





Local Governments, State Autonomy and the Production of Cultural Policies: The Case of the Grande ABC Region in Brazil

Governos Locais, Autonomia Municipal e a Produção de Políticas Públicas de Cultura: O caso da Região do Grande ABC

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Abstract: This paper considers the recent cultural policies experience of the Grande ABC territory, which encompasses seven municipalities (Santo André, São Bernardo do Campo, São Caetano do Sul, Diadema, Mauá, Ribeirão Pires e Rio Grande da Serra) located in the metropolitan region of São Paulo. Specifically, it intends to understand the scope and limits of local government action in this policy arena, with special attention regarding the municipal autonomy debate. Although assured by the 1988 Constitution, some authors have recently pointed out a so-called recentralization process in Brazilian federalism, with the federal government focusing on policy decision-making while the municipalities assume as a major role policy-making processes. Nonetheless, it is possible to identify a research gap regarding the cultural policy arena – to which such problematization is particularly relevant since recent studies have often highlighted experiences such as the National Culture System construction and the Cultura Viva Program formulation and implementation. Thus, what is the room left for the exercise of municipal autonomy in this policy arena, considering this territory? To address this

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research question, this paper presents the results of research activities developed through the years of 2016 to 2019 that have encompassed 20 interviews, reading documents and field research observations. Among them, we emphasize the polity aspect for local cultural policy making; the mapping of local cultural actions linked to the Cultura Viva federal program and its formulation and implementation policy processes; and the systematization of studies of local experiences in this policy arena published regarding the years from 1988 to 2018, which highlight local innovations on cultural policies historically. We conclude that it is possible to identify still relevant room left for the exercise of municipal autonomy regarding cultural policies, as well as to intergovernmental relationships related to recent policies in this arena - an indication towards an agenda for future studies.

Keywords: Local government; State Autonomy; Public policy; Cultural Policies.

Resumo: Este trabalho tem como objetivo discutir a experiência recente na produção de políticas públicas de cultura do território do Grande ABC, que abrange sete municípios localizados na região metropolitana de São Paulo. Especificamente, pretende compreender os alcances e limites da atuação desses governos locais nesta arena de políticas públicas, com a atenção especial à discussão sobre autonomia municipal. Embora assegurada pela Constituição de 1988, autores vêm identificando um processo de recentralização no federalismo brasileiro, com maior protagonismo do governo federal nesses processos e deixando aos municípios a execução de diretrizes de políticas públicas definidas nacionalmente. No entanto, há uma lacuna de estudos sobre o caso das políticas públicas culturais, arena para a qual essa problematização é particularmente relevante – com o destaque na literatura recente a experiências como a construção do Sistema Nacional de Cultura e a formulação e implementação do Programa Cultura Viva. Afinal, qual espaço permanece para o exercício da autonomia municipal nesta policy arena, tendo em vista a experiência deste território? Para responder a esta pergunta, este trabalho apresenta os resultados de atividades de pesquisa desenvolvidas pelos autores entre 2016 e 2019 e que envolveram a realização de 20 entrevistas, revisão de documentos e observação por meio de visitas de campo. Dentre eles, destacamos o levantamento sobre as estruturas institucionais locais voltadas para a produção destas políticas; o mapeamento e estudo do funcionamento do Programa Cultura Viva neste território; e a sistematização dos estudos já publicados sobre a experiência local nesta arena de políticas públicas entre 1988 e 2018, que reconhecem inovações produzidas historicamente neste território. Concluimos que é possível identificar ainda espaços relevantes para o exercício da autonomia municipal na produção das políticas públicas nesta arena, bem como nas relações intergovernamentais que envolvem algumas das políticas mais recentes - sugerindo, ainda, uma agenda para estudos futuros neste tema.

Palavras-chave: Governos locais; autonomia municipal; políticas públicas; políticas culturais.

1. Introdução

In spite of the fact that we are currently going through a process that some authors have referred to as intergovernmental incoordination in Brazil (Abrucio et al, 2020), the 1988 Federal Constitution remains a key milestone for promoting social policy in the

country and for debating aspects of decentralization of public policy in the subnational areas - in their scope, limitations and challenges (Farah, 2001, 2013; Arretche, 1996, 2004; Spink, Clemente e Keppke, 1999; Souza; Carvalho, 1999; Abrucio, 2005). However, during the most recent period of “lasting political authority” known as República Nova (New Republic) between 1995-2015 (Arretche, Marques e Faria, 2019), municipal authority has been questioned in the face of what has been identified in the literature as dynamics of (re)centralization still present in Brazilian federalism (Almeida, 2005; Kugelmas; Sola, 1999; Arretche, 2012).

In the case of cultural policy, this problematization is particularly relevant, since several studies have been published in recent years seeking to systematize the country’s experience (Rubim, 2007; Calabre, 2009), frequently highlighting the protagonism of the federal government (arising from law nº 12.343, from 2010) and the National Culture System (Constitutional Amendment nº 71, from 2012) as national and structuring elements for the creation of such policies at the different levels of government (Zimbrão, 2013; Barbalho; Barro; Calabre, 2013; Barbosa da Silva; Teles, 2021), as well as the Cultura Viva program (Turino, 2010) - an initiative by the Ministry of Culture established in 2004 that, throughout the years, has been redesigned, assigning different roles to municipalities for its operationalization (Barbosa da Silva; Araújo, 2010; Barbosa da Silva; Calabre, 2011; Barbosa da Silva; Labrea, 2014). After all, considering this scenario, what would be the room left for the exercise of municipal autonomy in the creation of cultural policies?

To answer this question, this paper aims to discuss the recent experience of the Grande ABC territory, which encompasses seven municipalities – Santo André, São Bernardo do Campo, São Caetano do Sul, Diadema, Mauá, Ribeirão Pires and Rio Grande da Serra, all of them located in the metropolitan area of São Paulo. Specifically, we aim to understand the role of local governments in the area of public policy, due to their specific nature and recent institutional trajectory (Frey et al, 2016), and the role of Brazil’s federal government in it, according to the literature.

Using an interpretative approach for the analysis of public policy (Yanow, 2007), we undertook, between 2016 and 2019, different procedures for this research, such as a review of public domain documents and interviews, as well as observations in field visits. Furthermore, we carried out a bibliographic review (Czarniawska, 2014) concerning the local experiences in this subject and developed an experimental exploratory instrument

that aims to trace the presence of this category (cultural policy) in the every-day local media debate.

