Assessing the relevance of State Capacities for the implementation of public policies by subnational entities

Evaluando la relevancia de las Capacidades Estatales para la implementación de políticas públicas por entidades subnacionales

Avaliando a relevância de Capacidades Estatais para a implementação de políticas públicas por entes subnacionais

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Abstract   This paper seeks to verify how the state capacities of Brazilian municipalities interfere with the implementation of cultural public policies in these localities. To this end, theoretical references aligned with the concept of state capacities were used, and variables related to human resources and material and technical infrastructure were operationalized through the R software to assess their influence on the execution of the emergency support policy for culture. Some conclusions indicate the need to apply more variables to determine, with greater precision, the relationship between cause and consequence.

Keywords: Logistic regression; Culture; Municipalities; State Capacities.

Resumen El presente trabajo busca verificar de qué forma las capacidades estatales de los municipios brasileños interfieren en la materialización de políticas públicas de cultura en estas localidades. Para eso, se utilizaron referentes teóricos alineados con el concepto de capacidades estatales y se operacionalizaron, a través del software R, variables relacionadas con los recursos humanos y la infraestructura material y técnica y su influencia sobre la ejecución de la política de apoyo de emergencia a la cultura. Algunas conclusiones indican la necesidad de aplicar más variables con el fin de determinar, con mayor precisión, la relación entre causa y consecuencia.

Palabras clave: Cultura; Municipios; Capacidades Estatales; Regresión logística.

Resumo O presente trabalho busca verificar de que forma as capacidades estatais dos municípios brasileiros interferem na materialização de políticas públicas de cultura nessas localidades. Para tanto, utilizou-se de referenciais teóricos alinhados ao conceito de capacidades estatais e foram operacionalizadas, através do software R, variáveis referentes a recursos humanos e infraestrutura material e técnica e sua influência sobre a execução da política emergencial de apoio à cultura. Algumas conclusões indicam para a necessidade de aplicação de mais variáveis a fim de determinar, com maior precisão, a relação entre causa e consequência.

Palavras-Chave: Cultura; Municípios; Capacidades Estatais; Regressão logística

Introduction

The field of cultural policies is under-researched in Brazil. In this sense, studies focused on this sector of public policies are extremely scarce, especially when the analysis focuses on municipalities federation entities characterized by a myriad of management processes and practices that often hinder the development of research capable of capturing common and/or consonant actions in a universe of over 5,000 municipalities, as is the case in our country[1].

Thus, this paper presents a discussion on the capacity of municipalities to execute public cultural policies. It utilizes data on the execution of resources from Law 14.017/2020, which establishes emergency policies adopted for the Brazilian cultural sector during the coronavirus pandemic. This data serves as a parameter for evaluating the execution of the emergency support cultural policy, the Aldir Blanc Law. The survey of resource execution for implementing the emergency cultural policy was conducted using data from the Special Secretariat for Culture of the federal government, which allows for an assessment of the execution of resources by the federation entities, establishing the dependent variable.

Additionally, two independent variables were operationalized in an attempt to test the capacities of municipalities based on the management conditions of local cultural policies. Thus, from the understanding of state capacities (Cingolani, 2013; Gomide & Pires, 2014), the study seeks to outline the conditions of the analyzed municipalities in executing the investigated policy and how the capacity of human and material resources may interfere with the implementation of the cultural policy under investigation.

Although lacking investigation, the field of cultural policies is already established as an important dimension of public policies that is generally neglected by various governmental actors and decision-makers, despite being an area of the economy that employs and generates significant economic returns. The field of cultural economics shows that this sector creates a "cultural consumption" that generally does not face barriers regarding investments (Asuaga, 2013).

In the field of public policies, culture suffers from numerous ruptures, authoritarianism, and discontinuities (Rubim, 2007) — aspects that characterize not only management but also the model of cultural policies implemented in Brazil. Nonetheless, these aspects create significant difficulties in consolidating an institutional and systematic project of public policies aimed at the cultural sector. Although cultural policies have a relatively recent history compared to other state policies — such as education and health — they have shown some progress on governmental agendas, particularly regarding their effective incorporation into the agendas, establishing more effective and systematic policies, especially with the construction and/or consolidation of councils, conferences, and public hearings on culture within municipalities.

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[1] A preliminary version of this paper was presented at the ANPOCS annual meeting.

However, it appears that the field of state capacities in culture, especially in municipalities, remains a poorly investigated area with some obscurity regarding the actual conditions and practices of these subnational entities. In this sense, this paper seeks to shed light on this important field of cultural policies in Brazil, understanding how municipalities manage and execute public cultural policies, what the limits, possibilities, and reach of our cities' structures are concerning cultural management—a sector that requires extensive and complex specialization from the involved actors.

Thus, the present study aims to investigate how the state capacities of municipalities affect the management of public policies in these municipalities, and more specifically, the emergency public policy for cultural support.

This study contributes to a relatively underexplored area within Brazil: the influence of variables potentially associated with the implementation of cultural policies in the country, and more precisely, those enacted by subnational administrations. As the literature indicates, the bureaucratic-administrative apparatus at this level exhibits significant heterogeneity.

Culture and Cultural Policies in Brazil

Various aspects of culture in Brazil have always been intertwined with several elements that compose the Brazilian social structure, such as education, politics, and economics. Thus, it is understood that the social conditions and characteristics of the country exert a strong influence on national culture. The role of culture as one of the foundations for citizenship (Chauí, 1995) is permeated by numerous social dynamics, and in this sense, multiple forms and cultural expressions are constructed, each with considerable uniqueness, especially due to the significant regional distinctions that still mark Brazil.

