

The Paradoxes of the Professionalization of Cultural Organizations in Brazil

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Abstract:

The research considers that the financing structure of cultural policies in Brazil has shaped a cultural field, which aimed to the professionalization of their fundraising practices. This paper analyzes the professionalization of cultural organizations in Brazil, discussing how field configuration has shaped their structure, management, and practices to achieve legitimacy in a field. This work in progress is a result of a method triangulation (Garnelo, 2006) that comprehends three steps. First, reviewing the specialized bibliography, seeking to outline the building of public policies concerning cultural fundraising in Brazil and then deals with professionalization itself. Second, exploring data to map the cultural field, we gathered primary data on federal resources for cultural policies (1992 to 2017) from the Ministry of Culture (MinC) database (SalicNet, 2017) and on voluntary federal transfers (1992 to 2017) from the Transparency Portal (SICONV, 2017). We also collected primary data on undergraduate and specialization in cultural management or similar training in Brazil (e-Mec, 2016) and secondary data on cultural policies from the research "Private Foundations and Nonprofit Associations in Brazil (FASFIL), which allows profiling Brazilian nonprofit organizations (FASFIL, 2010). We decided to analyze data on field formation considering this process of formation as means for the professionalization of agents in the cultural field. As an example, we deeply analyze the specific case of organizations that have become “Pontos de Cultura” through the federal program “Cultura Viva”. The data lead to identifying a movement of professionalization in the field of culture that converges with the regions that

historically receive more resources from public cultural policies. In other words, the more resourceful reinforce their incumbent position in the field.

Keywords: professionalization, cultural organizations, cultural policy, institutional logics

Introduction

This research considers that the financing structure of cultural policies in Brazil has shaped a cultural field, which aimed to the professionalization of their fundraising practices. This paper analyzes the professionalization of cultural organizations in Brazil, discussing how field configuration has shaped their **structure, management, and practices** to achieve legitimacy in a field.

Organizations that control strategic resources (Pfeffer and Salancik, 1978) or that are actively legitimate in a field (Suchman, 1995) may favor the more "moderate" and "professional" social movement organizations through selection, allowing them to multiply to the detriment of others, with more divergent or less professionalized positions (Akasartova & Bartley, 2007). The funding dispute for also encourages the professionalization of organizations (Bartley, 2007), which begin to differentiate themselves and be closer to the criteria for selecting funders. Institutional theory considers the process of professionalization as central in the structuring of organizational fields (DiMaggio and Powell, 1991; Fligstein and McAdam, 2012) and the transformation of these same institutional logics (Lounsbury, 2002; Thornton, Ocasio and Lounsbury, 2012). Alves, Nogueira, and Schommer (2013) point out how professionalization may consolidate "new" institutional logics that challenge power and legitimacy in a given organizational field. The exercise of a technical authority in a field may induce a particular form of isomorphic mechanisms that are both normative and coercive (DiMaggio and Powell, 1983).

The culture policy field has undergone a strong inflection in the last two decades in Brazil, since cultural policy has been marked by a model based on fiscal incentives for private organizations (profit or not) to carry out cultural actions through **patronage** (Menezes, Gonçalves & Goulart, 2003; Medeiros, Alves & Farah, 2015). This model generated a series of effects, such as regional concentration and restriction of resources and cultural actions throughout the national territory, by focusing on organizations that already received such

resources (Coelho, 2001; Olivieri, 2004; Silva & Araujo, 2010). This model also shaped the field of cultural organizations by defining which organizations would (and would not) be benefited.

As Ruef (2000) points out, the development of new organizational forms is affected by the positioning of their identities regarding the identities in the field. In this sense, organizations shape themselves "ecologically" based on established relationships between other organizations and the context in which they interact. The present article assumes that the financing structure of public cultural actions in Brazil has shaped a cultural field aimed at professionalization and fundraising, and the article aims to discuss how this configuration has shaped the way cultural organizations act and structure themselves, creating a more cohesive but more restrictive organizational community (Ruef, 2000). In this way, the article analyzes the evidences of professionalization in the brazilian organizational field of culture, understanding that professionalization emerges from both an internal movement of organizations and from exogenous forces, as an incentive for intermediaries or pressures for change.

To do so, it is proposed an exploratory approach on data on the evolution of the composition of the organizational field of culture, merging data on public financing, training and professionalization, and deepening the information in a specific case, of the organizations that have become "culture points" through of the federal program Cultura Viva. The program was chosen because its formulation sought to revert the effects of patronage and to absorb those cultural organizations hitherto outside the logic of the cultural market. This article, therefore, is divided in this introduction, in a brief explanation of the adopted methodology, to then deal with (1) Brazil's cultural financing policies, (2) data on professionalization in the third sector and, especially, cultural organizations, subsidizing the analysis of (3) the case of the Cultura Viva program, thus allowing the (4) final considerations of this article.

The data lead to identifying a movement of professionalization in the field of culture that converges with the regions that historically receive more resources from public cultural policies. In other words, the more resourceful reinforce their incumbent position in the field. As a result, this work points to a paradox: the strategies that cultural organizations enact may be necessary for their sustainability but may compromise the entire field in the long term.

Methodological note

This work in progress is a result of a method triangulation (Garnelo, 2006) that comprehends three steps. First, reviewing the specialized bibliography, seeking to outline the building of public policies concerning cultural fundraising in Brazil and then deals with professionalization itself. Second, exploring data to map the cultural field, we gathered primary data on federal resources for cultural policies (1992 to 2017) from the Ministry of Culture (MinC) database (SalicNet, 2017) and on voluntary federal transfers (1992 to 2017) from the Transparency Portal (SICONV, 2017). We also collected primary data on undergraduate and specialization in cultural management or similar training in Brazil (e-Mec, 2016) and secondary data on cultural policies from the research "Private Foundations and Nonprofit Associations in Brazil (FASFIL), which allows profiling Brazilian nonprofit organizations (FASFIL, 2010). We decided to analyze data on field formation considering this process of formation as means for the professionalization of agents in the cultural field. As an example, we deeply analyze the specific case of organizations that have become "Pontos de Cultura" through the federal program "Cultura Viva".

