

Forum: Practical Perspectives

Budget analysis of the 'Brazil Quilombola Program' in the state of Maranhão and nationwide: the decline of a public policy

Tadeu Gomes Teixeira¹

Camila Alves Machado Sampaio²

¹ Universidade Federal do Maranhão / Departamento de Contabilidade e Administração, São Luís / MA — Brazil

² Universidade Federal do Maranhão / Departamento de Sociologia e Antropologia, São Luís / MA — Brazil

One milestone of the public policies directed to the Quilombola communities in Brazil was the launch of the 'Brazil Quilombola Program' (PBQ) and its institutionalization with the 'Quilombola Social Agenda'. The objective of this article is to analyze the budgetary allocation of the 'Brazil Quilombola Program' and its relation with the implementation of public policies in Brazil and the state of Maranhão. The methodology was based on data analysis of the Brazilian Law of Budgetary Guidelines for the period 2004 to 2014, and on documentary analysis. The budget data was obtained from the online portal 'Siga Brasil' of the Federal Senate, which compiles data from the Federal Government's Integrated System of Financial Administration (Siafi). Documentary analyzes were carried out in the State Plan for Integrated Actions of the Brazil Quilombola Plan in Maranhão and in the Report on the Implementation of the Brazil Quilombola Plan in Maranhão. The data gathered led to the conclusion that the Brazil Quilombola Program operated as a governance device that symbolically included Quilombola communities, apparently meeting demands of social movements. However, in practice, it effectively excluded them, because of the budget's regulation. In addition, it was noted the decline, at least in terms of budget, of public policies with racial cut in the country within the federal government.

Keywords: Brazil Quilombola Program; public policy; public budget; traditional people.

Análise orçamentária do Programa Brasil Quilombola no Brasil e no Maranhão: o ocaso de uma política pública

As políticas públicas direcionadas às comunidades quilombolas tiveram como marco o lançamento do Programa Brasil Quilombola (PBQ) e sua institucionalização com a Agenda Social Quilombola. O objetivo deste artigo é analisar a alocação orçamentária do PBQ e seu nexos com a execução de políticas públicas no Brasil e no Maranhão. A metodologia utilizada baseia-se em análise de dados das Leis Orçamentárias Anuais entre 2004 e 2014 e em análise documental. Os dados orçamentários foram obtidos no Portal Siga Brasil, do Senado Federal, que compila dados do Sistema Integrado de Administração Financeira (Siafi) do governo federal. Foram realizadas análises documentais no Plano Estadual de Ações Integradas do Plano Brasil Quilombola do Maranhão e no Relatório de Execução do Plano Brasil Quilombola, também do Maranhão. A análise temática de conteúdo orientou o trabalho com os dados. Os dados reunidos conduziram à conclusão de que o PBQ operou como um dispositivo de governo que incluiu simbolicamente as comunidades quilombolas, aparentemente atendendo demandas de movimentos sociais. Contudo, excluiu-as efetivamente, via regulação orçamentária. Além disso, constatou-se o ocaso, ao menos orçamentário, de políticas públicas com recorte racial no país no âmbito do governo federal.

Palavras-chave: Programa Brasil Quilombola; políticas públicas; orçamento; povos tradicionais.

DOI: <http://dx.doi.org/10.1590/0034-761220170323>

ISSN: 1982-3134 

Article submitted on October 16, 2017 and accepted for publication on May 9, 2018.

[Translated version] Note: All quotes in English translated by this article's translator.

The authors thank the Foundation for Research and Scientific and Technological Development of Maranhão (FAPEMA) for the financial support to develop this article. The authors also thank the reviewers for their contributions to improve this work.

Análisis presupuestario del Programa Brasil Quilombola en Brasil y en Maranhão: el ocaso de una política pública

Las políticas públicas dirigidas a las comunidades quilombolas tuvieron como marco el lanzamiento del Programa Brasil Quilombola (PBQ) y su institucionalización con la Agenda Social Quilombola. El objetivo de este artículo fue analizar la asignación presupuestaria del Programa Brasil Quilombola y su nexa con la ejecución de políticas públicas en Brasil y en Maranhão. La metodología utilizada se basó en el análisis de datos de las Leyes Presupuestarias anuales entre 2004 y 2014 y análisis documental. Los datos presupuestarios fueron obtenidos en el Portal Siga Brasil del Senado Federal, que compila datos del Sistema Integrado de Administración Financiera (Siafi) del gobierno federal. Se realizaron análisis documentales en el Plan Estadual de Acciones Integradas del Plan Brasil Quilombola de Maranhão y en el Informe de Ejecución del Plan Brasil Quilombola también de Maranhão. El análisis temático de contenido orientó el trabajo con los datos. Los datos reunidos condujeron a la conclusión de que el Programa Brasil Quilombola operó como un dispositivo de gobierno que incluyó simbólicamente a las comunidades quilombolas, aparentemente atendiendo demandas de movimientos sociales. Sin embargo, las excluyó efectivamente, a través de la regulación presupuestaria. Además, se constató el ocaso, al menos presupuestario, de políticas públicas con recorte racial en el país en el ámbito del gobierno federal.

Palabras clave: Programa Brasil Quilombola; políticas públicas; presupuesto; pueblos tradicionales.

1. INTRODUCTION

'Brazil Quilombola Program' (PBQ) was launched in 2004 and represented a landmark in terms of public policies for the quilombola communities. The program was institutionalized together with the 'Quilombola Social Agenda' in the Decree 6261 (2007).

According to official data, the estimate population of the quilombola population in Brazil was 214 thousand families in 2012, reaching about 1.17 million people (*Secretaria Especial de Políticas de Promoção da Igualdade Racial* [Seppir], 2012). The data, however, are very imprecise and underestimated, which makes it difficult to plan specific public and social policies for this population (Arruti, 2009).