A significant mark of this is that much of the understanding of popular culture in Brazil only began to be demystified and socially accepted through the actions of the CPC (Center for Popular Culture), linked to UNE (National Union of Students), which played an extremely brief role, as it was dissolved by the military dictatorship. The hallmark of this action was the attempt to break with the idea that popular culture represented a manifestation of backwardness and the conservation of elements from an Iberian past.

In this context, popular culture was fostered with the aim of promoting social emancipation through projects and actions implemented by the CPC, which gave these manifestations a new guise, driven primarily by the quest to break free from imperialism and ties to the past, thereby becoming an essentially political dimension of culture (Ortiz, 2012).

The new way of seeing and understanding popular culture from a political dimension became a focal point for recent interpretations of the term. Recent literature shows that, in addition to being political, the practices and processes characterized as popular culture also encompass values, customs, language, and memory (Ortiz, 2012), which manifest through various cultural practices across the country, strongly marked by local and

regional characteristics. Such aspects denote that within the municipalities themselves, the notion of culture and cultural policy must align with the established social reality, the materiality of the cultural manifestations of these subjects and groups, indicating the uniqueness and complexity of managing cultural policies in Brazil. However, this condition was not observed during the brief and tense period when public cultural policies were institutionalized in the country.

Therefore, it is understood that the anthropological dimension of culture is the most suitable for understanding the manifestations and aspects of Brazilian cultural reality, as the notion of culture goes beyond merely being a political action or fine arts; it also encompasses the uniqueness of subjects and groups, their forms of expression, and manifestations in the world, tied to both material and immaterial aspects, such as architecture, music, language, social and kinship relations, aesthetics, cuisine, among others.

The trajectory of cultural policies in Brazil is recent compared to other areas of policies managed by various government spheres, such as health and education. In this sense, the notion of cultural policy adopted in this paper, which we consider the most coherent, delineates the process of institutionalizing cultural policies from a logic of systematicity, continuity, and articulation — something that, to some extent, had not been seen in Brazil until the mid-20th century. Even during the imperial family's reign in the 19th century and during the imperial governments, especially under the reign of Dom Pedro II, a great lover and promoter of the fine arts, there were no national cultural policies per se, but rather focused projects.

In the 20th century, new configurations emerged that effectively delineated public cultural policies. The Vargas government established, as in various other areas, instruments to facilitate Vargas's propaganda and his power project. Consequently, a true action structure was instituted, aimed at grasping various forms, practices, and cultural actions to operate them for the regime's purposes. Through the Vargas Department of Information and Propaganda, federal government actions in the cultural field began to have greater systematicity, even while operating culture under an authoritarian logic (Chauí, 1995).

Two significant milestones can be highlighted at the beginning of the process of institutionalizing culture as state policies: firstly, the successful experience of Mario de Andrade at the Cultural Secretariat of the Municipality of São Paulo, and secondly, the management of Capanema at the Vargas Ministry of Education and Health. Although they have their singularities and distinctions in form and content (Rubim, 2007), both administrations decisively mark the slow and late beginning of public policies for culture in Brazil.

During the brief democratic moment experienced from the second half of the 20th century, in the Fourth Republic, few elements marked any advancement toward the institutionalization of public policies for culture. The 1960s again indicated how the dimension of culture was operated through public policies in Brazil. Following an authoritarian logic, culture became overseen by various governmental institutions, aimed

at determining how to create and define what culture is in Brazil (Rubim, 2007). This scenario reveals the extremely negative logic that permeated the consolidation of cultural policies in the country, while the establishment of systematic and coherent agendas and decision-making processes were subordinated to the aims of dictatorial regimes, thereby separating culture from its essence: social life and the subjects and groups that create and produce culture daily as a living and dynamic process.

Under this logic, it is correct to assume that the fundamental characteristic of culture as a heterogeneous and socially constructed element, where "each culture expresses, in a historically and materially determined manner, the symbolic human order with its own individuality or structure" (Chauí, 2008:7), was not observed during the period of affirmation and creation of the country's cultural policies — a tense time filled with ruptures. This scenario indicates how the sector was treated as an instrument to guarantee interests, completely dissociated from social reality, even as cultural manifestations, practices, and actions thrived across the nation; the material, symbolic, and subjective realities of cultural practices remained under the tutelage of authoritarian regimes that determined them.

A significant hallmark of the beginning of cultural policies in Brazil is undoubtedly Mario de Andrade's administration in the cultural sector of the São Paulo city government, as much of the actions and policies developed revolved around a broader notion of culture, understood as an anthropological reading of the field, encompassing "(...) the entire complex that includes knowledge, beliefs, art, morals, laws, customs, or any other capacities or habits acquired by humans as members of a society" (Taylor *apud* Laraia, 1997:25) — a reading that values traditions without disregarding their historically constructed character, since it is not about what traditions do to us, but about what we make of our traditions. We are always in a process of cultural formation. Culture is not an issue of ontology, of being, but of becoming (Hall, 2003:44).

Nonetheless, the Vargas government exercised its cultural policies in a completely distinct manner. Even with the emergence of actions and policies that fostered and ensured certain systematic development of culture through institutions such as the Service of Educational Radio Broadcasting, the National Institute of Creative Cinema, the National Theater Service, and the National Culture Council, among others, these bodies largely served to affirm the interests and regime of Vargas by promoting and disseminating nationalist symbols — elements widely used during the regime to ensure social support. In this sense, culture was operationalized as a tool for social control, with intense alienation of the population, a hallmark of authoritarian governments.

The rupture that followed the end of the Fourth Republic, marking the effective management of cultural policies in the country, definitively ended any participatory, inclusive model that was genuinely oriented toward and by society following the coup of 1964. In this scenario, culture returned to being operated from an authoritarian logic, viewed as a tool to guarantee the regime, with a strongly ideological scope centralized in the federal government. The main hallmark of this period for culture and cultural policies, while retaining the specificities of one military government over another, is the disintegration of cultural policy formats and projects from social reality, which represent

very little or nothing of what is socially constructed as cultural practice and knowledge during that period.