Once this research analysed general data on the organizational field of cultural, it was chosen to use, as example, a case of cultural policy that, according to Medeiros et al. (2015), establishes some changes in the management aspect of organizations in the field of culture. This is the case of organizations that have become "points of culture" throughout the federal program Cultura Viva. This program was chosen because its formulation sought to modify the effects of cultural policies and to absorb those cultural organizations hitherto outside the logic of the brazilian cultural market. The research uses data collected at the time of the programmes implementation, from 2011 to 2015, such as: a survey with points of culture of the State of São Paulo made in 2013; some interviews with the managers of the Cultura Viva program and managers of points of culture of the State of São Paulo who answered the mentioned survey. Semi-structured interviews were also conducted with public managers and managers of culture points, favoring, whenever possible, the spontaneous speech of the interviewees. These fronts are complementary, and seek to detail the state of the art of the organizational field of culture through the analysis of its structure, management, and practices.

Institutional logics and professionalization

In order to discuss how field configuration has shaped their structure, management, and practices to achieve legitimacy in a field, it is important to understand institutional logics itself. Overall, institutional logics can be understood as historical patterns of cultural symbols and material practices whereby individuals and organizations give meaning to their daily activities, organize time and space, and reproduce their lives and experiences (Thornton, Ocasio & Lounsbury, 2012). As Ruef (2000) highlights, new organizations are most likely to become legitimated in an organizational community when they fit into the preexisting cultural beliefs, meanings, and typifications of then (Ruef, 2000).

Among other elements that provide legitimacy in an organizational field, Institutional theory considers the process of professionalization as central in the structuring of organizational fields (DiMaggio & Powell, 1991; Fligstein & McAdam, 2012). Professionalization is also adamant to the transformation of these same institutional logics (Lounsbury, 2002; Thornton, Ocasio & Lounsbury, 2012), once a professional category can assume the role of the so-called institutional entrepreneur (DiMaggio, 1988) and thereby encourage the institutionalization of a field. In this sense, some authors directly relate professionalization as a fundamental element for increasing efficiency and performance in the public sector:

The level of professionalization and the esteem accorded to these professions alter how managers are likely to manage and, therefore, perhaps affect the level of skills needed to have an impact on performance (O'Toole & Meier, 2015:15).

Despite its importance for the establishment of an organizational field, the approach that this same professionalism has gained in public management scenario, internationally, draws attention. Alves, Nogueira, and Schommer (2013) point out how professionalization may consolidate "new" institutional logics that challenge power and legitimacy in a given organizational field. The exercise of a technical authority in a field may induce a particular form of isomorphic mechanisms that are both normative and coercive (DiMaggio & Powell, 1983).

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Cultural financing policies in Brazil

To guarantee the access and the right to culture, Marilena Chauí (2006) points out three conceptions of cultural policies assumed by the Brazilian public sector over time: (1) the official cultural policy, produced by the State and focused on more classic (and continuous) themes, such as theater, cinema, etc .; (2) the "populist" cultural policy, closer to themes with greater popular appeal in specific actions, such as festivals and free shows; and (3) neoliberal cultural policy, financed through resources from the private sector (Chauí, 2006). Durand (2001), in his turn, presents three forms of sources and ways of funding cultural policies which gets close to Chauí's definition, once they are based on government investments, cultural consumption receipts and private investment: (1) "lost fund" investments, (2) revenues generated *in loco*, including studies pointing to this as one of the largest sources, generating revenues from ticket sales, CDs, food products, among others, and (3) corporate sponsorship.

The process of democratization (and decentralization), began in the mid-1980's in Brazil and established a scenario for social policies as a whole, including cultural policies, stimulated by the various social movements that gain strength in that period. The creation of the Ministry of Culture and the insertion of articles no. 215 and 216 in the Federal Constitution of 1988 marked new parameters and instituted a cultural agenda in Brazilian politics (Silva & Midlej, 2011).

If, in one hand, the democratic opening movement gave breath to cultural policies, on the other hand, the political and economic crisis of the period lead to a new setback, especially

during the Collor administration (Silva & Midlej, 2011). After the Ministry was extinguished, it was recreated, marking a new stage in cultural policies, based on the **patronage** model. This model started with the Sarney Law (Federal Law no. 7,505 of 1986), which provided funds for cultural productions, directioned to the Market. In this sense, companies decided and allocated resources according to their own interests, once they have allocated resources to cultural organizations, and deducted these resources from their due taxes. The State, in this model, acts through tax exempt. Subsequently, other laws were passed along the same lines, such as the Mendonça Law in the Municipality of São Paulo (Municipal Law No. 10,923 of 1990) and the Rouanet Law (Federal Law No. 8,313 of 1991) at the national level, based on tax waivers, so that the amount waived will be invested in cultural actions.

In this context, cultural actions started to be carried out by non-governmental organizations and by the private sector, financed with resources reverted by the State's fiscal renunciation (Olivieri, 2004; Rubim, 2009). In this model, private companies select the projects and request the exemption of some taxes and then, with this resource, finance the projects. In this way, the State loses the role of formulator and implementer of cultural actions, and focuses on encouraging and supervising the actions performed.

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This model is aligned with the process of reduction of the state's scope, which came to dominate the international political agenda in the 80's and 90's. For the formulators of this policy model (Olivieri, 2004), private initiative holds the conditions and resources to perform cultural actions in a broader and more dynamic way, besides being flexible enough to identify and respond to market needs, which would then have the power to choose which cultural actions should be encouraged with public resources.

Critics of the patronage model (Coelho, 2001; Olivieri, 2004; Rubim, 2009) point that this model restricts the cultural sector, by limiting cultural languages and the range of cultural

products encouraged by state resources. Critics relay attention in the fact that the cultural production is limited to a few cultural segments, considered to be “classics ”(such as classical music, theater, cinema, dance, etc.) (Olivieri, 2004, IPEA, 2004).

In a similar sense, Bartley (2007) shows how more "commercial" nongovernmental organizations, which deal with issues closer to those supported by private initiative, have advantages in obtaining financing, on detriment of others. This happens because, in selecting organizations, funding foundations act as institutional entrepreneurs, shaping the organizational field according to the selected organizations. The organizational field, in turn, is an arena socially constructed by organizations that share identity and are interdependent, as shown by Ruef (2000), how analyzes the composition of organizational ecologies through some criteria that allow the formation of new organizations, such as resource mobilization, legal apparatus, among others.

