bennett, 2001, p.3094) had equal cultural value as those of the elites. Therefore, the state as the main sponsor of the national culture should also expand its efforts to promote and protect these types of activities.

Meanwhile, social movements, mainly in Europa and the USA, fueled the debate for equal rights and equal citizenry, including the cultural rights. The cultural rights, as established by the United Nations at the International Covenant on

Economic, Social and Cultural Rights in 1966, guaranteed the right of "everyone to take part in cultural life" (Committee on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights , 2009, p. 1). The Committee defined culture as, simultaneously, an interactive and a particular process, through which society could "give expression to the culture of humanity" (ibid, p.3). It also considered "to take part" and "to participate" synonymous, and by participation, it designated: to act freely according to one's choice of cultural identity, to be able to access culture through education and information, and to contribute to the cultural development of the community. Therefore, the cultural right could be directly associated with other international human rights such as the right to education[3] and the right of people belonging of minorities to enjoy and practice their own culture freely, in public and private spaces (ibid).

This new context means not only that the government should allow its citizens to make their own cultural choices of production, practices and consumption but that it also has the responsibility to guarantee safe, equal and just conditions for it to happen. Cultural policy should no longer pursue 'bringing culture' to marginalized ones, but focus on acknowledging the differences between cultures and assure equal opportunities for participation. As a result, states had to recognize and encourage the plurality of its citizens and the multiculturalism under the same territory.

In practical matters, this second phase of cultural policy among North America and European countries were based on: decentralizing bottom-up actions; developing "small-scale structures and multipurpose amenities rather than large centralized and specialized amenities; renewed ties with popular education movements" (Martin, 2013, p. 446); support of community arts and amateur practices; promotion of alternative, youth, urban, formerly marginalized practices; and support of multiculturalism instead of monoculturalism. Participation became the most important way to have access to cultural life, which means that the resources to fully enjoy it should be equally distributed.

---

[3] The right to education can be understood as the right "through which individuals and communities pass on their values, religion, customs, language and other cultural references, and which helps to foster an atmosphere of mutual understanding and respect for cultural values." (Committee on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights, 2009, p.1)

The second phase was primarily marked by the claim for cultural citizenship based on a cultural democracy. Cultural policy, previously concerned with the world of art, became closer than ever to the social area, since aspects of civil rights, social justice and political matters were now part of the agenda. Eventually, the state realized the power of culture to act on this field and started to use it to achieve other goals. At the same time, in the matters of arts and aesthetics, the state did not know what to privilege anymore. The old concept that considered some artifacts and practices of remarkable cultural importance to a society no longer existed and the divisions between high and low arts were weakening. At this time, everything had equal cultural importance and governments did not want to be involved in these decisions anymore (Coelho, 2000). These facts, along with the advance of the economic neoliberalism, globalization and the revolution of telecommunications, constituted the scenario for the beginning of a new set of cultural policies practices. However, because the third phase is more complex and represents the current context, including in Brazil, there will be a new part to explain it.

**Part. 2 – Cultural policies today or the third phase**

The third phase of cultural policies will be considered to have started at the 1990's, after the end of the Cold War. The economic neoliberalism, which praises the sovereignty of the free market, was gaining strength worldwide while the power of the welfare state was weakening. The national frontiers were blurring with the advance of a globalized market characterized by international companies, privatization, transnational markets, and production processes spread around the world.  Meanwhile, the distance between individuals was shortening with the possibilities permitted by media communication such as broadcasting, mobiles and, of course, the Internet.

The cultural policy sector also had to adapt to this new context. As depicted by McGuigan (2004) "the neo-liberal doctrine of monetarism called for cutbacks in public spending that would facilitate reductions in income tax" (p.2), which eventually lead to a significantly decrease of public subsidies to support culture. As a consequence, competition rose and the cultural workers had to develop their own expertise. This period marked the 'manageralization' of the culture sector, in which it

turned into "arts administrators who mediate between funding sources, on the one hand, and artists and communities, on the other" (Miller & Yúdice, 2002, p. 21). Cultural studies, which was formerly focused on "subcultural resistance to a repressive and class-defined state and state apparatus" (Cunningham, 2003, p. 20), started to develop its own knowledge regarding management, accountability, marketing, impact measurements and policy implementations. The academic "anti-statist tone" (ibid) was replaced by a reflection on how to organize the bureaucratic system in a just way that supports the construction of a new citizenship and manages the public cultural resources while considering the free market forces.

In practical matters, cultural policy turned its focus to cultural economy and development. The sector witnessed a strong 'marketization' of its products and the state was called upon to intervene in these struggles. At the same time, the pressure on the field to demonstrate palpable results of public investment increased. Nevertheless, the states were facing a society that demanded not only democratic participation, but also recognition and support of its differences and pluralities.

This global trend also reflected on Brazilian cultural policies. During the 1990's, with the implementation of a strong neoliberal economy, Brazilian culture was mainly approached as profitable artistic commodities. However, after 2002, the Ministry of Culture redefined its perspectives on culture by adopting a sociological broader definition of the concept, but not overlooked its economic and social potential. Since then the Ministry admitted that culture should be developed over three political poles: symbolic expression, economy and citizenship (Aparecida, 2012).

Globally, public administrating culture became a much more complex system than just managing the cultural resources. Nowadays, the cultural aspect is acknowledged in every sector and culture is interrelated with many spheres. So, for the purpose of analysis of the Vale-Cultura, the general context of cultural policies on globalized countries that will be presented here will revolve around the matters of state, economy, and society and the values embedded in each.

### 2.2.1) Culture and the state: culture as an instrument

The role of the government as the main funder of culture has diminished with the advance of the cultural industries and private investments. Cultural professionals have

been fighting for scarce resources for the last years while the state faced many dilemmas, such as: if the taxpayers are a multicultural group and each cultural identity has equal value, which should be supported by the state? Should it be funded what has national representation or what has local importance? Should policies focus on the popular practices and products desired by the masses or assist those renegaded? Should it preserve traditions in danger or encourage new practices? What is the place of the arts in this new broaden cultural context? Should the state even intervene in it at all? And, above all: what is the contemporary value of culture? It is obvious why we need education, health care, habitation and employment, but why do we need culture?

None of these questions have a right answer. Meanwhile, the demands enabled by the democratic system became more severe leading governments to adopt "a more evidenced based, policy-making in the public sector" (Bjornsen, 2012, p. 384). This means investments in policies that can generate improvements, usually proven by statistics and numbers and, preferably, until the next election. Therefore, as many other public areas, cultural policy also adopted an instrumental value.

The instrumental value of culture relates to "the ancillary effects, where culture is used to achieve a social or economic purpose (…) This kind of value tends to be captured in 'output', 'outcome', and 'impact' studies that document the economic and social significant of investing in the arts" (Holden, 2006, p. 16). Hence, instrumental cultural policies consist of actions with a cultural character focused on achieving goals in others areas as well. As a result, culture has been designated to accomplished "heroic tasks" (Bennett, 2007, p.31) such as "enhance education, salve racial strife, reverse urban blight through cultural tourism, create jobs, reduce crime and perhaps even make a profit" (Miller & Yúdice, 2002, p. 20). If in the previous phase, the social and the cultural became closer, now they are "indistinguishable" (ibid) and must make themselves useful.

However, this "cultural utilitarianism" (Mulcahy, 2006, p. 326) is faced with two big problems. The first is that the other values of culture lose importance and legitimacy if this is the only value encouraged by the state. According to Holden (2006), two other important values of culture are: *intrinsic*, which relates to the subjective experience of culture; and *institutional* value, which considers cultural organizations as active agents in the creation or destruction of public values.

Professionals are usually concerned with intrinsic and institutional values, politicians and policy-makers with the instrumental and the audience is primarily concerned with the intrinsic value. This means that, although voters might demand quantitative results of cultural policies, the reason for someone to engage with culture is mainly the "rewarding experience, one that offers them pleasure and emotional stimulation and meaning" (RAND as cited by Holden, 2006, p. 24). Therefore, there is a big disparity between how culture is valued among government, the public, and organizations and this directly affects fundings and cultural production.

The second big problem with the instrumentalization of culture is concerning the ancillary effects. Although there has been many progress and investment, it is still impossible to measure culture's impact. According to Gray (2009) there are four general problems in this area of analysis: *definition*, since there are many definitions of what is culture; *causality*, regarding the difficult to prove exactly how 'culture' affects on 'behavior'; *measurement*, since there is still no appropriate quantitative translation of subjective impact; and *attribution*, referring to the fact that it is almost impossible to isolate one cultural component to study. And, there is also a fifth ontological problem: "Politics is concerned with mass social outcomes: it is about simplification and decision-making on a large scale. Art by contrast is about the individual, about complexity and subtlety" (Holden, 2006, p. 28).

These issues generate a situation in which many projects and activities are under-valued because they do not foresee the same instrumental value as the state aspires. At same time, it has been argued that there has been already too much time and money wasted on researches with the wrong purposes (Holden, 2006; Gray, 2009) and professionals and scholars are currently claiming for politicians to stop the instrumental pressure on the cultural sector. However, these struggles are far from over, and the Vale-Cultura policy suffers from it too. As will be showed, the Brazilian Ministry of Culture proclaims the program as a unique social transformation that will generate benefits in many areas. This is one perspective to comprehend the case-study policy, another is to grasp its economic impact.

## 2.2.2) Culture and the market: managerialization and economic development

The economic value of culture has been one of the main arguments for public subsidies during the last decades. Government started to acknowledge the economic potential of culture initiatives to create employments, increase tourism flows and make a city more attractive to foreign investors. At the same time, the culture industry itself has proven to be a profitable market with products able to reach a global market of consumers. As a consequence, the culture world and the art world had to embrace the market forces and learn how to cope with them.

But how the state should intervene in this relation between culture and market forces has been a constant dilemma in many national cultural policies. Ronald Dorwkin (as seen in Lewis & Miller, 2003; Miller & Yúdice, 2002) resumes the two oppositional common approaches: *the economic* one defends a non-paternalistic state, in which "community support for culture is evidenced through the mechanics of price" (Miller & Yúdice, 2002, p. 16). The citizen should be free to determine his own culture needs and desires and the culture sector is subjected to that, therefore, allocating its production according to the market. In this case, the state acts as a "police officer patrolling the precincts of the property – deciding who owns what and how objects should be exchanged" (ibid, p.15). The most famous economic approach is the one applied by the USA's cultural policies.

The second approach, *the lofty* one, suggests that the market favors pleasure over quality and consumers are not able to economically sustain certain artifacts with transcendental value, such as heritage or classical music (Lewis & Miller, 2003). However, it is argued that governments in these cases might adopt a dubious dirigiste role, since it recognizes a "cultural magistracy" (ibid, pg.4), aiming to protect a few practices in danger, "while the others are happily consigned to extinction" (ibid). The lofty approach is most applied in Europe and Australia.

Although the lofty approach implies an intrinsic judgment over quality and reminds us of the old elitists cultural policies, the contemporary role of the state should not only be that of a regulator or fiscal of the cultural market. What is at stake are 'ways of living', thus the focus of the government should not only be to correct market distortions. At the same time, such market distortions of cultural consumption

may affect cultural developments and multicultural recognitions thus it cannot be neglected.

But despite the struggles between market and public intervention, they can work concurrently "as the market is declared the proper venue for the culture industries, while heritage particularly that of indigenous peoples and minorities, is administered by the state." (Miller & Yúdice, 2002, p. 16). This perception leads to a restrictive role of the state, mainly guided by quality, that determines the separation of "culture as fun (via the market) and progress (via the state) is central to much cultural policy" (ibid).

That was the context of creation of the Vale-Cultura in 2012. Nationally, the Brazilian state seemed to been living a period 'in the middle', in which it was strongly criticized for allowing the market domination for so many years, but at the same time was still too tied to these principles. The Vale-Cultural represents well this ambiguity because it consists of a national cultural program, created and promoted by the Ministry, but at the same time focused on market growth. However, the state does not inject capital directly into the field, but through the main actor of both the current cultural sector and the globalized society: the consumer.

### 2.2.3) Culture and the social: Consumerist society

The communicational and economic changes that occurred worldwide since the 1990's shaped what some theorists (Miles, 1998; Campbell, 1995) call the consumerist society. This current society is "organized around the consumption, rather than the production of goods and services" (Blackwell as cited in Campbell, 1995, p.100) and has also affected the cultural production field. The creation of programs focused on the consumer instead of the producer or artist, such as the Vale-Cultura itself, can be considered a reflection of this contemporary social organization.

The Vale-Cultura card stimulates at its core the consumption of culture. However, from a sociological perspective, consumption nowadays is not simply the acquisitions of goods but an expression of social power (Miles, 1998; Campbell, 1995). During the 1980's and 1990's, consumption started to be seen as a cultural phenomenon, a "negotiated realm" (Miles, 1998, p. 20) of symbolic resources, something more than a simple economic transaction. In today's society, the consumer

can be viewed as a social actor and not just an economic one, since (s)he recognizes and constantly restructures these symbolic values (Miles, 1998; Campbell, 1995).

Postmodernist theorists, such as Baudrillard, Featherstone and Willis (Campbell, 1995), have long reflected on the symbolic sphere of consumption and some have analyzed how possession can act as a symbolic expression of one's identity (ibid), especially in the field of fashion. According to Featherstone, "we can be whoever we want, as long as we are prepared to consume" (Miles, 1998, p. 24). Nonetheless, some theorists are more pessimistic regarding this alleged freedom and individual agency of the consumer society. Influenced by thinkers such as Horkheimer and Adorno, they consider that individuals are usually compelled to consume and that the satisfaction promised through consumption is actually impossible to fulfill (Miles, 1998). But, maybe, the greatest paradox of consumerism, as mentioned by Miles (1998, p.32), is the possibility of personal opportunities and freedom it can offer and, at the same, potentially constraint. Consumption allows people to be (or appear to be) whomever they want while those who cannot follow the same patterns are marginalized and have fewer possibilities of choice.

That is why many cultural policies and institutional strategies of cultural organizations have focused so much on the consumption experience of the audience (Kawashima, 2006). Cultural producers have struggled to diminish barriers of many kinds so as to not constraint (in fact, to enhance) the infinite possibilities an encounter with the arts and culture enables. Also, producers have acknowledged that this spectator is no longer passive, but an active consumer, much more capable of influencing others and society in general.

Although many artistic or cultural experiences are only possible through the acquisition of tangible products (such as books, CDs, instruments or DVDs), or through purchased services (movie theater, dance halls, performances, concerts), what is actually being consumed in these cases is the subjective experience. In the academic and marketing field the term used to designate the actions focused on enriching this subject's culture experience is known as audience development.

Audience development does not have a single definition but the one that will be used in this thesis is "broadening the audience base in both quantitative and qualitative terms and enriching the experience of customers." (Kawashima, 2000, p.9). This means trying to engage non-participants and increasing the experience of

the participants by combining actions of marketing, education, publicity and curatorship. These types of strategies primarily focus on the psychological and social barriers that are so embedded in people's attitude and that measures such as a discount fee cannot easily eliminate (ibid; Kawashima, 2000; Wiggins, 2004). Therefore, these actions have to go beyond enabling the democratization of access.

However, when cultural organizations engage in programs of audience development, they are faced with two dilemmas. The first is whom should they attract and cultivate as their audience since the resources to it are usually scarce. Secondly, they are forced to rethink which culture and which values are being fostered by the organizations. It even can be argued that, because these cultural institutions normally function as gatekeepers by presenting products of historical dominant segments, they are actually partly responsible for the cultural social exclusion (ibid, p.66).

Following this logic, the Vale-Cultura policy seems like a democratic measure. It does not give cultural institutions the power to decide on appropriate ways to consume cultural experiences, but empowers the consumer with the choice. This, combined with a wide range of possibilities to spend the card, permits the consumption of heterogeneous products and experiences, many which single cultural institutions would not be able to provide. At the same time, this structure also makes more sense in the current globalized consumer society because it sees the audience as an active consumer.

However, considering the definition of audience development mentioned above, the Vale-Cultura does not focus on "enriching the experience of customers" (Kawashima, 2000, p.9) or broadening the audience in qualitative matters. Although is likely that such incentive will enhance the audience quantitatively, the program does not encompass any kind of feature aiming to diverse the cultural consumer public.

With that in mind, it is also important to acknowledge that the Vale-Cultura main goal is not to increase social cohesion or diminish social inequality, even though it can attenuate the imbalance in cultural consumption by allowing (or maybe encouraging) people to simply consume. The Panorama of the Cultural Sector of 2013-2014 (Jordão & Alucci, 2014) is an extensive report on the Brazilian cultural habits that considered not only the artistic ones, but also included religious activity and even watching TV. Still, 42% of the researched population has such an

inexpressive or non-existing cultural consumption that they are considered non-participants. The Vale-Cultura creates a historical opportunity for this number to change and to reduce cultural participation inequality. In this dire context, just the increase of quantity regarding the audience might lead to significant consequences.

To conclude, it is possible to identify that the Vale-Cultura policy is aligned with the contemporary idea of cultural citizenship. In the contemporary perspective, cultural citizenship is performed not only through participation in the decision-making and production but also in the possibility of consumption. Nowadays, the issues are associated with cultural recognition of the differences, not only of communities but also of individuals (Stevenson, 2007). As argued by theorists (as showed in Campbell, 1995), the particular identity in the consumerist society is constructed by the possibility of consumption and access to products and experiences. This plurality is recognized and enabled by the Vale-Cultura once it allows spending on products without differentiating from high or low cultural value. The policy does not determine what is 'appropriate' for consumption in the cultural realm, thus encompassing all kinds of consumer identities.

But, the freedom of purchase permitted by the card also generates issues. If there is no judgment of cultural value among the options offered, users can spend the credit on peripheral products without cultural value, such as office supplies. This type of purchase can distort the main goal of the policy and is among the researching topics of this thesis.

### 2.2.4) Research questions and expectations

The Vale-Cultural program is advertised by the Ministry of Culture as a tool to increase cultural consumption and participation that will economically boost the Brazilian cultural market and bring many benefits to the nation's society. Its implementation is singular because it empowers the consumer with the choice, instead of funding institutions to attract attendees through audience development strategies. It is a bottom-up policy that does not determine what has ideal cultural value and what does not, thus encompassing the plurality of identities characteristic of the contemporary consumer society. However, this wide option of possibilities allows users to spend the credit on products that do not have cultural value and, as a consequence, may not actually support the cultural production field. Also, the

program does not engage in expanding the users' experience and thus, there is nothing to inspire them to modify their established cultural habits, may these habits be developed or nonexistent.

Considering this complex context, the research question that guides this thesis is: To what extent is the advertising, implementation and use of the Vale-Cultural cultural policy in Brazil coherent? This question leads to three important sub questions: Which values of the policy does the Ministry of Culture underline? Are these values consistent with the implementation system? And how do, in fact, the users spend the card?

Therefore, I intend to analyze these three realms (implementation system, propaganda discourse, and actual use) to further understand if the values of this particular cultural policy are consistent.

| Definition of culture | Type of cultural policy | Role of the state | Goal of policies | Ideological background | What it privileges | Goal achieved through |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Culture as the circulation of symbolic goods and practices | Democratization of culture | Patron | Civilize | Hegemonic projects | Dominant culture | Increase of access to cultural institutions |
| Culture as meaning-making | Cultural democracy | Populist | Social inclusion | Recognition of cultural rights | Multiculturalism | Increase of cultural participation |
| Culture as creative goods | Neoliberal policies | Regulator | Economic development | Recognition of differences | Culture diversity | Increase of cultural consumption |

Table 1. Types of cultural policies and their values

The values that will be explored in the data analysis are the ones presented throughout this chapter and that are part of the cultural policy framework described. Table 1 was developed to represent them concisely, along with the concepts and models that they sustain.

Each line in Table 1 refers to a type of cultural policy and it can be linked, from top to bottom, to the first, second and phase presented previously. This scheme shows how each phase was mostly marked by types of cultural policy that possess different definitions of culture, goals, methods, ideologies and tools. Nonetheless, it is important to acknowledge two aspects: a) although the phases were presented in a

chronological order for organizational purposes, this does not mean that, for instance, democratization actions are not still implemented and of high importance today. The Vale-Cultura itself is the best example. This division was established to illustrate generational trends worldwide but they are not exclusive of their designated period. b) Even though they are general trends, they were not and are not applied separately. Indeed, cultural policies are usually consisted of mixed approaches, intended to support various aspects or achieve different goals at the same time.

This means that cultural policies are usually supported by multiple values and that a consistent policy does not need to check all the boxes in Table1's line. Neither is its consistency directly related to its effectiveness, although it is more likely for a policy to be successful if it has strong coherent values applied in all its domains. So, even though a single policy may aim for social inclusion through the economic development of cultural institutions, there needs to be a shared guideline that creates a congruous dialogue between the parties involved (in the invented case: institutions, society, market, implementation system, funding, state, audience, institutions' agendas, etc.).

This means, that for the purposes of this case study's investigations, I intend to qualitative analyze the data gathered and try to identify the values underlined in each of the three realms mentioned: implementation system (how the policy aims to be), propaganda discourse (how the policy intends to appear), and actual use (how the policy is, according to its users). The general consistency of the policy will then be analyzed by comparing my findings of each of the three. The similar they are, the more consistent is the policy's values among the domains considered.

Nevertheless, more importantly than criticizing the solidity of the Vale-Cultura policy, this research aims to explore the dialogue between the Brazilian parties involved and to try to identity how each of them perceives the policy. The method that will be applied to do that will be explained in the methodology chapter.


### 2.2.5) Previous researches on the theme

Unfortunately this research is backed by few similar popular researches. It is unfeasible to delineate studies regarding the issues of 'values' and 'cultural policy' because this relation is intrinsic in any debate of the subject. It is possible thought to rely on research that also analyzes specific policies or public programs as case studies

through this lens; however, most of the inquiries concern empirical evaluations of effectiveness and not critical investigations.

The United Kingdom has developed some inquiries analyzing the values around specific national policies. Garnham (2005), for instance, discusses the case of the change of the terminology by the Labour Party in its official papers from "cultural industries" to "creative industries" by arguing that it "was a redrawing of these boundaries: redefinitions of the grounds, purposes and instruments of policy." (p.16). Through this research it is possible to understand that a simple name shift actually represents a shift in the values pursued by the British state, from the valorization of the intrinsic value of culture to its instrumental value for economic development. In another study, Buckingham and Jones (2010) address how culture became an important educational value and was designated prominent role in the Labour Party's educational reform – The Education Action Zones. This reconstruction was supported by the instrumental values of culture as tool to "defuse social tensions" (p.3) and educate future professionals for the creative industries, thus also underlining its promising economical value.

In the Netherlands, Mommaas (2004), for instance, addresses the different discourses used to support the cultural clustering policies, ranging from "stimulating innovation and creativity" (p.520) to "finding new uses to old buildings" (p.522). According to the author, this "generalized notion of the possible role of the arts and culture in the post-industrial city" (p.530) can lead to a situation where the cultural values of the clusters are "side-tracked" (p.531) while other interests take over this opportunity. He points to the inconsistency of the initiative by arguing, "no clear correlations can be identified (yet) between the rationales used and the models developed" (p.530).

In Norway, Bjornsen (2012) analyzes the values behind the policy of the Culture Rucksack (DKS), the national arts-in-school-program. Despite a general academic understanding that the civilizing value of culture is an old practice that has been substituted for a culture democracy based on participation and a market-oriented mentality, the author shows that the DKS still underlines "the transformative power of what are called 'the professional arts'" (p.398). The program pursues to enlighten pupils through exposure to the high arts, representing a return to the object-approach instead of the subject-approach. At the same time, the DKS does not include

commercial arts and, doing so, establishes a hierarchy of value, diminishing practices and products that are commonly consumed by the pupils and parents outside of school. As a conclusion, the author observes that this focus is not supposed to promote the intrinsic value of the arts, but a tool to civilize, used as an "element of behavioral management" (Bjornsen, 2012, p. 398).