Thus, this work is organized into four more sections, in addition to this introduction. First, we present the theoretical framework that serves as a reference for the discussion proposed here, focusing mainly on the last decade's debate in Brazil on municipal autonomy and the formulation and implementation of policies, with particular attention to the policy arena of culture. Then, we detail the methodological procedures used to produce information on public cultural policies in the Greater ABC region in the period under study. In the next section, we indicate as results (i) the survey carried out on the institutional structures associated with the formulation and implementation of public cultural policies in these seven municipalities, examining the relationship between the national orientation expressed in the National Culture System and local institutions; (ii) the discussion on the operationalization of the Cultura Viva Program in this region, including the unprecedented mapping of all cultural actions recognized by this policy as Points of Culture in the territory since its creation - as well as the role that municipalities were progressively called to play in this policy from the perception of local actors; (iv) the systematization of information on other local experiences in the production of public cultural policies historically developed in the region, accessed through a literature review; and (v) the contributions of a follow-up of the public debate in the local media regarding these policies, in order to glimpse agendas for future studies on this topic. For the conclusion, we present as a contribution a balance regarding the exercise of municipal autonomy in the Grande ABC region for the formulation and implementation of public cultural policies. We aim to identify how different arrangements are present in this territory for the operationalization of these policies and those in which there seems to be a leading role for the federal government – signaling the need for further research in this regard.

2. Municipal Autonomy and the Cultural Policy Arena

One of the main issues in debate in the literature on federalism and intergovernmental relations in Brazil has been that which opposes decentralization and centralization (Melo, 1996; Abrucio, 2005; Arretche, 2013). Among the topics discussed are the scope and limits of the institutional arrangement for the production of public policies and the reduction of inequalities; the consequences of the design established in

the Federal Constitution of 1988 – which included municipalities as federative entities, with administrative, political, and fiscal autonomy; attention to competition or cooperation dynamics between subnational spheres that this arrangement may influence; in addition to the challenges they impose for federative coordination and intergovernmental relations.

More recently, one aspect, in particular, has been highlighted in this debate, in addition to studies on the so-called dynamics of recentralization in Brazilian federalism (Almeida, 2005; Kugelmas; Sola, 1999). Based on the contribution of Arretche (2012), different processes related to the production of public policies have been discussed, which signal the formulation and decision making (policy decision making) more associated with the Union, while the implementation or execution of these policies (policy making) would be under greater responsibility of states and municipalities (Oliveira; Lotta, 2019; Bichir, 2018). Examples in this regard are pointed out from studies on national systems of public policies - as in the cases of health, social assistance, or education (Franzese; Abrucio, 2013), which have become more present institutional arrangements in recent decades and which they imply issues such as the financing of public policies to be implemented by subnational spheres based on national guidelines – through adherence mechanisms (Farah, 2013), as well as institutional spaces for federative negotiation and the promotion of civil society participation – such as the conferences held for the constitution of these systems.

As a result, the question has been raised about whether these dynamics have been inhibiting local governments from innovating in the production of public policies or whether they have been limiting their autonomy to the implementation of national guidelines. As indicated by Licio, Mesquita and Currello (2011) – based on a study on income transfer programs, and Bichir (2018) and Bichir, Simoni Junior and Pereira (2020) – in analyzes of the Unified Social Assistance System, not always one finds in more specific studies a “strictly hierarchical relationship” (Licio; Mesquita; Currello, 2011, p. 462) between the federal government and subnational spheres. As a result, the question has been raised about whether these dynamics have been inhibiting local governments from innovating in the production of public policies or whether they have been limiting their autonomy to the implementation of national guidelines. In this sense, attention to at least three factors is suggested: the variations that may occur according to the social

policies in question; the complexities more recently identified in the specific literature on public policy implementation; and local governance dynamics (Bichir, 2018).

As Farah (2013) points out, these debates can be promoted in dialogue with subnational experiences in promoting citizenship developed since Brazil's promulgation of the Federal Constitution of 1988. After all, these experiences are recognized not only in the literature on federalism and intergovernmental relations – as indicated in Abrucio (2005), Franzese and Abrucio (2013) or Licio, Mesquita and Currello (2011), for example; but also that specifically aimed at local governments (Grin; Abrucio, 2018; Alves, Brigagão and Burgos, 2017). Some of these practices, which were characterized by involving the construction of different types of partnerships and links between state and non-state organizations (Spink, 2003), in addition to what was then recognized as new institutional arrangements (Farah, 2001), are indicated in the literature as inspiring for the constitution of national guidelines in specific public policy arenas – as in the case of urban policies (Arretche, Marques and Faria, 2019), to name just one example.

Recognizing the gap in studies in specific public policy arenas about the so-called recentralization, this work seeks to contribute to the debate in the area of culture. After all, it is possible to establish several connections between this broader debate and the specific case under analysis: the construction in the last decade of a National System of Culture (SNC) was also a choice exercised in this arena, from the Constitutional Amendment No. 71 of 2012, providing for the articulation between systems at the three levels of government, with their respective councils, plans, and funds related to the production of these public policies; as well as the emphasis in this literature on a public policy experience developed by the federal government, which progressively shared aspects of its operation with states and municipalities, given its (re)formulation and implementation for its operationalization - the case of the Culture Program Live. Medeiros and Farah (2014), analyzing the experience of the Points of Culture in the municipalities of the State of São Paulo and their communities, observe the program's implementation's heterogeneity and how institutional dynamics vary over time, adapting to correct the challenges encountered. More than that, they emphasize that this is not a linear process, but with the overlap and interaction of different institutions in which non-governmental actors play a fundamental role in redefining how policy implementation occurs.

In this sense, we propose as a question what is the space for exercising municipal autonomy, as provided for in the Federal Constitution of 1988 and widely pointed out in the literature as a fundamental factor for discussions on intergovernmental relations and the production of public policies promoting citizenship, would remain present in the arena of cultural public policy – recognizing its recent institutional trajectory (Frey et al., 2017). To answer it, we sought to analyze the recent experience of the municipalities that make up the Grande ABC region of São Paulo.