It is perceived, in this sense, that for a significant portion of its embryonic period, cultural policies were strongly marked by an authoritarian orientation, through numerous ruptures — even if not necessarily in their institutionalization as public policy — but the model and purpose of actions for culture are entirely distinct when analyzing the various governmental transitions observed during this brief period. Thus, the difficulty in realizing a solid political agenda for the cultural sector at that time is evident, given that for a considerable part of the 20th century, there was a lack of clarity regarding the role and nature of culture in Brazilian society, especially in terms of how it could be effectively realized as a state policy.

With the advent of the 1988 Constitution, a new period for cultural policies began. The creation of the Rouanet Law, implemented during Fernando Collor de Melo's government after being developed in the Ministry of Culture by manager Sérgio Paulo Rouanet, marked this period. The legislation, as well as much of the public policies developed at the time, is grounded in a global trend of advancing neoliberal policies, characterized by a diminishing role of the state in the economy and the implementation of certain policies. In this sense, the main cultural policy implemented post-redemocratization, which remains in effect to this day, is a management model that prioritizes market action, as pointed out by Rubim (2007).

The economic policy of the Collor government was predominantly neoliberal. In this sense, his administration developed a cultural policy model that carried the characteristics of the prevailing governmental administration. From this point on, Law 8.313/91, known as the Rouanet Law, materializes as a policy that will operate in the field cultural através do setor privado. Assim, o Estado deixa de ser um ator propulsor e viabilizador do setor cultural, papel que passa a ser desempenhado pelo mercado. A promoção, garantia e estímulo às práticas culturais diversas, bem como também ao patrimônio cultural, passa a ser viabilizada por meio de um importante mecanismo existente nessa legislação: a renúncia fiscal. Por meio desse instrumento, o Estado deixa seu papel de ator central na gestação e materialização de políticas culturais, passando a mero financiador das mais diversas atividades desenvolvidas pelo setor privado no campo cultural (Calabre, 2019; Rubim, 2007).

Although it remains one of the main policies for the cultural sector, the implementation of the legislation has not guaranteed an increase in resources for the sector from the federal government. According to the Ministry of Culture, federal spending on culture did not reach one percent (1%) of the total central government public expenditures in 2018. Nevertheless, it is evident that the implementation of policies such as the Rouanet Law does not ensure a significant increase in resources for the sector, despite the vast demand for culture in Brazil.

Other priority areas, such as health and education, receive far more resources. While these sectors are understood as essential for life, particularly in the current context of a severe health crisis, it is important to highlight the significant role that culture plays in

the social and economic life of individuals. Its primary aspect is the maintenance and facilitation of diverse forms of production and reproduction of individuals; thus, practices, beliefs, and cultural heritage are central elements in the affirmation of citizenship (Chauí, 1995). Furthermore, they are also fundamental for sustaining employment, income, and labor. To substantiate this claim, data from the Brazilian Institute of Geography and Statistics (IBGE) from 2019 indicate that more than 3.5 million Brazilians were employed in the cultural sector in 2018, emphasizing the essential role this field plays for a large part of the population, especially in a highly complex scenario where unemployment figures are consistently alarming in the media.

A vast number of cultural projects and actions began to be developed through projects funded by the Rouanet Law. Large foundations, such as the Roberto Marinho Foundation and Itaú Cultural, are among the top fundraisers for this policy. It is important to note that these institutions have been operating in various fields within the sector, including music, cinema, theater, and publishing. Although the government finances all the activities that receive funds under Law 8.313/91, the management of these actions is entirely the responsibility of the private sector, with little to no involvement from the public sector in this regard.

The pandemic created significant challenges for Brazil's cultural sector. Data from IBGE (2020) indicate that approximately 14 million Brazilians are unemployed, with nearly 6 million discouraged from seeking work. This context has triggered a major crisis for cultural workers, most of whom rely on in-person activities and direct contact with audiences.

This crisis led to the creation of Law 14.017/20, a policy designed to provide emergency support to cultural workers to help ensure their subsistence during the COVID-19 pandemic. The Aldir Blanc Law aims to assist these workers, who have been severely impacted by the health crisis, by allocating 3 billion reais in emergency funding to the sector. The federal government has transferred these funds to states and municipalities, which can implement the resources through public calls for projects and actions to be financed, in addition to direct financial assistance to cultural workers, similar to the emergency aid provided under Law 13.982/2020.

To ensure that the funds reached cultural workers, financial resources from the National Culture Fund and other federal government revenues were utilized. In this sense, there was a clear effort to implement a decentralized policy, granting decision-making power to states and municipalities regarding the actions and projects to be funded, with the federal executive branch merely responsible for transferring the allocated funds.

However, the policy has significant gaps and inconsistencies. One of the most notable is the large number of responsibilities delegated to municipalities, which initially had only 60 days to execute the funds received under the Aldir Blanc Law. This situation presents a complex scenario when considering the more than 5,000 Brazilian municipalities, with vastly different practices and management capacities, particularly in the cultural sector. The capacity to execute the policy varies greatly among these cities and establishing a uniform approach to resource allocation for small, medium, and large municipalities does

not seem to be a viable solution. Despite this, the National Congress has developed some training programs to expedite the policy's implementation by municipalities, aiming to help public managers apply the funds provided under the Aldir Blanc Law (Calabre, 2020).

It is also important to highlight that municipalities initially had a short period for the execution of the resources, and, according to the legislation, those that did not meet the legal requirements would have to return the funds to the state cultural funds or the appropriate managing body. In this regard, subnational entities could be disadvantaged by the extremely limited time frame for implementing the resources.