Simultaneously, I have relied also on previous inquiries of audience development, since the Vale-Cultura is the first Brazilian policy dedicated to consumer and not to the producer. The studies show that simply erasing practical barriers such as location or prices does not suddenly make people change from indifferent into interested in culture activities. Discount fees alone cannot easily erase psychological and social barriers (Kawashima 2006; Kawashima, 2000; Wiggins, 2004) or effectively convert non-attenders into regular attenders (Hayes & Slater, 2000). According to these researches, accessibility initiatives must be accompanied by actions of education, marketing and curatorship aimed at improving the experience of the consumer. However, even after years of investments in this area, the regular cultural organization attendee is still mainly constituted of "upper education, upper occupation and upper income groups" (Hood, 1993, p. 17).

Considering these previous researches, I expect to find that the Vale-Cultura policy is mainly supported by the economic development value via a democratization of consumption, since it does not articulate anything else besides the card. It does not invest in creating a long-term consumption habit, does not establish a direct dialogue with the producers or users, and does not try to make the users engaged or participative. Indeed, the Vale-Cultura does not seem to have any underlying educational or civilizing ambition, since it does not determine a best practice of culture consumption. At one side, this allows users to construct their own consumer behavior, which is aligned with the representativeness pursued by the notion of cultural citizenship. In a context contrary to the UK and Norway (illustrated respectively by Buckingham & Jones and Bjornsen), the Vale-Cultura does not seem to try to build an idealized Brazilian nation through the valorization of symbolic practices. And, relying on the audience development scholarly field, this lack of complementary actions suggests that is unlikely for the attendance to increase or for the culture habits of the users to change. Without initiatives of audience development,

the users will possibly not visit different venues or purchase products that they are not used to obtain. Eventually, this could affect the effectiveness of the policy.

To conclude my expectation towards the research of the case study, I expect to observe that the cultural habits of the users of the Vale-Cultura have not changed with the acquirement of the card. In fact, it is plausible to expect that the users spend the card on activities they were already willing to pay for. If that were the case, the Brazilian government would be investing millions in a market that would be affected in the same way without the card. The difference is that it would not be sustained by taxes. But this conclusion is premature and the users themselves should make further comments on the matter. For this reason, this thesis is sustained not only by discourse analysis and technical information on the implementation, but also by interviews with Vale-Cultura's users. How these data were gathered and the method of analysis will be explained in the next chapter.

### 3.1) Intentions and a theoretical background

Primarily, this thesis consists of an exploratory case study of the Vale-Cultura, a cultural policy implemented in Brazil in 2013. My main goal is to analyze the case through three layers: system, discourse and reception. In this methodology section, I will explain how I have gathered and analyzed the data to study the matter.

Critical studies are not unusual in the cultural studies field. This tradition was initiated by the Frankfurt School (McGuigan, 1997, p. 2), which studied mainly the cultural and media industries, and eventually was reinterpreted by the British School, which mainly focused on the analysis and empowerment of social movements. The research projects of both schools often applied a transdiciplinary approach, "combining analysis of the production and political economy of culture with textual analysis that contextualizes cultural artefacts (…) with studies of audience reception and use of cultural texts" (Kellner, 1997, p. 26).

However, many scholars have reviewed this legacy and one of them, Tony Bennett, defends the necessity to overcome "the gulf between the political pretensions of cultural studies and its practical effects. Connections between cultural critique in the academy and a larger universe of power, the so-called 'real world' of politics, are somewhat tenuous" (McGuigan, 1997, p. 28). Bennett claims that cultural studies has debated unrealistic intentions for too long, thus, he defends a pragmatic approach in critical cultural studies, in which the scholar could act as a "technician of governmentability" (McGuigan, 1997, p. 3) by establishing connections with the practical field.

It is undeniable that both perspectives inspired the methodology of this thesis, however, this study tries to be more aligned to Bennett's aspirations. Even though this inquiry might be perceived as having reformist purposes, or even antagonist purposes[4], in an ideological sense, it ultimately tries to be, at least partially, pragmatic. I aim to conduct a study in which:

---

[4] "reformist purposes – which involves working 'within' administrative knowledge but with the aim of effecting changes; antagonistic purposes – which involve critique and opposition, both general and policy-specific." (McGuigan, 2003, p.32)

Cultural forms are examined from the point of view of understanding the role which they play within specific fields of power relation, of criticizing their political consequences in this regards and debating the forms of practical action through which their existing political articulations might be modified… (Bennett, 1997, p. 49)

In opposition to previous cultural studies methods (normally linked to the Frankfurt and British Schools mentioned), I do not intend to engage in increasing social awareness or "changing consciousness" (Bennett, 1997, p. 54) with this work, but mainly reflect upon on-going administrative structures, on a practical and ideological level.

Therefore, even though this inquiry does not aim to create practical suggestions (or even solutions) for the critiques raised, it aims to contribute to the political debate of cultural democratization in Brazil. It considers, as its primary audience, the "active practitioners" (Neuman, 2011, p.27) of the cultural production field in the country. This means that this study aims to develop "instrumental knowledge" (ibid, p. 36) to help policy-makers and cultural producers discuss, and eventually improve, the Vale-Cultura policy.

### 3.2) Methodology design

This thesis relies on a qualitative analysis of different data sources to analyze the case. This multiplicity of data allows for the case to be not "explored through one lens, but rather a variety of lenses which allows for multiple facets of the phenomenon to be revealed and understood." (Baxter & Jack, 2008, p.544). This method is also aligned with the definition of case study used by this thesis, which is: "[...] a strategy for doing research which involves an empirical investigation of a particular contemporary phenomenon within its real life context using multiple sources of evidence" (Robson, 2002 in Arthur et all, 2012).

Therefore, it is important to acknowledge that this is not an evaluation inquiry on the effects of the Vale-Cultura. Because the subject is very recent, few studies have been released regarding the policy (none in English) and, thus, it currently lacks further theoretical grounding. Therefore, this thesis aims to be an "exploratory research" (Palys, 2008, p.58) that intents to "formulate preliminary ideas" (p.58)

about it, and to assist on future research questions. It could, for instance, be a useful tool to design an extensive quantitative research or long-term evaluation of the reception and use of the Vale-Cultura.

Therefore, instead of proposing solutions, the main intention of this research is to indicate aspects to which the Vale-Cultura's administrators and cultural producers should pay more attention, aspects that need further reflection and analysis.

In sum, this thesis applies a hybrid methodology by analyzing materials from secondary and primary sources with different approaches. Considering the practical constraints of this research (e.g. timeframe, geographical distance from Brazil, financial resources) I have determined three layers of the case study to be analyzed and, thus, answer my research questions. They are: the implementation system, the media coverage and the users' experiences. The method of data gathering and their units of analysis will be address next.

### I) *Looking into the system*

To understand how the system is implemented, I decided to look into its institutionalized structure. Even though, as with every cultural program, the system of the Vale-Cultura is 'alive' and only truly gains shape when the material and subjective transactions are made, I did not have the resources to thoroughly analyze its activity from up close[5]. Therefore I focused on the 'official' system's organization. This means that I mostly relied on documents from the Ministry of Culture and official information from the operator companies. The former was scarce and, even though I have asked the ministry for access to further data and reports, they only answered me after two months with a short letter (transcribed in chapter 4). Regarding the latter, I did a qualitative mapping of the field of receivers to further understand in what type of cultural organizations the Vale-Cultura is currently accepted.

To do a quantitative mapping of the supply would have been unfeasible since it is too numerous, decentralized and confusing. As I eventually realized, each operator company has developed its own form of cataloguing its receivers, with some data seeming to be unreliable (as will be further explained in chapter 4) and a large part of the information was not accessible to non-users. Such mapping demands an entirely new research focused on grouping the information spread over the

---

[5] Since during the making of this thesis I was not in Brazil.

companies' databases under the same criteria.

The unit of analysis of the qualitative research on the implementation system can be considered the program itself. As explained by Baxter and Jack (2008), depending on the research question of the case-study, the case can be the unit of analysis itself. Considering this, it is important to limit what is part of the case and what is not. Therefore, in this first part I have limited the analysis to the period from 2013 (when the official documents started to be issued) to 2015, regarding only official data provided by part of the supplier side of the program: the Ministry of Culture and the operator companies.

## II)    *Discourse Analysis*

To understand how the Vale-Cultura is presented, a discourse analysis was applied to the gathered data. This method is primarily suitable for the construction of realities through discourse (Willig, 2014). Although it can be used to analyze a wide variety of materials, I have used it exclusively for articles published in the online and offline media that concerned the case study. My goal was to study how the program was presented in the media, especially by the Ministry itself, and which values of the policy are promoted. I also wanted to further understand the program's implementation, since many of its reports were published in the media but are not currently available through the Ministry's channels. This step was done by content analysis of newspaper articles; however, I was also interested in the media's reception of the policy which led me to also analyze editorials, blog posts and columns (which I have grouped under the label 'opinionated articles'). By looking into these different types of texts, I intended to not only demonstrate the reception of the opinion leaders in Brazil, but also to acknowledge what critiques and issues of the program were being raised.

To gain access to such materials, I have used Google Brasil as my main tool and applied some criteria. I used the key-word "Vale-Cultura" and collected the first 30 articles of the search that were: a) news articles b) contained original quotes from the Ministry or users c) were not identical, since many websites have reproduced the same text (probably a press release) to introduce the program to the readers d) were published up to the end of 2014. After gathering this material, I noticed that many posts were published around the same date, which likely represents the news cycle the

program made on the media. They were mostly published in 2012 and 2013, close to the signing of the program's law and the card's release, respectively; six months after its implementation in the first semester of 2014; and when the program completed one year of implementation, in the second semester of 2014. I decided then to use these periods as new criteria and established the goal to gather 8 news articles from each of these cycles and develop three groups of analysis. By establishing three periods of analysis, I intended to more easily identify the eventual variations on the discourse propagated by the media.

If there were not enough articles to complete the amount of each group, I would return to Google and continued the search from the point where I had stopped. Simultaneously, using the same search, I decided to gather another 8 articles that had an opinionative nature, texts that reflected upon the program and were not focused on reporting information.

Once I had the sample of 32 articles in total, I started coding them using the software *Atlas.ti*. The coding scheme is presented in the Appendix section. It contains four main groups of codes: a) Ministry's speech b) Explanation of the system c) Report of achievements d) Journalistic comments. The first was destined to code quotes made by the Ministry's employees, sub-coded in 15 different themes (from social inclusion to urban development); the second to code excerpts regarding explanations of the program's rules, projections and history; the third focused on collecting information of the program's implementation that were lacking from official documents along with testimonials from users evaluating the policy; and the last group of codes intended to highlight comments, mistakes, critiques, compliments, impressions and subtle opinions offered by the authors of the pieces – naturally, this fourth group was more present in the set of 'opinionated articles' than in the others.

During the coding process, I had to discard one news articles since I misjudged it and it actually constituted a clear opinionated text. I also reorganized the opinionated article groups, discarding some texts to recreated it based on new criteria: a) to develop a group that extends over time – and, at the end, I analyzed texts ranging from 2009 to 2014 b) to make a diverse group of opinions, gathering texts that focused on different aspects of the program.

Ultimately, the sample analyzed was not as the one initially determined. It is composed by: 7 news articles from 2012 to 2013; 8 news articles from 2014/1°

semester; 8 news articles from 2014/2° semester and 6 opinionated articles.

According to Willig (2014), discourse analysis does not constitute a recipe but mainly "a perspective from which to approach a text" (p.7). This approach enables a specific kind of reading for the researcher. In the case of this thesis, the reading was done with the mentioned codes in mind, which were designed to serve as a tool for the interpretation the program's values underlined in the media. In this research the discourse analysis aimed to further understand the cultural representation of the Vale-Cultura: how it was publicly presented and received, and, thus, which values are being perpetuated through the media. For this reason, the unit of analysis of this part was media articles.

### III)    Interviews

To complete the investigation of the case study, I conducted ten semi-structured interviews with Vale-Cultura users. My intention was to understand if the values propagated by the system and by the policy on the media reverberated with the program's reality. Therefore, while the previous two parts of the analysis focused on studying secondary sources, this third part intended to comprehend the program 'in action' and its effects through primary sources. It was also important to me, as a critical researcher, to collect the evaluation of those who routinely used the policy since they constitute the true 'experts' on the subject. It was a way to make the inquiry more democratic and closer to the case since I have approached it from a practical and geographical distance.

The sample of this thesis consists of ten active Brazilian cultural consumers, with different degrees of involvement, though all of them have at least the habit of going to the movies or reading regularly. They have a matured cultural consumption habit and are familiar with several places and events of their cities: Rio de Janeiro and São Paulo. Furthermore, all the interviewees are current or former employees of bank institutions, who have a university degree and are part of the middle or high class of the country. Therefore this sample is composed by members of Brazil's 'cultural elite'.

Due to the geographical distance, the best method to find Vale-Cultura's users was through 'snowball sampling', or using respondents' own networks (Barbour, 2008). I managed to contact an influential employee in three financial institutions and

some initiatives were more successful than others. Because of the physical distance, my only way of approaching, after the employee's indication, was by sending a formal invitation through e-mail. And, even though I sent more than twenty invitations to indicated people, I only obtained a response from these ten interviewees. Consequently, people from the same social and working circle compose the sample, who have similar background characteristics.

The homogeneity of the sample has positives and negatives aspects. The negative aspect is that it is not possible to identify the impact of the Vale-Cultura for and through different social groups. Although I have tried to contact the employees of the same institutions with lower level jobs, in all cases these workers did not receive the Vale-Cultura as a benefit because they were outsourced (which is a common practice for menial jobs in Brazil). Even though I believe that a program such as the Vale-Cultura might have a greater impact on lower social strata, since that is where the monthly credit would make a larger difference in the income, it was not possible to investigate the program's impact on this group.

On the other hand, by analyzing a sample with individuals with similar backgrounds, I could develop a more consistent finding regarding my interviewees. It becomes easier to uncover and confirm patterns, and, at the same time, to develop expectations. For instance, the theory of audience development suggests that a group with 'cultural competence', as the one interviewed, is more likely to extend their cultural interests when they are offered a financial benefit, not only in quantity (frequency) but also in quality (consumption). This expansion can lead, for example, to a deeper involvement with cultural organizations and enhancement of cultural participation (Hayes & Slater, 2002). In that sense, change is cultural behavior through the Vale-Cultura is probably more likely to occur among this culturally competent group.

All the interviews were realized through Skype, in Portuguese, and lasted between 21' and 34' minutes. The interviewees were asked to fill in a short survey beforehand so I could better understand their general taste and cultural consumption. As this survey was just used to support the interviews (and some interviewees neglected to answer it), the findings will not be presented systematically. Therefore, it can be considered that the interviewees are the units of analysis.

The interview scheme is available in the Appendix section. I have conducted semi-structured interviews, a method that enabled me to touch upon predetermined variables and also to "allow respondents to identify those issues which are salient for them and to explain how these impact on their daily lives" (Barbour, 2008). The questions, as well as the qualitative analysis of the conversations, followed the established themes: general cultural habit, administration of the card (how, where, when and with whom has the person spent it), effects on the interviewee's general cultural behavior (the difference the card has made), evaluation of the program, and discussion of its strengths and weaknesses.

The analysis of this material does not intend to determine a general pattern of the Vale-Cultura's users, neither in a general perspective nor regarding the users that belong to the 'cultural elite'. The findings are only representative of this specific group; for this research to draw a general conclusion it would have needed a bigger and less biased sample, for instance, by balancing genres, ages, cities, family structures, and so on. Nevertheless, these interviews enabled me to comprehend the micro-scale function and impact of the policy, which was not possible with the other materials.

To conclude, it has to be acknowledged that this thesis entailed ethical commitments. I ensured voluntary informed consent (Padgett, 2008) and also clearly discussed privacy and confidentiality matters with the interviewees beforehand. Nine of them agreed, on record, to be identified in this research by their first name, while one preferred to remain anonymous. Also, before the beginning of each interview, I clarified that I do not possess any relation with the Ministry of Culture. This way the interviewees could feel more comfortable to share their full experiences, including what could be considered as devious ones.

In this chapter, I will introduce the reader to some specificities of this cultural production field in Brazil. Since the cultural field of the country is not as known as the European or North American, and is very different from those, I will expose a brief overview of the context that encompasses the Vale-Cultura. Afterwards, I will develop a detailed explanation of the policy's system and develop a critical analysis of the supplier side based on secondary sources.

### 4.1) Brazilian Cultural Production Field – A Quick Overview

At Brazil, cultural policies have adopted mixed models of funding to cultivate the cultural production field in the last twenty years. Many cultural projects, of all areas, can be supported directly by the state at the federal, state and municipal levels. But this budget is cramped, so each fund is usually small and extremely disputed. The other option, which is not only more popular but also at the center of the cultural debates in the country, is to gain financial support through indirect funding laws. Cultural projects can be certified by public cultural offices to pursue private sponsorship from companies and the companies willing to sponsor can deduce the amount (in most of the cases, 100% of the amount 'given' to the project) from their taxes. This means that although the grant comes from the cultural public budget, the decision of who gains what is done by private companies that are not part of the cultural sector. This system has lead to: an extreme commercialization of projects, since they are forced to strongly advertise the sponsor; concentration of sponsorship to projects done in big urban regions where there are more consumers; concentration of investments in popular art forms, not-so-risky, that easily attract audiences, such as cinema; and a rapid informal manageralisation of the sector, since every project needs a professional to fulfill the demands of the state, the businessmen and the artists. Besides, this sponsorship opportunity is only possible to a few major companies (normally from the oil, mineral, telecommunications or financial sector) as the company needs to have a minimum actual annual profit of R$ 24 million (approximately U$9.6 millions) (Lucro Real - Secretaria da Receita Federal) to be able to deduce the tax.

This system, popularly known by the its main law called 'Lei Rouanet', done in all three spheres (federal, state, municipal with each respective tax budget), has been implemented in Brazil before the year 2002's, during the neoliberalist party's mandate. Since this millennium, the Partido dos Trabalhadores (PT) (Worker's Party) has implemented many programs and initiatives, such as the National Cultural System and the National Cultural Plan, to support and preserve a diverse cultural citizenship. They have also increased the direct funding of culture through the creation of the Culture National Fund and the program PROCULTURA. This means that the government, especially between 2002 and 2008, has tried to centralize its control over the production field and at the same time make it more democratic by focusing on diversity, balancing the distribution of cultural organization throughout the country's regions, and supporting a stronger popular participation in the decision-making[6].

However, for the last years, the new Ministry has not been able to reform the Lei Rouanet, despite the revolt of cultural professionals and experts. Neither has it denied the economic potential of culture, for instance, by creating in 2012 the Secretaria da Economia Criativa[7] (Creative Industry Department). Simultaneously, the PROCULTURA main official goal is to stimulate the cultural economy, job creation, and incomes (Aparecida, 2012, p. 9). Therefore, although the current government tries to ease the participation of private forces in the culture sector, it nonetheless encourages the instrumental use of culture as a strategy to economic development.

Turino (2009 as cited in Aparecida, 2012) explains that the Brazilian model is hybrid because it is not entirely liberal – especially because the private funding initiatives constitute tax deduction – and not entirely public, as it happens with a direct patronage from the Estate (p.7). So, even though the companies have the financing control of a large part of the national cultural production, the federal government still is the main responsible party for the administration and regulation of the sector. When it comes to the public cultural institutions, considering the continental size of the country, Brazil has few in comparison with, for instance, the

---

[6] For instance, the National Cultural Plan was developed, after a couple of years, through popular participation. Anyone could submit proposals on the MINC's website and they realized many conferences in several cities where the topics and goals were openly debated with the population.
7 http://www.cultura.gov.br/secretaria-da-economia-criativa-sec

USA[8]. These facilities must also submit medium-term projects to be subsidized and provide constant accountability. In sum, the cultural production field constantly faces the challenge of instability and difficulty of engaging in long-term action due to its institutionalized financing of punctual projects.

It is also important to present this cultural production field through a theoretical framework. I believe that this sociological base can help the reader to comprehend the significance that a cultural policy, such as the Vale-Cultura, can have in a postcolonial context. To do that, I will make use of Néstor García Canclini's theories on the subject. He is one of the most prestigious scholars on Latin American Studies and has long reflected on its cultural aspects mixing both an anthropological and sociological approach.

According to Canclini (1995), Latin America has not yet completed its modernization project. It currently lives in a hybrid position between tradition and modernity, although the countries have adopted modernization as their national projects. It can be easily perceived through political campaigns, which prioritize the countries' development. In opposition to the 'First World' countries, Latin America is haunted by the idea of underdevelopment as a failure of modernization.

As he illustrates: "We [Latin America] have not had a solid industrialization, nor an extended technologizing of agricultural production, nor a sociopolitical ordering based on the formal and material rationality" (Canclini, 1995, p.7). Nonetheless, Latin America is not stuck at an ancient moment of History: it faces waves of modernization and "multiple logics of development" (ibid, p.9) that coexist.

This context has, of course, affected the cultural production field and, above all, its autonomy. Canclini (1995) considers that to become culturally modern there are four aspects that need to be achieved, of which I will address the two most important for this thesis: being emancipated (the development of an autonomous market) and being democratic (meaning to "trust in education, the diffusion of art, and specialized knowledge to achieve rational and moral evolution") (p.12). These two aspects have not been fully achieved yet in Latin America by the cultural field. He defends that the waves of modernization did not generate an autonomous market in

---

[8] According to the National Institute of Brazilian Museums, they have mapped 3,118 museums of all kinds across the country (http://www.museus.gov.br/os-museus/museus-do-brasil/). Meanwhile, the Institute of Museum and Library Services claims to have data of over 35,000 museums in the United States (http://www.imls.gov/research/museum_universe_data_file.aspx)

the artistic field, and, consequently, were not sufficient to support a professionalization of artists and cultural practitioners, neither to develop enough economic strength for cultural democratization.

This has generated specific conflicts and dilemmas that are not part, for instance, of the western European context. Canclini illustrates the case of Brazil, by referencing to Renato Ortiz's work:

> How could writers and artists have a specific audience if 84 percent of the population was illiterate in 1890 (…) and 57 percent as late as 1940? The average print run for a novel was only a thousand copies as late as 1930. For several more decades, writers would not be able to live from literature and had to work as professors, civil servants, or journalists, a situation that made literary development dependent upon the state bureaucracy and the mass information market. For that reason, Ortiz concludes, no clear distinction was created in Brazil between artistic culture and the mass market, nor did their contradictions take on as antagonistic a form, as in European societies. (Canclini, 1995, p.42)

Canclini argues that most of cultural modernization in Latin America was achieved by the cultural industry and, thus, it does not have as conflicting relationship of status or taste with the artistic field as it does in Europe. It was thanks to this industry, especially the mass communication sector, that Latin American countries have developed some autonomy of the field and some cultural democracy, and not due to state patronage or artistic movements. Therefore, while in established modern societies the elite normally has the hegemony of distinction and values, in the 'not-yet' modern societies, power (and distinction) is not so well delimited and can emerge from all sorts of places. In Latin America, "it was the increase in differentiated investments in the elite and mass markets that most accentuated the distance between both" (Canclini, 1995, p.58) and with that, "High culture became an area cultivated by fractions of the bourgeoisie and the middle class, while the majority of the upper and middle classes, and virtually all the popular classes, were becoming attached to the mass programming of the culture industry" (ibid). Therefore, it is not simply a matter of education or class.

In conclusion, Canclini (1995) acknowledges that modernization has been mainly produced, in the second half of the twentieth century, by private enterprises. It enhanced cultural democratization, but did not conclude it. Consequently, it also submitted the cultural field to the market forces, complicating this hybrid context.

This brief interpretation of Canclini's works aims to quickly represent how the cultural production paradigms of Latin America (and obviously Brazil) are distinguished from the North American or European ones. In this context, cultural modernism is not connected to political or economic modernization. The advance of the cultural industry does not antagonize the decrease of taste or artistic quality. And cultural democratization was not persuaded by statist hegemonic projects, but mainly guided by the cultural industry.

Nevertheless, Canclini's theories were presented here to contextualize and briefly illustrate the paradigms that surround the country. In a context in which cultural demand is not so established (as a reflection of the incomplete modernization process), the Vale-Cultura emerged as the first cultural policy focused on encouraging it. The policy and its system will be thoroughly explained next.

**4.2)   Putting the Vale-Cultura's system under a microscope**

The Vale-Cultura program's basic functioning has been explained throughout this thesis but it might still be a complicated system to grasp, with many rules and actors involved. Therefore, this section aims to develop a detailed explanation of how the policy works by looking into how it is officially presented in the Ministry of Culture's documents and by the operator companies. The goal is to clarify every aspect of this system, at the same time, serve as a consultation sector whenever any doubts about the system might appear.