3. Methodological Procedures

This work brings together results of research and extension activities developed by the authors as part of a study group linked to a broader research project during the period from 2016 to 2019, articulated around the study of public policies for culture in the seven cities that make the Grande ABC region and guided by the qualitative-interpretative approach to public policy research (Yanow, 2007). From it, at least three procedures are considered more frequent for the production of information: observation, with different degrees of participation of the researcher in the events they are following; the interviews, in general closer to the idea of conversations, in which the important thing is not the script previously designed for the research, but the search to understand the perspective of their interlocutors regarding the public policy issues being studied - not limited to the so-called 'elites' related to the production of these policies, but also other social actors that may be related to their production according to each case; in addition to reviewing documents – which can be either those produced by the media or normative texts linked to the public policies that are under study, seeking to understand the production of positions on a topic (p. 409-411).

Specifically, the debate presented here takes as reference five procedures for the investigation developed by the authors on the production of cultural public policies in the Grande ABC region, taking as a starting point the reference to national experiences that mark the debate of this public policy arena – namely, the National Culture System and its forecast of local institutional spaces for the production of these policies, and the Cultura Viva Program, with its promotion of Points of Culture in this territory. They were: (a) review of documents made available by representatives of managing bodies linked to the theme of culture in each of the municipalities in the region in 2016, complemented by visits to each of the municipalities in that year to conduct thirteen interviews with local managers of these policies, aiming to develop a more accurate survey of the local

institutional structures in this arena – from a university extension project carried out as a result of a partnership with the Grande ABC Intermunicipal Consortium and its Culture Work Group; (b) review of public documents related to the Cultura Viva Program and its performance in this territory produced by local governments⁶ and the state government⁷, in addition to the public calls and Official publications analysis – which, systematized, allowed the mapping of Points of Culture in the region through georeferencing; (c) visits to three Culture Points (Opção Brasil/São Caetano do Sul; Companhia Teatral Quartum Crescente/Mauá; and Circomunidade/São Bernardo do Campo), with a total of 5 interviews with their representatives; (d) interviews with two representatives of the Municipal Culture Department of São Bernardo do Campo.

In this work, we also present the results of two other methodological procedures: (i) literature review (Czarniawska, 2014) regarding the experiences of the seven cities in cultural public policies between 1988 and 2018: for 12 months, between 2017 and 2018, We consulted the CAPES Journal Portal database (Coordination for the Improvement of Higher Education Personnel) in order to identify academic papers on the topic based on the search terms "cultural policies" and "ABC Paulista", in addition to "cultural policies" accompanied by the names of the cities that form the region⁸; and (ii) we built an instrument, on an experimental basis, which allowed us to monitor the production of information on the topic in the daily life of the region, from the registration of tags on topics of interest gathered through an automatic internet search system, acting as a filter, able to gather, at each time interval, all the news that mention the tagged tags, compiled in a daily email received by the researchers, in the same period⁹.

4. Research Results

⁶ DIADEMA, Secretaria Municipal de Cultura. Setecidades Pontos de Cultura do Grande ABCD. Publication of the Diadema city hall through the Points of Culture Agreement 7031416/2019 - Minc/FNC – National Culture Fund. Printed in 2012.

⁷ Secretaria Da Cultura Do Estado De São Paulo. Pontos de Cultura: olhares sobre a rede de SP. Executado por Abaçáí Cultura e Arte. São Paulo, 2011. Available at: <<http://pt.calameo.com/read/0013961278ecc4871f4fc>>. Accessed on: 06/14/2021.

⁸ Furthermore, considering that the institutionalization of this theme is relatively recent in the country, we also resorted to Google Academic and indications of recent works that were being produced at the Federal University of ABC - which we had access to during the development of this research.

⁹ The tags registered for monitoring were: "Culture""Grande ABC"; "Culture""Santo André"-player; "Culture""São Bernardo do Campo"; "Culture""São Caetano do Sul"-player; "Culture""Diadema"; "Culture""Mauá"; "Culture""Ribeirão Pires"; and "Culture""Rio Grande da Serra". As one can see, in some cases we added the term "-player" to the research query as a strategy that allowed us to eliminate from the filter records that referred to the sport theme.

The following section presents the research results obtained by applying the methodological procedures described above.

4.1 Polity Aspects for the Local Cultural Policy Making

In the debate on the creation of public policy, an element that frequently arises is, apart from the analysis of public policy, the institutional structures that influence their development - or the conditions for their creation, in the literature referred to as polity (Frey, 2000). From this perspective, the National Culture System (SNC) - laid down in the Federal Constitution since 2012 - becomes fundamental for the analysis we intend to carry out on municipal autonomy in this area of public policy. The reason for such relevance is that it allows for coordination between the three levels of government for the creation and implementation of cultural policies, based on certain institutional structures, also common to the three levels of government, so that the transfer of resources is possible for these policies. A municipality that shows interest in being granted such resources, for example, should submit an accession request to the SNC through a Federal Cooperation Agreement, followed by the so-called Institutionalization of its own local cultural system - which must include, as basic requirements, as well as a law for the creation of this system, the documents regarding the existence of a Council for Cultural Policy, a Cultural Plan and a Cultural Fund, all of which at municipal level.

In this sense, it is an interesting key to the development of studies on local governments - understood from their role in producing these public policies from an institutional and organizational point of view, as indicated by Abrucio and Grin (2019).

From the point of view of the federal government, it is possible to analyze the local institutions and their relationship to the National Culture System on an online platform¹⁰. On this platform, the case of each municipality of the Grande ABC region can be observed in terms of their accession (or lack thereof) to the System and the date of accession, as shown in Table 1. In addition, this platform provides the details of the documents submitted by the municipality that would indicate the local institutionalization of its own system, thus allowing the SNC to reach its goals of coordinating and fostering the creation of public policy in this political arena.

Table 01: Date of accession of each municipality of the Grande ABC region to the National Culture System

¹⁰ Available at <http://ver.snc.cultura.gov.br/> - Accessed on 06/20/2021.

Municipality	Date of accession to SNC
Santo André	03/05/2013
São Bernardo do Campo	04/02/2013
São Caetano do Sul	12/12/2014
Diadema	26/02/2014
Mauá	19/08/2013
Ribeirão Pires	07/05/2014
Rio Grande da Serra	12/09/2013

Source: elaborated by the authors based on data available on <http://ver.snc.cultura.gov.br/> - Retrieved June 20, 2021.