The organizational field of culture in Brazil, following this model, is becoming closer to business marketing, since it is the private initiative that selects the projects to be financed by tax renounce. Regional concentration, resource limitation and spectacularization of cultural actions are among the problems that Durand (2001) considers to be due to the lack of systemic vision for the area, adding as problems the absence of professional managers, the fact that administrative functions are often performed by artistic professionals; and the disinterest on the part of the managers, who are often designated by merely partisan issues, without being involved with the area.

The cultural policies developed by the State, in turn, besides problems in the general scenario, such as the regional and thematic concentration and the low access, present problems of a managerial nature. Among the problems pointed out by Silva and Araújo (2010), the following stand out: low number of servers directly involved with the programs; difficulties in convenants with organized civil society; lack of a legal norm that would establish the relationship between the State and organized civil society; inadequacy and inadequacy of resource flows; and, finally, difficulties on the part of the public administration to coordinate the actions developed (Silva & Araújo, 2010). The results of cultural policy and the criticism of the patronage model thus point to the need for restructuring and broadening the conception of culture, beneficiaries and the territory of policy and action (Sartor, 2011: 90).

The 2003 Workers' Party (PT) election, which opposed the current model, favored alternative models, bringing a proposal to change the directions of Brazilian cultural policy. The Ministry of Culture (MinC) stated that it prioritizes certain points brought by the Constitution, proposing to carry out a public policy of culture based on values such as cultural diversity, from the perspective of culture as a basic right and highlighting its economic importance as a generator of labor and income (MINC, 2010). Several changes began to be made aiming at the implementation of a National Culture System (NCS).

Since 2003, MinC has been linked to other governmental entities, be they state education ministries or state and municipal culture secretariats, through the National Culture Plan, as well as expanded budgetary resources for the sector (Silva & Midlej, 2011). Participatory structures were also created in the figures of the National Conference on Culture and the National Council for Cultural Policy (Silva & Midlej, 2011). In the same sense, states and municipalities have become more prominent through the NCS. It was, in all, seven years between the proposal of the SNC and its approval by the Congress. The purpose of the SNC is guarantee a structure that integrates, articulates and organizes cultural management between the union, states, municipalities and federal district. It is interesting to note how the search for alternative models is accompanied by the proposition of regulatory frameworks for the sector. Among the actions brought by this new approach is the Cultura Viva program.

The Brazilian Cultural Policy in Numbers.

The different cultural policies have built a scenario of large transfers of resources over the period. The data about resource transfer through the Rouanet law demonstrate an important increase of resources to the cultural sector in Brazil in different modalities. From 1993 to 2017, over 7.3 billion were distributed through 51,658 projects. Figure 01 shows this distribution in Reais, Brazilian currency:

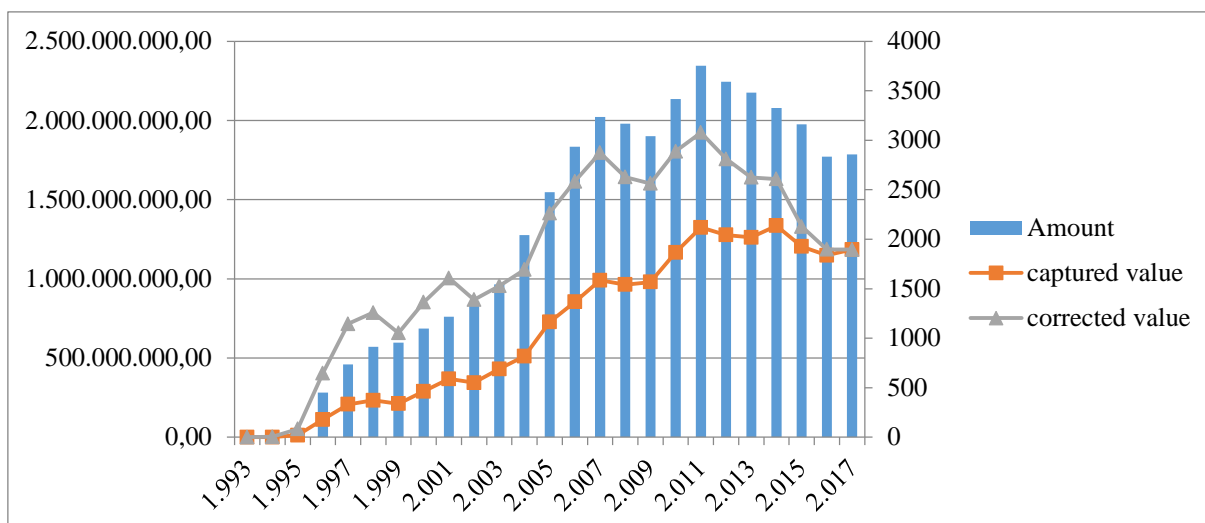


Figure 01 – Amount and funds raised per year

Source: own elaboration, based on Salicnet (2017).

Data monetary corrected by the IPC-A - values for Dec/2017

The data from Figure 01 shows that there was an exponential growth between 1995 to 2007, with a slight fall followed by a resumption of growth until 2011, when there is a decline in the amounts invested, compatible with the period of economic and political instability experienced by Brazil. Even so, the amount invested were still in higher level than the period of implantation of the patronage model.

It is important to note that the values have not been monetarily restated, which may cause changes in the nominal values, but does not significantly influence the presented trend. It is also important to highlight that, from 2010 to 2016, more than 90% of the amounts obtained through the Rouanet law were used by legal entities (SALICNET, 2017), as can be seen in Figure 02.