Up to May 2015, the Vale-Cultura constitutes the first and only policy of the Programa de Cultura do Trabalhador (Worker's Cultural Program) signed by the president Dilma Roussef (Dilma) in 2012. It is a program supervised by the Ministry of Culture (MINC) that aims to: "enable the access and enjoyment of cultural products and services; stimulate the attendance to artistic and cultural organizations; encourage the access to events and artistic cultural spectacles" (Law 12.761 from December, 27th 2012). It determines as cultural areas: visual arts; performing arts;

audiovisual works; literature, humanities and information; music and cultural heritage (ibid). Therefore, according to the law, cultural products or services are objects or activities of an artistic, cultural or informative nature, produced in any media or format, either by legal entities (corporations) or individuals.

The Vale-Cultura is also the name of the card created by the program, a magnetic card that can be used throughout the country in which R$50 (approximately U$20) are deposited every month. The monthly credits accumulate and do not have an expiration date. This credit can only be spent in the cultural field determined by the law.

There are four actors who are part of the program:

a) The beneficiary company: the legal entity that registers itself with the Ministry of Culture to be authorized to distribute the card among its formal employees. The company can be of any size, from big to micro (with only one employee). However, only the companies with 'actual profit', which means a profit of more than R$24 million (approximately U$9,6 millions) a year, can deduce the costs from their annual taxes, although this deduction cannot exceed 1% of the total income tax due. The companies with 'presumed profit', which means less than R$24 million of profit a year, do not consider the amount specified for the Vale-Cultura as labor cost and thus it is not taxed. The first task for the company to provide this benefit for its employees is to contact the ministry and, once the authorization is issued, the beneficiary must sign up with an operator company.

b) The users: to become a user of the Vale-Cultura, one must be a formal employee of a beneficiary company. The program prioritizes workers that earn a monthly salary up to 5 times the minimum wage. If the worker receives the minimum wage, he/she is discounted R$1 from his/her salary. If the worker receives 2 times the wage, he/she is discounted R$2 and so on up until the maximum discount of R$5, the equivalent of 10% of the card's monthly credit. Workers who monthly earn more than 5 times the minimum wage can also receive the card, however, the discount in their salaries can vary from 20% up to 90% of the credit's value. The minimum wage in Brazil, in 2015, is R$788 (approximately U$315), thus, five times the minimum wage

corresponds to R$3,940 (approximately U$1,576). The program is not mandatory, which means that employees of beneficiary companies can chose to participate or not.

c) The operator companies: the operator companies are responsible for providing the cards and being the intermediaries between users and receivers. As of May 2015, the Ministry's official website displayed 39 authorized operator companies spread through the country that provide this service. All of them are credit card companies that are used to offer food and transportation vouchers. These are two mandatory worker benefits in Brazil, however, companies can also offer gas vouchers or pharmaceutics vouchers, among other things. These companies have a large established network of restaurants, supermarkets, gas stations, and other facilities that possess the credit card machine that accepts their card flag. Some companies are more popular than others and/or concentrated in specific regions of Brazil. For instance, in Rio de Janeiro, almost all restaurants accept food vouchers from the company *Ticket*, however, the flag is not as popular in the north of the country. The exact same system works for the Vale-Cultura. These machines that accept food or gas vouchers are the same that have started to accept the Vale-Cultura, although it is forbidden to use the card's credit on something other than culture. This means that the acceptance network of the user's operator company will determine the acceptance of one's Vale-Cultura card. Stores or movie theaters can accept some types of Vale-Cultura and not accept others – it will depend on the kind of credit card machine they possess, thus which credit card company they are affiliated to. The operator companies can charge up to 6% as an administrative fee and it cannot be paid by the user him/herself, being paid by the beneficiary company.

d) The receiver companies: these are the legal entities within the cultural field that are able to receive the Vale-Cultura as a payment method. They can be movie theaters, concert halls, bookstores or art schools, among others, that provide cultural services or products as previously characterized. These establishments must be registered with one or more operator companies (if they wish to reach a wide range of users) to be able to receive payment with the Vale-Cultura and can only accept it when it concerns the purchase of

cultural products, even if they sell other goods. For instance, a department store such as FNAC can accept payments by Vale-Cultura for the purchase of books, CDs and DVDs, but cannot accept it for the purchase of mobile phones or printer cartridges. The Ministry of Culture declares to supervise these transactions to prevent fraud (Ministério da Cultura), even though it is not clear on the website or in the law how they plan to proceed.

The president signed the law that created the program in 2012, but the card's release only happened in September of 2013, after the regulation of the decree N°8.084, from August 26th, 2013. During this whole period, Marta Suplicy (Marta) was the sitting minister of culture. Dilma was reelected in 2014 for four more years, but Marta resigned the office and Juca Ferreira (who had been minister of culture from 2008 to 2011) took over the position at the beginning of 2015.

News articles show that the project had been discussed since 2009 and was first conceived in 2004 as a book voucher project (Herculano, 2014). Eventually, it developed into the Vale-Cultura and, after years of circulating in the National Congress, it was only approved, according to the media, due to Marta's persuasion and negotiation skills with legislators (Westin, 2014). The program became her most important political endeavor and even until today the Vale-Cultura is quickly associated with her. She has been the program's spokesperson for years, advertising it in the media, among worker unions, cultural producers and others politicians. That is the reason why the discourse analysis of the second part of this chapter is only focused on the years Marta was in charge of the program, since no other politician or public servant has advertised the program as much as her.

### 4.3)    Exploring the system

At this moment, the statistics regarding the Vale-Cultura are not available for consultation at the Ministry's website. The media published some numbers on the program's achievements, especially after the program completed one year of implementation, but these are not complete and varied a lot according to the month of each publication. I requested access to the numbers on the Ministry's database through the Portal de Transparência (Transparency Portal) of the federal government in which every citizen can ask to have access to documents on public expenditures.

The letter received in response is copied below with the respective translations in italic:

Prezada Renata,

As informações encaminhadas para a Presidência da República foram extraídas da base de dados do Vale-Cultura.

Tratam de informações quantitativas relativas ao Programa de Cultura do Trabalhador enviadas à PR para compor mensagem. Para tanto, seguem os dados repassados:

*Dear Renata,*

*The information forwarded to the President of the Republic was extracted from the Vale-Cultura's database.*

*They consist of quantitative information regarding the Workers Culture Program sent to the PR to be adjunct in messages. The data forwarded follows as such:*

| REGIÃO | CONSUMO | % | *REGION* | *CONSUMPTION* | *%* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| SUDESTE | R$ 30.013.378,50 | 64% | *SOUTHEAST* | R$ 30.013.378,50 | 64% |
| NORDESTE | R$ 5.088.464,81 | 11% | *NORTHEAST* | R$ 5.088.464,81 | 11% |
| SUL | R$ 5.038.761,40 | 11% | *SOUTH* | R$ 5.038.761,40 | 11% |
| NORTE | R$ 4.490.369,50 | 10% | *NORTH* | R$ 4.490.369,50 | 10% |
| CENTRO-OESTE | R$ 2.076.332,91 | 4% | *MIDWEST* | R$ 2.076.332,91 | 4% |
| TOTAL | R$ 46.707.307,00 | 100% | *TOTAL* | R$ 46.707.307,00 | 100% |

| SEGMENTO CULTURAL | CONSUMO | % | CULTURAL SEGMENT | CONSUMPTION | % |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| LIVROS, JORNAIS E REVISTAS | R$ 33.576.347,78 | 72% | BOOKS, NEWSPAPERS AND MAGAZINES | R$ 33.576.347,78 | 72% |
| CINEMA | R$ 7.693.613,96 | 16% | MOVIE THEATERS | R$ 7.693.613,96 | 16% |
| LOJAS DE DEPARTAMENTO OU MAGAZINE | R$ 1.832.814,60 | 4% | DEPARTMENT STORES AND MAGAZINE | R$ 1.832.814,60 | 4% |
| INSTRUMENTOS MUSICAIS | R$ 937.038,03 | 2% | MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS | R$ 937.038,03 | 2% |
| DISCOS, CDS, DVDs | R$ 806.531,60 | 2% | DISCS, CDS, DVDs | R$ 806.531,60 | 2% |
| INGRESSOS PARA ESPETÁCULOS DE MÚSICA, TEATRO E DANÇA | R$ 575.307,45 | 1% | TICKETS TO MUSIC, THEATER AND DANCE PERFORMANCES | R$ 575.307,45 | 1% |
| OUTRAS ATIVIDADES CULTURAIS | R$ 1.285.653,58 | 3% | OTHER CULTURAL ACTIVITIES | R$ 1.285.653,58 | 3% |
| TOTAL | R$ 46.707.307,00 | 100% | TOTAL | R$ 46.707.307,00 | 100% |

Atenciosamente,

Coordenação-Geral de Desenvolvimento e Controle e Avaliação

Diretoria de Gestão de Mecanismos de Fomento

Secretaria de Fomento e Incentivo à Cultura

Ministério da Cultura


Best regards,

General Coordination of Development, Control and Evaluation

Director of Management and Funding Mechanisms

Department of Funding and Promotion of Culture

Ministry of Culture

This two-page report was presented to the president as featuring the results of the Vale-Cultura. It is not clear as to which period it refers to and how exactly these numbers were gathered. Unfortunately, this research did not have the appropriate time frame to request more detailed information since the Ministry took two months to send this feedback. The program's law establishes that the operator companies must provide monthly reports of expenditures to the Ministry, but I have not had access to what kind of forms they must fill or what are the guidelines to gather information. Through this report, it is not possible to identify how many cards have been issued, how many places accept it, how many companies have joined and their types, the general users' profile, among others valuable information. The document above only features how much was spent, through the Vale-Cultura, in each region of the country (first table and map) and how much was spent with the card in each cultural sector (second table).

Nonetheless, this report clearly presents the inequality of expenditure between regions. This was expected since the Southeast region concentrates around 42% of the country's population (IBGE, 2011). It is also the region with the most developed economy and industry, which means that a large proportion of the big companies with actual profit are located there, especially in the São Paulo and Rio de Janeiro states. These companies have a greater interest in joining the Vale-Cultura program due to the tax deduction and their employees are also usually well organized in unions or associations. At the same time, it is the region with the highest expenditures on culture, the most cultural facilities and the highest average level of education.

Therefore, this unbalance is caused by many structural factors and is not only present in cultural consumption. Even so, the Ministry has not addressed this specific concern in any media coverage or document. Marta has spoken about the impact the Vale-Cultura could generate in small cities and their creative sectors, but has not specifically addressed the imbalance of cultural production and consumption between Brazilian regions. In fact, the only time this was mentioned in the media was by a scholar, in an opinionated article, who warned that the Vale-Cultura could actually aggravate this situation if the Ministry did not increase the cultural offer in the most deprived regions.

The Ministry's report also shows a clear discrepancy in spending between the literature sector and the other sectors. As will be showed in the discourse analysis,

this was predicted by the MINC, not due to the population's reading habits (which are in fact at a very low level), but due to the early organization of the sector to incorporate the card. Bookstores in Brazil are commercial entities that depend on their sales income for maintenance. They do not receive any kind of public subsidies, unlike many theaters, concert halls, museums and some movie theaters. Therefore, the Vale-Cultura came as a good opportunity to increase profits. Another advantage of the sector is their national association and state organizations, which might have helped to accelerate the card's acceptance.

Nonetheless, movie theaters, which are much more popular than books among Brazilians, are slowly increasing their acceptance of the card throughout the country. Furthermore, Marta announced that cable TV signatures will be encompassed by the Vale-Cultura in the future, and watching TV has configured the population's second preferred cultural activity and second most declared activity practiced[9] (Jordão & Allucci, 2014). Therefore, it is likely that, in some years, the spending rates of the card among cultural sectors will not be so disparate and the sectors might even change positions.

### 4.4) What the system has to offer

Another way to analyze the supply side of the program is to investigate what the operator's networks can offer to their users. These companies are not only responsible for administering the money transactions between users and receivers, but also function as cultural gatekeepers of the program. They are the ones that must register the cultural facilities and build a network of attractive options for their clients and to compete with others operators.

There are, as presented in the MINC's website, 39 operator companies that provide the Vale-Cultura card. I did a brief investigation of each operator's website and looked into what they offer for the users of their cards. The MINC states that there are 27 thousand establishments that accept the card (Westin, 2014), thus, with the available resources for this thesis, it would have been impossible to develop a quantitative analysis of participating establishments. Therefore, I will only highlight a

---

[9] According to the same research, the first place in most preferred and most practice cultural activity by Brazilians is listen to music.

few specific findings, which I believe can contribute to a better understanding of the case study's system and, thus, its consistency as a cultural policy.

From the 39 operator companies, only 18 publicize the Vale-Cultura and display their receivers network openly; 8 of the 39 also distribute the card but their network can only be accessed through a user's login. Nonetheless, 13 of the listed companies do not mention the card on their website. I have emailed some of them and two have answered me that they are still in the progress of implementing the Vale-Cultura.

Among the 18 that display their network of offers, it is possible to identify 6 companies that have receivers located in only one or two states, which means that their acceptance range is very limited, although they normally operate in small cities of rural areas and not capitals. The other companies have a range encompassing at least one city from every region, but it is not possible to certify how this distribution is done.

Looking into the list of receivers offered by some operators, it is possible to identify some curious facts. For instance, the company *Adiantil* says that the Vale-Cultura is accepted in one supermarket and some megastores focused on sporting goods. The company *Alelo*, one of the biggest operators, lists thousands of establishments, among which I could identify receivers such as pet stores, tattoo studios, a copy house, a hostel and a language course. Marta stated that the Vale-Cultura does not encompass language courses yet (only cultural or artistic ones), and the law states that it should neither be accepted in any of the receivers listed above. To verify it, I called a few establishments. Both language school and copy house attested that they do have the *Alelo* credit card machine but have never tried to use the Vale-Cultura in it. The hostel stated that it certainly does not accept the card.

This misinformation suggests that the operator companies may display all the establishments that use their machine and, technically, could use the Vale-Cultura in it. This must also be the case for the aforementioned supermarket or the drugstore that is listed on *Maxxcard's* website. With that in mind, it is possible to question if the 27 thousand establishments mentioned by the MINC are really part of the Vale-Cultura's program or just the amount of facilities that possess these credit card machines.

However, if the same machine that accepts the Vale-Cultura is used in non-cultural establishments, how is fraud prevented? Does the system only recognize the

cultural goods of the store or must the clerks be instructed to not accept the card as payment? And according to whose judgment; their bosses', the operator company's, or the Ministry's?

One of the interviewees of this research related a case in which she was trying to buy a children's book that was so interactive it looked like a toy. The bookstore clerk did not allow her to pay using the Vale-Cultura, even though it was, technically, a book. After discussing with the saleswoman what constitutes a book, she was convinced and easily reconfigured the system to accept the card as payment.

Another interviewee told me that her coworkers were accumulating credits on the Vale-Cultura to buy a mobile phone at the department store *FNAC* until a salesman attested that it was not allowed, the card was only accepted to purchase books (not even DVDs or CDs – she added). But it is not clear if it was not possible to purchase a mobile phone because of the computer system or the salesman's will.

Not only do these stories suggest that the system can be defrauded, it also raises the question of who are, in fact, the cultural gatekeepers of the Vale-Cultura. Are they the clerks, the store managers or the operator companies? Who is in charge of deciding what can and cannot be purchased using the Vale-Cultura? Therefore, who is in charge of deciding what is and what is not a cultural product?

Although the Ministry has settled that the law will serve as the basis of what the program encompasses as culture, it is too far from the daily transactions with the card to guarantee that the law will be respected. In fact, the system (employer – employee - operator company – receiver) is so autonomously managed by the operators companies, it could function without the participation of the Ministry. For example, one operator company, *ECX Card*, does not advertise the Vale-Cultura yet, but offers its own book voucher, which employers can buy to give to their employees.

These characteristics of the system only reinforce its neoliberal aspect and in this context, as seen on section 2.2, the state usually functions as a regulator of the market. Ronald Dorwkin explains (as seen in Lewis & Miller, 2003; Miller & Yúdice, 2002), that what he considers the economic approach of cultural policy defends a non-paternalistic state in which the citizen should be free to determine his or her own culture needs, just as it happens in the Vale-Cultura. Therefore, in these cases, the states act as a "police officer patrolling the precincts of the property – deciding who owns what and how objects should be exchanged" (Miller & Yúdice, 2002, p. 16).

However, specifically in the case of the Vale-Cultura, the state seems to have exempted itself from such patrolling, and focused on being the program's advertiser and patron.

The market itself, then, does the patrolling. This is clear by how the system is structured in a decentralized manner, by the presented superficial report on the matter by the Ministry, by the interviewees' testimonials and by the fact that the credit card companies are the actors who decide, upon the field of culture, what are the options accessible by the population.

### 4.5) Conclusion

Based on my qualitative research through the Ministry's documents and operator companies' websites, it is possible to conclude that the Vale-Cultura implementation system is not only decentralized but also little influenced by the MINC. The Ministry's control over the program is much more political, for instance, by stating what it encompasses (even if it can be bypassed) or by advocating it in society and with other politicians. When it comes to the implementation itself, the office has little participation and the operator companies assume command.

This organization is attuned with the contemporary economic neoliberal scenario. It speeds the implementation due to the network already established by the operator companies. It also reaches isolated receivers across the country, since they are usually associated with one or more credit card companies. It creates a competitive scenario among the operator companies in which they dispute to provide a larger range of options. Probably, if the system were entirely coordinated by the MINC, it would take years to reach this size, besides the risk of being corrupted along the way.

Nonetheless, the transfer of the cultural gatekeeping from the MINC to the operator companies could prove itself harmful to the cultural production field. These companies are driven by profit, which means they aim to attract as much users as possible. This population, as explained, is mostly concentrated in the Southeast region and to fiercely encourage the Vale-Cultura there could worsen the already severe cultural consumption imbalance of Brazil. Moreover, if the companies aim to please their users, they will focus on affiliating the most popular cultural products or attractions. These popular facilities or products are usually already financially

sustained and advertised by the cultural industry. Therefore, there is a big chance that the card's credit will be spent on cultural enterprises that do not need it as much as others, such as independent artists or small organizations. The system as it is tends to primarily enlarge the established cultural corporations' profit and, eventually, promote some benefits to the field.

Without public intervention, either directly on the supply side or through encouraging audience development, there is nothing to indicate that the system will go otherwise. However, the MINC claims that the Vale-Cultura will enable the opposite: the development of small cities and the strengthening of the Brazilian cultural production field. An analysis of the Ministry's discourse and the media reception of the program will be discussed next.

The analysis of the discourses around the Vale-Cultura program portrayed in the media aims to further understand what values of the program are most advertised by the Ministry of Culture (MINC), how the office justifies the program, and how opinion makers have received it. The news reports are also important sources regarding the achievements of the program since for this research I was not able to have complete access to the program's database. After more than one year of implementation, news articles in Brazil and abroad have highlighted positive and negative experiences that users and companies have had with the card. These published testimonials complement the information provided on the interviews conducted for this thesis.

As explained in the methodological section, the discourse will be analyzed using four groups of materials. The first three consist of articles from online newspapers from the 2012 to 2014 period, while the fourth group gathers opinion articles about the program from newspaper columns or weblogs ranging from 2009 to 2014. This period was chosen because it encompasses the start of the Vale-Cultura being mentioned in the media until Marta Suplicy's (Marta) resignation at the end of 2014. She, as the former minister of culture, was the main spokesperson of the program and responsible for its implementation. Although the program is still running now, in 2015, the new minister of culture, Juca Ferreira, does not have the program as the office main frontrunner as Marta did, therefore, he has not talked about it that much in the media during the past months.

The translations of excerpts and quotes from the Brazilian pieces were done freely by me but, for clarity of reference, these will be signaled with quotation marks. The texts of first three groups will be critically analyzed chronologically. Afterwards, I will do a general review of opinionated articles that reflect on the Vale-Cultura's principles.

### 5.1) Articles from 2012-2013 – the anticipation

Until the second semester of 2013 the Vale-Cultura was yet to be implemented (Portal Brasil, 2013), hence the policy only achieved its popularization in 2014. Therefore, the reports of this first period focused on publicity and explained the system in order

to introduce it to society, underlining its benefits and eventually encouraging discussion. Some of them were published while the policy law was being discussed at the National Congress and others were published right after its release. But, probably because the project was in a delicate phase of moving from paper to action, there were also some misinformed publications. For instance, one article stated that it was the responsibility of the city's mayor to register the local cultural organizations to be able to accept the card (Agência Brasil, 2013), while another indicated that the cultural organizations should contact the MINC to be part of the program (Sávio, 2013). In both cases, this information was wrong since it is the responsibility of the operator companies, and not of any party in the public sector, to register and enable the cultural organizations to participate on the program.

This period, right before the initial stage of implementation, also witnessed some changes at the core of the program. One article reported that retired citizens initially would also receive the card (with a smaller credit) but that the National Congress abrogated this feature (Lemos, 2012). It was also reported that although initially the program was only aimed at workers of companies with 'actual profit' (which in Brazil encompass companies that profit more than R$ 24 millions a year), it was later amplified to aggregate employees of companies with 'presumed profit' (companies that profit less than R$24 millions a year) (Mena, 2013). This means that, at the last moment, the program was expanded to encompass not only employees of big companies but also medium, small and even micro companies with only one employee. With that, the projections increased and, right at its release, the MINC announced that the Vale-Cultura's intention was to reach 42 million workers and inject R$25 billion (approximately US$10 billion) yearly into the country's economy (ibid; Portal Brasil, 2013; Almanaque Urupês, 2013).

These projected numbers were usually accompanied by shocking statistics of Brazilians' cultural habits. According to the IBOPE's (Brazilian Institute of Public Opinion and Statistics) research referred to in one publication, "87% of Brazilians do not often go to the movies, 92% have never been in a museum, 90% of the towns do not have a movie theater and 78% of the population has never seen a theater or dance spectacle" (IBOPE as cited by Mena, 2013). Therefore, after depicting this dismal context, investments in the cultural sector as the size of the Vale-Cultura seemed more than welcome.

The Ministry, at this point, also underlined how this policy could change the face of the country (Almanaque Urupês, 2013; Agência Brasil, 2013) by providing access to opportunities that were out of these workers' reach. However, more than social inclusion, the Ministry stressed the progress it meant to enable people and employees to become active consumers. At the same time, the MINC wished for the users "to try different cultural expressions" (Almanaque Urupês, 2013, ¶9), although there was no clear explanation of how the office aimed to achieve that, besides "enabling a better family budget planning" (Sávio, 2013).

Marta, during 2013, mainly focused on explaining the program as a great opportunity for producers to strengthen the creative sector economy (Mena, 2013; Portal Brasil, 2012; Lemos, 2012). According to her, "the cultural producer will have more public to attend his projects" (Lemos, 2012) and she commented that "Even if only 10% of the projection is reached [R$2 billions of the R$25 announced], it will be much more than the sector gains through the Lei Rouanet" (Mena, 2103). She also called for producers and mayors of small towns to engage in the promotion of the program as a chance to boost the local economy and support urban development (Sávio, 2013; Almanaque Urupês, 2013; Portal Brasil, 2013; Portal Brasil, 2012; Agência Brasil, 2013). She suggested to the mayors that "The first thing is to identify the local producers that you can help to become receivers of the Vale-Cultura" (Almanaque Urupês, 2013) and, referring specifically to the city São José dos Campos (medium size city in the state of São Paulo): "If they [São José's workers] have the Vale-Cultura, it will mean R$12 millions injected in the city [...] This can change the whole cultural sector of São José [dos Campos] and of the country" (ibid).

However, one article quoted a producer's feedback to that appeal: Severino Pessoa, the president of the Foundation of Historical and Artistic Heritage of Pernambuco predicted that, even though the program may increase the attendance of his popular movie theater, it will not affect its box-office (Sávio, 2013). According to Pessoa, "the tickets cost R$4 (more or less U$1.6) and the cinema hosts many free events" (ibid), so even a big increase in audience would not result in a significant increase of revenues.