However, this platform does not allow a complete understanding of the presence and operation of these local institutions in the creation of these public policies. This is because the municipality may have signed a Federal Cooperation Agreement and thus entered the National Culture System; nonetheless, afterward, it may have stopped submitting the documents related to the creation or existence of these local institutional structures.

Considering this condition, the observation activities (Yanow, 2007) carried out in the context of a university extension project in 2016, along with the municipalities of this region under a cooperation agency called Consórcio Intermunicipal do Grande ABC (Intermunicipal Consortium of Grande ABC), were essential. An organization built together by the municipalities since the 1990s (Bresciani, 2011), the Consortium articulates the seven cities around shared projects, with the participation of municipal secretaries - or representatives appointed by each local government - in specific work groups. This is the case with the theme of culture that year, whose specific Working Group developed as its main action the construction of a Regional Culture Plan, based on the mapping of existing institutions and the experience accumulated by the cities. The Federal University of ABC was a partner for the gathering, systematization, and availability of this information.

Another issue raised at that moment was the information regarding the organization of municipal cultural conferences - considered to be a fundamental part of creating such institutions in the context of the SNC. As shown in Table 2, we observe that the seven cities have an administrative department for culture, although only four of them had, in 2016, an exclusive secretariat for this area. Moreover, all municipalities had a

Cultural Policy Council from a formal point of view, that is, approved by legislation at the local according to the information available for this study – although, in one of them, the space was indicated as non-active at that time. As for the existence of local cultural plans, we found information regarding the activities of five municipalities (Santo André, São Caetano do Sul, Diadema, Ribeirão Pires, and Mauá –where the Plan elaboration took as reference the municipal cultural conferences records); as for municipal funds, apart from these, São Bernardo do Campo also has such an initiative.

Table 02: Institutional structures of Grande ABC municipalities for the creation of cultural policies in 2016

In this way, although changes may have occurred in this framework since its survey and the publication of this work, we can observe how the municipalities of the Grande ABC region organized the creation of cultural policies based on local institutional structures laid down in the National Culture System. Although all of them acceded to the SNC between 2013 and 2014, the conditions for the creation of these policies were not homogenous in 2016, either from the formal point of view, related to the existence of documents and local legislation that create these institutions, either from the practical point of view, that is, the interpretation of public administrators regarding their operation and actual contribution to the creation of these policies.

4.2 The Cultura Viva Program in the Grande ABC region

The Cultura Viva program, benchmark public policy in the recent bibliography on this subject in Brazil (Turino, 2010; Calabre; Lima, 2014; Medeiros; Farah, 2014), has existed in the Grande ABC region since its first national call for proposals as early as 2004. Its operation in the region increased in the following years with the launch of a state-level network, by the Culture Secretariat of the State of São Paulo in 2009; and local networks in Diadema, in 2005 and 2010, and São Bernardo do Campo, in 2013. Thus, the Pontos de Cultura (Cultural Spots) that have been and are currently operating in this region are part of diverse networks, arising from different calls for proposals - organized both by the federal government and municipal and state governments.

Since there was no mapping available for these Pontos de Cultura in the region, we elaborated a database from various sources. Thus, we could obtain preliminary data about the associations, their projects and the place where they operate. Afterwards, we highlighted the Pontos de Cultura of the Grande ABC region and we treated the data of this specific group, correcting information - such as grammar mistakes that interfered in

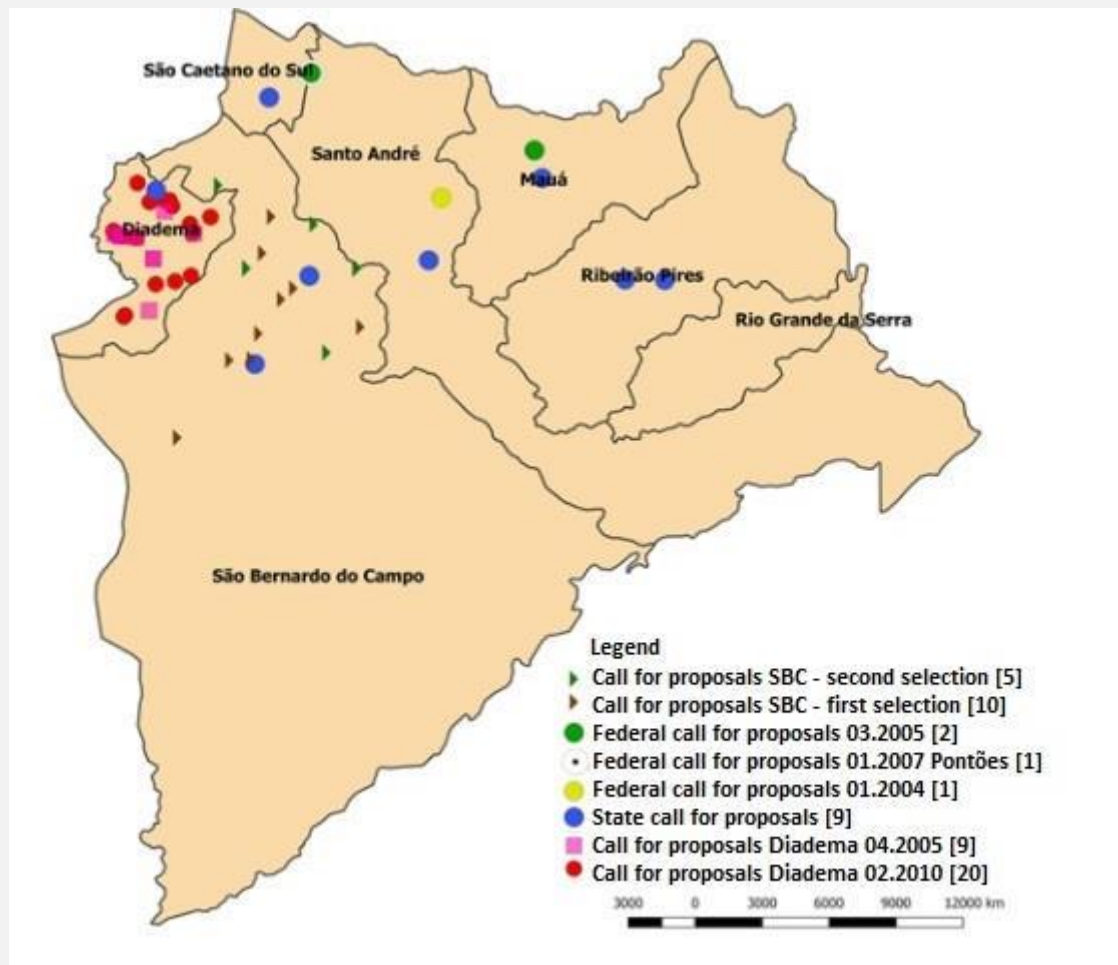
the georeferencing and updating of their data. With this work, we were able to confirm, for example, the year in which the projects were approved, when the money transfers started and if they in fact were implemented, apart from acknowledging the possibility that the projects of the Pontos de Cultura may be approved, without actually having access to money transfers from the cultural administrator responsible for the call for proposals - which would actually mean entering the Program¹¹.