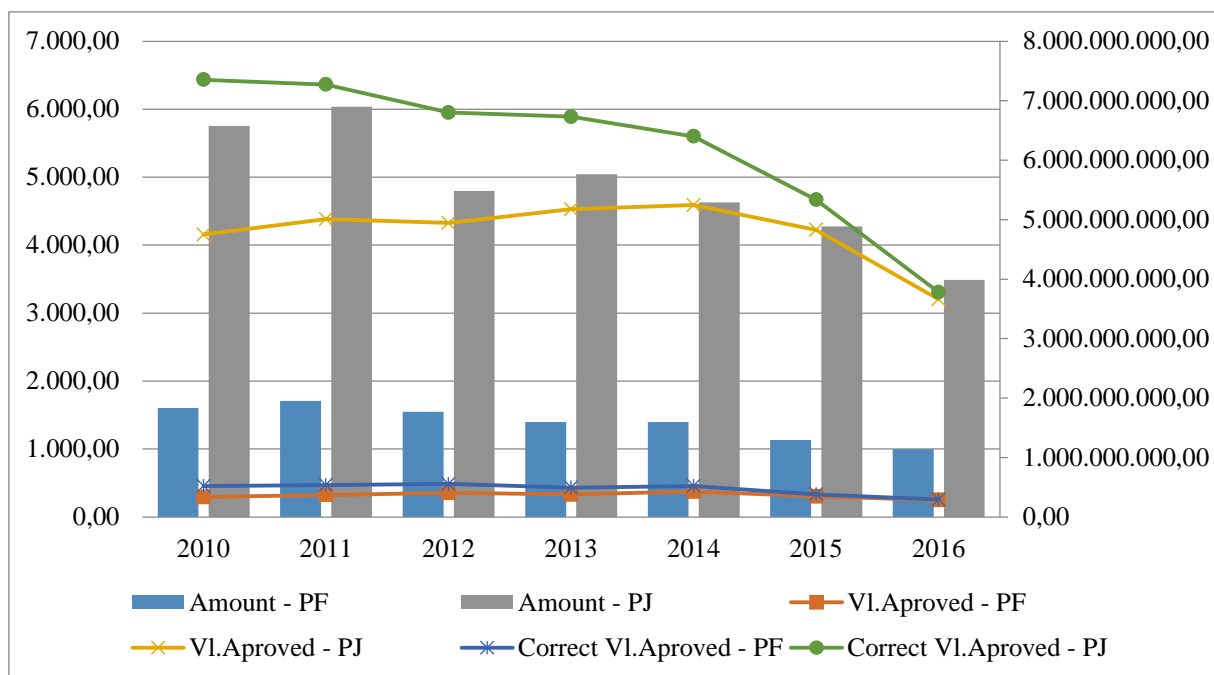


Figure 02 – Amount and funds raised per year and type of organization

Source: own elaboration, based on Salicnet (2017).

Data monetary corrected by the IPC-A - values for Dec/2017

When we analyze the distribution of the resources of the period by region, the mentioned concentration in the southeastern Brazil stands out. In accordance with the aforementioned criticisms, it is possible to observe the concentration of resources in the southeast region, especially São Paulo, according to SalicNet (2017).

Beyond the patronage data, another possible analysis deals with the values transferred to cultural organizations through voluntary transfers made by the Federal Government. From 1996 to 2017, 1,026 projects were directly contracted by the Ministry of Culture, totaling over 166 million dollars (BRAZIL, 2017). Of these amount, the overwhelming majority are resources destined to municipal governments, state governments and public foundations. However, when the organizations that contain the word "municipality", "prefecture" and "secretariat" are excluded from the data result, there are only 185 results for the entire period, totaling 20.5 million dollars, that is, just over 12% of the nominal value. The distribution by federation states is little better, but it is still possible to perceive strong concentration in the southeastern region of Brazil.

Even in the case of covenants with civil society organizations, it is still possible to observe a concentration of investments in the southeast region of the country, considering that the distribution is significantly more balanced when compared to the regional distribution of

patronage resources. One of the possible explanations to these concentration lies in the composition of the Brazilian cultural field.

Professionalism in Organizational Fields: the Cultural Field

It is important to emphasize that the present article considers that organizational fields are dispute fields, and the search for professionalization is understood here as a way to mimic and survive organizations. As Boxenbaum and Jonsson (2017) point out, organizations seek to adapt themselves to a given organizational field from the pressures they receive from this field, but also from the beliefs and values that these same organizations identify in the field. In this way, an organizational field is constituted - and shaped - by the relationship of organizations, which interact from both internal movements of organizations and also from exogenous forces, as an incentive for intermediaries or pressures for change.

Structure: the composition of the field

As institutionalism points out, resource-based organizations shape social movements by favoring and selecting the more "moderate" and "professional" organization profile, thus allowing them to multiply despite of others, with more divergent positions or less professionalized (Aksartova, 2003; Bartley, 2007). As a result, those organizations that aren't aligned with mainstream interests receive less resources and are excluded from the field (Moody, 2008). In this sense, the actions of funding organizations (such as foundations or even government, understood here as intermediaries in the relations of the field of culture) channel organizations to compose (or rebuild) organizational fields. As Ruef (2000) points out, the strength of aggregate organizations in a given field can act as a sort of barrier to the entry of new organizations:

“The aggregate density and size of organizations with similar identities increase the probability of form emergence to a point [cross-form legitimation], but highly saturated regions of the identity space tend to be uninviting to new forms [cross-form competition] (RUEF, 2000:658)

The process of resources centralization in certain cultural organizations takes place in the Brazilian case through governmental funds, that act as selectors of those organizations more aligned with the precepts of these funds, thus shaping the organizational field of culture. In order to adapt to this field, new organizations seek legitimacy by conforming themselves to meanings, beliefs and typifications of such field. In Ruef's words: "*novel organizational forms are most likely to become legitimated when they fit into the preexisting cultural beliefs, meanings, and typifications of an organizational community*" (Ruef, 2000).

To Bartley (2007), the funding dispute also encourages the professionalization of organizations, which begin to differentiate between themselves, and be closer to the criteria for selecting funders. Alves and Koga (2006) identify a professionalization movement of non-profit organizations, even though it was still incipient at the time of their research, and they highlight that there is also a specific association for fundraising, the Brazilian Association of Captors of Resources (ABCR), created in 1999. Moody (2008), in his turn, argues the emergence of a new field based on the professionalization of non-profit organizations.