The government has subsidized Pessoa's movie theater since it recognized the historic building as local heritage. As for all cultural institutions in Brazil primarily supported by public subsidies or part of public agencies, the tickets have to have low

prices (or free entrance). One example could be the public museums managed by the IBRAM (Brazilian Institute of Museums) that apply the maximum fee of R$10 (approximately U$4) (IBRAM, 2014). Another example are the theaters in Rio de Janeiro supported by the municipal hall which cannot charge more than R$30 (approximately U$12) and are forced to sell tickets for R$1 (approximately U$0.40) every last Sunday of the month, regardless of the show. Meanwhile, every project funded by the PRONAC, one of the national programs that directly funds culture, has to designate 10% of the tickets freely for poor people and 20% must be sold at a low price (Ministério da Cultura, 2014). The principle is that these organizations or projects are already sustained by the state and, as a result of the public investments, they have to offer universal access to society.

Following this logic, it is possible to conclude that the Vale-Cultura will not help the financial sustainability of these places, even though they are the ones that need it the most, since they are completely dependent on state support (which is always scarce). The Vale-Cultura can make a difference, however, for private organizations, which are normally for-profit. These venues rely on the income generated by ticket sales for a major part of their budget and do not legally need to submit themselves to a low-price range like the public ones do. Therefore, an eventual increase of attendance triggered by the Vale-Cultura can significantly increase their profit.

This possible scenario contradicts the MINC's advertisement that the Vale-Cultura can be a great economic opportunity for local producers in small towns. Small cultural organizations in Brazil can only survive with public funding and thus must only charge small fees. The larger part of the tickets' revenue actually goes to the project using the place – may it be a performance, concert or exhibition. Thus, these organizations' income from box office is almost symbolic and even if the Vale-Cultura increases the attendance it is unlikely that it will substantially affect their budget. Therefore, it is very improbable for them to achieve financial sustainability as a consequence of the program.

Nonetheless, other concerns were raised during this initial phase of the program. Journalists (Almanaque Urupês, 2013; Mena, 2013) wondered if it would really be successful among medium/small companies, since they could not deduct the costs of the card from their taxes (as the companies with actual profit can). The costs

are not taxed as labor cost, but the employer needs to be willing to spend the amount for the benefit of his/her employees without external incentive (Mena, 2013). The president of the CONAMPE (National Confederation of the Small and Micro Companies and Entrepreneurs) stated: "It is not going to work out. The program does not have any advantage for us, it will only increase our expenses" (Almanaque Urupês, 2013).

At same time, there was the concern of how people would spend it, not only regarding the cultural quality of the products but also that there was the risk of fraud (Sávio, 2013). The MINC answered that this was a possibility, but that they were "working the hardest to prevent it" (Mena, 2013). However, as it was already further explained, the ministry does not directly control the recipients of the card (the operators companies do) and the supervision method remains unclear.

As shown, there was a lot of apprehension regarding the program until 2013. Marta's discourse focused on convincing society of its economic potential to small cultural enterprises and small towns. The information provided by the Ministry was still confusing and some critiques to the system started to emerge. However, all the articles of this period were speculative because it was only at the beginning of the 2014 that actual facts about the Vale-Cultura's impact could be reported.

**5.2) Articles from the first semester of 2014 – the beginning**
The first months of 2014 witnessed some media coverage of the Vale-Cultura, including what this thesis considers as the firsts international articles, published by the newspaper *Washington Post* (Post) and the online magazine *Hyperallergic*. With the card already circulating throughout Brazil, all articles presented some report of achievements, publishing official numbers and/or personal testimonials of users.

By February it was reported that around 1,200 companies were already registered (Mallonee, 2014; Shikama, 2014; Portal Brasil, 2014a; Maciel, 2014), around 73% of those represented small companies (Shikama, 2014; Downie, 2014; Maciel, 2014; Suplicy, 2014) which means that approximately 350,000 employees around Brazil had signed up to become users (Downie, 2014; Portal Brasil, 2014a; Maciel, 2014), 30,000 of them being bank employees. The latter workers have a well-established union through the country and were able to guarantee this benefit in their annual wage negotiation – the ulterior reason being, according to the president of one

of their unions Júlio César Machado: "It was not because bankers are nice, but because it has taxes deductions" (Shikama, 2014, ¶ 15). By this time, 150,000 cards had been distributed (Mallonee, 2014), but any article reported the amount that was spent with them.

Although the numbers might suggest a good reception of the Vale-Cultura, some local newspapers focused on reporting the slow implementation of the program in their municipalities. *Cruzeiro do Sul* (Shikama, 2014) stated in February that, "from the 199,483 formal workers of Sorocaba [a medium-size town from São Paulo state] (...) only 167 were registered at the program so far. Which means that approximately 0,084% of the formal workers are allowed to participate" (ibid, ¶ 3). At Uberlândia in the state of Minas Gerais, a town with 604,000 inhabitants (IBGE, 2015), only two companies and ten workers were registered at the program (Pacheco, 2014). Joinville, a city of the state of Santa Catarina, with 195,000 formal workers with salaries up to five times the minimum wage, had only 324 registered to receive the Vale-Cultura (Soares da Silva, 2014).

The articles went deeper and demonstrated the problems users were facing at this stage of implementation. For instance, from the seven companies registered in Sorocaba, three had not yet received the card although they made the registration at the MINC's website four months earlier (Shikama, 2014). And one of the users holding the card stated that he had tried to use it for the past 20 days but explained, "It was not accepted in any movie theater so far. In all the places we have asked, they answered that there was not even a plan to implement it" (ibid, ¶ 16). *Correio de Uberlândia* said that "the Vale-Cultura is virtually unknown by the city's residents" (Pacheco, 2014, ¶1). And in Joinville, one of the registered companies gave up and decided to implement the value (R$50 monthly) on their worker's wage (Soares da Silva, 2014). Considering the struggles reported to spend the card in medium and small cities this strategy is an interesting alternative, however, it becomes impossible to certify if the money will only be spent on culture.

But even with those struggles users seemed excited with the program, hoping it would "open unexpected doors" (Downie, 2014, ¶ 30) and employers were pleased to provide this for their employees (Mallonee, 2014). Meanwhile, the MINC claimed that the operators companies were responsible for the delays and started to clarify in

the media their important role in the system to register both companies and cultural places (Shikama, 2014; Redação Vale, 2014; Suplicy, 2014).

Nonetheless, Marta continued to be the spokesperson of the program, now highlighting how the program would facilitate the access to cultural consumption and its democratic aspect, stating: "We want people to go to the theater they wanted to go to, to the museum they wanted to go to, to buy the book they wanted to read" (Downie, 2014, ¶ 7), concluding later that "It's stupid to think the money will be spent homogeneously. There's no better and more democratic way than to put the money in the hands of the people to spend it as they want" (ibid, ¶ 27). For the *Agência Brasil* she declared: "The most interesting thing is that is unpredictable how the population will spend it" (Maciel, 2014).

But, while Marta in 2014 emphasized how the program embraces cultural diversity (from museums to porn magazines), the minister had also declared, in 2013 that she did not consider videogames as a cultural product (Locatelli, 2013; INFO, 2013) and, thus, these could not be purchased with the card. Although this declaration generated an online petition (ACIGAMES, n.d.) and one online game mocking the minister, this case was only briefly mentioned in one article in the first semester of 2014, which observed: "While Suplicy admitted people can use the money to buy pornographic magazines, they can't use it to purchase video games. 'I do not think videogames are digital culture' she said" (Mallonee, 2014, ¶ 5).

It is interesting to notice that Marta's quotes became more ideological when talking to the *Washington Post*, for instance by saying, "my hope is that it will be revolutionary for culture here. It provides an opportunity for people who never had it and, at the same time, has an impact on cultural production" (Downie, 2014, ¶ 15) and affirming that "the point is social inclusion" (ibid, ¶ 19). In an interview for the *Painel Brasil TV*, Marta also connected the decrease of domestic violence with the increase of cultural consumption, because, according to her, "a fulfilled person is a less violent person" (Suplicy, 2014). Yet, as explained in Chapter 2 of this thesis, social inclusion or decline of violent episodes are not necessarily achieved through cultural programs. These are ancillary effects impossible to guarantee.

On the other hand, her discourse in Brazilian articles mainly revolved around *access* and *economic impact*. Both Marta and the MINC pursued on the aspect that the Vale-Cultura could have a great economic impact on the cultural production field of

the country (Pacheco, 2014; Downie, 2014; Mallonee, 2014; Portal Brasil, 2014a, Suplicy, 2014) and "boost local economies" (Mallonee, 2014, ¶ 2). For the Post, "Suplicy pointed out that the majority of the money flowing through the Vale-Cultura will stay in Brazil and give vital sustenance to local producers" (Downie, 2014, ¶ 18). She addressed this topic at greater length in the interview for the *Painel Brasil TV*, saying:

> 40,000 people with R$50 to spend monthly. Have you imagined what this can do to the local culture? To the artists, to buy instruments... because it is possible to accumulate, you know? You can go to the theater, buy books, go to that local movie theater which is usually in precarious conditions and on the edge of bankruptcy...now it will not close because there is people to spend on it. (Suplicy, 2014).

Another interesting point is that most quotes that refer to how the program might affect the quality of life of the worker, and thus his/her performance at the job, came from managers of companies (Maciel, 2014; Portal Brasil, 2014a; Downie, 2014), such as the Manager of Human Resources of Banco do Brasil (National Bank): "Culture is strongly connected with the construction of meaning and this reflects on the work environment, everybody gains from that" (Maciel, 2014). The minister reinforced this aspect once, saying that, through culture consumption, the employee's obtain knowledge which "can help on the company's work, he can identify better ways to improve productivity, and, also, the work environment is benefited with that." (Suplicy, 2014). At the same time, *Hyperallergic's* journalist Mallonee was the only one who suggested that to participate in the program was a way to "claim and express one's Brazilian citizenship". Therefore, up until the beginning of 2014, it does seem to be a meaningful part of the MINC's speech to emphasize the change the program can make at the individual level.

The critiques from the Brazilian journalists at this period were shy. They abstained from direct critiques and preferred to report frustrations from users with the incipient system. At the end, they basically pointed out how the program needed more publicity since it could bring good results, just as the MINC often stated. They demonstrated the obstacles the users have faced but, at the same, added positive

testimonials and signaled the capacity of the program. As published by the newspaper *Cruzeiro do Sul*:

> To Paulo Rogério, the credit of R$50 is meager for the purchase of goods and cultural services, but nevertheless the initiative must be celebrated 'Considering that is a step forwards from nothing, it is a great start' states, adding that the Vale-Cultura should be better advertised. (Shikama, 2014, ¶ 22)

The two foreign articles, however, developed insightful analyses of the principles of the program. *Hyperallergic* alerted that the Vale-Cultura might "simply fuel the dominant mass culture, strengthening the existing cultural divide between urban and rural areas" (Mallonee, 2014, ¶ 5). It also addressed the same issue underlined in the section 4.1 of this chapter – the possibility that the program might actually reinforce the concentration of wealth of the cultural field in the cultural industry by stating: "There is fear from some that it would only be used on blockbusters and books that are already popular. In other words, that it would only increase cultural production for a few in Brazil" (ibid, ¶ 6).

Nonetheless, the two articles addressed the difficulty a program such as the Vale-Cultura will probably face when it comes to affect people's taste. According to the Post, "How do you, or even should you, convince people that their money will be better spent on Jules Verne rather than Justin Bieber?" (Downie, 2014, ¶ 6). Meanwhile, *Hyperallergic* also summarized the concern:

> … Just because the Vale Cultura creates a demand for culture doesn't necessarily guarantee that it will trigger a supply of the kind politicians were seemingly considering when they passed the law. That type of culture doesn't spring up overnight; it's nurtured with time. Poorer Brazilians who were previously unable to even purchase books or movie tickets aren't likely to suddenly begin reading Dostoyevsky, attending the opera and flocking to conceptual art openings just because the government now thinks they should — not any more than Americans or others would. (Mallonee, 2014, ¶ 7)

Marta answered to the Post hesitations accentuating how democratic the program is. *Hyperallergic* did not interview her, but concluded, "a more comprehensive cultural policy for Brazil, providing better arts education and helping finance the construction and renovation of cultural facilities, is essential" (Mallonee, 2014, ¶ 10).

The *Hyperallergic* article is the only one that deconstructs the old belief of audience development: that the erasing of physical barriers leads to an increase of audience eager to consume cultural products. As explained in section 2.3, many inquiries have indicated that audiences do not change or expand their cultural habits when receiving financial incentives such as free tickets. When addressing this issue, Marta recognizes that "people take time to develop their tastes" (Downie, 2014, ¶ 18) but does not acknowledge that besides time, people also need other kinds of incentives to do it, especially educational ones. Obviously, to point at the limitations of the system would not be a smart political move. Nonetheless, to address the program as a revolutionary tool in itself can be considered overrated and misleading.

However, both articles still acknowledged that the Vale-Cultura is a good first step, "a provocative social experiment, one that will likely improve the quality of millions of peoples' lives" (Mallonee, 2014, ¶ 10), and is even called a "grand ideological gesture" (Downie, 2014, ¶ 16). For the Post, André Forastieri, a famous TV culture commentator in Brazil, said: "the Vale Cultura is not to be celebrated as a huge step forward (…) But it is better than having the money invested by bureaucrats and marketing directors of big companies" (Downie, 2014, ¶ 23) – a solid reference to the controversial Lei Rouanet method of indirect funding.

Other than the articles published before 2014, the media response to the Vale-Cultura seemed more confident at this point. They appeared to be more engaged in promoting the program so it could be widely accepted, while still pointing to problems that were emerging during implementation. The international articles were the only ones that addressed ontological issues, while the Brazilian pieces were primarily dedicated to passing on information.

**5.3) Articles from the second semester of 2014 – 1 year of Vale-Cultura**

In the second semester of 2014, the Vale-Cultura had been running for one year since its implementation and most media articles engaged in assessing the program's

performance. The MINC released reports of the achievements and for the first time it was possible to identify how people had been using the card.

The statistics varied through the months and they were scattered among the articles. By making a compilation of different and most recent data it is possible to see that until October, R$34 million (approximately U$13.6 million) had been spent through the cards, 79% of which was designated to purchase books, newspapers and magazines and 17% to movie theaters (Mekari, 2014) - leaving spectacles, concerts, museums, courses and instruments with only 4%. Until November, 225,000 cards had been issued (61% only at the Southeast region of the country) and 700,0000 workers were registered at the MINC to join the program (Camargo, 2014). By December it was reported that 264,000 cards were issued and 27,000 cultural places and stores (off- and online) in the country accepted the card (Westin, 2014).

Marta had announced in March of the same year that she expected 860,0000 cards to be issued by the end of 2014 and R$516 millions generated in the first year of the program (Mekari, 2014). The final numbers show that the program was very far from this goal and the Ministry came forward to explain. According to Marta, the two main problems were: a) the operator companies and the human resources were taking too long to distribute the cards (Moser, 2014; Herculano, 2014); b) several employers were showing resistance to join the program due to the country's economic recession, since it is not mandatory and because it is something new (Moser, 2014). As she explained, "the companies needed to have some cash flow to afford this benefit for the following months until the annual tax deduction" (Westin, 2014, ¶ 15) - but only when it comes to companies with 'actual profit', since the ones with 'presumed profit' do not deduce, they are just not taxed. She then added that the current economic instability was making employers postpone this decision (Westin, 2014; Zanvettor, 2014).

Besides these two issues referred to by Marta, the articles also mentioned how some small companies were resistant due to the lack of fiscal incentives. According to the *Jornal de Londrina*, two companies of Londrina (a medium-size city from the state of Paraná) had given up on the program once they found out that the government would not provide the monthly R$50 of the card, but that this money should come from the company's budget (Gonçalves, 2014). The article also demonstrated that, although 31 companies of the city were registered on the MINC's database, only one

70

actually implemented the card. For the *Jornal do Senado* (Senate's Newspaper), a worker from Bahia testified why his employers did not want to provide the benefit: "They argue that the system will be bypassed and the workers will spend on something else other than culture. This does not convince me. Sounds like an excuse to not give us the benefit" (Westin, 2014, ¶ 16).

Another likely reason for the slow progress of Vale-Cultura pointed out by the interviewees of the articles is the lack of information and limitation of acceptance. Fábio Cabral, owner of a CD stores in Pernambuco, said that he had been accepting the card for months but almost no-one had paid with it, mostly because the customers thought it could only be spent on books and tickets (Camargo, 2014). The same article investigated the acceptance among the fifteen most prestigious cultural venues of the state and, by November, none of them accepted it. On the other side of the country, Renato Campos, an employer of the only company of Londrina that had the card said that he had tried to use it for the previous five months, but without success, so he ended up spending it at stationary: "No one accepts it. We ended up using at stationary and some bookshops (...) Our main interest when we asked for the Vale-Cultura was to use it the movie theaters, but any cinema in Londrina accepts it" (Gonçalves, 2014, ¶ 2).

These limited opportunities for spending the card seemed to be frustrating for the users and, at the same time, are very complicated to change. The MINC cannot improve it since the operators companies are the ones responsible to register the cultural venues. It is probably no coincidence that the MINC did not report any projection regarding the scope of acceptance for the program in any media researched. Therefore, it really depends on the users to demand it from their operator companies, or for operators companies to recognize the value of some cultural place, or for cultural managers to acknowledge the benefit of the program (which can be doubtful as seen in section 5.1) and seek an operator to register with. Also, if a plan of action to improve the situation was to be drawn, it would be hard to develop a comprehensive understanding of how the acceptance network is distributed across the country since the information of the 27,000 venues registered is spread among the operators companies, in different databases. The management of the offer is completely decentralized and out of the reach of the MINC, which then focus on creating demand from users.

The most successful strategy that the Ministry applied to increase affiliates was promoting the benefit among workers unions (Westin, 2014; Mekari, 2014; Zanvettor, 2014; Moser, 2014; Herculano, 2014). After the positive experience with the banks' employees union they focused on convincing the unions of metallurgists and of the shoe sector to demand the Vale-Cultura in their annual collective bargaining (Zanvettor, 2014; Moser, 2014; Herculano, 2014). This strategy was probably more effective than trying to directly convince the employers, who are more likely to be resistant to it due to the economic recession. Also, unions' agreements can easily influence each other and thus quickly reach a wide range of people.

Marta's discourse in the media to convince workers, companies, and society in general, of the value of the Vale-Cultura, slightly moved from the macro to the micro impact. At the beginning of the year, the Ministry's speech relied mostly on the economic flow the Vale-Cultura could generate and how it would strengthen the cultural production scenario of big and small cities, thus also reflecting on the region and nation's development. However, on the second semester, the economic potential of the program was not so strongly highlighted anymore (probably due to the spending results which were way beneath projections), although constantly mentioned.

At this period, she began to also address the difference the card could make on the individual, stating that "culture makes people more sensitive and creative" (Westin, 2014, ¶ 18), and that R$600 (approximately U$240), corresponding of a year of Vale-Cultura's credit, "when spent on culture, can change one's life" (Moser, 2014, ¶ 11). Also, instead of addressing the impact the program could have on the development of rural areas, she turned to its social aspect, for instance, by defending that the program allows for families that normally cannot afford to spend on culture to finally have this opportunity: "There are families that cannot spend absolutely anything on culture because is their priority to spend on food and their son's clothes. There is simply no money left" (Westin, 2014, ¶ 7).

Indeed, the exclusivity of the card is one of its best aspects, vastly pointed by this research's interviewees, because it does not allow users to spend the money on anything else besides culture. Even though the field of cultural products it encompasses may be too broad and it can be defrauded, it is impossible to designate the credit for bills, rent or groceries. As stated by Érica Oliveira, a user interviewed

by the *Portal do Aprendiz*, the program is very positive because: "Many coworkers prioritize others spending, putting culture in second. With this benefit, people indeed consume more" (Mekari, 2014, ¶ 3).

As pointed out by Marta, this can actually engender a significant change in the cultural consumption of the country, in which people traditionally do not consider cultural spending as part of the monthly budget, but as a bonus. However, this is not the same as suggesting that, from now on, people will be engaged in attending cultural venues or events. Marta predicts that the program will "develop cultural enthusiasts and consumers" (Camargo, 2014, ¶ 2) and that users "Soon will be using it to do music and art courses. They will invest in education." (Moser, 2014, ¶ 12). But, for this to happen, there needs to be a complementary educational incentive and/or a commitment from the cultural suppliers' side to engaging with strategies of audience development. For the former there is none and, concerning the latter, the Ministry's influence is petty. Therefore, although the MINC and Marta's discourse in the media suggested that the users' cultural consumption habits would change with the program, they still are not directly acting out for that.

How the offer can influence the consumption is clearly demonstrated by the results of the first year of Vale-Cultura. Brazilians do not have the habit of reading and, in fact, it has gotten worse, as demonstrated by the official research Retratos da Literatura no Brasil (The Faces of Literature in Brazil) of 2011. From 2007 to 2011 the average number of books read by Brazilians in 3 months dropped from 2,4 to 1,85, including the reading of just excerpts, educational textbooks and the Bible (IBOPE Inteligência, 2011). In reality, 50% of the population researched has not opened a single book (of any kind) in the last three months (ibid). And, even so, in the first year of the Vale-Cultura, 79% was spent on books. This happened not due to the population fascination for reading, but because, as Marta said "the book sector is way ahead of the movie and theater sectors. When we started talking about the Vale-Cultura, the publishers and the Saraiva bookstore started to prepare themselves. And they were really rewarded" (Moser, 2014, ¶ 12). Marta predicted that the next sector to start to vastly accept the card would be the movie industry (Moser, 2014; Herculano, 2014) and mentioned how the theater sector, which had strongly claimed for the program, was taking too long to join (Moser, 2014). Probably, she concluded,

the reason is that "many theaters still do not accept card as a form of payment" (ibid) - referring to the lack of informatization systems in many theater houses.

Besides these fields, in August of 2014, Marta also announced that, in the future, the Vale-Cultura could be used for the purchase of cable TV packages (Sacchitiello, 2014). This declaration contradicted her initial statement of 2013, in which she announced that cable TV would be out of the scope of the Vale-Cultura. According to her:

> If we had included from the beginning the possibility of using the Vale-Cultura to pay for cable TV, certainly the users would not have prioritize books, theaters and concerts. We want to introduce the citizen in this cultural field and, then, when our project is consolidated, expand to the cable TV and other entertainment options. (Sacchitiello, 2014, ¶ 3)

Indeed, cable TV is a cheaper option for rural or isolated areas of the country to have access to cultural products than, for instance, constructing a theater or a cultural center in these places. Nevertheless, among the five most watched channels on cable TV, four are Brazilian channels also available freely on broadcast TV (Lima, 2015). This indicates that, as explained before, having access to a wide range of options is not enough to change one's habit of consumption.

These paradigms (how the supply can influence the demand and how access does not change habit) suggest that is unlikely for the Vale-Cultura to naturally invert the logic of production, as Célio Turino, former secretary of the MINC, had predicted (Mekari, 2014). He stated that, due to the Vale-Cultura, in the medium term, the process of production could also become more democratic thanks to the direct finance of consumers to, for example, community groups and small movie theaters (ibid). However, it seems that the program alone will not increase the sustainability of independent cultural producers if it is not combined with a supportive system focused on expanding the consumption habit of the users or something to help the former compete with the corporations from the cultural industry. This assistance to small producers could be developed by the MINC, but, as demonstrated, the office does not manage the supply network.

These underlying issues were not addressed by any of the media articles of the period. They basically reported challenges faced by the program in its implementation – and especially how it could be truly amplified to reach out to the 42 million users projected. These matters were, however, discussed over the last six years among opinionated columns and blog posts.

**5.4) Opinionated articles – Media discussions around the Vale-Cultura**

How did critical thinkers and opinion leaders in Brazil respond to the Vale-Cultura? Which aspects were problematized and which were supported? Have their perspectives changed over the years? This section intends to answer these questions.