With this database, maps were created using QGIS, resulting in different shapefiles - map files - for each specific call for proposals. We were able, after that, to carry out analyses by call for proposal, period, and municipality. Another contribution of this mapping is to enable an easier viewing of the distribution of the Pontos de Cultura in the region and inside a municipality.

In total, there we found 57 Pontos de Cultura projects operating in the Grande ABC territory, spread across six out of its seven cities: Santo André (3), São Bernardo do Campo (17), São Caetano do Sul (4), Diadema (30), Mauá (2) and Ribeirão Pires (3), as shown in Figure 1.

Figure 01: Distribution of Pontos de Cultura in the Grande ABC region

¹¹ This is the case of the Culture Ministry Federal Public Notice n° 03/2005, which authorized four ABC projects, but only three of them were started.



Source: Elaborated by the authors.

From a general point of view, the mapping of the Pontos de Cultura network in the Grande ABC has a robust heterogeneous character, reinforcing the study presented by Medeiros & Farah (2014) in the State of São Paulo. The projects were part of public notices with significant differences between them: each government has different rules in the accountability processes, in the available financial resources, and in the requirements for how to use them. In addition, bureaucratic and administrative support, the proximity and communication of cultural groups with the government can also vary greatly.

The network is also variable over time, counting both on initiatives that ceased to exist soon after ending the financial contributions received by the policy and on more permanent spaces, which continue with their activities – even if assuming other characteristics. Currently, once government support has been completed, part of the cultural agents interviewed still identify themselves as a Ponto de Cultura, based on the pillars of the Cultura Viva Program and its ideals - which is not necessarily perceived as a result of an effort by public managers for the network articulation of these spaces. The result of this diverse network is Points of Culture benefiting from various public notices

over time, living in the same territory, relating in different ways with the program's institutionalities, and presenting different contributions to the discussion on the redefinition of policy implementation - as per also suggest Medeiros and Farah (2014).

It is interesting to highlight the situation in the municipality of Diadema. It is possible to observe that many Points in the figure are superimposed, indicating projects that were carried out in the same space or very close to each other. Understanding that the pink squares symbolize the projects of the public notice "Pontos de Cultura - Governments", in which the projects were carried out in public facilities of the city hall, we note that some projects covered by the municipal notice - red dots - were also based in these locations or in very close addresses, showing an interesting dynamic that brings cultural groups closer to the public management for culture. This, in fact, is an inherent difficulty of cultural management at the municipal level: bringing the equipment closer to the local reality, presenting a schedule consistent with the public that they will serve. Something that seems to open space for future research agendas.

These aspects could be observed with further detail when researching the Cultura Viva program in the city of São Bernardo do Campo, both during on-site visits and semi structured interviews. In particular, we were able to understand the perception of both local public administrators and cultural operators, regarding the most recent experience that the region had with the Program, providing funding for five new Pontos de Cultura.

In conversation with representatives of one of the local Pontos de Cultura, for example, the idea that the agreement established between the public authorities and cultural initiatives would be too "bureaucratic" was a highlight: in their opinion, the amount of formal requirements would end up turning the program less democratic, since there are only few organizations that have the structure and knowledge to deal with the rendering of accounts demanded by the authorities. On the other hand, in conversation with officials, we found out that the monitoring is carried out in two manners: drafting of narrative reports and rendering of accounts, submitted to the federal government as part of the requirements of the agreement established between the entities. Furthermore, the meetings to reflect on the challenges in the implementation of the Program are considered to be too few - with the idea that the amount of work is big and there is not enough time to debate political and pedagogical matters deeply with the Pontos de Cultura and not enough human resources in the local government to offer support that is adequate to them.

In fact, this discussion becomes more important with the decentralization process of the Program, a process which started in 2007. Although, in spite of the goal of sharing responsibilities and resources with subnational levels, this decision brought about several challenges to its implementation at local level: the Program starts receiving a greater interference of municipal public administrators, since these are closer to the Pontos de Cultura and, thus, are able to better perceive what their needs are; at the same time, they receive greater interference from the local cultural operators themselves, since they manage to hold regular meetings with the local authorities responsible for the administration of the Program, in order to offer solutions to the problems faced by the Pontos de Cultura in their daily routine in each territory. We could also check with the interviews, that there is also a reference to the important role of other sectors of local government, such as budget, planning and finance departments - at moments when there are restrictions of resources, or when the public municipal budget for this area of policy is vetoed even before becoming part of the Annual Budget Law.

Thus, we realized that an important issue in the relationship between State and civil society at the local level in the Cultura Viva program is the notion of closeness between these agents, translating into opportunities for dialogue and collaboration in the formulation and implementation of public policy. Bringing municipal administrators and cultural associations closer to each other strengthens the Program and establishes bonds among the social stakeholders involved in the territory - one of the positive aspects observed in the research due to the fact that the administration of the Program is in charge of municipal authorities. It is a relevant contribution of this study to the debate on municipal autonomy and the creation of cultural policies.