A word that has become well-known in our time marks the cultural sector: resilience. Due to the significant difficulties faced by the sector for various reasons, including the inconsistencies and disruptions in cultural policies, managing the sector has been a Herculean task year after year. Barreto (2020) states that some cultural agents were able to adjust their work routines to the new challenges posed by the COVID-19 pandemic, significantly increasing the use of virtual environments, which was even a requirement of the Aldir Blanc Law itself.

However, this presents a dangerous scenario for cultural workers. Faced with an increasingly fragmented reality and limited access to audiences, there is a tendency for these workers to become more entrenched in a market-oriented logic of cultural production, aiming to reach a larger scale of people in the hope of securing income in an extremely unstable and desperate context for Brazilian society (Barreto, 2020). This scenario stands in stark contrast to cultural practices, which require great sensitivity and subjectivity, encompassing various forms of life in society — whether through music, cinema, theater, storytelling, oral history, or countless other elements that adhere to a different temporal logic, unlike the market products available on every corner.

In this context, governmental institutions play a crucial role in the consolidation and effective implementation of cultural policies and actions. Merely acting as a financier does not ensure that diverse groups can emancipate themselves. As Brandão (2010, p. 45) notes, "What matters is not whether to valorize or perform Bumba Meu Boi or Samba de Roda, but to incorporate into them and other popular manifestations the best available instruments and technical knowledge" as well as "the best possible qualification for their actors, leading them to become effective cultural producers."

Thus, while the allocation of resources for the cultural sector is an important policy to ensure the survival of the field, it also reveals the limitations of the public sector's role. Although some technical training mechanisms for municipalities were developed for the implementation of emergency cultural support policies, these actions remain embryonic and insufficiently integrated with local authorities. This raises the question of what technical and material resources cultural departments or institutions responsible for cultural administration across diverse municipalities actually possess to execute emergency support policies for cultural workers in such a short timeframe.

Furthermore, it is essential to recognize that the management capacities of Brazilian municipalities are not homogeneous. On the contrary, Brazil's reality presents deep local and regional inequalities, which are further intensified depending on the area under

analysis. Studies on local realities must demonstrate how municipalities have been able to manage local policies, particularly cultural ones, an area that has been notably neglected.

Cultural investment policies are essential for the full development of diverse cultural practices. Enshrined as a constitutional right in articles 215 and 216, culture often occupies a secondary position in the public sector's agenda, frequently due to the lack of technical training among its cultural managers (Avelar, 2010). These public officials should be capable of operationalizing cultural policies, securing investments for the sector, fully understanding cultural incentive legislation, and comprehending the laws and regulations related to the "right to culture." Additionally, they must navigate fiscal and technical constraints while ensuring the social affirmation and economic empowerment of diverse cultural practices. According to Avelar (2010), one of the greatest challenges in the cultural arena is the presence of all these managerial competencies within a single cultural manager.

According to data from the Special Secretariat for Culture (SEC), smaller municipalities had greater difficulty obtaining and executing resources provided by the Aldir Blanc Law. According to the SEC (2021), while all Brazilian capitals received funds, 33% of very small cities, with fewer than 20,000 inhabitants, did not receive the allocated resources because they failed to submit action plans or correct the deficiencies identified by the SEC. Action plans are the projects that define how the resources provided by the Aldir Blanc Law will be allocated. According to the legislation, municipalities must submit a detailed plan outlining the activities, practices, and cultural projects to be funded with the resources from Law 14.017/20.

Moreover, SEC data (2021) show that around 11% of small municipalities (with 20,000 to 50,000 inhabitants) did not receive the funds for the same reasons mentioned above. Among medium-sized municipalities (with 50,000 to 100,000 inhabitants), only about 3% did not receive the funds. Among large municipalities (with 100,000 to 900,000 inhabitants) and metropolises (with over 900,000 inhabitants), all received the funds.

However, it is important to note that the execution of the resources by Brazilian capitals has been extremely uneven. While some cities were able to execute 100% of the funds, others managed to spend less than 60%. This scenario undoubtedly leads to a significant disparity between Brazil's metropolises in terms of their capacity to implement cultural policies. Moreover, many subnational entities lack a specialized cultural management team, as previously noted, and this field requires extensive technical knowledge to manage the diverse needs of the sector.

This situation is directly related to the historical difficulties in solidifying cultural policies in Brazil. The country's experience in managing the cultural sector shows that the federal government has gone through various phases in the development of public cultural policies. The 1930s marked the systematic beginning of state interventions in this field. Despite the constitutional guarantees that provide a broad spectrum of cultural rights, the state has only been defining its guidelines for action in this area for just over 30 years. While the public sector has implemented actions and projects aimed at fulfilling this wide array of cultural rights, these efforts often encounter challenges regarding the models of

policies being developed, their real impacts, and outcomes. This has led to a certain apathy among public managers, who still largely focus on addressing issues related to the consolidation of rights and duties within a democratic regime (Miceli, 1984).

State Capacities and Public Policies

The concept of state capacity emerges from the need to understand how the State operates within the diverse dynamics involving social, political, and economic development. In the second half of the 20th century, this notion was prompted by new studies derived from neo-Marxist, institutionalist, and pluralist theories. Mentioning these theoretical frameworks is crucial to comprehending what is understood (or intended to be understood) by state capacities, given that most of the more systematized theories of our time stem from an understanding of the formative and autonomization process of the State.

There are multiple definitions of state capacity, especially due to the varied interpretations of what capacity entails. Some authors understand state capacity as the conditions necessary to implement policies (Gomide & Pires, 2014). There is also the definition of state capacity as the conditions required to ensure desired changes in society through the actions of political leadership (Midgal, 1988). Evans (1995) offers another perspective, positing that the behavior of the State directs how economic and social transformations occur through its capacity to intervene in various spheres.