The debate around the Vale-Cultura began in the media in 2009 when the idea was first announced (initially, the program was planned to be implemented in 2010, but it was postponed many times until 2013). It was clear from the beginning that the card would be used for the purchase of a wide range of cultural products, and not just artistic but also popular ones such as magazines, covering from lowbrow to erudite. Leonardo Sakamoto (Sakamoto), one of the most famous bloggers in Brazil, was one of the first to come forward supporting the program's amplitude. His article addressed a group of people who were complaining about the card's amplitude and were claiming for the program to certify that the money would be spent in "high quality" (Sakamoto, 2009) activities and/or folklore culture. Sakamoto in his text downplayed these declarations, defining them as paternalistic and elitist sayings that actually desired to catechize the poorer by determining what is better for them to consume. He concluded by stating that "one thing is to enlarge the options of consumption for the society, another is to orientate it towards what the urban elites consider as Brazilian culture" (ibid, ¶ 9).

Sakamoto's post was answered by another blogger, not as famous, who developed an analysis about cultural dirigisme. Mauricio Caleiro (Caleiro) (2009) claimed that the discussion should not be about artistic quality or legitimacy, but about the protection of artists that are not part of the cultural industry yet. As the country's official cultural mediator, the MINC should be responsible to connect these creative people and the audience. It is not a matter of taste or aesthetic disposition (in a Bourdieusean sense), he explained, but about the lack of influence or control the government has over the cultural industry.

Caleiro continued his argument propounding that the cultural market that runs freely, as intended by the economical neoliberal context, is not actually as democratic as declared. After mentioning the works of Adorno and Horkeimer, he questioned: "does anyone still think that the people who listen to Latino and Kelly Key [lowbrow pop Brazilian artists] do it freely? That they had the opportunity to know other musical genres and others artistic project, so, after that, they could make their choice?" (Caleiro, 2009). By this statement, he is suggesting that the most consumed cultural products presented by the cultural industry (normally considered of inferior quality) are not heavily consumed due to people's poor taste, but due to a market dirigisme, planned by the corporations of entertainment. And, while this type of market dirigisme is tolerated by neoliberalism and executed in obscure ways, a dirigisme by the state is viewed as authoritarian. This, he argues, is the "myth of dirigisme" (Caleiro, 2009, ¶ 18).

In sum, he defended that while people think they chose freely to consume any type of "cultural trash" (Caleiro, 2009) they want, they did do not, as they are driven by the market towards it. As a consequence, this "excessive cultural relativism" (ibid, ¶ 25), as the one defended by the Vale-Cultura, creates a context without clear culture values, allowing for the market to impose them. So, he concluded, "it is easier for the government to order employers to give their workers R$50 and exempt itself from regulating a movie theater which extorts the population by charging R$30 per ticket" (ibid, ¶ 27).

Caleiro's article (2009) addresses many interesting topics, although he makes many references to famous Brazilian leftists, indicating that he has a strong anti-neoliberal political vision. Caleiro, it seems, would like for the government to stand against the free market, which I consider unrealistic in the contemporary globalized context. He also has a very apocalyptic perspective of the culture industry (in Umberto Eco's sense), which completely deflates the consumer's agency. The blogger does not seem to recognize the power consumers can have on the market – and the bigger the purchasing power, the bigger their influence. Therefore, even though the Vale-Cultura is not a public stance on the free market, it can be understood as the empowerment of consumers before the market. The Vale-Cultura collaborates, as Marta defended (Suplicy, 2014), to subjugate the market to the population's will.

However, this empowerment, as explained, will probably not be so effective since there is nothing to encourage people to change their established cultural habits. And, also, there is no educational support of the program that could, for instance, make users aware of their power to influence each other and the cultural industry.

Nonetheless, although I consider Caleiro's critiques of the MINC's attitude decontextualized, I reinforce his argument that the ministry could be more engaged in protecting independent cultural professionals. Even though Marta reinforced many times in her speech that the Vale-Cultura would benefit these small producers, especially those isolated from the urban centers, there are still doubts, as exposed, as to how much the program will really benefit them and how much it will strengthen the Brazilian's cultural production field.

This point is suggested by an editorial of *Folha de São Paulo*'s (Folha), one of the biggest newspapers in Brazil, published in 2013, a few months before the program's implementation. The periodical developed a critique saying that probably the Vale-Cultura's credit would be spent on blockbusters and best-sellers books – enterprises that are already successful, thus transforming the government into an "indirect consumer of big corporations" (Redação Folha, 2013, ¶ 9). Marta answered the critique in a letter (published by the same newspaper) accusing the journalist of having an elitist approach - even though the quality of the products was not at stake, but their selling rate.

In addition, *Folha* also attested that the program would cost R$7 billion annually while the yearly budget of the MINC was only R$2.2 billion. Although the program is headed by the MINC, it is shared with other ministries (such as the Ministry of Treasure) that split expenditures. The newspaper, though, was drawing attention to the size of the program, wondering whether it was the best call to make such expenses in something that, economically, would mainly benefit big cultural businesses and not strengthen the Brazilian cultural production field. The editorial states: "the investment of new resources [by the government] into this sector is overwhelming. This amount would be better used if applied to development initiatives and towards those with financial struggles" (Redação Folha, 2013, ¶ 13). It was also suggested that the Vale-Cultura was a populist move for Marta and Dilma (current reelected president) to gather votes for their party, the Workers Party, adding that

77

"The easy argument of cultural democratization is always wielded to justify the populist spectacle" (Redação Folha, 2013).

A few months later (but still before the implementation, that occurred in 2013) Marta decided to divest the cable TV companies from the Vale-Cultura purchasing options. Mauro Donato praised her decision on an article entitled "Why the Vale-Cultura should be applauded" (Donato, 2013). He defended that if cable TV subscriptions were encompassed by the Vale-Cultura, the program would have no meaningful effect on the country's economy or in the user's life. Marta's dirigist move to initially exclude cable TV from the scope of the card was, in this case, exalted.

Around the same time in 2013 that Marta excluded the cable TVs, she also rejected the inclusion of video games in the program. This period consisted of the months before the program definitive approval, in which the debate of what should or should not be considered as culture became public. As summed up by the *Observatório da Diversidade Cultural* (Cultural Diversity Observatory) (ODC) article, in this moment there were lots of critiques towards the program's amplitude and how it could end up just benefiting the for-profit cultural enterprises; while Marta continued to defend the worker's freedom to choose his consumption (ODC, 2013).

The article surpasses this debate and reflects on the impact of small cities. According to the researcher Frederico Barbosa, interviewed by the ODC (2013), the Vale-Cultura might boost local economies but will not decrease the inequality of cultural consumption among regions. As he explained, more than half of the cultural consumption of the entire country comes only from the Southeast region, and this imbalance is unlikely to change. In fact, it could increase, since most of the companies with 'actual profit' (and thus with more employees and with more interest to join the Vale-Cultura) are concentrated on this region. He also argued that the Vale-Cultura only benefits formal workers, which in Brazil constitute only half of the nation's workforce.

Paulo Miguez, a scholar also interviewed by the article, stated "a cultural policy, when reduced to the economic aspect, only benefits those with a developed cultural consumption habit, who, with the financial support, will likely consume more" (ODC, 2013, ¶ 7). He also believed that the Vale-Cultura favors cultural diversity, but, at the same time, it does not encourage interculturalism since it does

78

not touch upon the matters of cultural tolerance and symbolic exchange (ODC, 2013). Therefore, as the article concludes, the Vale-Cultura is a product of the country's neoliberal politics, which contradicts with the work the MINC had done previously during Lula's mandate. From 2003 to 2010, the MINC had focused on encouraging popular participation, inclusion of marginalized expressions in the cultural production field, decentralization of production and embracement of cultural diversity (ODC, 2013). During Lula's mandate, the office had asserted the role of ministry as the official cultural mediator between production and society, with "policies that reinforced the state's position on the field and greater social participation on decision-making" (ODC, 2013, ¶11), while during Dilma's command, the office had focused primarily on its economic potential.

However, the scholars attested that the impact of the Vale-Cultura should be carefully followed and that its economic impact on the literature, movie and video sectors (the areas mostly dominated by the cultural industry values) might create a spillover effect to the whole field. Also, they defended that, along with the Vale-Cultura, the MINC should implement cultural policies focused on financing cultural facilities and audience development so as to truly guarantee citizens' cultural rights.

Although 2014 was the most important year for the Vale-Cultura so far, there were not so many reflective articles published about the program. Most of the media of this year concerned newspaper texts, exposing the achievements and users' impressions of it. This research selected one article from 2014, written by Angela Costa de Souza, which complimented Marta's achievements but, at the same time, claimed for the Ministry to align the Vale-Cultura with educational programs. She analyzed Marta's quote that "people have access to brand shoes but not to movie theaters. They do not know how cool a museum guided tour can be." (Marta Suplicy as cited by Souza, 2014). According to Souza, just the Vale-Cultura will not make youngsters less eager to consume trendy products and start consuming cultural ones, although she also declared that the initiative could develop results with immeasurable value (Souza, 2014, ¶ 5).

Regarding the need for educational support, I agree with Souza, although she does not reflect longer on Marta's statement. If the people the minister is referring to have access to branded shoes, it means that they can easily find these shoes and probably afford it, even if it is a copy, not an original one. These trendy products

(symbolized here by the shoes) are usually more expensive than a movie ticket, which suggests that the problem to consume culture for these people is not financial, but primarily a lack of access (as said, only 10% of the cities in Brazil have a movie theater) and/or of interest. According to this logic, should the Ministry not rather focus on improving the access from the supply side by financing the increase and decentralization of cultural facilities, and, at the same time, encouraging the interest on the demand side? Since the Vale-Cultura affects neither of these aspects, it makes one wonder: is this program really what the Brazilian cultural field needs now?

### 5.5) Conclusion of the discourse analysis

The conclusion of this second part of analysis intends to only sum up what has been presented. The discussion of the aspects raised in this section and their relation to the theory chapter, especially with the table presented in the section 2.4, will be addressed in the last chapter of this thesis.

The media's initial reaction to the Vale-Cultura, from 2012 until the end of 2013, was mostly of apprehension. There was a general uncertainty about what should be included, whether this amount of money should be spent this way and whether the Ministry would be able to generate the results stipulated. Therefore, to convince society and the publics targeted by the program to support it, Marta Suplicy, the former minister, mainly reinforced its economic benefits. She focused on how the Vale-Cultura would greatly impact the country's general economy, especially the creative sector of small cities. This economic boost could facilitate regional development and strengthen the national cultural production field. At the same time, the card would provide opportunities for people who lacked the financial means to become active cultural consumers.

In 2014, at the early stage of the Vale-Cultura implementation, in which its scope was already defined, Marta Suplicy began to emphasize the program's democratic aspect and how the cultural market would have to adapt itself to the customer's demands. She also highlighted how it would facilitate the access to culture places and thus, generate a great impact on the sustainability of independent cultural producers and artists. As she claimed, the program and its alleged inversion of the market logic (the demand determining the offer by empowering the consumer) could

be something revolutionary for the country and for Brazilian society. Nonetheless, she said, the program ultimately aimed for social inclusion.

After one year of Vale-Cultura, in the second semester of 2014, the program's economic results and coverage were lower than expected. During this period, Marta changed her discourse from a big change the card could make for the country to the difference it could make to the individual, in his/her life and in the working space. The challenge at that moment, she declared, was to expand the program to its full potential.

From 2009 to the end of 2014, including news articles and opinionated ones, many issues concerning the Vale-Cultura were addressed by the media, directly or indirectly. Does a cultural policy that only touches upon the economic aspects merely benefit those with developed cultural habits, or could it actually encourage people to expand their cultural repertoires? Is the Vale-Cultura enough to create cultural enthusiasts? Is the system structured to benefit only the established cultural enterprises from the cultural industry? Is the program able to financially help the sustainability of the cultural producers who need it the most? Does the lack of cultural dirigisme reinforce the profit of the cultural industry? Is the MINC neglecting its role as cultural mediator between producers and consumers? Could the program reinforce the inequalities of cultural consumption among regions in Brazil? Does the Vale-Cultura contribute to guaranteeing cultural rights or develop interculturalism? And, of course, there is the question raised by this thesis: how does the Ministry's discourse relate to the Vale-Cultura's system and how can it be understood through cultural policy's theory?

This last question will be answered in the last chapter. Regarding the former questions, all of them are impossible to empirically answer at this point of the program, with the exception of the first one. That is why the next part of this chapter will be focused on analyzing interviews of users and reflecting how the card has affected their consumption habits.

This last part of analysis of the case study intends to better comprehend the Vale-Cultura through the perspective of its users and to answer the sub-question: how do people use the card? To achieve this goal, I have conducted ten semi-structured interviews with Vale-Cultura users in Brazil via Skype. The goal of the conversations was to grasp the operation of the system in these people's daily lives instead of only analyzing it at a macro scale, as was done in the previous chapters. Through these interviews, I was able to gather more information about the case study that was not available through official documents or media articles, especially on how the card has affected the cultural consumption habit of the interviewees. And because this is a critical research, I have also engaged in discussions with my interviewees about their own analysis and critiques of the program. This method has allowed me to develop a more grounded critique of the Vale-Cultura.

The analysis of the interviews will be done in three parts: I) the use of the card - intends to explore how the users have been spending the credits and how this process happens on a day-to-day basis; II) the change of habit - has the goal to further understand how the card has affected the cultural consumption habit of these people and; III) personal evaluations - where I will discuss the interviewee's critiques, suggestions and general perspectives of the program. Additional information inserted by me in the quotes will be in brackets and is meant to better explain the used references. In the case of excerpts transcribed from the interviews, the interviewee will be identified by the initial of his/her first name and I, the interviewer, by the letter "Q" (question).

### 6.1)   **The use of the card**

My interviewees have used their Vale-Cultura in a timeframe that varied from more than one year to four months, with nine of them still using it and one, Vanessa, who lost the benefit once she changed jobs but still keeps the card. When it comes to on whom the card is spent, four of them have only used the card for their own benefit, while two has used it to pay for her son's tickets (Simoni and K), one to buy his mother concert tickets (Edgar), two have used the card to buy gifts (Raphaella and Jaqueline) and one lent it to her sister for months (Nathalia), even though this is not

permitted by law. Although it is allowed to buy more than one ticket at the time with the card, four of the users I have spoken to do not use it to buy tickets or products for others, spending the credits mainly on themselves.

When I asked them about what kind of products they usually spent their Vale-Cultura on, nine out of ten interviewees reported that they had used it, at least once, to buy books. One of them, Ana Beatriz, in fact designated the card just for that:

> I kind of have decided to use it just to buy books (…) The movie theaters that I usually go, the Belas Artes and the Cine Cultura [art movie theaters], are cheap cinemas, so I leave the Vale-Cultura just to buy books. At least for now. (Ana Beatriz, p.c.)

The only user who did not mention to have purchased books with it was Edgar, a bank employee who is also an independent poet and musician. Most of them reported to have used it in movie theaters. The only two who mentioned to have used it for the theater were Vanessa and Raphaella, while none of them mentioned having used it for museums, courses or to purchase instruments. Another interesting pattern is that all the places where the interviewees had used the card to purchase something were places they had been before or where they are regular goers. None had been to an unfamiliar place or store due to the Vale-Cultura.

When I asked them for more details about their purchases or the establishments they had been to, their testimonials indicated that there is a lot of contradiction and misinformation on how or where the card can be spent. For instance, when it comes to online shopping:

> I did a purchase in January at the Saraiva [bookstore] website and, for what I saw, it is the only site that accepts the card… (Simoni)
> Once I did a purchase online on the Submarino [bookstore] website and the only reason that I bought there was because it accepted the Vale-Cultura. It was even a little more expensive than others websites. (Arthur)
> I still cannot buy books online with the Vale-Cultura… (Nathalia)
> I do not know if it is possible to use it on the Internet. (Ana Beatriz)

There was also a lot of uncertainty about the possibilities the card offers. For instance, Ana Beatriz attested that the card is not accepted at the theater Eva Herz, but Vanessa, who has a different type of Vale-Cultura, has used it there. At the same time, Raphaella considered that it would be great if newsstands or courses would accept the card. She does not think that is possible, even though these are facilities encompassed by the program. Indeed, there seems to be a modest implementation of the Vale-Cultura in courses and artistic schools in general, however, newsstands have been prioritized by the Ministry from the beginning, with one of its secretaries stating, in 2013, that the card would be accepted in strictly cultural facilities "with the exception of newsstands because they are widely spread over the Brazilian territory…" (Mena, 2013). When I told Raphaella that newsstands accept the card, and that I had seen on her operator company's website that there were some close to her work, she explained: "Well, I have never accessed the site. I normally just go to some place and then I ask. That is why I said this about the newsstands, I pass by many every day and never saw any sign…neither in theaters".

There is more confusion about the system and how it works. Ana Beatriz stated that she had heard rumors that the card provided free entrance to museums – which is partly true, but only for federal museums, members of the IBRAM (Brazilian Institute of Museums). Bruna said it would be nice to be able to use the card in other states while traveling – I explained to her that the card is valid in all Brazilian territory, what limits it is not the state borders but the operator company's acceptance network. And the way the system financially operates also does not seem to be clearly understood. Nathalia had a discussion with her family about the card because they thought it was an assistentialist program in which the government 'gives' money for people to spend, like the Bolsa-Família, and they were ashamed she was part of it. As Nathalia stated: "In general, I think people do not get it. They either think it is a benefit provided by the company (…) or they think the money is provided by the government. It think it is not clear".

In general, it is possible to see that there is a lack of information on all aspects of the program. How to use it, where to use it, what are the user's rights, who manages it and who is funding it. Many interviewees complained directly about the lack of information at the facilities, such as: calling before to check the acceptance and the attendant being totally unfamiliar with what the Vale-Cultura is (Simoni); the lack of

signs at the entrance (Vanessa, Raphaella); how to use it to pay for artistic courses given its small monthly credit (Jaqueline); and, as Arthur, just finding out they could not purchase a videogame at the cashier, even though he believes "it makes complete sense to accept the Vale-Cultura for games" (Arthur).

The limitations of the program are not clear, probably because it varies a lot, since it depends on the card's flag, the receiver's familiarity with it, and the user's inclination to seek information. Raphaella told an episode, previously mentioned in section 4.4, in which she was trying to buy a children's book that looked like a toy and was told that she was not allowed to pay for it with the Vale-Cultura. According to the saleswoman, the card should only be spent on cultural products, like books, and objects such as notebooks or 'toys' maybe could not be accepted, even though the product in case was technically a book. After some arguing, the product was paid for with the card, but it made me think about what the saleswoman considered as cultural products in the megastore, besides the books. Does she know that the Vale-Cultura can be used to pay for magazines (even porn magazines, as Marta polemically stated) and cartoon DVDs for children? Did she receive proper training to deal with the card when it started to be accepted? What were her manager's orientations?

Although this research did not contact any store that accepted the card, I came to understand that the receivers developed some autonomy over the program's rules, establishing their own norms when dealing with the card. Vanessa told me that the megastore FNAC only accepted it for books, not even CDs or DVDs, because they consider the latter "as electronics" (Vanessa). She also reported she had many problems to use the card due to insufficient credit and was not allowed to supplement the amount due with cash, which is common with other voucher cards. Three cinemas stated that this was not possible, although it is clear on the Ministry's website that "In case the value of the cultural product or service is superior to the credit available on the Vale-Cultura, the receiver can accept other methods of payments as a way to supplement the whole value of the product" (Ministério da Cultura, n.d., ¶ 46). The facilities may not have this information or may have forbidden it as an administrative measure, but, either way, it limited and frustrated Vanessa, who considers this the most disturbing feature of the system. She complained:

...now I have R$9 that are stuck in there, which I will probably never use because they do not let me [supplement the amount due with cash] and my new company does not offer Vale-Cultura (...) I have lost money, you see?

The way of self-administrating the card's credits varied a lot. Ana Beatriz and Bruna have used it exclusively for books. Besides, they do not like to accumulate and prefer to spend it on a book every end of the month. Arthur, so far, has only spent it spontaneously, in situations in which he was strolling in the mall and decided to enter a bookstore. Nathalia does not use it during the first half of the month and saves it, as an extra, for the end of the month when the budget is tighter. Raphaella knew she was starting a course at the second semester, so she accumulated credits during the whole first semester to have enough to buy the books for the classes. Vanessa had consciously planned all the times she had used the card, for example, waiting for the turn of the month to have the full amount to buy tickets for a spectacle.

This individual management reflects on the decision-making process of how to spend the card. Through my questions, I have tried to understand if the card somehow determines the interviewee's consumptions or if they have added it to their regular consumption decisions. Also, I have tried to understand the significance of the card in their consumption by trying to assess how much it can influence a purchase decision.

I have found four patterns of current use of the card. Group 1 is composed of interviewees that make plans on how to spend the card and would give up on their purchase if it would not be accepted. This is the case of Raphaella, who only buys books in places that accept the card and Bruna, who said the acceptance of the Vale-Cultura would highly influence her decision to register or not at a belly dance course. Jaqueline also belongs to this group, but only regarding books since, according to her, they represent a "bigger investment" (Jaqueline) and in the case of the invalidity of the card she would seek others sources such as "libraries or borrowing from friends" (ibid).

Interviewees that make plans for the card but would not give up on their decisions if the card was not accepted, form Group 2. For instance, Vanessa did not give up on going to the movies when her card was not accepted due to a temporary problem in the system, even though she had gone to that specific cinema just because it was one of the few that accepted her card. She explained her usual process:

I used to decide based on 'where is the card accepted? Oh, all right, this place'. It was not based on what I wanted to see. The first time was like that, but afterwards, I had to always check if it was accepted or not, and if I had enough credit since I could not supplement with cash. So, at the end, it was based on where it was accepted, what was the value, here is possible, here is not, and so on.

K., Edgar and Simoni also usually checked in advance if the places they were going accepted the card, but the eventual constraint would not be enough to make them change plans. K., who has been used the Vale-Cultura for the longest time, was the only one that declared to enter in the operator company's website to check the network of acceptance. She got used to always previously check if the place she intends to go accepts the card, and, if it does not, she clarified: "I will go anyway, I do not limit myself because of this" (K.). Jaqueline is also part of this group but only with regard to attending cultural places: in these cases she would not give up due to the card's invalidity (as she would regarding books).

Nevertheless, there are interviewees that do not make any plans for their Vale-Cultura cards and use it spontaneously. Group 3 is composed of spontaneous users who also condition their purchase on the card's acceptance, such as Arthur, who mostly used it to buy unplanned products but conceded the videogame once he knew it was not accepted. Finally, Group 4 includes users who neither plan nor would limit their consumption due to the card, such as Nathalia, who considers herself lucky when she eventually manages to use it.

These patterns found among the interviewees can be order in a matrix of two dimensions: planned versus spontaneous; and would give up versus would not give up on the purchase. Table 2 represents this matrix and the groups.

| Planning / Significance | Planned | Spontaneous |
| --- | --- | --- |

| Would give up if the card is not accepted | Raphaella Bruna Jaqueline (books) | Arthur |
|---|---|---|
| Would *not* give up if the card is not accepted | Ana Beatriz Simoni Vanessa Jaqueline (services) K. | Nathalia |

Table 2. Interviewee's form of using the card for current consumption

The reason why the interviewees proceed like that is determined by many background factors that are out of the scope of this research. Since this is the first inquiry ever made that analyses Vale-Cultura users' habits, the main goal was to identify certain patterns among a group of users. For instance, to Nathalia the card is a bonus, since, as she said, "I have never conditioned doing something or not on the Vale-Cultura's acceptance". However, for Raphaella, Bruna, Jaqueline and Arthur, it really makes a difference, since they count on the credit to pursue their needs. K, on the other hand, considers the monthly credit as a "symbolic value", and although she seeks to use it as much as possible, she does not modify any decision based on it.

Nevertheless, Ana Beatriz's case is unclear on how to be properly classified in one of the two significance groups. Although she makes plans for the card, designating it just to buy books for herself and waiting to have credits to buy them, always at the same bookstore, it is not clear if she would not buy it, for instance, if the system would be down at that day. To what extent has she detached this new habit from the Vale-Cultura was not clear in our conversation, however, it was obvious that this routine was something that did not exist previous to the program. How the card has affected her and the other interviewees' habits will be addressed next.