Among the researches of this field, we highlight a research carried out in 2010 by the Brazilian Association of Non-Governmental Organizations (ABONG), Institute of Applied Economic Research (IPEA) and Brazilian Group of Institutes Foundations and Companies (GIFE) on "Private Foundations and Non-Profit Associations in Brazil", the FASFIL research. Although the data are not ideally updated, it is important to consider that the FASFIL survey is an important reference for knowledge about organized civil society in Brazil, once it brings relevant information about its configuration and distribution in the Brazilian territory. The emergence of organizations in recent years in Brazil is pointed out by FASFIL (2010), according to which organizations created until 1980 correspond to only 12.7% of the total number of non-profit organizations in the country. Reinforcing this characteristic, data from GIFE (2010) indicate that the organizations affiliated to this group also have a young profile. Of the 134 GIFE member organizations, 102 responded to the profile, of which 55 organizations (54%) say they are up to 20 years old. In terms of employability, this sector stands out:

A contingent of 2.1 million people were registered as employees in 290.7 thousand FASFIL in 2010. This represents about ¼ (23%) of the total number of employees in public administration in the same year, 73.5% of total formal employment in the universe of 556.8 thousand

non-profit entities and 5.8% of the total of existing business entities in the cadastre (FASFIL, 2010).

In this sense, the survey (FASFIL, 2010) also points out that, in addition to the highlight in terms of employee registration, about 33% of these employees have a higher level education, which reflects the degree of professionalization in the field. According to the survey (FASFIL, 2010), there are two groups of entities with prominence: entities focused on defending the rights and interests of citizens and religious organizations. Still according to the survey (FASFIL, 2010), the entities geared to Culture and Recreation refer to the third largest group in terms of number of entities, most of which are located in the Southeast and South regions of Brazil (77.4%). According to GIFE (2010), culture is the second main area of activity among its members. In addition to young people, the organizations researched also initiate more intense financing processes after the 2000s (Medeiros et al, 2015).

Management: the professionalization of the organizations

In order to complement the analysis of the profile of cultural organizations, this research notice the structures created to strengthen the sector, specifically the number of undergraduate and specialization courses for cultural management and similar. When the term "culture" is consulted in the e-Mec Portal (2016), a portal from the Brazilian Ministry of Education (MEC), it is necessary to exclude the results that show the term with another sense of training other than cultural management, such as agriculture. With the specific name of "Cultural Management" there is only one technological degree course in the classroom modality, offered by the University of Vale dos Sinos (UNISINOS), current in activity. There are also 10 undergraduate courses in cultural production in different institutions, totaling 1055 vacancies authorized. In the case of specializations, the search, after exclusion of courses not related to cultural management, indicates 34 results distributed in 26 different denominations, according to Figure 03:

Denomination of Specialization Courses	Sum of Vacancies
Management of cultural spaces	1500
Cultural management	510
Cultural Management and Public Policies in the Amazon	106
Cultural management of arts, heritage and tourism	100

Denomination of Specialization Courses	Sum of Vacancies
MBA in Cultural Management: culture, development and Market	100
Training of Cultural Managers from the Northeastern States	86
Cultural Project Management and Event Organization	75
Cultural production	61
Cultural enterprise	60
Cultural Management: culture, development and Market	57
Cultural Management and Production	50
MBA in Cultural Goods: Culture, Economics and Management	50
MBA in Management and Cultural Production	50
Postgraduate in Cultural Management	50
Heritage and Culture Management	40
Management of historical and cultural heritage	40
Cultural management and production (emphasis on cultural events)	40
MBA in cultural management	40
MBA in management of cultural and creative organizations	40
Education and Management of Cultural Heritage	40
Specialization in Cultural Production Management	35
Art Production and Culture Management	30
MBA in cultural project management	30
Planning and Public Management of Cultural Heritage	30
Economy of culture	25
Post-Graduation in Management of Historical and Cultural Heritage	20
Total Geral	3265

Figure 03 - Available vacancies by specialty modality

Source: own elaboration, based on data from the e-Mec Portal (2016).

Considering only the number of vacancies available, it is possible to observe through Figure 04 the emphasis given to courses in cultural management and management of cultural spaces, which may point to the search for more practical subjects - and probably closer to the daily life of workers of cultural field.

It is worth mentioning the plurality of segmentation of the specialization modalities, given that few topics have more than hundred vacancies in the national territory, falling below 200 in all cases, except for space management and cultural management. Another factor is that all specializations are offered in classroom model, even distance learning is getting bigger in Brazil recently. The low number of courses in cultural management, considering the total number of undergraduate and postgraduate courses recognized in the country by the MEC, can demonstrate that it is still a developing field, but it may also indicate that cultural

managers seek to graduate professionally in other more traditional áreas, such as administration and accounting. In order to better understand this process, it is necessary to look directly at the structure of human resources existing in cultural organizations.

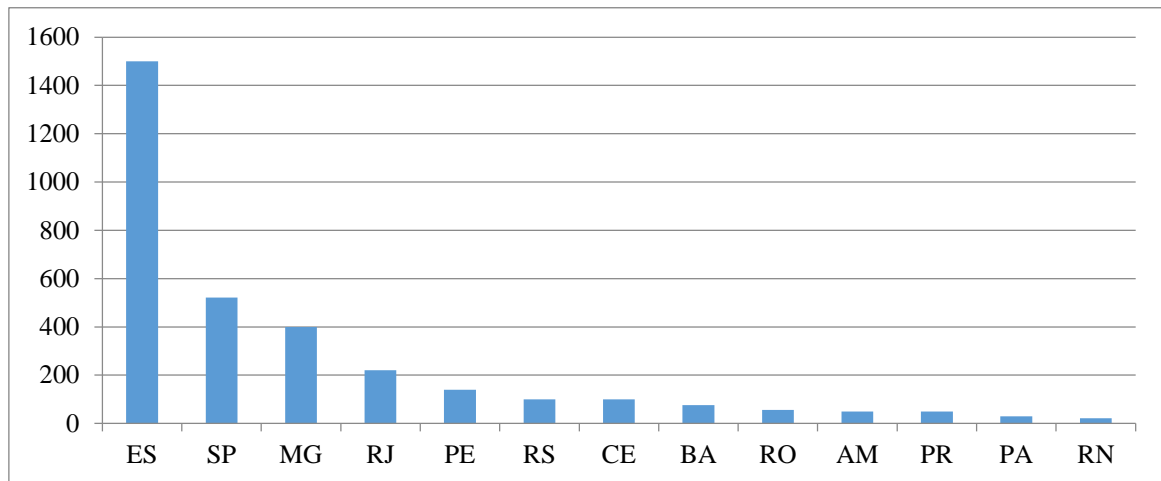


Figure 04 - Vacancies available by federated entity in Brazil

Source: own elaboration, based on data from the e-Mec Portal (2016).