According to Bersch et al. (2017), current studies on state capacities arise from a growing interest in how the State induces and directs responses and dynamics, and how much of its interventions result in substantial changes in outcomes that would be unthinkable in a context lacking systematic state action. Despite being a contested concept (Gomide, Pereira, & Machado, 2018), there is a common understanding across various studies on state capacity: the State's protagonist role in decision-making arenas and in diverse processes of political action.

Within this understanding, capacity is often tied to the existence of a bureaucracy of the Weberian type within the state apparatus. In this sense, the specialization of public functions, meritocracy, formality, and impersonality are essential aspects for measuring the robustness of state capacity, which is understood as the way the State acts within institutionalized spheres.

State capacities are not only related to the characteristics of its structure and functioning but also to the relationships established with various social dynamics that permeate state structures. This assertion is significant because it does not reduce capacity to a mere sum of conditions and requirements but includes the subjective and dynamic aspects of political and economic interaction. This is crucial for understanding democratized structures, which presuppose continuous political participation — not only in consultation and advisory processes but also in decision-making.

Gomide, Pereira, and Machado (2018) point out that bureaucracies can be strengthened with a certain degree of autonomy, allowing bureaucratic structures to

shield themselves from the various interferences of social groups. However, the authors do not specify how this autonomy should be regulated, as an excessively autonomous apparatus becomes a body without control. External actors must exert regulatory and control mechanisms over the state bureaucracy.

In this regard, the aforementioned analysis is related to Evans' (1995) concept of "embedded autonomy." The incorporation of external demands to achieve collective goals is an approach that can create some accountability mechanisms within Brazilian public sector structures, especially within its strictly bureaucratic apparatus.

Moreover, Bersch *et al.* (2017) suggest that political control over the bureaucracy can generate some responsibility among bureaucratic agents, but it can also lead to negative effects. Political appointments and the interests of political actors behind these nominations and the redefinition of state careers can corrupt bureaucratic agents, as the ideals of meritocracy and hierarchy, present in Weberian concepts of bureaucratic organization, may no longer hold as much weight.

State capacity has been one of the means to achieve the economic modernization of Brazilian society since 1930. Some institutions have succeeded in consolidating themselves and are internationally recognized for these achievements. However, other institutions, such as those related to public works and short-term actions, are subject to greater political interference, and consequently, have lower state capacity (Bersch *et al.*, 2017). This division between more politicized and isolated agencies was part of a "compartmentalization" strategy, evident at various points in Brazilian history. The fundamental issue is that clientelist logics coexist with other forms of governance.

The understanding of state capacities as tied to the conditions for achieving economic development appears to be a limited interpretation of the concept. Beyond this, Gomide, Pereira, and Machado (2018) argue that capacity is not only related to material conditions but also to the political, social, and economic interactions that traverse the functional dynamics of the State.

Additionally, the studies of Borges and Coelho (2015) present important considerations that align with the analyses. The authors note that the Ministry of National Integration is more susceptible to political interference and appointments due to the high discretion in resource allocation. In contrast, the Ministry of Science and Technology stands as an "island of excellence," precisely because it is less affected by political interference. Its bureaucratic structures are staffed with highly qualified personnel and face less discretion in investments, and the career paths are more structured.

The formation of institutions with higher or lower levels of political interference appears to be a hallmark of the Brazilian State. Studies in the field indicate that many resources are the target of intense political competition for control in some agencies, while this competition is less intense in others. The bureaucratic apparatus of these institutions is thus subject to diverse power dynamics, ruptures, and discontinuities, which certainly contribute to a growing lack of state capacity — both in the design of institutional structures and in their objectives and processes. A significant absence of predictability, control, and transparency can create extremely inefficient bureaucratic structures.

The recent interest in state capacities is tied to the growing need to understand the actors influenced and guided by State action. This action presents various particularities that are not observed in contexts where state intervention is absent. In this regard, the interest goes beyond analyzing the State's capacity for concrete action in the materialization of policies. It also includes analyses of the State's capacity to act as an interlocutor and guide for its institutions, which transcends mere material and technical conditions.

Bersch *et al.* (2017) show that infrastructure and development agencies are characterized as institutions with low capacity and low autonomy. This aligns with the analyses of Borges and Coelho (2015), who argue that discretion in the use of resources within these agencies can, to some extent, heighten political interest in them. These agencies often suffer from significant interference, whether through the appointment of political agents to direct and determine the functioning of the developed policies or within the bureaucratic structure itself, which is permeated by diverse external interests.

In this context, the notion that institutions with a high degree of autonomy and capacity can be understood as "islands of excellence" becomes relevant. This concept defines agencies with high technical capacity and bureaucratic structuring, oriented by Weberian principles (Geddes, 1994).

Studies on Coalition Presidentialism suggest that many state positions and institutions are "instrumentalized," meaning they become bargaining chips to secure political support. In an extremely fragmented political environment, it is up to the president to build alliances to ensure political support and, consequently, governability. To secure such support, the executive offers appointive positions under their control, resulting in a highly politicized government with significant interference. However, the studies show that, among the agencies analyzed, the presence of partisan agents is not as significant as the literature on coalition presidentialism suggests. Data indicates that, among the agencies with the highest number of party-affiliated officials, the percentage of such agents does not exceed 25% (Bersch *et al.*, 2017).

It is important to note that, according to Bersch *et al.* (2017), data shows that the control exercised over agencies is not as widespread and robust as coalition presidentialism theorists suggest. Party dominance is often associated with corruption, and in this sense, it is reasonable for the heads of the executive branch to give control of agencies to certain actors aligned with the government's policies.

While the concept of state capacities is indeed salient, as demonstrated by the aforementioned studies, it is important to highlight that a consolidated understanding of the concept is related to its administrative and/or bureaucratic dimension, rooted in Weberian bureaucratic structures. These structures are characterized by significant specialization for positions, impersonality, hierarchy, and material resources (Gomide, Silva & Pires, 2014).