### 6.2) **The change of habit**

Did the interviewees change their habits or created new ones due to the Vale-Cultura? Can the program develop new cultural consumption habits among its users? Or, as the scholar Paulo Miguez stated, "a cultural policy, when reduced to the economic aspect,

88

only benefits those with a developed cultural consumption habit, who, with the financial support, will likely consume more" (ODC, 2013, ¶ 7)? To investigate this, I asked my interviewees to fill out an online form about their attendance rate at diverse cultural events before and after the Vale-Cultura. The goal was to develop a simple profile of consumption of the group and see if they thought it had somehow changed after acquiring the card. Additionally, during the interviews, I questioned if their habits had changed in terms of diversity (going to different places), frequency (attending cultural places more often) and consumption (buying more).

As mentioned in the section 2.3, the Panorama of the Cultural Sector of 2013-2014 (Jordão & Alucci, 2014), an extensive report on the Brazilian cultural habits, concluded that 42% of the researched population has such an inexpressive or non-existing cultural consumption pattern that they are considered non-participants. None of the interviewees in this study belong to this group. As explained in the methodology chapter, this sample is constituted by individuals of the country's 'cultural elite'. Some of them are even amateur practitioners, like Jaqueline, who is currently practicing African dance, and Edgar, who has published poetry books and is studying the clarinet. Five of the interviewees (Simoni, Bruna, Nathalia, Jaqueline and Raphaella) work at one of São Paulo's biggest cultural institutes and Raphaella is currently doing a postgraduate course on Cultural Management. Therefore, this is a sample composed by people who have a matured cultural consumption habit and are familiar with several places and events of their city.

Through an analysis of the interviewees' answers, it is possible to identify that when it comes to broadening the cultural possibilities, or attending different places, the Vale-Cultura has not made a large difference. With the exception of Vanessa and Raphaella, all interviewees claimed that they have not visited new cultural places or events since they possess the card. Raphaella told me that the card had enabled her to go to the theater, which she rarely does due to the high price of tickets for the plays. But in Vanessa's case, the attendance to a new place was considered something negative, and not an opportunity:

> V: …it [the Vale-Cultura] forced me to go to the Cinemark [mainstream movie theater chain]. I went more to the cinema in the end, because I still watched the movies that I wanted to see in the places that do not accept the

card, but, because I wanted to spend the credits, I forced myself to see other things that I would normally not see. I hate going to movies in shopping malls, and all the Cinemark cinemas are located in malls, so I had to go.

(…)

Q: Have you attended any cultural place that you were unfamiliar with since you had the card?

V: Yes, the Cinemark.

Q: But in this case you considered it as something negative? I mean, it was not an interesting new place you were discovering?

V: No, no…

The movie theaters that Vanessa often goes to, focused on screening independent movies, did not, according to her, accept the Vale-Cultura. This limitation could mean a constraint for consumption, but, since Vanessa is not financially dependent on the card (Group 2 of Table 2) and has a previously developed habit of going to the cinema, this restriction actually lead her to increase her overall consumption.

The opposite situation happened to Jaqueline. She had tried to buy a book trilogy on sale through the bookshop's website but her card was not accepted. Therefore, she went personally to the store and discovered that the reduced price was only valid at the online environment. Jaqueline declared to condition her purchase of books to the card (Group 1 of Table 2) so she only managed to buy two of the books with the credit she had. In this case, a (technical) limitation of the system prevented the user to consume more.

Concerning the increase of attendance of cultural places, the answers were pretty divided. Not only Vanessa, but Simoni and Raphaella go more to the movies than they used to before they had the card as well. Arthur now goes more often to bookstores than he previously did. But Edgar, K., Ana Beatriz, Bruna, Jaqueline and Nathalia do not consider that their frequency of attendance has changed since they have had the card. In fact, Edgar stated that the card does not make a difference in his cultural life, and that it is probably taken better advantage of by another type of person:

It is great to have something like this that allows people who have never been to a theater or the movies to finally go. It is very nice. But for me…I am an old hand of the cultural life, with or without the card I am going to enjoy it as I have always had.

Edgar has spent the card at movies and concerts and he admits to keeping track of the card's acceptance range. So, even though the card might eventually induce him to choose a specific movie theater over another, it does not seem to have had any impact either on his general frequency or purchasing rate.

K. had a similar opinion as Edgar and also did not increase her purchasing rate or attendance because of the card. According to her:

The card did not stimulate me [to consume more], but I am sure it can stimulate other people… The program should reach more people, banks' employees do not have a such a low educational degree…For me and my coworkers this is more a symbolic benefit, but for people with lower education and lower income I think it can be a great opportunity to get in touch with culture.

Edgar, K., and Vanessa, claimed they have not bought more cultural products since they had the Vale-Cultura, but the other seven interviewees stated they have purchased more *books* than they used to because of the card. For Arthur, the card represents an economic flexibility:

A: I buy more.
Q: But you had this habit of buying books before?
A: Yes, I had. But I like to save, I do not like to spend money, so, with the Vale-Cultura I feel more comfortable to spend…

Considering the interviewees' answers on the online form of how many books they have purchased since they had the card, using it or not, the average is about four books per person. The period of purchase of this amount varied, since some had had the card for six months and others for over a year. Nonetheless, the average Brazilian

purchase of books per year was 1,2 per citizen in 2007 (Amorim, 2008, p. 220). So, although this numerical average does not aim to set an empirical result of the impact of the Vale-Cultura (even because the parameters were not the exact same a comparison), they illustrate the general picture of cultural consumption in Brazil in relation to the sample. In a nation where 56% of the population has never bought a book in their life (IBOPE Inteligência, 2012), these interviewees have bought an average of four in a period of six months to one year.

Only seven of the interviewees responded the online form sent. These answers are not unit of analysis and I am primarily basing my findings on the interviews. However, these few answers also presented an interesting pattern. I asked them to state if their attendance/purchase rate had changed since the acquisition of the card[10], regarding: cinema, museums, classical concerts/opera, purchase of books, spectacles, events, and courses. Concerning books, six of seven answered that it has increased (Vanessa and K. stated on the interviews that theirs has not changed either, but did not answer the form), while all of the answers, regarding all cultural areas, were that it had "not changed", with the exception of Raphaella. She was the only that marked that since she has the card, she goes more to the movies and more to the theater. Besides these two answers from Raphaella, and the disconsidering the purchase of books, according to this form, the card did not affect the consumption in other cultural areas for seven interviewees.

But, as explained, I also did a similar question on the interviews, by asking if, in *general*, their purchase or attendance rate had changed. I drive my conclusions from these answers, since they are my unit of analysis, and from them, seven interviewees attested that their purchase rate has increased since the card. Four of them also stated that their attendance to cultural places has increased, while six considered that their frequency has not changed. However, all but two declared that they have not visited any unknown stores or cultural places that they have not been to before. Only Vanessa and Raphaella went to new places that they were not used to. Therefore, although the card has increased the attendance rate for a few, generally it does not seem to have triggered the interviewees to discover unusual places or events.

That is probably the reason why every interviewee has answered that they do not feel more involved with the cultural life of their cities after the card. Some have

---

[10] The options were: less, a little less, not changed, more, much more.

responded "Not yet" (Simoni, Ana Beatriz), implying that they just have not had the opportunity, although they intend to take greater advantage of the card and explore new possibilities. But most of the sample has simply stated that their involvement is the same as it was before. Jaqueline was the only one who reflected longer upon this question and explained how the card has not changed her habits or involvement with the city but mainly her general pursuit of knowledge:

> I think it [the Vale-Cultura] has affected me the most in regards to learning more. I think I am more focused on obtaining knowledge (...) I mean the knowledge that you gain with books. The fact that you can enhance your general knowledge by increasing your reading habit (...) I feel driven to read more, to purchase what I want, to often go to a bookstore and find something and think: I can spend on this, this is interesting, it is not essential for me now, but I am curious about it...

From the whole analysis of this subsection, it seems as though Miguez was right when he referred to the probable consequences of cultural policies that deal solely with economical aspects: "only benefits those with a developed cultural consumption habit, who, with the financial support, will likely consume more" (ODC, 2013, ¶ 7). The sample of this research has a previously developed cultural habit and they did consume more after the card: the majority has increased their purchase of books and four has raised their attendance frequency to cultural places. However, they kept going to the same places as they did before. The Vale-Cultura has not instigated a considerable diversification (only to Raphaella and Vanessa) of these people's habits.

### 6.3)    **Evaluation of the Vale-Cultura**

I have developed many critiques towards the Vale-Cultura system along this thesis, however, they were constructed based on an analysis of the program's structure and media discourses. First I have analyzed how the program is organized and then how it presents itself and is received by the media. But a critical study of the case would be incomplete without an assessment from those that perceive it from the inside. Since I

am not a user of the card myself, my perspective has blind spots that can only be pointed out by those who experience the system's problems and benefits from within.

Nine out of ten of my interviewees evaluated the experience of having the card as positive. Vanessa was the only one who characterized the experience of having the card as "frustrating" and "unsatisfying" because "it was really rough to use", although she would like to have the benefit again and has talked with her new boss to implement it at her new job. Therefore, in general, this sample seems pleased to have it and some are very fond of it.

Afterwards, when I asked them what aspect of the card they liked the most, the answers varied a lot. Even though they generally indicated more than one positive aspect, I will address the ones each person highlighted as their favorite.

Three of them (Arthur, Vanessa, Bruna) emphasized its economic advantage, the fact that "I pay R$4 a month and I have R$50" (Arthur) and that "It is more money to spend with culture" (Vanessa), insinuating that to be part of the program is a 'good deal'. Arthur added: "I am certainly willing to pay more monthly to receive more. If I could pay instead of R$4… I don't know, like R$40, and gain ten times more on the Vale-Cultura, I would do it".

Simoni, who has a child, indicated that her favorite aspect of it was to be able to spend it with her son, since "everything is too expensive in São Paulo. It allows me to go to the movies with my son without spending too much (…) For me it is a great benefit, especially because with a child everything is double". Two (Raphaella and Ana Beatriz) stressed the fact that the credit is devoted exclusively to culture, otherwise they would end up spending it on something else. According to them:

> I like to have this money, even if not much, guaranteed for something, without the burden of having to take from another part of my budget to be able to spend on leisure and enjoyment. Sometimes you think: 'I could pay something else with this money but I'm spending with this'. Now I have something that is already set apart for culture, entertainment…having this guaranteed is really cool. So, I have a good experience with it. (Ana Beatriz)

> I think it is the fact that you do not deprive yourself, you have money specifically for that, you have to use it for that. Some people sell food-

vouchers to get the money, but I have never seen anyone selling their Vale-Cultura to collect money. So, I think it is that: you have money there to do whatever you want with it, going to the movies, going to the theater (…) Once you start doing the month's budget, when in a tight period, you think: 'Okay, I cannot buy nice shoes, but at least I have the Vale-Cultura'. This, I think, is pretty nice. (Raphaella)

The exclusivity of the card was mentioned by various interviewees, although Ana Beatriz and Raphaella were the two who highlighted this aspect more. Edgar, Jaqueline and Bruna especially like the fact that it encompasses a variety of options, because, as explained by Bruna: "you have the option to choose where you want to use it. If it was only for movies, or just for concerts, or just books, you are limited and then it is not a benefit, it is just pushing something". Jaqueline highlighted how important it is to enable people to construct their own relationship with culture: "Everyone has the right to develop a relationship with culture in their own way. I think that is very important, to enable this freedom for people to transit through various artistic expressions and fields of knowledge".

And for Nathalia the best aspect is the freedom it provides to her budget, enabling her to buy products that she wants, but does not need, without worrying about it. She stressed it by stating: "with this freedom I can give myself a book at the end of the month (…) Being able to enter a bookstore and just look for a book for me is really great (…) It was a big change in my routine."

K. was the only one who did not answer my question directly, even when I probed her. She answered, as the greatest benefit of the card, the social opportunity it can enable to poor people. So, even though she did not declare how the program most benefited her in particular, she clearly stated that it is a great policy for society and for the country.

When I asked them about their least favorite aspects, most of the responses were related to the lack of information (lack of signs, misinformed clerks, general knowledge about the program) and the rare online possibilities that the card offered. Referring to the former issue, Raphaella explained:

95

There are many places that do not have any signalization. At the time the Vale-Cultura was released there were a lot of TV ads, some companies issued an internal memo, but now (…) I do not know how was the general adherence, but I do not see many people outside my job using or talking about it. (…) I do not think it is a very popular program.

When it comes to online acceptance, she was also one of the complainers, along with K., Nathalia, Vanessa, Bruna, Jaqueline and Simoni, mentioning the fact that "there is no connection between the Vale-Cultura and the online environment" (Raphaella). Simoni illustrated this problem with an episode:

At the Cinemark, there is no option to pay online with the Vale-Cultura and neither at those totem machines (…) I had to wait in line. Once the line was so long I was not going to make it in time for the movie, so I gave up.

Ana Beatriz, Edgar and Vanessa highlighted the card's limited acceptance as its weakest aspect. According to Edgar: "*All* of the cultural places should accept it. It needs to become something universalized".

He, along with K., Arthur and Jaqueline, reinforced that value of R$50 a month was low, explaining that it is too little for the big cities, where the prices are too high: "The events in Rio are either for free or too expensive. With R$50 you can only buy one theater ticket for one of the good shows" (Edgar).

Nathalia developed a deeper critique, beyond the system's operationalization. She reflected:

N: From what I see it is different when you give the card to someone that already has cultural habits. If you think that the goal of the program is to develop cultural habits, and this is related to income… I observe that among the people at my work who have a lower socioeconomic condition, there is a lack of information and commitment. Sometimes I see that people spend it on stationary. So, what is the point of giving the credit? I think it is wonderful to have money exclusively for culture, but to spend it depends on the person as well. It should come with a suggestion pamphlet or something, because they

are giving us the money but they do not orientate us where to spend it, you know? It could be a little more purposeful.

Q: What do you mean?

N: Something with the places that accept it for instance (…) Another day one colleague told me she has more than R$250 at her Vale-Cultura. I asked her what she planned to do with that and she answered me that she did not know. So you see, the person does not use it because she does not know how. So, I think, it [the program] still needs to develop and figure out what should be this communication channel with the users, how to orientate them on spending.

Nathalia's critique is extremely relevant and echoes the general critique of this research. By analyzing the system's implementation through an audience development perspective, the Ministry's position, and the intricate information displayed by the operators companies, I had assumed that this total lack of complementary initiatives could be counterproductive. Nonetheless, through her testimonial (and other users' accounts published on the media), there is a personal report on how the system, as it is structured, may affect (or not affect at all) those without developed cultural habits.

Although Nathalia is clearly talking about cultural dirigisme, she uses the word "purposeful", implying that the government does not need to take over the consumption but just be more involved, more suggestive. Nevertheless, in this current organization, the presence of the government is limited by the operator companies. In some instance, the operator companies are already responsible for this communication channel with the users and are the ones orientating cultural consumption.

The second longer reflection I had with an interviewee was with Jaqueline. Unconsciously, she continued Nathalia's line of thought on the role of Ministry, commenting that it should be more provocative. Nonetheless, her reflection lasted for many minutes. It seemed like, as a cultural producer, she was critically analyzing the political aspect of the program for the first time. Because she developed a sophisticated analysis, I will quote her in greater length, but it only constitutes a summary of her sayings:

You can see how I am unaware of the places I can use the card. This program was strongly advertised during its release and it disappeared afterwards. (...) I think it needs to encourage more, to really provoke people (...) I wish I heard more about this project. Something like: what are your plans with it? I am not provoked by it. I use it, monthly, when I spontaneously feel like buying something. I am not encouraged to use it. (...) the Ministry of Culture itself should be in charge of this [do the provocation]. There is no one better than the Ministry itself to promote such a nice project (...)

After reflecting on her own speech, Jaqueline wondered if the lack of incentive to make the program expand and grow could actually be a political maneuver:

Then is easy to cancel the program because it did not work, you know? But, to what extent was it stimulated, how much effort has been put into that? There are so many vouchers, suit vouchers [referring to the voucher congressmen receive to buy suits], voucher-I-don't-know-what, and something great as that is not encouraged. Sometimes I have the impression that it is supposed to be like that, that it is supposed to not have any spotlight on it so it becomes easier to shut it down at any moment, without people questioning too much…

This epiphany lead her to conclude her analysis on the policy:

It became something more assistencialist than a real cultural change. When you do not invest in promotion, when you do not stimulate its use, it becomes an assistencialist maintenance. It should not be assistencialism, it should provoke people to start engaging with culture.

Jaqueline's opinion supports the definition of assistencialist used by this thesis: the improvement of a condition without changing the structure that created this condition in the first place. This improvement, at least in Brazil, are usually sought by the public sphere. And, as she suggests, the Vale-Cultura is making the same path as others policies, by alleviating the deficit of cultural democratization without

encouraging a new relationship between society and the cultural field. As she points, and I reinforce, the program does not seem to stimulate the creation of a cultural consumption habit, something that goes beyond a monthly purchase of a book.

Maybe Caleiro (2009) was right in his extreme anti-neoliberal critique analyzed in section 5.4. Maybe when there is a lack of dirigisme from the state, the market imposes its own. But to think, as he does, that the government could deny this essential neoliberalist feature of the program in the contemporary context is unreasonable. The Vale-Cultura is the result of a neoliberal ideology, which nowadays influences all aspects of the current globalized social structure. Therefore, combining Nathalia's and Jaqueline's reflections, one can ask: considering the contemporary context, how can the government participate in the program to secure its significance? How it can provoke society to engage with culture?

## 6.4) **Conclusion of the interview's analysis**

This section aimed to answer one of the research questions of this thesis: how do, in fact, people use the card? From interviews with a sample of users that have developed cultural habits and are part of the cultural consumption 'elite' of the country, it is possible to acknowledge that, because of the card, they consume more. Although this consumption happens in more singular ways than predicted (practically each one of them developed their own form of card management), in general, since they possessed the card, these people generally buy more and some attend cultural places more frequently. However, eight interviewees have not significantly changed their cultural environment and only increased the frequency of attendance to places and events in which they were already regular goers.

In evaluation terms, all except one of the ten interviewees feel satisfied with having the card and some are really fond of it. As its strongest aspect they highlighted the exclusivity to culture, its economic advantage and the diversity of possibilities it encompasses. On the other hand, when it comes to weaknesses, they stressed its absence in the online environment, its current limitation of acceptance and the general lack of information about it. Among the critiques, I have emphasized two (Nathalia's and Jaqueline's) that question the program's lack of involvement with its users and the Ministry's absence in it. These valuable critiques, along with others developed throughout this thesis, will be addressed in the next and last chapter.

**7.1) Critical analysis of the findings**

This research was developed based on the main research question: To what extent is the advertising, implementation and use of the Vale-Cultural cultural policy in Brazil coherent? To answer that, I have exposed my findings about three spheres of the Vale-Cultura's policy: the system's implementation, the media coverage and the users' experiences. My goal was to develop an exploratory inquiry about the case study and thus, to understand the values underlined by each of these spheres.

I have organized an overview of the values applied by cultural policy theory and practice in Table 1, in the section 2.2.4. To answer my research question, I intend to return to this table and identify the values encouraged by the three spheres. The similarity between the analyses will then determine the consistency of the policy among these domains. This final analysis will also provide the reader with a recap of this thesis' contents.

I will start by identifying the values stressed by the policy's structure on practice and in theory. Therefore, this will be based on my findings reported on Chapter 4 and Chapter 6, meaning that I will rely on the policy's official information and on the interviewees' reports. These sources were the ones that provided more empirical data about the system's operationalization.

By analyzing my finding, I have concluded values marked on Table 3 are the ones underlined by the policy in these two spheres. The green ones refer to my findings studying the official information, and the blues ones refer to my findings concerning the interviewees' experience:

| Definition of culture | Type of cultural policy | Role of the state | Goal of policies | Ideological background | What it privileges | Goal achieved through |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Culture as the circulation of symbolic goods and practices | Democratization of culture | Patron | Civilize | Hegemonic projects | Dominant culture | Increase of access to cultural institutions |
| Culture as meaning-making | Cultural democracy | Populist | Social inclusion | Recognition of cultural rights | Multiculturalism | Increase of cultural participation |
| Culture as creative goods | Neoliberal policies | Regulator | Economic development | Recognition of differences | Culture diversity | Increase of cultural consumption |

Table 3 – Values underlined by the Vale-Cultura's system and practical use among the interviewees

As I came to understand, officially, the Vale-Cultura considers culture as *creative goods and services* (encompassing also media products, not just artistic), and, according to the law's text, it focuses on increasing the *democratization of culture* by applying a *neoliberal policy*. This neoliberal characteristic is explicit by the core of the system itself: providing money to be spent 'freely' on culture. It acknowledges the audience as an active sovereign consumer (an important aspect of the neoliberalism ideology), which resonates with the *support of differences* and *diversity* between this public. To consume freely, the offer must be as wide as possible, suitable to all particular tastes of the costumers (users). Therefore, the policy encompasses a wide range of creative goods, which has induced some critiques from the media, although the users consider this diversity a positive aspect. The law also establishes the MINC as the *regulator* between the four actors involved: the beneficiary companies, the users, the operator companies and the receiver companies.

Because this is a policy focused on increasing access by financial transactions, it is clear that it values an *economical development*. How this economical development is going to succeed is still not clear and should be followed by the MINC and future researches. Nonetheless, this inquiry has found that, among the users interviewed, the card has influenced them to *increase* their *attendance* to cultural venues and to *purchase* more cultural products than before, therefore, to spend more money more on culture.

Table 3 represents an interpretation of the values that compose the Vale-Cultura policy based on the material studied. Nevertheless, it needs to be compared with the values that the MINC declares it has. This thesis has also studied how the

ministry, its main promoter, aims for the policy to be perceived. The values underlined by the MINC are colored on Table 4:

| Definition of culture | Type of cultural policy | Role of the state | Goal of policies | Ideological background | What it privileges | Goal achieved through |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Culture as the circulation of symbolic goods and practices | Democratization of culture | Patron | Civilize | Hegemonic projects | Dominant culture | Increase of access to cultural institutions |
| Culture as meaning-making | Cultural democracy | Populist | Social inclusion | Recognition of cultural rights | Multiculturalism | Increase of cultural participation |
| Culture as creative goods | Neoliberal policies | Regulator | Economic development | Recognition of differences | Culture diversity | Increase of cultural consumption |

Table 4. Values of the Vale-Cultura underlined by the Ministry of Culture in the media, according to their timeframe

Table 4 was developed by only analyzing the Ministry or Marta's discourse on the media and colored according to their period: the darker red represents the values reinforced before the system's implementation, from 2012-2013 (section 5.1); the medium red represents the values underlined in the media in the first semester of 2014 (section 5.2); and the light red represent the values perpetuated on the second semester of 2014 (section 5.3). Nonetheless, the values underlined by the MINC were not substituted across time but mostly added to the discourse. For instance, the office has always highlighted the economical aspect of the policy. Therefore, the classification in Table 4 represents the periods when the values started to be endorsed.

The table demonstrates that initially, the MINC's discourse promoted the policy as a *democratization* initiative focused on *increasing the cultural consumption* of *creative goods*. The policy would enhance the consumption, and, with that, boost the economy. Nonetheless, Marta during this period often stated that the policy could have a great economical impact in small cities and their local cultural producers. She oriented mayors to map these producers and stated, "the cultural producer will have more public to attend his projects" (Lemos, 2012). The Vale-Cultura was being promoted as a tool to strengthen the sustainability of the small cultural producers, and, consequently, support *cultural democracy*. Because the MINC claimed that the program would beneficiate both the individual without access and the local producer

with financial struggles, it can be considered that, since this moment, the office assumed a *populist* approach towards the policy. Here, the MINC is defending the development of those in need by encouraging democratic values.

In the second period, represented by the medium-red, the MINC include others values in the Vale-Cultura's promotion, but without abandoning the previous ones. Marta's discourse highlighted more the *access* to the cultural organizations enabled by the card and strongly reinforced how the policy valued *cultural diversity*. As she stated: "It's stupid to think the money will be spent homogeneously. There's no better and more democratic way than to put the money in the hands of the people to spend it as they want" (Dowie, 2014, ¶ 27). The Vale-Cultura was addressed as a policy that respect the audience's differences by not imposing limitations in the consumption.

At the same time, Marta declared, "the point is social inclusion" (Dowie, 2014, ¶ 19). This *social inclusion*, it seems, would be achieved through the consumption of cultural products. She did not reflect further on that declaration, but associated some ancillary effects with the increase of cultural consumption, such as the decrement of domestic violence.