4.3 Production of Public Policies on Culture in the Grande ABC Region: Beyond National References?

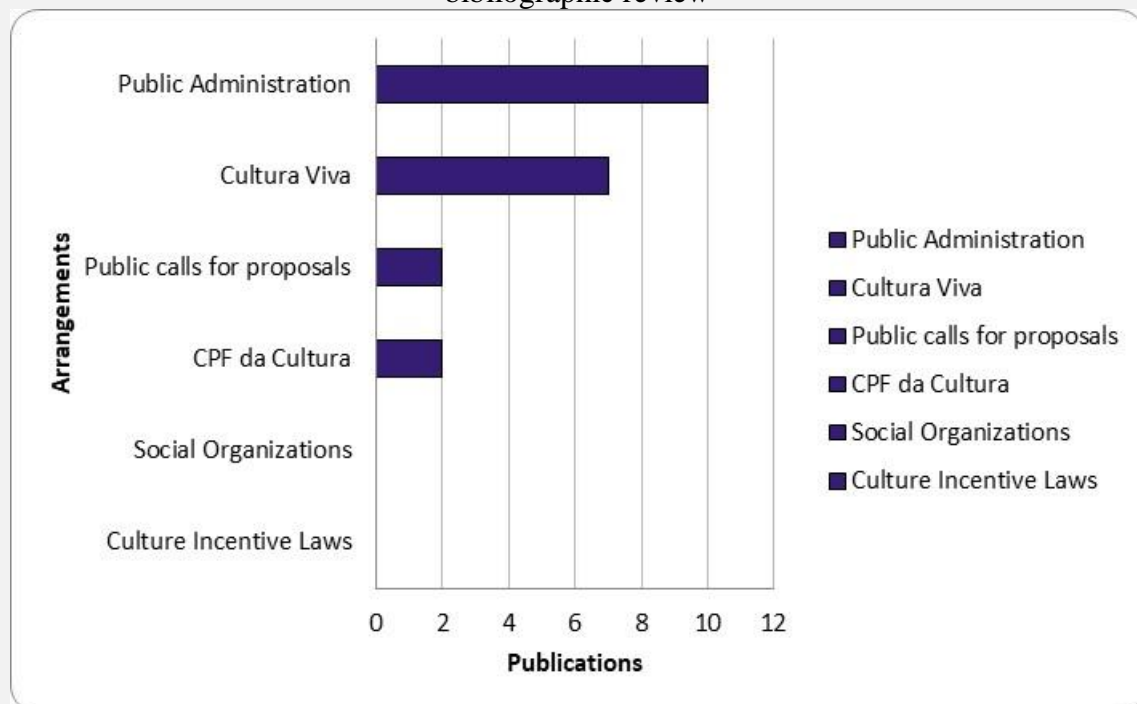
In order to discuss the exercise of municipal autonomy for the creation of public policy in this territory and the influence of the two mechanisms elaborated and implemented by Brazil's federal government - the National Culture System and the Cultura Viva program - we carried out a review of the literature related to the experiences of the seven cities between 1988 and 2018.

In total, 21 studies were selected, the oldest of which being from 1993 and the most recent from 2018. In order to fully understand the characteristics of this production, they were categorized by year, city to which they refer, type (paper, undergraduate or

graduate thesis, or monograph, for example) and arrangement between State and Civil Society for its operationalization (based on the analysis framework proposed by Bittencourt & Souza, 2019).

This last category proved particularly interesting to fully comprehend the nature of cultural policies in terms of municipal autonomy. The systemization of these references allows us, for example, to realize the incidence of arrangements associated with national policies, such as the Cultura Viva program and the institutions proposed by the SNC - as expressed in the categories “Cultura Viva” and “CPF da Cultura”, which is how the institutionalization of Councils, Plans and Funds has been discussed recently in the three levels of government. However, it was also possible to observe the incidence of other arrangements, as shown in Figure 2: among the categories mentioned in the bibliography, we identified direct administration of programs and infrastructure by local governments (10 publications); the Cultura Viva program and its Pontos de Cultura (7 publications); public calls for proposals for the funding of projects developed by civil society (2 publications), apart from the reference to the subject of Cultural Councils, Plans and Funds at SNC level (2). We also saw that none of the studies we found mention at least two frequent arrangements in the literature debates on the creation of cultural policies: tax waiver mechanisms and the administration of public programs and infrastructure through contracts with Social Organizations.

Figure 02: Mention to the arrangements for the creation of cultural policies in the bibliographic review



Source: Elaborated by the authors.

Another aspect worth highlighting is related to the year of publication of the consulted studies. The earliest ones are related to experiences that took place after the municipal elections of 1988 - the same year of the enactment of the Federal Constitution that granted political and administrative autonomy to municipalities; in this period, three out of the seven cities of the Grande ABC region elected a member of the Workers' Party (PT, Partido dos Trabalhadores) to be mayor - São Bernardo do Campo, Santo André, and Diadema -, which may have contributed to the similar nature of the cultural policies in the region at the time. Among the basic concepts of that approach, we found the idea of "cultural citizenship"¹², as well as the concepts of "decentralization", "participation" and "participative administration". These records are related to the interest of each administration in implementing theoretical guidelines as guidance in their role in the context of the redemocratization process and of greater municipal autonomy and are reported rather emphatically in the publications categorized within the direct administration arrangement of cultural programs and facilities.

We can also highlight three relevant experiences to the debate on municipal autonomy that introduces a historical component in the region of Grande ABC. The first one is related to the city of Santo André and refers fundamentally to the period 1989-1992 - the public infrastructure was in terrible condition when the new administration started and its new politics had the aim of "inverting priorities; the appropriation of public spaces by the population; the unequivocal boost to the full exercise of citizenship" (Frateschi, 1993, p. 63). Throughout this administration, the service of cultural action was implemented for promoting initiatives in the 21 local Community Centers with the participation of public cultural operators and assistants that would identify the cultural activities of neighborhoods and provide support to them. The Cultural Fund that had been created had a joint administration, whose participants were representatives of the cultural community and three of them were appointed by the city hall (Frateschi, 1993). Among the equipment originated in that administration, we can mention Escola Municipal de

¹² A proposal that suggests to the population to recognize itself as a cultural subject through the establishment of the right to participate in cultural policies, cultural production, cultural training, information, experimentation (invention), and fruition. Employing the concept of culture as a right, a participatory and inclusive political culture would be fostered, which would not be limited to the fine arts, but would extend to an expanded concept of culture, referred to as anthropological – according to Chauí (1993).