In this context, this paper considers one of the dimensions of state capacities present in Pires and Gomide (2014), which, in addition to an administrative/bureaucratic structure, identifies other factors influencing the conception of state capacity, such as the

involvement of various actors that affect the State's actions, leading to significant transformations in the implementation of developed policies. Furthermore, for the purposes of this paper, the analysis is restricted to one dimension of the concept. Additionally, based on Fukuyama's (2013) studies, the aim is to test variables related to technical and material resources in influencing the execution of cultural policies.

Methodology

The aim of this study is to observe how the variables of specialization/education of the managerial staff and the existence of material resources (exclusive secretariats and/or foundations/autonomous agencies) influence the execution of the emergency cultural support policy in Brazilian municipalities.

To this, R software was used to run a simple logistic regression analysis. The goal is to present the relationships between the independent variables and the dichotomous dependent variable, in order to explain a potential causal effect on the latter (Barreto, 2011). Logistic regression models are typically used when seeking a binary response for the dependent variable. In this study, the response is whether the emergency support policy for cultural workers was executed or not.

Independent Variables

The independent variables in this study are based on the existence of an administrative/bureaucratic structure, considering the specialization/education of the managerial staff, and the presence of exclusive secretariats/autonomous agencies for managing cultural policies in Brazilian municipalities. The independent variable data were obtained from the Brazilian Institute of Geography and Statistics (IBGE) through its Profile of Brazilian Municipalities: Culture (2015). The municipalities with exclusive secretariats and/or autonomous agencies were identified, and a "yes" condition was assigned to those with technical and material resources. Information on the educational background of the cultural managers in these institutions was also gathered, indicating the number of actors with a completed higher education degree in each city. Additionally, municipalities with secretariats or autonomous agencies were grouped together to form one of the independent variables. The analysis also considered the existence of one, both, or none of these administrative bodies.

Dependent Variable

The dependent variable was obtained from data on the execution of the emergency cultural support policy, Law 14.017/20, also known as the Aldir Blanc Law. Data from the Special Secretariat for Culture of the federal government, which reflects the amounts effectively executed by the analyzed municipalities, were used to identify those

municipalities that reached at least 70% execution of the allocated funds by the time of data collection. For methodological purposes and due to the conditions imposed on this study, a subset of over 5.000 Brazilian municipalities was considered, focusing exclusively on the state capitals due to data availability. For these municipalities, the condition of "yes" was assigned, indicating that they had executed or were likely to execute the funds within the legal deadlines provided by the law.

The initial deadline for the commitment, liquidation, and payment of cultural actions, projects, and benefits funded by the emergency policy was December 30, 2020. However, at the request of the National Confederation of Municipalities (CNM) to the federal government and the Special Secretariat for Culture, this deadline was extended to the end of 2021 (CNM, 2020), but only for funds that had already been committed. On the other hand, municipalities that did not reach 70% execution of the policy's funds by the initially established deadline were assigned the condition of "did not execute," as by the time of data collection in mid-August 2021, eight months had passed since the deadline extension, and yet these municipalities had not made significant progress in the actual execution of the policy.

Logistic regression is used to analyze dependent variables with binary responses, meaning that the same analyzed element cannot simultaneously belong to more than one of the possible response categories. Here, the dependent variable assumes a response that must be either 0 or 1 (Barreto, 2011; Fernandes *et al.*, 2020). In this context, the response "yes" or "no" was applied to the variable representing the execution of the emergency cultural policy, as described above. The statistical model applied in this study was the following:

$$f(Z) = \frac{1}{1 + e^{-(z)}}$$

Where: $Z = In\left(\frac{p}{1-p}\right) = a + \beta_1\,RMT + \beta_2 RMTS + \beta_3 RMTFA + \beta_4 RH + \beta_5 PIB$

- p = Probability that the municipality will execute the national emergency support policy for cultural workers.
- RMT = Presence of a Municipal Secretariat of Culture or a public Foundation/Autonomous Agency specific for cultural management.
- $RMTSE$ = Presence of an exclusive Municipal Secretariat of Culture.
- $RMTFA$ = Presence of a public Foundation/Autonomous Agency specific for cultural management.
- RH = Number of municipal public cultural management staff with higher education.
- PIB = Per capita Gross Domestic Product (control).

Discussion and Results

To execute the logistic regression, a model was developed for R Software based on the dependent and independent variables studied. Thus, the *glm* function was applied in the following model:

glm(Executou_PAEC ~ Recursos_H + Recursos_MT + Recursos_MTFA + Recursos_MTSE, *family = binomial(link = 'logit'), data = dados)*

The link function 'logit' specifies that this is a binary logistic regression.

Absence of OUTLIERS:

Logistic regression is highly sensitive to the presence of outliers, which are extreme cases that can disrupt or invalidate the data analysis. Therefore, standardized residuals were obtained using the *stdres* function, with the following output from R Software, as shown in Table 1:

Table 1. Analysis of standardized residuals to verify the absence of outliers, using R Software, function '*stdres*'

Min.	1st Qu.	Median	Mean	3rd Qu.	Max.
-2.25991	-1.02750	0.23919	-0.01582	0.81641	**1.58262**

Source and elaboration: The author. 2023.

Absence of Outliers

Through the analysis, it was observed that the data fell within the expected range of -3 to +3, thus ruling out the presence of *outliers*, as indicated by the literature (Fernandes *et al.*, 2020).

Absence of Multicollinearity

Multicollinearity can be defined as a very high correlation between two or more independent variables, often leading to a model with inconsistent coefficients. The literature defines that a condition above 0.9 in the relationship between variables indicates the presence of this phenomenon (Figueiredo Filho, 2015).