Even though the policy has never denied its affinity with commercial values, it was from this period that Marta started to perpetuate the idea that the Vale-Cultura could invert the logic of production. In this new context, the cultural projects would be financed and administrated based on the demand of the consumer, instead of sustained by a select group of people from the government or from the private sector. This aspect is greatly defended by the *neoliberal policies* and is close to what Dorwkin classifies as "the economic" approach, in which the "community support for culture is evidenced through the mechanics of price" (Miller & Yúdice, 2002, p. 16).

Nevertheless, it was only after the announcement of the results of the first year of the Vale-Cultural that the MINC began to focus on the individual benefits the card could stimulate. In this period, signaled at the table by the light red, Marta acknowledged how the contact with culture could be transformative for the individual, stating that "culture makes people more sensitive and creative" (Westin, 2014, ¶ 18), and that the program would "develop cultural enthusiasts and consumers" (Camargo, 2014, ¶ 2). This resembles the Enlightment speech, vastly used in the beginning of the 20th century, which defends that the encounter of culture would improve the average citizen. That is the reason why the *Civilize* and *Culture as*

*meaning-making* boxes are also colored – moving from the macro to the micro effects of the Vale-Cultura, Marta began to endorse that culture can contribute to the meaning-making process of the individual and thus, elevate him/her.

Since this inquiry consists of a qualitative exploratory analysis, it is clear that these findings correspond to my interpretation. There is the possibility that another researcher, when faced with this material, would identify other values underlined, since these tables do not aim to represent scientific facts. Nonetheless, these values, represented in both tables, are the ones identified by my analysis of the data.

I also chose to mark the values perpetuated in the media according to their period to demonstrate how the MINC's discourse has changed over time. Although it was never contradictory in itself[11], it shifted its focus according to the context.

When comparing one table to the other, it is possible to see that some values do not match. Firstly, it is clear that the MINC associated more values with the Vale-Cultura in the media than the system comprises. For instance, it declares that the program will enhance cultural democracy by democratizing the cultural resources among small producers. However, there is nothing in the system's structure that indicates towards this direction. In fact, considering the interviewees' report, in which they declared they have not spent the card in unfamiliar places and mostly mentioned big cultural enterprises, it seems that the program neglects to incentive this.

This issue is where actions of audience development could influence. As explained, without non-financial incentives, it is unlikely that the users will expand their culture repertoire and start to attend venues or events they are not familiar with. Small producers not only lack big investments, but also usually work with products that are not so familiar to the popular taste. Without incentives to broaden the users' practices and introduce them to these opportunities (even if through a suggestion pamphlet, as proposed by one of the interviewees), it is unlikely that they will consume what the small producers offer.

Besides, even with a significant change in this matter, it is unlikely for the venues dependent of public funds to heavily gain with the Vale-Cultura. These organizations, which are always financially struggling, are extremely embedded in the state apparatus ("the lofty approach" in Dorwkin's classification), and do not apply

---

[11] Maybe just concerning the diversity of the products encompassed by the program. While Marta heavily defended that the Vale-Cultura respected and considered all types of consumption, she also prohibited video games to be included in the program.

the same system as the culture industry. The public funds enable these organizations to 'protect' themselves from the market forces. By not being subjugated to the market they can, for instance, charge symbolic fees. Considering that the Vale-Cultura empowers the consumer's will upon the market (Dorwkin's "the economic approach"), it seem that this logic does not 'interact' with the logic applied in the organizations financed by the state.

Not only does the Brazilian government apply two different policy approaches upon its cultural field, currently, it is common for states to combine these two approaches, using them in different areas, as is the case here. Nonetheless, has to be acknowledged, is that the MINC advertises a link between the increase of consumption influenced by the Vale-Cultura, and the sustainability of small cultural producers, which is is unlikely to happen.

Other values promoted on the media that do not appear on the analysis of the system are: "culture as meaning-making", "social inclusion" and "civilize" as a goal. All of them are connected by the reasoning that the encounter with the cultural world can influence someone to evolve into a better citizen. This is related to the "heroic tasks" (Bennett, 2007, p.31) that the field of culture is currently associated with and although these arguments are easy to accept, they are extremely hard to prove. As mentioned, social outcomes of cultural programs have not yet been properly confirmed. Still, the system's information has nothing that indicates that social improvement is a goal of the program or one of its focus. For instance, it does not especially target individuals with low income or from deprived communities.

Nevertheless, it is interesting to notice that Marta started to justify the cultural investment on the Vale-Cultura basing it on the instrumental *and* intrinsic aspects (Holden, 2006). Normally, governments just highlight the instrumental value of culture, as a means to achieve an improvement in another area (economical, social, urban, among others). Marta, however, stressed many times the importance of culture due to the subjective impact it generates, thus the boxes of "civilize" and "culture as meaning-making". By pointing out this feature, she was also emphasizing culture as a rewarding experience in itself.

The comparison of the tables also indicates that the role of the state in the program is not coherent. Based on the law, the MINC has a regulator role of supervising the program's implementation. Nonetheless, as demonstrated in Chapter

4, its supervision is unclear. The control over the policy implementation seems to be mainly shared between the operator companies and the managers of stores and cultural organizations, since they appear to have established their own rules for the card's acceptance.

In the media, the MINC has mostly presented itself as the intermediary between the people (users), their employers and the cultural opportunities they now have access to. Although the service of operator companies has been clarified in news articles, it has been mostly indicated as a facilitator of financial transactions. Therefore, it is possible to acknowledge that the power that the operator companies have over the system is not evident through the media.

This unclearness causes confusion among the users. My interviewees did not realize that the limitation in acceptance is not a fault of the program itself, but of the operator company their employer companies are registered with. At the same time, they are forced to keep track of each venue's particular form of acceptance – one bookstore accepts the card offline but not online; another department store only allows the card's use for books and not CDs or DVDs; the theater they want to go only accepts one specific flag of the Vale-Cultura; and so on. In sum, the role of the MINC differs between the law, media and system and, as a consequence, there is misinformation among the users and a system that lacks supervision.

To conclude my findings, and answer the research question, I would say that the policy *is not* largely inconsistent among the three spheres studied, but it *appears* to embrace more values than it does on the media. The values supported by the system's regulation and operation are also present in the media discourse. The difference is that, when promoted, the policy seems bigger than it actually is. Values are added to the discourse and the Vale-Cultura is depicted as capable of generating bigger effects than the ones enabled by its system. For instance, the financial strengthening of smaller cultural producers; social inclusion; the improvement of one's self; the development of new cultural consumers (or enthusiasts, as said by Marta) and tastes – these are all arguments promoted by the MINC that the system's structure does not support. And, according to the theoretical framework presented, they are very unlikely to happen without complementary measures.

Finally, I would say that the most inconsistent aspect of the policy is the state's role in it. The law indicates the MINC as the supervisor; many see it as its

patron (as one of the interviewees reported, most people see it as an assistentialist program); the MINC promotes itself as the program's director, producer and regulator; and I, based on my critical analyzes, mostly see it as the Vale-Cultura's advertiser. The responsibilities, level of influence and supervision of the MINC over the Vale-Cultura are not clear. And, as Caleiro (2009) advocated, without a clear command from the state, the market (in this case, the cultural industry) takes over.

However, the control of the program by the market is not incoherent, or even negative. After all, the Vale-Cultura is explicitly, in all spheres, a policy derived from the economic neoliberal context. But this unclear role (and sometime absence) of the state can jeopardize the policy's efficiency. Therefore, I return to the question of the previous chapter: considering the neoliberalism context, how can the government participate in the program so to secure its significance?

### 7.2) Recommendations for future researches

Concerning the case study, it is important for future researches to keep track of its empirical results. This inquiry faced many practical constraints that did not permit it to investigate the Vale-Cultura's impact on different social strata, for instance. Users with low educational degree or underdeveloped cultural habits could engage in significant change due to the card – or, as the theory suggests, remain disinterested in being an active cultural consumer. Nonetheless, considering the consumerist society that we live in, to empower the consumer could lead to more substantial changes than theoretically expected, especially in a country in which: a) the dominant culture *is* the popular culture[12] (as demonstrated by Canclini) b) holds a severe cultural consumption discrepancy among its population.

The impact that the Vale-Cultura can generate on the cultural consumption should not only be followed among different social strata but also between the Brazilian regions. The geographical distribution of cultural resources is critically imbalaced and the policy could make it worse, instead of easing it.

Nevertheless, researches and cultural producers of Brazil should also focus on the program's impact on the field. The system could eventually solely strengthen the profit of the cultural enterprises, leaving the small and independent producers even more dependent of the state's apparatus. The latter group is unlikely to develop an

---

[12] Popular culture as in products consumed by masses, mostly through the media.

autonomous sustainability without the intermediation of the Ministry of Culture that could not only promote these projects but also regulate the for-profit private sector.

In sum, many of these issues could be eased with the application of audience development initiatives. They could alleviate the impact of the Vale-Cultura among the regions, and also encourage users to expand their consumption beyond the mainstream products. However, the MINC does not have a tradition of focusing on the audience of the field – as stated, the Vale-Cultura is its first endeavor in this direction. Therefore, Brazilian policy-makers and cultural producers still need to develop their own practices and knowledge in this area, suitable to the country's context.

Considering the international academic field, and especially the cultural studies school, I reinforce Tony Bennett's appeal for the field to get closer to the practical administrative field. Academicians can contribute a lot to policy-making by analyzing it through a theoretical framework. However, it seems like these groups do not communicate easily – there is a common, simpler language missing, something that could transit between the two stances. Maybe this language is at the business school, but scholars of the cultural field still seem very resistant to embrace it and recreate it.

Nonetheless, as this research focused on a specific topic of a country, I would also recommend to the cultural policy field studies to acknowledge the researches' cultural and historic contexts. As mentioned, cultural policy does not have a general definition; its definition may be dependent on the country or government of the study. This means that certain practices are not applicable in all contexts, and some values that might seem old somewhere are still needed today in another place.

In the globalized context, these differences are alleviated by the neoliberal logic of consumption. Nonetheless, the study of the applicability of policies needs to be composed while recognizing the place's cultural characteristics. In fact, I would point this issue as a weakness of this thesis. My findings were based on European and North American cultural policy values, not Latin ones. The reason is that Latin scholars have only very recently acknowledged this field as cultural production, as in a field that understands culture as part of the market and state's policy. Before that, most of the works studied culture either through the sociological and anthropological lens, or related culture to the arts and focused on the aesthetics. Still today there are

few studies that combine these traditional schools with administration, media and economics; and, as this inquiry, most of them are based on foreign theories. Therefore, I would recommend for future researches on cultural policy to firstly acknowledge the context of the study and then maybe go further and try to explore this specific local values.

## Bibliography

ACIGAMES. (n.d.). Vamos incluir os games no Vale-Cultura, ministra Marta Suplicy? [Let's include games in the Vale Cultura, minister Marta Suplicy?].

*Change.org*. Retrieved 05 10, 2015, from https://www.change.org/p/vamos-incluir-os-games-no-vale-cultura-ministra-marta-suplicy

Agência Brasil, R. d. (2013). *Prefeitos devem credenciar produtores locais para terem acesso ao vale-cultura* [Mayors should certify local producers so they can have acess to the Vale-Cultura] . Retrieved 04 13, 2015, from Portal do desenvolvimento local: http://www.portaldodesenvolvimento.org.br/prefeitos-devem-credenciar-produtores-locais-para-terem-acesso-ao-vale-cultura/

Ahearne, J. (2009). Cultural policy explicit and implicit: a distinction and some uses. International journal of cultural policy , 15 (2), 141-153. DOI: 10.1080/10286630902746245

Almanaque Urupês. (2013, 10 28). *Em São José, ministra Marta Suplicy explica sobre vale-cultura* [In São José, minister Marta Suplicy explains the Vale-Cultura]. Retrieved 04 2015, from Almanaque Urupês: http://www.almanaqueurupes.com.br/portal/noticias/em-sao-jose-ministra-marta-suplicy-explica-sobre-vale-cultura/

Amorim, G. (2008). *Retratos da Leitura no Brasil* [Faces of Literature in Brazil]. Pró-livro. São Paulo: Imprenssa Oficial.

Aparecida, M. A. (2012). A inserção da dimensão econômica nas políticas públicas de cultura no Brasil [The insertion of the economic dimension in Brazil's public cultural politics]. *III Seminário Internacional de Políticas Culturais* [III Internacional Cultural Politics Seminary]. (pp. 1-14). Rio de Janeiro: Fundação Casa Ruy Barbosa,.

Arthur, J., Waring, M., Coe, R., & Hedges, L. (2012). *Research Methods & Methodologies in Education.* London: Sage Publications Ltd.

Avellar, R. (2008). *O Avesso da Cena: notas sobre produção e gestão cultural* [The opposite of the scene: notes on cultural production and management]. Belo Horizonte: DUO Editorial.

Barbour, Rosaline S. (2008). *Introducing qualitative research : a student's guide to the craft of doing qualitative research.* Thousand Oaks, CA : Sage Publications Ltd

Barcker, C. (2007, 02 15). "Birmingham School.". Retrieved 04 2015, 04, from Blackwell Encyclopedia of Sociology. DOI: 10.1111/b.9781405124331.2007.x

Baxter, P., & Jack, S. (2008). Qualitative case study methodology: Study design and I mplementation for novice researchers. *The qualitative report , 13* (4), 544-559. Retrieved from: http://www.nova.edu/ssss/QR/QR13-4/baxter.pdf

Bennett, T. (1997). Towards a Pragmatics for Cultural Studies. In J. McGuigan, *Cultural Methodologies* (pp. 42-61). SAGE Publications.

Bennett, T. (2001). Cultural Policy. In N. J. Smelser, & P. B. Bates, *International Encyclopedia of the Social & Behavioral Sciences* (Vol. XI, pp. 3092-3096). Amsterdam: Elsevier.

Bennett, T. (2007). The Work of Culture. *Cultural Sociology , I* (I), 31-46. DOI: 10.1177/1749975507073918

Bjornsen, E. (2012). Norwegian cultural policy - A civilising mission? The Cultural Rucksack and abstract faith in the transforming powers of the arts. *Poetics*, 40, 382-404. DOI: 10.1016/j.poetic.2012.05.005

Boesten, J. (2010). *Intersecting Inequalities: Women and Social Policy in Peru, 1990-2000.* University Park: The Pensyivalnia State University Press.

Caleiro, M. (2009, 07 29). *Vale-Cultura, elitismo e pseudoesquerdismo* [Vale-Cultura, elitism and pseudo leftism]. Retrieved 04 2015, from Cinema & Outras Artes: http://cinemaeoutrasartes.blogspot.nl/2009/07/vale-cultura-o-elitismo-e-o.html

Camargo, M. (2014, 11 27). *Vale Cultura ainda tem presença tímida em Pernambuco* [Vale-Cultura still has a timid presence in Pernambuco]. Retrieved 04 2015, from Portal IG - Pernambuco: http://pernambuco.ig.com.br/cultura/2014/vale-cultura-ainda-tem-presenca-timida-em-pernambuco

Campbell, C. (1995). The sociology of consumption. In Miller, D.(Ed.), *Acknowledging Consumption* (pp. 96-126). London and New York: Routledge

Canclini, G. N (1995). *Hybrid Cultures - Strategies for entering and leaving modernity.* London: University of Minnesota Press.

Coelho, T. (2000). Política Cultural [Cultural Policy]. In *Dicionário crítico de política cultural: cultura e imaginário* [Critical dictionary of cultural politics: culture and the imaginery]. (pp. 292-299). São Paulo: Iluminuras.

Committee on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights . (2009). *General comment No. 21* . United Nations, Economic and Social Council. UN. Available at: http://www.refworld.org/docid/4ed35bae2.html

Cunningham, S. (2003). Cultural Studies from the Viewpoint of Cultural Policy. In J. Lewis, & T. Miller, *Critical Cultural Policy Studies A Reader* (pp. 13-22). Cornwall: Blackwell Publishers Ltd.

Donato, M. (2013, 03 15). *Por que o Vale-Cultura merece aplauso* [Why the Vale Cultura deserves applause]. Retrieved 04 2015, from Diário do Centro do Mundo: http://www.diariodocentrodomundo.com.br/cultura-para-todos/

Downie, A. (2014, 02 05). *Brazil offers new handout to the poor: culture*. Retrieved 04 2015, from Washington Post: http://www.washingtonpost.com/world/the_americas/brazil-offers-new-handout-to-the-poor-culture/2014/02/05/bb04299e-8d06-11e3-95dd-36ff657a4dae_story.html

Garnham, N. (2005). From cultural to creative industries. *International Journal of Cultural Policy , 11* (1), 15-29.

Gonçalves, J. (2014, 07 10). *Falta de convênios desestimula uso do Vale Cultura em Londrina* [Lack of partnerships discourages the use of the Vale Cultura in Londrina]. Retrieved 04 2015, from Jornal de Londrina: http://www.jornaldelondrina.com.br/cultura/conteudo.phtml?tl=1&id=1482815&tit=Falta-de-convenios-desestimula-uso-do-Vale-Cultura-em-Londrina

Gray, C. (2009). Managing cultural policy: pitfalls and prospects. *Public Administration , 87* (3), 574-585. DOI: 10.1111/j.1467-9299.2008.01748.x

Gray, C. (2010). Analysing cultural policy: incorrigibly plural or ontologically Incompatible? *International Journal of Cultural Policy , 16* (2), 215-230. DOI: 10.1080/10286630902935160

Hall, S. (1980). Cultural studies: two paradigms. *Media, Culture and Society, 2,* 57-72. DOI: 10.1177/016344378000200106

Hayes, D. & Slater, A. (2002). 'Rethinking the missionary position' - the quest for sustainable audience development strategies. *Managing Leisure, 7:1*, 1-17, DOI: 10.1080/13606710110079882

Herculano, M. (2014, 07 11). *Vale-Cultura: dos livros ao circo* [Vale-Cultura: from books to the Circus]. Retrieved 04 2015, from Cultura e Mercado: http://www.culturaemercado.com.br/noticias/vale-cultura-dos-livros-ao-circo/

Holden, J. (2006). *Cultural Value and the Crisis of Legitimacy.* London: Demos.

Hood, M. G. (1993). After 70 years of audience research, what have we learned? *Visitor studies: Theory, research and practice, 15*, 17-27. DOI: 10.1080/10645579209445757

IBGE. (2011). Sinopse do Censo Demográfico 2010 [Overview of the Demographic Data 2010]. Rio de Janeiro: IBGE. Available at: http://biblioteca.ibge.gov.br/visualizacao/livros/liv49230.pdf

IBGE. (2014). *Síntese de indicadores sociais - Uma análise das condições de vida da população brasileira* [A synthesis of social indicators – An analysis of the life conditions of Brazil's population]. Rio de Janeiro: IBGE. Available at: ftp://ftp.ibge.gov.br/Indicadores_Sociais/Sintese_de_Indicadores_Sociais_2014/SIS_2014.pdf

IBGE. (2015). *Cidades@* [Cities@]. Retrieved 05 10, 2015, from Instituto Brasileiro de Geografia e Estásticas [Geographic and Statistic Brazilian Bureau]: http://cod.ibge.gov.br/233KZ

IBOPE Inteligência. (2011). *Retratos da Leitura no Brazil* [Faces of Literature in Brazil]. Ministério da Cultura. Instituto Pró-livro. Available at: http://prolivro.org.br/home/images/relatorios_boletins/3_ed_pesquisa_retratos_leitura_IPL.pdf

IBRAM. (2014). *Carta de Serviços aos Cidadãos* [Service charter for the citizens]. Ministério da Cultura, IBRAM. Brasília: IBRAM. Available at: http://www.museus.gov.br/wp-content/uploads/2014/12/CartaServicos-Cidadao_Ibram-2014.pdf

INFO, R. (2013, 03 14). *Games não são cultura, diz Marta Suplicy* [Games are not culture, says Marta Suplicy]. Retrieved 05 10, 2015, from Exame Info: http://info.abril.com.br/games/noticias/2013/03/games-nao-sao-cultura-diz-marta-suplicy.shtml

Jordão, G., & Allucci, R. (2014). *Panorama Setorial da Cultura do Brasileira 2013-2014* [Sectorial outlook of the Brazilian's culture 2013-2014]. Ministério da Cultura. São Paulo: Allucci & Associados Comunicações. Available at: http://panoramadacultura.com.br/

Kawashima, N. (2000). Beyond the division of attenders vs. non-attenders: a study into audience development in policy and practice. *The University of Warwick*. Retrieved from: http://www2.warwick.ac.uk/fac/arts/theatre_s/cp/publications/centrepub s/

Kawashima, N. (2006). Audience Development and Social Inclusion in Britain. *International Journal of Cultural Policy, 12* (1), 55-72. DOI: 10.1080/10286630600613309.

Kellner, D. (1997). Critical Theory and Cultural Studies: The Missed Articulation. In J. McGuigan, *Cultural Methodologies* (pp. 12-41). SAGE Publications.

Lei n˚ 12.761, de 27 de dezembro de 2012 [Law n˚ 12.761 from December, 27th 2012]. Civil House. Retrieved from: http://www.planalto.gov.br/ccivil_03/_Ato2011-2014/2012/Lei/L12761.htm

Lemos, I. (2012, 12 28). *Dilma sanciona lei que cria vale-cultura de R$ 50 para trabalhador* [Dilma sanctions the law that creates a R$50 Vale-Cultura for workers]. Retrieved 04 2015, from G1: http://g1.globo.com/politica/noticia/2012/12/dilma-sanciona-lei-que-cria-vale-cultura-de-r-50-para-trabalhador.html

Lewis, J., & Miller, T. (2003). Introduction. In J. Lewis, & T. Miller, *Critical Cultural Policy Studies A Reader* (pp. 1-9). Conrwall: Blackwell Publishers Ltd.

Lima, D. (2015, 01 21). *O TV Foco*. Retrieved 05 12, 2015, from O TV Foco: http://otvfoco.com.br/audiencia/saiba-quais-foram-os-canais-mais-assistidos-da-tv-paga-em-2014/

Locatelli, P. (2013, 02 26). *Vale-Cultura para videogames* [Vale-Cultura for videogames]. Retrieved 05 10, 2015, from Carta Capital: http://www.cartacapital.com.br/politica/vale-cultura-para-videogames

Lucro Real - Secretaria da Receita Federal [Actual Profit – National Tax Office] . (n.d.). In *Ministério da Fazenda*. Retrieved 04 18, 2015, http://www.receita.fazenda.gov.br/pessoajuridica/dipj/2000/orientacoes/lucror eal.htm

Maciel, C. (2014, 01 17). *Maioria das adesões ao Programa Vale-Cultura é formada por pequenas empresas* [The majority of the companies joining the Vale-Cultura program are small companies]. Retrieved 04 2015, from EBC Agência Brasil: http://memoria.ebc.com.br/agenciabrasil/noticia/2014-01-17/maioria-das-adesoes-ao-programa-vale-cultura-e-formada-por-pequenas-empresas

Mallonee, L. C. (2014, 02 25). *Vale Cultura and the "Food for the Soul" Experiment in Brazil*. Retrieved 04 2015, from Hyperallergic: http://hyperallergic.com/110946/vale-cultura-and-the-food-for-the-soul-experiment-in-brazil/

Martin, L. (2013). The democratisation of culture in France in the nineteenth & tweentieth centuries: an obsolete ambition? *International Journal of Cultural Policy, 20* (4), 440-455. DOI: 10.1080/10286632.2013.819860

McGuigan, J. (1997). Introduction. In J. McGuigan, *Cultural Methodologies* (pp. 1-11). SAGE Publications.

McGuigan, J. (2003). Cultural Policy Studies. In J. Lewis, & T. Miller, *Critical Cultural Policy Studies A Reader* (pp. 23-38). Cornwall: Blackwell Publishers Ltd.

McGuigan, J. (2004). *Rethinking Cultural Policy*. Glasglow: Open University Press.