Figure 04 shows that 13 out of 27 Brazilian states have specialization courses in cultural management. It is noteworthy to highlight that Espírito Santo (ES) state has, in comparison with other states. It is due, however, to a single organization, Faculty of Technology Cachoeiro de Itapemirim (FACI), which has over 1500 vacancies authorized for the course of Management of cultural spaces. The data provide important information about the possible effects of cultural policies on the organizational field, but they are not specific enough to say whether the available resources shape the organization and performance of entities. Therefore, it is proposed to study a specific case, the Cultura Viva program.

Practice: A glance of cultural organizations

The Cultura Viva program starts with a simple idea: to encourage (cultural) actions that already exist in the daily life of Brazilian communities, so that they can gain strength and perpetuate themselves. The program does not seek to encourage one or another artistic language, but rather to ensure that languages, in general, are covered by cultural policy. This mechanism, even if simple, carries within the notion of protagonism, since it stipulates how the incentive will occur (transfer of resources through covenants), but does not delimit what will be encouraged: if maracatu, mamulengo, jongo, storytelling, lyric singing, or any other

artistic language, considered traditional or not. What the program want to support are the actions already promoted by a cultural organization or even a certain community. The program, therefore, encourages existing actions, giving people the opportunity to exercise their culture - whatever it may be.

In a institutistic view, the program was created in 2004, during the government of the Minister of Culture, Gilberto Gil, under the name Arte Educação e Cidadania: Cultura Viva. The program arises at the Secretary of Citizenship and Cultural Diversity (SCDC in 2012), whose secretary and formulator of the program was Célio Turino. In the middle of 2008. In July 2014, Federal Law 13,018 was promulgated, which "*institutes the National Policy for Living Culture and gives other measures*", transforming the program into a state policy.

Among many studies regarding the results of the program, some of the arguments used to explain why resources are not sufficient to maintain culture points relate to the need for organizations to identify themselves as professionals. In the words of a point's manager, resources need to be expanded "*because it is insufficient to hire an accountant and an employee*" (Manager Statement 13, in response to the survey given on 10/17/2012).

Organizations indicate that resources are not sufficient to secure administrative professionals, such as accountants, since administrative functions are performed at many points by artists. In fact, these artists are more concerned with the administrative structure than with their cultural action, as expressed by a culture point manager:

Points of culture are guaranteed right to culture and struggle for the public budget, but also have to occupy this thing of culture as business: occupy the foundations, get incentive policies and tax waivers. This debate is important, but it is not valid for everyone, because they will lose the characteristic of their cultural making and will become a more structured organization, with the training sector, sector of this, sector of that [...] The program should not stop for all go to the market. If the guy has the potential but he does not want it, what? Are you going to stop making culture? It has to do with the bonds they have, with what they consider to be important. There is managing a contract: if it is fulfilling the object of the contract, if it is delivering something with quality, why not continue? (Testimony of the Manager 04, interview granted on 01/24/2013).

Analyzing the answers given by the organizations that become points of culture, it is possible to deepen this debate, and to highlight some perceptions from the management structures of the culture points, or their absence:

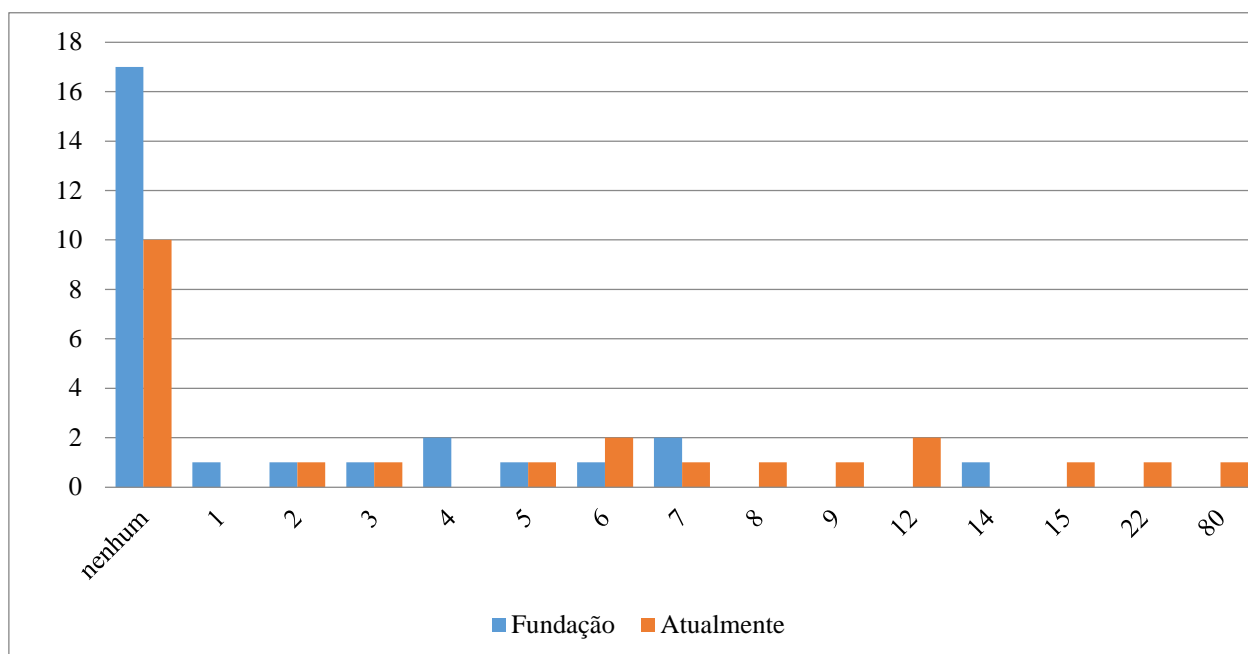


Figure 05 – Number of service providers, at the time of the organization's foundation to 2012.

Source: own elaboration, based on data from survey made in 2012.