By running the *pairs.panels* function in R Software, values below 0.9 were obtained, as shown in the image below:

Image 1. Verification of absence of multicollinearity using R Software, *pairs.panels* function
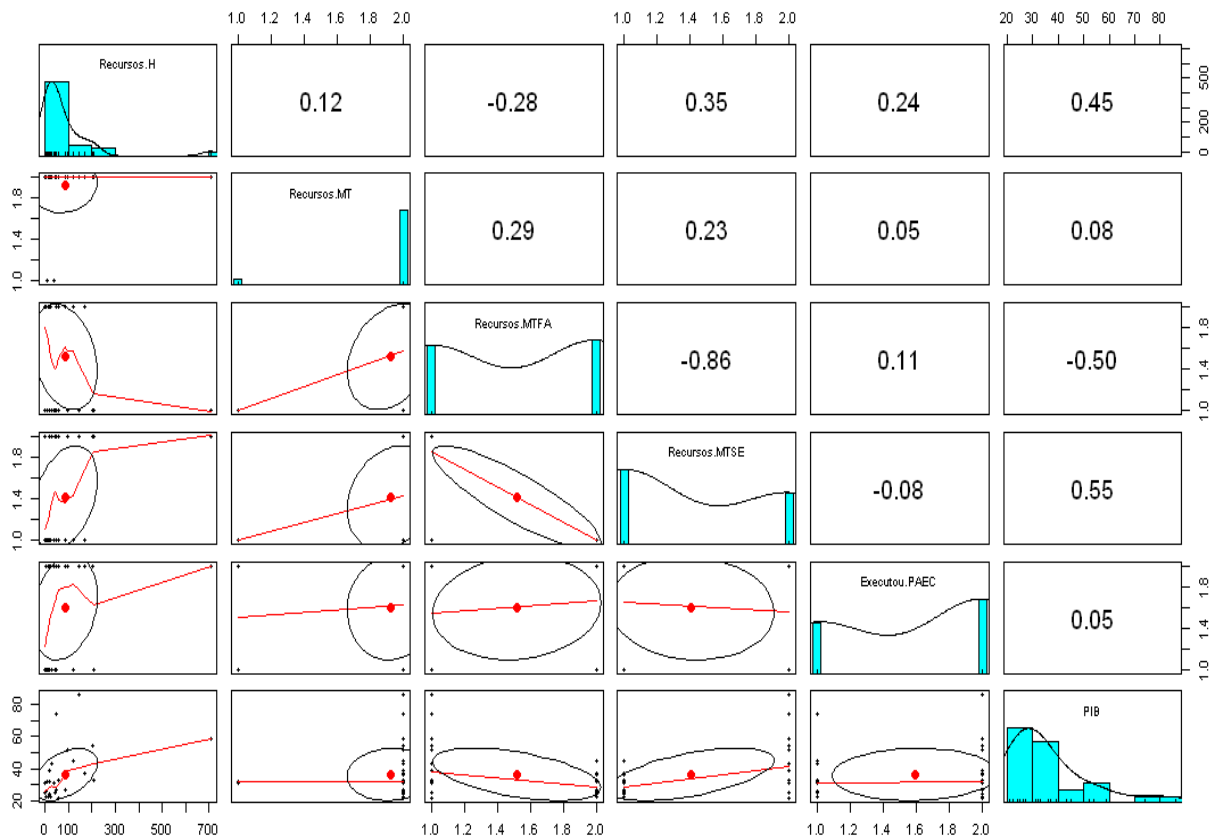
Source and preparation: The author, 2024.

Analyzing the continuous variables, which in this study are per capita GDP and human resources (higher education level), it is observed that there is no multicollinearity, as the values remained below 0.9, as defined by the specialized literature.

With the requirements for performing binary logistic regression met, the model was executed. Using the glm function, a model was obtained for each interaction between the independent and dependent variables, as shown in Table 2.

Table 2. Interaction of independent variables with the dependent variable, using the *glm* function in Software R

VD: Executou_PAEC	Df	Chisq	p
VI: Recursos_MT	1	0.0759	0.783
VI: Recursos_MTFA	1	0.303	0.582
VI: Recursos_MTSE	1	0.1704	0.6798
VI: Recursos_H	1	1.2217	0.269
VI: PIB	1	0.0752	0.7839

Source and preparation: The author, 2023.

Analyzing the continuous variables, which in this study are per capita GDP and human resources (higher education level), it is observed that there is no multicollinearity, as the values remained below 0.9, as defined by the specialized literature (Figueiredo Filho *et al.*, 2015).

Having met the requirements for running a binary logistic regression, the next step was to execute the model. Using the glm function, a model was obtained for each interaction between the independent and dependent variables, as shown in Table 2.

Table 3. Odds ratio and confidence interval using Software R with the *exp* and *confint.default* functions

	Teste OR (razão de chances)[2]	Intervalo de confiança min.[3]	Intervalo de confiança máx.
Recursos_MT	1.5	0.08378312	26.85505
Recursos_MTSE	0.7	0.1513308	3.425609
Recursos_MTFA	1.5	0.3294169	7.226126
Recursos_H	1	0.9940473	1.021644
PIB	1	0.9587531	1.057415

Source and preparation: The author, 2023.

Given data limitations and the intended focus of the analysis, a binary categorization was employed. While this choice may have reduced the model's sensitivity, it still allows for the identification of divergences within the small group of cities analyzed. Future research could benefit from the use of a continuous variable and a linear regression model

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[2] Odds Ratio Test: To obtain the *odds ratio*, the *exp* function was used.
[3] The confidence interval was obtained through the confint.default function.

to more sensitively capture potential variations in the higher scales of budgetary execution for the policies under examination.

IDEB as a control variable?

To deepen the analysis of potential explanatory or predictive variables of state capacity for the implementation of cultural public policies, the 2019 Basic Education Development Index (IDEB) was tested as a control variable. Accordingly, this study examines how the dependent variables mobilized in this article behave in relation to this proxy.