Iniciação Artística (EMIA, municipal school for artistic initiation), founded in 1990 in order to provide a space for enjoyment and production through performance, exhibitions and workshops - researched later on by Oliveira (2009) which deals with EMIA and its decentralization process in 2005.

Another example is the experience of São Bernardo do Campo, first reported on in Alves (1993), whose reference has been brought to recent times in the discussion in Pires (2014), which analyses the cultural decentralization approach of the Polo Cultural initiative, implemented by the Culture Secretariat during the administration of Luiz Marinho as a mayor (2013-2016). This action was defined as a work methodology based on the concept of Cultural Citizenship where the Polo Cultural constitutes a “forum where authorities and society can debate” (Pires, 2014, p. 18). The aim was to foster a participative administration and the spontaneity of local culture in neighborhoods. With that purpose, such a forum should translate into periodic open meetings at Polos Culturais. The design and the results of this policy were very similar to those of the program Ação Cultural nos Bairros, developed by the previous administration of the city.

Yet another example is the experience of Diadema, where the concept of decentralization was also observed, as in Nascimento (2013). In that article, the author points out that the city has a history of policies oriented towards social inclusion, with operations both in the center and the outskirts of the city. Contemporary with the administrations of Celso Frateschi (Santo André), Luiz Roberto Alves (São Bernardo) and Marilena Chauí (São Paulo), José Augusto became the mayor of Diadema (1989/1992) adopting a attitude that was coherent to the principles of these administrations.

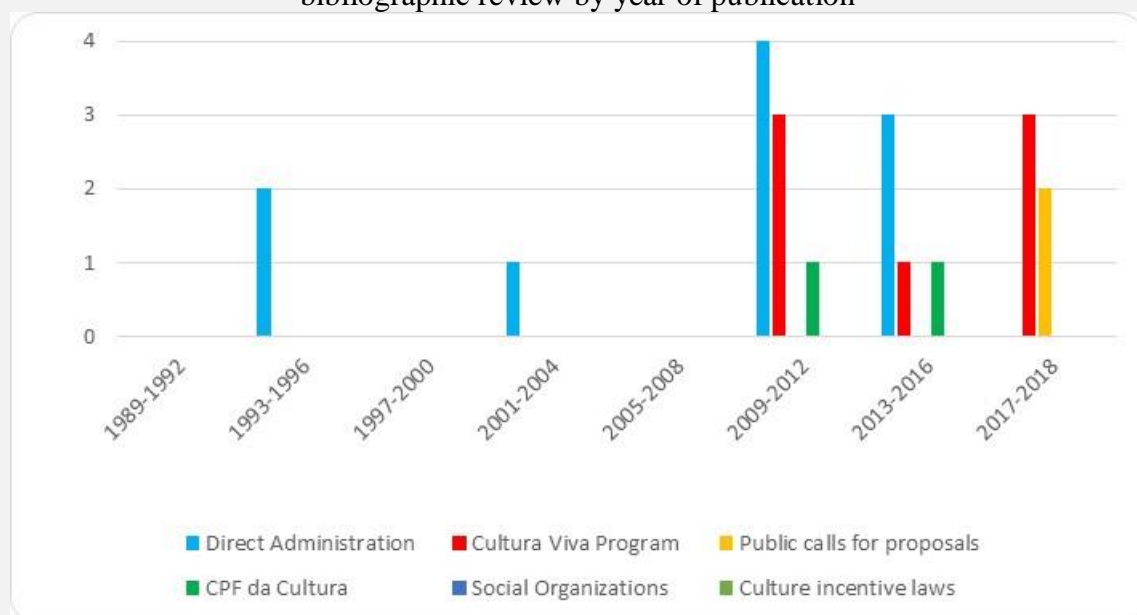
In this administration, seven infrastructures were inaugurated, the Centros Juvenis de Cultura (CJC, youth centers of culture) spread across the neighborhoods of the city, with the aim of combating the social violence that threatened young people. In addition to these seven cultural centers, ten libraries and one astronomical observatory were inaugurated. The following administration, that of José Fillipi Junior (1993- 1996), allegedly maintained the coordination between cultural investments and combating violence, prioritizing culture and expanding investments. In this period the first conference for education, culture, sport and leisure was held (Congresso de Educação, Cultura, Esporte e Lazer) whose main subject was “building cultural citizenship” (Nascimento, 2013, p. 15). Since then, enjoyment, production, participation and

information have been the backbone of cultural policy. In the same administration, three more cultural centers were created in 1995, reaching ten out of eleven neighborhoods (Nascimento, 2013).

The work of Nascimento (2013) is evidence that the policies occurred regardless of the academic interest or not in researching them: during the administration of José Fillipi Junior and until 2001, for example, no publication on cultural policies was found in Diadema; even so, in this administration, there was the first Congress of Education, Culture, Sport and Leisure, a fact that was rescued and presented by Nascimento two decades later. In other words, although in this literature review Diadema's experience appears only recently, we see that there are cultural public policy practices relevant to the discussion we intend in this work being developed in the city since the 1990s; which can be extended as a relevant consideration about the scope and limits of this analysis, as well as its potential as an initial systematization that could dialogue with future studies.

As shown in Figure 3, this arrangement of direct administration of cultural programs and spaces was the only one mentioned until 2009, when publications on the Cultura Viva Program began to emerge and gain prominence in academic production. It is also from this period that works will appear on the theme of institutionalizing the structures responsible for the production of public cultural policies in municipalities, as recommended by the National Culture System.

Figure 03: Mention to the arrangements for the creation of cultural policies in the bibliographic review by year of publication



Source: Elaborated by the authors.

Thus, we consider critical to mention that these works report on the creation of public cultural infrastructure, the existence of cultural programs operating in a territorialized manner inside the same municipality (the cases of Santo André, São Bernardo do Campo and Diadema), as well as the creation of institutions for the creation of public policies before the appearance of the National Culture System as a benchmark policy. This last aspect arises, specifically, in the Cultural Fund of Santo André, a case of joint administration in which two members were representatives of the cultural community and three were appointed by the city hall (Frateschi, 1993); and also in Santo André's Municipal Council for Culture, whose implementation was recognized in 2000, with the aim of institutionalizing the relationship between cultural areas and the municipal administration, allowing thus for a joint creation of cultural policies in the municipality (Barros, 2010).