Figure 05 shows the number of service providers in which organization, at the time of its foundation, and at the moment of the response, that is, 2012. Most organizations (17 of 27 answers) do not rely on service providers, a feature that remains strong currently. Even so, it is possible to highlight that organizations increase the number of service providers from the point of culture project, since fewer organizations do not currently have a service provider (10 of 23 answers), and more organizations have more than five service providers.

Due the fact that they are non-profit and private entities, the organizations have a management framework, which is composed as follow:

Function	Functions Organization has	More than two functions	Organization title	Position linked to projects	Total answers
Diretor	95,0% (19)	35,0% (7)	45,0% (9)	25,0% (5)	20

Coordinator	82,6% (19)	26,1% (6)	21,7% (5)	69,6% (16)	23
Supervisor	66,7% (2)	0,0% (0)	0,0% (0)	100,0% (3)	3
Project management	72,7% (8)	0,0% (0)	9,1% (1)	81,8% (9)	11
Others	73,3% (11)	13,3% (2)	6,7% (1)	46,7% (7)	15

Figure 06: Management board of organizations that become culture points

Source: own elaboration, based on data from survey made in 2012.

Not all cultural organizations have reported on their management framework. Even so, Figure 06 shows that the composition of the management board of organizations is quite diverse. Most organizations have a director and a coordinator, the first being most often at the head of the organization, and the second most often linked to projects. The intention of this questioning was to identify if there are more fixed positions directly linked to the organization, or more positions linked to projects. From the results obtained, it is not possible to make such inference. On the other hand, the "others" option pointed to positions that had not been considered initially, and to have a clearer idea about the composition of the management of the organizations.

From Figure 06, it is possible to interpret that there is participation in the points and points of culture of intermediate actors, that is, that they perform functions not necessarily directed towards the culture, but that allow it to be realized. This is the case of the administrative assistant, the treasurer, the secretary, among other positions that make the organization more professional, and indicates that there is also a normative isomorphism in the Cultura Viva program, due to the need for the organization to work on technical and administrative issues.

Figure 07 enables to interpret that there is participation of intermediate actors at points of culture, that is, that there are positions whom perform functions not necessarily directed towards the culture, but that allow it to be realized. This is the case of the administrative assistant, the treasurer, the secretary, among other positions that make the organization more professional, and indicates that there is also a normative isomorphism in the Cultura Viva program, due to the need for the organization to work on technical and administrative issues.

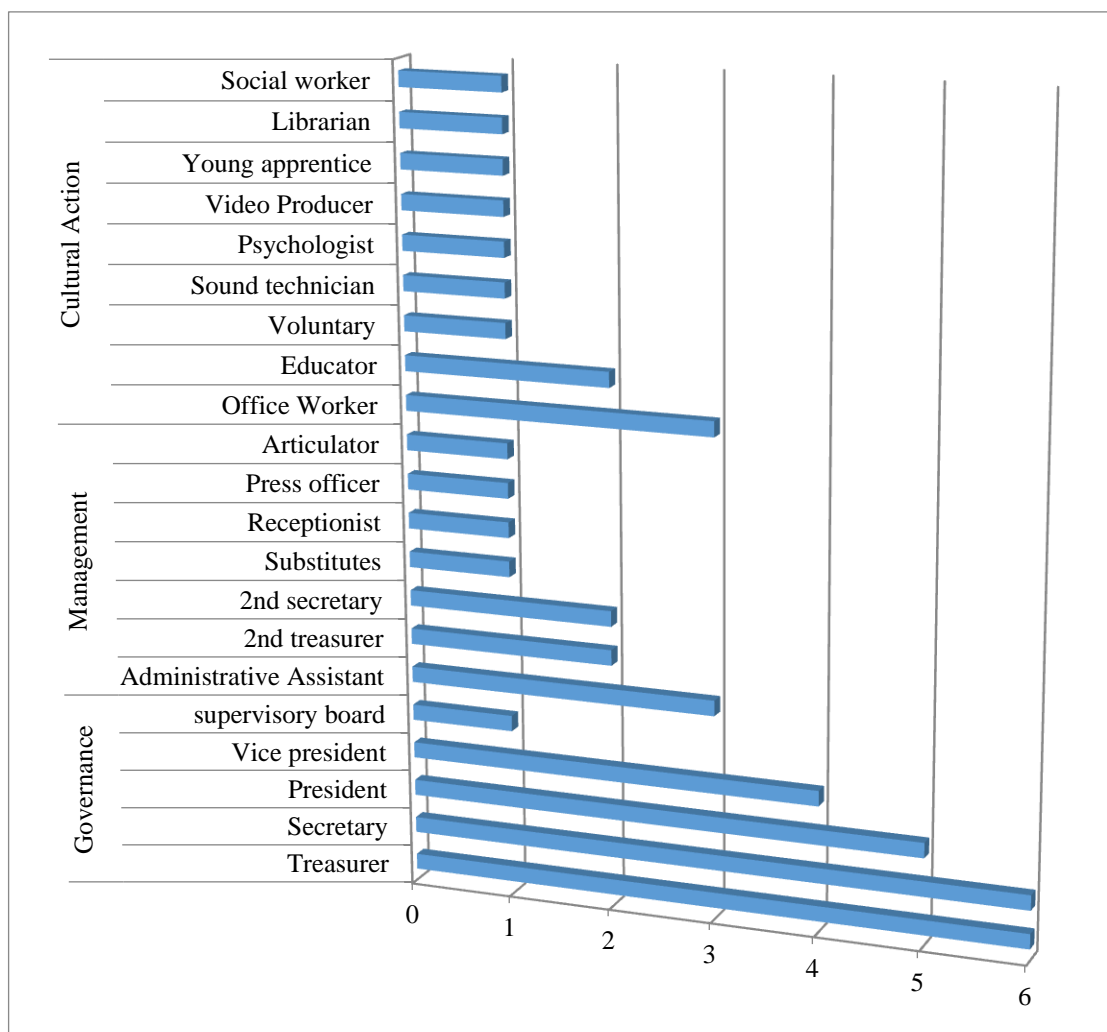


Figure 07 – Other functions in the management of organizations.

Source: own elaboration, based on data from survey made in 2012.

Such intermediary actors are more present in larger organizations, as can be seen from the testimony of a culture point manager:

The organization, because it has national coverage, has a funding structure. All account rendering is concentrated at the organization's headquarters, and the execution is carried out by the education centers in the municipalities (Manager's statement 22, interview given on 01/21/2013).