Table 4. Preliminary interpretation of variables and control variables

Variable	Coefficient	Preliminary Interpretation
Intercept	-19.35	Base value (not interpretable in isolation)
Recursos_H	-25	Slight negative effect, not significant
Recursos_MT	-2.33	Strong negative effect, but check significance
Recursos_MTFA	+0.97	Positive effect, but small
Recursos_MTSE	NA	Likely absence of variation
IDEB	+5.13	Strong positive effect on the logit — may indicate that municipalities with better educational performance have a higher chance of implementing the policy

Source and preparation: The author, 2024.

Bringing in the Basic Education Development Index (IDEB) as a control variable showed a strong positive link with the rollout of the emergency support policy for culture. Even though it wasn't the main thing we were looking at, this result hints that towns with better education scores tend to have stronger institutional setups, making them more capable of putting public policies into action when urgent situations arise. This finding supports the idea that how well a town does with education policies could be a good indicator of its overall institutional quality.

Also, the fact that we don't have a coefficient for the Recursos_MTSE variable (it's marked as NA in our model) might be because there wasn't much difference in this factor across the towns we looked at, or it could be that it overlaps too much with other things we're already measuring.

Discussion and Results

The data indicate that the existence of human resources and material resources does not interfere with the execution of the emergency cultural policy in the case of the analyzed sample. Even though the literature suggests that some of these variables have a strong influence on the functioning of public administration, as indicated by Evans and Rauch (1999), it should be noted that this variable would suggest the existence of a bureaucratic body closer to Weber's typology of public bureaucracy (WEBER, 2014).

Moreover, the variable material resources also proved to be statistically irrelevant for the execution of the analyzed cultural policy. Studies such as those by Arretche (2012) show that the presence of exclusive secretariats tends, in a certain way, to indicate the existence of specialized bureaucracy dedicated to "resource acquisition, production, and management of services" (ibd. p. 36). The distinction into three distinct variables arose from the need to perceive the influence of each type of administrative structure on the dependent variable

> (…) since a foundation has broad autonomy to seek partnerships and third-party resources to enable the implementation of actions in the cultural sphere […]. The administrative structure of a foundation provides dynamism and agility in the execution of projects and programs. Administrative staff can specialize in the needs and specifics of the cultural area, which confers advantages in the procurement of goods and services and the organization of events, where cultural areas located within direct administration typically face more difficulties or need to outsource services (Canedo, 2007:10).

Exclusive secretariats, on the other hand, hold administrative status but are much more rigid and susceptible to political power dynamics, especially in municipal governments (Canedo, 2007).

The analyses indicate that, despite the studies conducted in the field emphasizing the influence of the analyzed factors on the execution of public policies, including cultural ones, as highlighted by Evans (1999), Fukuyama (2013), Gomide and Pires (2014), Arretche (2012), Canedo (2007) and Avelar (2010), the quantitative study conducted in this work, through statistical procedures using programming software, indicated that these independent variables investigated did not statistically influence the execution of the emergency public policy for cultural support.

Final considerations

In concluding this text, it is important to emphasize that this section does not represent, in any way, the finalization of this work, which remains ongoing. The treatment and study of the data indicated various elements that are subject to investigation and can provide significant contributions to a field that is poorly studied by science: culture.

In this sense, although the present investigation did not yield positive responses regarding the tested elements and, in turn, contributed to reaffirming existing literature (on the contrary), it opened avenues for studies ranging from the analysis of other entities in the federation and the behavior of the execution of their cultural policies to the investigation of other possible independent variables that may affect this political dynamic.

The operationalization and analysis of the data also revealed significant discrepancies regarding the reality of Brazilian capitals, which, although considered uniform concerning their state capacities, proved to be extremely heterogeneous not only in terms of cultural policy execution but also in the elements constituting the public administration experienced daily in the analyzed municipalities.

Certainly, the lack of studies on cultural policies further complicates the execution of tasks venturing into this field. Firstly, we can highlight the difficulty of finding reliable and updated data on Brazilian municipalities that would allow for a robust and solid investigation based on data representing reality. Secondly, it is evident that the absence of scientific studies on the field of cultural policies may also result from (or may be one of the factors influencing) the even greater absence of data from the cultural sector in municipalities. The multiplicity of practices, forms, actions, and faces of culture also reverberates in the management structures of policies for the sector that aim to enable these dynamics in some way. This is an important element of studies on cultural policies, as the object is multifaceted and exists in extremely distinct circumstances and processes. Such a configuration implies an even greater need for studies and information that can address this scenario.

An important concern is how the analyses did not corroborate with the existing literature in the field, particularly regarding the way independent variables interfere with the dependent one. Such a result is unsettling and, besides instigating the continuation of investigations, suggests possible probabilities for the outcome, such as the analyzed field, which referred to capitals, notably with greater capacities than small and medium-sized cities, as well as the very dynamics of the emergency cultural support policy, which, due to its high visibility, especially in the media, and the urgency with which it needed to be implemented to assist a sector severely affected by the global health crisis, may have encountered much greater effort from local administrations to enable it.

A pertinent issue concerns the inherent limitations encountered in the conduction of this study. Given the scope of the analysis and challenges in data accessibility, there is a notable absence of variables pertaining to institutional development within the executive and legislative branches of the municipalities. Future iterations and extensions of this research necessitate the incorporation of novel indicators concerning the structure of cultural agencies and municipal budgets, the legislative framework of these cities, as well as additional control indices beyond GDP and IDEB.

The analysis points to the need for an expanded sample that includes not only large cities but also small and medium-sized municipalities. This expansion aims to observe how the tested variables, along with other potential factors such as educational levels and other

socioeconomic characteristics identified in this study, behave in relation to the implementation of public cultural policies in subnational entities.

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