Mekari, D. (2014, 10 10). *Um ano após criação, Vale Cultura enfrenta o desafio de chegar a todos os trabalhadores* [A year after its creation, the Vale Cultura faces the challenge of reaching all the workers]. Retrieved 04 2015, from Portal do Aprendiz UOL: http://portal.aprendiz.uol.com.br/2014/10/10/um-ano-apos-criacao-vale-cultura-enfrenta-o-desafio-de-chegar-a-todos-os-trabalhadores/

Mena, F. (2013, 06 14). *Governo amplia alcance do Vale-Cultura* [Government expands the reach of the Vale Cultura]. Retrieved 04 2015, from Folha de São Paulo: http://www1.folha.uol.com.br/ilustrada/2013/06/1294558-governo-amplia-alcance-do-vale-cultura.shtml

Miles, S. (1998). *Consumerism as a way of life*. SAGE.

Miller, T., & Yúdice, G. (2002). *Cultural Policy*. London: SAGE Publication Ltd.

Ministério da Cultura. (2014, 06 24). *Instrução Normativa nº 1/2013* [Normative Instruction 1/2013]. Retrieved from Ministério da Cultura: http://tinyurl.com/khnho74

Ministério da Cultura. (n.d.). *Perguntas frequentes para empresas recebedoras* [Frequent questions for receiving companies]. Retrieved 05 2015, from Ministério da Cultura: http://tinyurl.com/ojh27ur

Ministra Marta Suplicy apresenta Vale-Cultura a metalúrgicos de São Paulo (n.d.)
[Minister Marta Suplicy introduces the Vale-Cultura to São Paulo's
metallurgicals]. *Cultura.gov*. Retrieved from:
http://www.cultura.gov.br/banner3/-
/asset_publisher/8J9CFVHcu3W4/content/ministra-marta-suplicy-apresenta-
vale-cultura-a-metalurgicos-de-sao-paulo/10883

Mommaas, H. (2004). Cultural Clusters and the Post-industrial City: Towards the
Remapping of Urban Cultural Policy. *Urban Studies , 41* (3), 507-532.
DOI: 10.1080/0042098042000178663

Moser, S. (2014, 07 07). *Vale Cultura já movimentou R$ 13,7 milhões em seis meses*
[Vale Cultura has already generated R$ 13.7 million in six months]. Retrieved
04 2015, from Gazeta do Povo: http://www.gazetadopovo.com.br/caderno-
g/vale-cultura-ja-movimentou-r-137-milhoes-em-seis-meses-
ealb5xbkrevwq6jv1oowneq8e

Mulcahy, K. V. (2006). Cultural Policy: Definitions and Theoretical Approaches. *The
Journal of arts Management, Law and Society , 319-330*. DOI:
10.3200/JAML.35.4.319-330

Nassif, V., Prando, R., & Consentino, H. (2010). Government Assistentialist Action
and Sustainable Social Entrepreneurship In Brazil: An Exploratory Study.
*Revista Gestão e Planejamento , 11*, 316-336 .

Neuman, W. (2011). *Basics of social research: Qualitative and quantitative
approaches.* Boston: Pearson.

Nóbrega, C. (2013, 11 05). *Bolsa-Família: template for poverty reduction or recipe
for dependency?* Retrieved 06 01, 2015, from The Guardian:
http://www.theguardian.com/global-development-professionals-
network/2013/nov/05/bolsa-familia-brazil-cash-transfer-system

ODC. (2013, 05 13). *Vale cultura apresenta desafios para a diversidade* [Vale
Cultura presents challenges to the diversity]. Retrieved 04 2015, from
Observatório da Diversidade Cultural:
http://observatoriodadiversidade.org.br/site/vale-cultura-apresenta-desafios-
para-a-diversidade/3/

Pacheco, P. (2014, 02 01). *Cartão Vale-Cultura tem baixa adesão em Uberlândia,
segundo Minc* [According to Minc, the Vale-Cultura has low participation
rates in Uberlândia]. Retrieved 04 2015, from Correio de Uberlândia:
http://www.correiodeuberlandia.com.br/entretenimento/cartao-vale-cultura-
tem-baixa-adesao-em-uberlandia-segundo-minc/

Padgett, D. (2008). Advocacy research. In L. Given (Ed.). *The SAGE encyclopedia of
qualitative research methods*. (pp. 9-12). Thousand Oaks, CA: SAGE
Publications, Inc. doi: http://dx.doi.org/10.4135/9781412963909.n7

Palys, T. (2008). Basic Research. In L. M. Given (Ed.), *The Sage Encyclopedia of
Qualitative Research Methods* (pp. 58-60). Thousand Oaks: SAGE Publication
Ltd. doi: http://dx.doi.org/10.4135/9781412963909.n32

Peterson, L. A. (1996). Education for a community: What philosophy should guide
community development activities? *Proceedings of the Fifteenth Annual
Midwest Research-To-Practice Conference in Adult, Continuing &
Community Education* (pp. 141-147). Lincoln: University of Nebraska-
Lincoln.

Pode comprar 'revista porcaria', diz Marta sobre uso do vale-cultura [You can buy
rubbish magazines, says Marta about Vale-Cultura]. (2013, 01 17). *Portal G1*.

Retrieved from: http://g1.globo.com/pop-arte/noticia/2013/01/pode-comprar-revista-porcaria-diz-marta-sobre-vale-cultura.html

Portal Brasil. (2012, 06 05). *Vale-Cultura facilita acesso dos trabalhadores ao lazer* [Vale-Cultura facilitates workers' access to culture]. Retrieved 04 2015, from Portal Brasil: http://www.brasil.gov.br/cultura/2012/06/vale-cultura-facilita-acesso-dos-trabalhadores-ao-lazer

Portal Brasil. (2013, 10 18). *Dilma destaca potencial econômico do Vale-Cultura* [Dilma highlights the economic potential of the Vale-Cultura]. Retrieved 04 13, 2015, from Portal Brasil: http://www.brasil.gov.br/cultura/2013/10/dilma-destaca-potencial-economico-do-vale-cultura

Portal Brasil. (2014a, 01 17). *Banco do Brasil começa a pagar Vale-Cultura a 30 mil funcionários* [Banco do Brasil starts to pay Vale-Cultura to 30 thousand employees]. Retrieved 04 2015, from Governo do Brasil: http://www.brasil.gov.br/cultura/2014/01/banco-do-brasil-comeca-a-pagar-vale-cultura-a-30-mil-funcionarios

Portal Brasil. (2014b, 12 29) *Vale-Cultura amplia alcance a serviços culturais* [Vale-Cultura increases the access to cultural services]. Retrieved from: http://www.brasil.gov.br/cultura/2014/12/vale-cultura-amplia-alcance-a-servicos-culturais

Redação Folha. (2013, 01 16). *A polêmica lei do Vale-Cultura. Ministra Marta Suplicy rebate crítica da Folha de São Paulo* [The Vale-Cultura's controversial law. Minister Marta Suplicy refutes Folha de São Paulo's critique]. Retrieved 04 2015, from Folha de São Paulo: http://www.tecnoartenews.com/noticias/a-polemica-lei-do-vale-cultura-ministra-marta-suplicy-rebate-critica-da-folha-de-sao-paulo/

Redação Vale. (2014, 01 13). *Vale-cultura tem adesão de 24 mil empregados em apenas um mês* [24 thousand employees join the Vale-Cultura in just one month]. Retrieved 04 2015, from Vale: http://www.vale.com/brasil/PT/aboutvale/news/Paginas/vale-cultura-tem-adesao-de-24-mil-empregados-em-apenas-um-mes.aspx

Sacchitiello, B. (2014, 08 06). *Vale Cultura pode ser usado para a TV paga. A Ministra da Cultura, Marta Suplicy, falou sobre o benefício no painel de abertura da ABTA* [Vale Cultura can be used for cable tv. The Minister of Culture, Marta Suplicy, talked about the benefit on ABTA's opening panel]. Retrieved 04 2015, from Meio e Mensagem: http://www.meioemensagem.com.br/home/midia/noticias/2014/08/06/Vale-Cultura-pode-ser-usado-para-a-TV-paga.html

Sakamoto, L. (2009, 07 26). *O preconceito e o elitismo no debate sobre o Vale-Cultura* [Prejudice and elitism in the debate about the Vale-Cultura]. Retrieved 04 2015, from Blog do Sakamoto [Sakamoto's blog]: http://blogdosakamoto.blogosfera.uol.com.br/2009/07/26/vale-cultura-preconceito-elitismo-e-tecnobrega/

Sávio, G. (2013, 09 14). *Vale-cultura: o que fazer com um benefício de R$ 50?*[Vale-Cultura: what to do with a R$50 benefit?] Retrieved 04 13, 2015, from Diário de Pernambuco: http://www.diariodepernambuco.com.br/app/noticia/economia/2013/09/14/internas_economia,462214/vale-cultura-o-que-fazer-com-um-beneficio-de-r-50.shtml

Secretaria da Economia Criativa. (n.d.). Retrieved 04 18, 2015, from Ministério da Cultura: http://www.cultura.gov.br/secretaria-da-economia-criativa-sec

Shikama, F. (2014, 02 15). *Apenas 7 empresas de Sorocaba aderem ao Vale-Cultura* [Only 7 companies from Sorocaba join the Vale Cultura]. Retrieved 04 2015, from Cruzeiro do Sul: http://www.cruzeirodosul.inf.br/materia/531736/apenas-7-empresas-de-sorocaba-aderem-ao-vale-cultura

Soares da Silva, S. (2014, 06 29). *Vale-cultura completa oito meses, mas ainda tem pouca adesão em Joinville* [Vale-Cultura completes 8 months, but still has low enrollment rates in Joinville] Retrieved 04 2015, from: http://ndonline.com.br/joinville/plural/179226-programa-de-vale-cultura-completa-oito-meses-mas-ainda-tem-pouca-adesao-em-joinville.html

Souza, A. C. (2014, 01 20). *Vale Cultura: valor material e intelectual* [Vale Cultura: intelectual and material value]. Retrieved from GVCult: http://gvcult.blogosfera.uol.com.br/2014/01/20/vale-cultura-valor-material-e-intelectual/

Spillman, L. (2007, 02 15). *Culture*. Retrieved 04 02, 2015, from Blackwell Encyclopedia of Sociology: http://www.sociologyencyclopedia.com/subscriber/uid=47/tocnode?query=culture&widen=1&result_number=1&from=search&id=g9781405124331_chunk_g97814051243319_ss1-183&type=std&fuzzy=0&slop=1

Stevenson, N. (2007). *Cultural Citizenship*. Retrieved 04 16, 2015, from Blackwell Encyclopedia of Sociology: http://www.blackwellreference.com/subscriber/tocnode.html?id=g9781405124331_chunk_g97814051243319_ss1-201

Suplicy, M. (2014, 01). Painel Brasil TV entrevista Marta Suplicy [Painel Brazil TV interviews Marta Suplicy]. *Painel Brasil*. (R. Diniz, Interviewer)

'Vale-cultura pode em bailes funk desde que haja música', diz ministra ['Vale-Cultura is allowed in Baile Funks as long as there is music', says minister]. (2014, 09 10). Retrieved from: http://g1.globo.com/pop-arte/noticia/2014/09/vale-cultura-pode-em-bailes-funk-desde-que-haja-musica-diz-ministra.html

Westin, R. (2014, 12 23). *Há 1 ano em vigor, Vale-Cultura beneficia 264 mil* [After 1 year in circulation, Vale-Cultura benefits 264 thousand]. Retrieved 04 2015, from Jornal do Senado: http://www12.senado.gov.br/jornal/edicoes/2014/12/23/ha-1-ano-em-vigor-vale-cultura-beneficia-264-mil

Wiggins, J. (2004). Motivation, ability and opportunity to participate: a reconceptualization of the RAND model of audience development. *International Journal of Arts Management*, 22-33. Retrieved from: http://ernest.hec.ca/video/pedagogie/gestion_des_arts/AIMAC/2003/resources/pdf/A/A08_Wiggins.pdf

Willig, C. (2014). Discourses and Discourse Analysis . In U. Flick, *The SAGE Handbook of Qualitative Data Analysis* . London: SAGE Publications Ltd .

Zanvettor, R. (2014, 08 25). *Ministra faz balanço do Vale-Cultura e aposta em aumento de adesões* [Minister takes stock of the Vale-Cultura and bets on an increase in accessions]. Retrieved 04 2015, from Caros Amigos: http://www.carosamigos.com.br/index.php/cultura/noticias/4407-vale-cultura-atende-mais-de-220-mil-trabalhadores-em-seu-primeiro-ano

**Interview guide**

| I. | The individual and his/her cultural habits in general (without differentiating from before and after the Vale-Cultura) |
|---|---|
| **Demographic data** | Name (if they desire to give)<br>Age<br>Gender<br>Highest level of education<br>Family structure<br>Type of Vale-Cultura card |
| **Type of culture consumer** | 1. For how long have you had the Vale-Cultura card?<br>2. How many times have you been to these places in the past year: |

| | Frequency after having the card | Have you used the card to do this activities? | How often would do this acitivity *before* having the card? | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Movie theater | • 0-1<br>• 2-3<br>• 4-5<br>• 6 or more<br>• Don't know<br>• Won't answer | • It was never accepted<br>• Never tried<br>• Once<br>• Sometimes<br>• Often<br>• Always | • Never<br>• A lot less<br>• A bit less<br>• Equally often<br>• A bit more<br>• A lot more | |
| Museum and/or gallery | • 0-1<br>• 2-3<br>• 4-5<br>• 6 or more | • It was never accepted<br>• Never tried<br>• Once<br>• Sometimes | • Never<br>• A lot less<br>• A bit less<br>• Equally often | |

|  |  |  |  |  |  |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
|  |  | • Don't know<br>• Won't answer | • Often<br>• Always | • A bit more<br>• A lot more |  |
|  | Events and/or festivals | • 0-1<br>• 2-3<br>• 4-5<br>• 6 or more<br>• Don't know<br>• Won't answer | • It was never accepted<br>• Never tried<br>• Once<br>• Sometimes<br>• Often<br>• Always | • Never<br>• A lot less<br>• A bit less<br>• Equally often<br>• A bit more<br>• A lot more |  |
|  | Opera and/or classifcal concert | • 0-1<br>• 2-3<br>• 4-5<br>• 6 or more<br>• Don't know<br>• Won't answer | • It was never accepted<br>• Never tried<br>• Once<br>• Sometimes<br>• Often<br>• Always | • Never<br>• A lot less<br>• A bit less<br>• Equally often<br>• A bit more<br>• A lot more |  |
|  | Purchase of books | • 0-1<br>• 2-3<br>• 4-5<br>• 6 or more<br>• Don't know<br>• Won't answer | • It was never accepted<br>• Never tried<br>• Once<br>• Sometimes<br>• Often<br>• Always | • Never<br>• A lot less<br>• A bit less<br>• Equally often<br>• A bit more<br>• A lot more |  |
|  | Live concerts and/or parties | • 0-1<br>• 2-3<br>• 4-5<br>• 6 or more<br>• Don't know<br>• Won't answer | • It was never accepted<br>• Never tried<br>• Once<br>• Sometimes<br>• Often<br>• Always | • Never<br>• A lot less<br>• A bit less<br>• Equally often<br>• A bit more<br>• A lot more |  |
|  | Educational/Cultural courses | • 0-1<br>• 2-3 | • It was never accepted<br>• Never tried | • Never<br>• A lot less |  |

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | or workshops | • 4-5<br>• 6 or more<br>• Don't know<br>• Won't answer | • Once<br>• Sometimes<br>• Often<br>• Always | • A bit less<br>• Equally often<br>• A bit more<br>• A lot more |
| | Theater, dance performance and/or circus | • 0-1<br>• 2-3<br>• 4-5<br>• 6 or more<br>• Don't know<br>• Won't answer | • It was never accepted<br>• Never tried<br>• Once<br>• Sometimes<br>• Often<br>• Always | • Never<br>• A lot less<br>• A bit less<br>• Equally often<br>• A bit more<br>• A lot more |
| | *(this table was structured into an online form send to the interviewees before the interviews)* | | | |
| **Cultural participation** | 3. Do you have any creative hobby such as playing an instrument, participating on a book club, doing dance class….? | | | |

**II.      Vale-Cultura's use and influence**

| | |
|---|---|
| **Vale-Cultura's use** | 4. What do you usually spend your credit on? E.g. on yourself, family, friends, gifts…<br>5. Please tell me about the last three times you used your card<br>    5.1      Where/How/When/Why<br>    5.2      Have you been to these places/used to purchase these items before having the card?<br>6. Do you use the card to afford your previously mentioned hobby?<br>    6.1      If yes, did you start practicing this hobby in this specific place because the card is accepted there?<br>    6.2      If not, would you change the place you practice your hobby to one that accepts the card? – probe: Why (not)? |
| **Decision-making** | 7. Where do you look for information on cultural activities?<br>8. How do you decide what to spend your card on?<br>    *(Identify if the person chooses the activity first and than checks if the card is accepted for that, or if the* |

| | |
|---|---|
| | *person looks first for the possibilities that the card offers)* |
| **Possible limitations** | 9. Have you had any negative experiences using the Vale-Cultura?<br>10. Has this negative experience influenced on your use of the card?<br>   10.1 E.g. Have you given up on any cultural activity because it did not accepted the card?<br>11. Is there a place or service that does not accept the card that you wish it did? |
| **General evaluation** | 12. Would you say you attend more, less or the same amount of culture activities after having the Vale-Cultura?<br>13. Would you say you buy more, less or the same amount of culture products after having the Vale-Cultura?<br>14. Would you say you attend different cultural activities or places than you used to before having the card?<br>15. Has your involvement in the cultural life of your city changed after having the Vale-Cultura?<br>16. In general, how do you evaluate your experience of having the card?<br>   16.1    What do you like best about the Vale-Cultura?<br>   16.2    What do like least about it?<br>17. Do you have any suggestions for improvement? |

| Category | Code | Sub-categories | Description |
|---|---|---|---|
| Ministry's speech | 1.01 | Economic Development | Quotes from the Ministry of Culture about the Vale-Cultura economic aspect |
| | 1.02 | Social justice | Quotes from the Ministry of Culture about the Vale-Cultura social aspect |
| | 1.03 | Educational aspect | Quotes from the Ministry of Culture about the Vale-Cultura educational aspect |
| | 1.04 | Cultural Production field | Quotes from the Ministry of Culture of how the Vale-Cultura might affect the Brazilian cultural production field |
| | 1.05 | Democratization of culture | Quotes from the Ministry promoting the Vale-Cultura as a tool for increasing **access** of culture |
| | 1.06 | Cultural democracy | Quotes from the Ministry promoting the Vale-Cultura as a tool for increasing cultural **participation** |
| | 1.07 | Definition of culture | Quotes from the Ministry of Culture defining what is culture |
| | 1.08 | Defense of culture | Quotes from the Ministry of Culture underlining the importance of culture for the **nation's** growth |
| | 1.09 | Defense of culture | Quotes from the Ministry of Culture underlining the importance of culture for the **individual's** growth |
| | 1.10 | Defense of culture as a right | Quotes from the Ministry of Culture defending culture as a **right** |
| | 1.11 | Cultural diversity | Quotes from the Ministry of Culture about the Vale-Cultura as a program who acknowledges **cultural diversity** |
| | 1.12 | Consumption | Quotes from the Ministry of Culture about the Vale-Cultura as program that **encourages consumption** |

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| | 1.13 | Defense of culture | Quotes from the Ministry of Culture underlining the importance of culture for the **company's** growth |
| | 1.14 | Target groups | Identifications of groups of workers that are mainly targeted by the Ministry or that have entered the program |
| | 1.15 | Urban development | Quotes from the Ministry of Culture about how the Vale-Cultura can benefit a **city** or a region and help to decentralize the country's cultural production |
| | | | |
| Explanation of the system | 2.01 | Rules and step-by-step | Explanations of how the program works and how one can get a card |
| | 2.02 | Projections | Numbers, future projections and expectations of the potential reach of the program |
| | 2.03 | History | How to Vale-Cultura program was created and implemented |
| | 2.04 | Advertisement | Observations of how the program is a great opportunity |
| | | | |
| Report of achievements | 3.01 | Numbers | Statistics of the efficacy of the program so far |
| | 3.02 | Positive user's testimonials | Quotes from users stating positive experiences with the program |
| | 3.03 | Negative user's testimonials | Quotes from users stating negative experiences with the program or complains |
| | 3.04 | Spending | Testimonials or personal stories of places or products that users **have spent** their cards |
| | 3.05 | Spending | Testimonials or personal stories of places or products that users **wish or can spend** their cards |
| | 3.06 | Cultural habit | Testimonials or personal stories of how the program **has not** significantly changed or **will probably not change** the user's cultural consumption habit |
| | 3.07 | Cultural habit | Testimonials or personal storie of how the program **has** significantly changed or **can eventually change** the user's cultural consumption habit |
| | | | |

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Journalistic comments | 4.01 | Critiques of limitation | Comments by the article of the program's limitation |
| | 4.02 | Compliments | Compliments by the article to the government's initiative |
| | 4.03 | Reference to operators companies | Reference to the service enable by the operators companies |
| | 4.04 | Political propaganda | Everytime Marta Suplicy's name or her administration is mentioned as the head of the program |
| | 4.05 | General culture's statistics | Numbers and statistics about the Brazilian culture scenario in general |
| | 4.06 | Misinformation | Identification of misinformation of the program by the journalist or report of misinformation data |
| | 4.07 | Problems to join the program | Comments or testimonials about the barriers small companies face to join the program |
| | 4.08 | Critiques towards the system | Critiques about the lack of complementary programs or the way the system were implemented |

| N | Name of the interviewee | Gender | Age | City | Occupation or company | Marital Status | Children | Education Degree | Authorize to use his/her name on the thesis? | Date of the interview | Duration of the interview | Type of Vale-Cultura | How long uses the card |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | Edgar | M | 61 | Rio de Janeiro | Banco do Brasil | Single | No | Post-bachelor | Yes | 6/4/2015 | 21" | Alelo | 1 year |
| 2 | Simoni | F | 29 | São Paulo | Itaú Cultural | Single | Yes | High School | Yes | 9/4/2015 | 25" | Ticket | 7 months |
| 3 | Vanessa | F | 36 | São Paulo | Metrô São Paulo | Common-law marriage | No | Bachelor | Yes | 11/4/2015 | 35" | Sodexo | Jun.2014-Jan.2015 |
| 4 | Artur | M | 26 | São Paulo | Caixa Economica | Single | No | Finishing bachelor | Yes | 15/04/15 | 23" | Ticket | 10 months |
| 5 | Natalia | F | 22 | São Paulo | Itaú Cultural | Single | No | Finishing bachelor | Yes | 17/04/15 | 24" | Ticket | 7 months |
| 6 | Ana Beatriz | F | 38 | São Paulo | Caixa Economica | Married | No | Bachelor | Yes | 19/04/15 | 21" | Ticket | 4 months |
| 7 | Bruna | F | 28 | São Paulo | Itaú Cultural | Single | No | Post-bachelor | Yes | 5/5/2015 | 28" | Ticket | 7 months |
| 8 | Raphaella | F | 31 | São Paulo | Itaú Cultural | Common-law marriage | No | Post-bachelor | Yes | 9/5/2015 | 30" | Ticket | 7 months |
| 9 | Jaqueline | F | 32 | São Paulo | Itaú Cultural | Single | No | Bachelor | Yes | 27/05/15 | 32" | Ticket | 7 months |
| 10 | K | F | - | Rio de janeiro | - | - | - | Bachelor | No | 3/6/2015 | 34" | Ticket | 1 year and 7 months |

# Appendix D – Map of Brazil with the cities mentioned by the research



**REGIONS**
- North
- Northeast
- Central-West
- Southeast
- South

**BRAZIL**

**STATES**

RO - Rondônia
AC - Acre
AM - Amazonas
RR - Roraima
PA - Pará
AP - Amapá
TO - Tocantins
MA - Maranhão
PI - Piauí
CE - Ceará
RN - Rio Grande do Norte
PB - Paraíba
PE - Pernambuco
AL - Alagoas
SE - Sergipe
BA - Bahia

MG - Minas Gerais
ES - Espírito Santo
RJ - Rio de Janeiro
SP - São Paulo
PR - Paraná
SC - Santa Catarina
RS - Rio Grande do Sul
MT - Mato Grosso
MS - Mato Grosso do Sul
GO - Goiás
DF - Distrito Federal

**CITIES**

Brasília
Uberlândia
Rio de Janeiro
São José dos Campos
São Paulo
Sorocaba
Londrina
Joinville

0    400    800    1200 km