4.3 Monitoring the Public Debate on the Production of Cultural Public Policies in the Grande ABC Region Through an Experimental Instrument: New Arrangements in Debate?

Finally, a last result of the research activities carried out between 2016 and 2019 on municipal autonomy and the production of public policies on culture in the Grande ABC region was the development, on an experimental basis, of an instrument to monitor the public debate registered in the local media about these policies between 2018 and 2019. After all, would we be able to map the existence of other arrangements for the production of public cultural policies that would bring us “clues” (Alvesson; Karreman, 2007) regarding the debate on the exercise of autonomy in this public policy arena?

Soon we noticed that many times the news selected by the search engine was not related to the search theme; therefore, a process of checking the information by the researchers was necessary. For this, we created a form to register this news to show the type of content linked and the arrangement related to the production of cultural public policies involved.

The form was divided into two parts: “Section 1 – General news data”; and “Section 2 – Inferred Analytical Data”. The first section is mandatory for all news selected by tags and evaluated by researchers; it focuses on identifying information, such as web address, news title and full text, date of publication, source vehicle, referenced municipality, level of government involved, policy arenas involved beyond culture and, finally, the type of news selected. This primary information is essential for later locating

the data and analyzing the disseminated content. This last topic was fundamental for filtering out what was being disseminated as the municipality's cultural agenda and what was being debated as a production of public policies.

The second section, in turn, was built to monitor the types of arrangements involved in the production of these public policies. Furthermore, this part focuses on the types of horizontal and vertical intergovernmental relationships engaged in producing and implementing the actions reported and the actors involved in these policies.

Once this instrument has matured, we monitored, during the first half of 2019, the flow of news mainly linked to online press vehicles in the ABC region, reaching 128 publications analyzed. As a result, we observe Ribeirão Pires, Santo André and Diadema as the most referenced municipalities. Concerning the government levels, we found municipal action as the main focus (71.1%), followed by the presence of the state government (18.8%). Still, more than two-thirds of the records were classified as news of events, agenda, or cultural equipment promotion. Moving on to the analysis of session two, we have a total of 99 news selected. Of these, 66.7% link information from events that took place in public cultural facilities, with 91.9% having free access.

This exercise provided us with information about the content of the public debate in the cultural arena in the Greater ABC region, which at first may be characterized mainly by the dissemination of events. However, it also served to illustrate the existence of other arrangements present in this arena - previously little noticed in the literature review and in studies that departed from the national experience on the subject, but which may be relevant as a future agenda for studies on public cultural policies in the region: public cultural facilities linked to the state government – level of government still little discussed in the literature of this policy arena – and managed through a Management Contract with Social Organizations – in the case of the Culture Factories¹³; the existence of Public Project Selection Notices¹⁴, aimed at fostering local cultural agents and financed by municipal funds - as is the case in Santo André; and the agreement between the municipality and the federal government for the construction and management of cultural equipment, which after delivery becomes the entire responsibility of the city - the case of

¹³ The Diadema Culture Factory is managed by the Poiesis Social Organization. Available at < <http://www.fabricasdecultura.org.br/gestao-poiesis/> > Accessed on July 3, 2021.

¹⁴ Selection Notices for the Santo André Culture Fund. Available at < <https://www3.santoandre.sp.gov.br/agendacultural/> > Accessed on July 3, 2021.

the CEU Arts and Sports Program¹⁵, which is present in four of the seven municipalities in the region. We also observe more frequently the references and experiences of Ribeirão Pires, together with Santo André and Diadema, suggesting that a municipality that is still little studied in the literature can contribute to the debate.

5. Conclusions

With the results presented in this work - on local institutional structures, the Cultura Viva program in the region, the systemization and review of the available literature about municipal experiences in this area and the development of an experimental tool for monitoring the public debate in the region, we consider that there are important contributions to the debate on the space for the exercise of municipal autonomy in the creation of cultural policies in the Grande ABC region.

Firstly, we realized that, in spite of the relevance of federal initiatives and their role as a reference for the national debate, cultural policies, in subnational levels, are not limited to these contributions. Historically, after the 1988 Federal Constitution, municipalities have innovated in creating and implementing these public policies and, in the territory of this research, the case is the same: proposing and creating new public cultural infrastructure, with different purposes; theoretical approaches for the creation of public policies, guided by the notions of decentralization, territorialization and promotion of citizenship; and even the creation of institutions currently guided by the National Culture System are part of the experience gathered in the region.

In this sense, we see a relevant space for the exercise of municipal autonomy, even now. Despite dynamics that can be considered of recentralization in Brazilian federalism, the studied municipalities seem to remain with conditions and resources to innovate and develop public policies in this policy arena that are adequate to local demands. More than that, in cases such as the Cultura Viva Program, we saw that, in addition to a local history in this regard, there remains the perception, with public managers and cultural agents, that this dialogue between the State and Civil Society is essential for adjustments in the production of these public policies carried out by the federal government – which points to an agenda of studies on intergovernmental relations in this specific arena and the role that local governments can play in this context.

¹⁵ The CEU Arts and Sports program is present in Santo André, with two units, Diadema, Mauá and Ribeirão Pires, with one unit per municipality. Available at < <https://epracas.cultura.gov.br/> > Accessed on July 3, 2021.

Future studies may also involve arrangements developed in this region that involve the promotion of cultural actions through public selection notices and the shared management of equipment and programs - either with Social Organizations or through other experiences that promote articulation and cooperation between different levels of government, as in the case of the CEU program for Arts and Sports, for example. Another agenda is related to the systematization presented here regarding local institutions for the production of cultural public policies: it is possible to monitor these institutions to verify their presence over time, as well as deepen their role in the production of these policies based on case studies. Similarly, the systematization of the literature produced on the experiences of this region can be deepened and complemented in its gaps in terms of policies, institutional structures, and studied municipalities. Finally, the perspective of decentralization of public cultural policies in the municipalities themselves, also indicated in the literature as their territorialization, are also indicative of relevant paths for research on municipal autonomy, its challenges, and possibilities.

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