According to Hirsch (2000), the development of information technologies, which reduce costs and "jump" links in the productive chain, change the organizational field of culture. In this sense the importance of intermediary actors for culture is altered once the

structure undergoes reorganization, and becomes easy to more people manage cultural organizations.

It is possible to make a parallel with the changes brought by the points of culture. Cultural organizations that become points of culture are not aligned with the cultural mainstream, that is, they were not part of the traditional organizational field of culture, and therefore have no link with intermediate actors. On the other hand, some organizations start to hire intermediary agents because of the point Project design. Other organizations, in order to fulfill this role, have artists who accumulate "bureaucratic" functions, running the risk of losing the initial focus of their cultural action. This factor is pointed out by some managers of culture points as critical:

Prior to the MinC's announcement we never had the opportunity to manage public funds. This has matured us, allowed us to have a headquarters capable of holding various cultural events, receiving theater groups. We also manage 6 public covenants for cultural projects. We became important and empowered cultural actors. [Even empowered] we realized that the resource turned us into cultural producers and there was no income to pay for our services. We come to exist, but we continue to explore our work without altering our quality of life. We gain respect, political position, new partners, evidence and experience. However, we have not been able to gain economic autonomy [...] We become concrete protagonists of public policy for culture, although it does not reflect income improvement, it has repercussions on our ability to achieve our ideals (Manager Statement 21, survey granted on 12/01/2012).

The difficulties are those that we do not have employees for all services and we end up getting overwhelmed with so much to do and short time once this is a volunteer job, but requires a professional work. The main difficulty is that we are exhausted with this situation of not being able to run a government-supported project, and this makes it harder to continue with this (Manager Statement 13, survey granted on 10/6/2012).

It is possible to perceive, therefore, how some organizations, faced with the difficulties of having their first contact with public financing, begin to be structured to be able to deal with resources in a more "professional" way, either by a movement of identification and internal stimulation, or by the growth of incentives outside professionalization. After the first contact with public funding, there was learning, reinforcing the mimetic characteristic (BOXEBAUM & JONSSON, 2017) of the program, as reinforced by the statements:

The gains [with the program] were the experience because we had to learn how to do projects, spreadsheets, reports, accounts and budgets. We learned to seek partnerships and support all the movements that needed our space, our material, our support (Manager's Statement 13, in response to the survey given on 06/10/2012).

Financing funds can encourage the professionalization of NGOs, which create bureaucratic divisions in their structure (Bartley, 2007). It is possible to perceive this effect through the data presented, as well as the data of projects financed by other government agencies, institutes and foundations, suggesting a growing professionalization of organizations. Because they are cultural organizations, they run the risk of bureaucratizing too much and losing the focus of their cultural making. This is because, for some managers, cultural policies must guarantee the right to do cultural, where *"culture points do not have to be educated to go to the market, they have to be incorporated into other public policies, health, education"* (Statement of the Manager 04, interview granted on 01/24/2013). This position is reflected by some members of the network, who recognize in formations for culture points a way to "commodify" actions. Even if it guarantees the continuity of the organization, this merchandising is pointed out, for some managers, as a way of modifying their cultural making.

In the last training [for managers of points of culture of the São Paulo network], there was a fundraising panel only, and the girl started talking about social responsibility, to enter into the logic of companies, and she was one of the investors. So she's talking to an audience: come and look for me, and to find me you need to know that about me, this and that. She is competent, has addressed important points, but the point of

culture has not this "footprint." And the people in the lineup started questioning if they should leave the event. We thought that the event was ours, we could not leave, we needed to take the space, ask the speech and say that we do not want to go to the market, we want to participate in public policies, in a broader way. (Manager's Statement 04, interview given on 01/24/2013).

It is worth noting that management positions may not represent all points of culture, as suggested by the low number of responses to the survey. In some cases, managers say they do not have such a structure. This is because, even with management structures, many organizations reported having no employees, and work with autonomous and sporadic volunteers and service providers. Célio Turino (interview given on January 22, 2013) states that almost 50% of workers at culture points act voluntarily. Although it is a characteristic of community cultural action, it is worth thinking about not remunerating such people, which can both enhance their cultural performance and demonstrate the precariousness of work in cultural points, since resources are not enough to hire the necessary help.

With the professionalization of cultural organizations, it is possible to affirm that these organizations are beginning to solidify in the organizational field of culture. On the other hand, they are distinct organizations from hitherto belonging to the field, which can lead to the change of the organizational field.

Final Considerations

The present article started from the assumption that the Brazilian cultural policies has shaped a cultural field directed to the professionalization and fundraising. In order to do so, the research seek to demonstrate how the financing configuration has shaped, as consequence, the form of actuation and structuring of cultural organizations. The theoretical framework sought to apply a form of analysis to the processes of professionalization in the field of culture in Brazil. The triangulation of methods allowed the interpretation of primary and secondary data collected on distinct fronts, such as the collection of primary and secondary data on cultural policies, third sector, and cultural organizations.

The data also shows the consolidation of training courses in cultural management and related themes, which demonstrate the strength of the professionalization in this field. It is interesting to note that these are active courses, which demonstrates the maintenance of an

identified and potentially consolidated demand. The case exemplified, in its turn, helps to interpret the information provided by the e-MEC (2016), and the financing data of other cultural policies, as it demonstrates how the professionalization of cultural organizations can be understood as a factor that helps solidify these organizations in the field of culture.

It is possible to observe how the different cultural policies can encourage the professionalisation of organizations, which, starting from the possibilities of financing by other governmental bodies, institutes and foundations, begin to create bureaucratic divisions in their structure, mimicking the profile of historically consolidated organizations in the field of culture. It is therefore suggested that the growth of funding sources and training courses culminates in a growing professionalization of organizations.

The data presented, despite its limitations, also point out that there is a movement of professionalization in the organizational field of culture coinciding with regions that historically receive more resources through different cultural policies. One of the hypotheses that arise from the comparison of the presented data can be about possible correlations between availability of resources and supply and search for specializations in a certain theme.

It is worth mentioning that the present article does not exhaust the theme, but opens the possibility for future research that seeks to understand the reasons for professionalization of the cultural field, as well as its impacts on the future scenario.

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