The legal definition expressed in the Decree 4887 (2003), states that quilombola communities are groups with ethnic and racial features that are self-attributed and that have their own characteristic history, specific relations with the territory and presumption of black ancestry related to slavery. Although the legal definition does not consider dynamic aspects of social and racial identities, as Almeida (2002) and Leite (2008) point out, this concept is put forward by the government to operationalize public policies.

The *Guia de políticas públicas para comunidades quilombolas* (Seppir, 2013) (Public Policies Guide for Quilombola Communities) states that the community agenda was incorporated into the federal government's Pluriannual Planning for the first time in the budget for the period 2004-2007, and has since been incorporated into budget planning since the launch of the PBQ until 2012. The 2012-2015 Pluriannual Plan called *Brasil Maior* (Greater Brazil) included the coordination, monitoring and evaluation of initiatives aimed at the quilombola communities in the thematic Program of Combating Racism and Promotion of Racial Equality, under the responsibility of the Special Secretariat for the Promotion of Racial Equality (Seppir).

In analysis of the PBQ and of policies aimed at the quilombola communities, it was possible to observe low levels of access to public and social policies, including in the case of the quilombola communities that went through land titling (Jorge, Brandão, & Dalt, 2016).

The objective of this article is to analyze the budgetary allocation of the PBQ and its connection with the execution of public policies for quilombola communities in Brazil and particularly in the state of Maranhão.

The research questions guiding the study are:

- What does the budget allocation of the PBQ show about the communities' sparse access to public policies?
- How many resources are transferred to states and municipalities, and especially to the state of Maranhão?
- In the state of Maranhão, which policies and sectors received resources allocated from the budget for the PBQ?

Therefore, this study analyzes the allocative and redistributive functions of the public budget (R. A. Musgrave & P. B. Musgrave, 1980), starting from the assumption that governmental actions do not contemplate social groups in the same proportion, and the political process strongly influences the budget proposals and their respective areas of expenditure (Stiglitz, 1999). Thus, it is a matter of analyzing, as recommended by Maciel (2013), how the volume of budget allocation expresses governmental priorities.

The discussion on the budget allocation for quilombola communities is part of a broader issue of the relationship between the equality/inequality, difference/recognition and equality/difference binomials, problematizing the very notion of citizenship forged in the context of modernity.

Lavalle (2003) argues that the traditional conception of citizenship has agglutinated tensions around the relationship between these binomials and their political-institutional repercussions. This is a discussion that reshapes the conception of citizenship systematized by T. H. Marshall (1967) and complemented by Bendix (2017) on the characteristics of the process of centralization of modern national states with a citizenship limited to national territorial dimensions. They are, therefore, characteristics such as the universality of citizenship rights, the territorialization of rights, linking them to national territories, as well as an individualization of the exercise of rights, directly expressing a relationship between states and social subjects. These are the dimensions that have been scrutinized and sometimes re-signified.

It is a process that accompanies the shift in institutional political scenarios that have solidified Western social democracies (Esping-Andersen, 1991) and their universal policies through a context of globalization in which the inequalities and differences between social groups and their policies have been translated by multilateral agencies (such as the World Bank) and other political actors, as a necessary focus of public and social policies, either to meet specific demands or to demand focalized recognition (Ugá, 2004).

In this way, it is a matter of analyzing policies for quilombola communities based on the logic of recognition (Fraser, 2006), verifying their ability to be translated – when it comes to public policies – in resources allocated to sectoral policies that serve specific social groups. It is necessary to identify how quilombola citizenship is associated with budgeted actions capable of mitigating vulnerable socioeconomic conditions. In a normative approach, Fraser (2006) argues that the way to fairly promote citizenship involves recognition of differences as well as the need for redistribution, especially for gender and race.

This work was developed to answer, in addition to the operational research questions presented above, the following question:

- Would the budget policies for the quilombola communities be redistributive and, therefore, representative of a process of recognition of these groups?

The research was carried out using data of the federal budget and the analysis of documents of the federal government and the state government of Maranhão.

In the first stage of the research a process of mapping the federal government's policies for the quilombola communities was carried out. The mapping starts from the assumption that there is a constitutional provision (Article 68 of the Transitional Constitutional Provisions Act [ADCT], 1988) for the land regularization of quilombola territories, which needs to be translated into policies in order to be implemented. Based on the mapping of the legislation regarding quilombolas, it was verified that the Quilombola Social Agenda (Decree 6261, of 20 November 2007) was the institutionalization of the PBQ, which had been formulated to integrate the 2004-2007 Pluriannual Plan. Thus, the PBQ axes contained the following government actions to be analyzed: access to land, infrastructure and quality of life, productive inclusion and citizenship.

The PBQ budget data was obtained from the internet portal of the Brazilian Senate, on the platform *Siga Brasil*. The platform compiles data from the Federal Government's Integrated Financial Administration System (Siafi). The information was extracted from the platform and organized using Microsoft Excel software. The data were tabulated based on two criteria: Annual Budget Act (LOA) and the Program, which resulted in two spreadsheets with the results of the PBQ, the Confrontation with Racism and Promotion of Racial Equality. Finally, descriptive statistics guided data analysis, resulting in tables and charts showing the budget execution.

The study used a qualitative (Mozzato & Grzybovski, 2011), thematic content analysis (Bardin, 2009) in order to conduct the document analysis. The reading itinerary was organized to map the actions carried out by the axis of the Quilombola Social Agenda, which were the elements that constituted the significant thematic categories (Moraes, 1999), that is, infrastructure and quality of life, access to land, productive inclusion and citizenship.

Within the scope of the federal government, in addition to the legislation and parts of the PPA and LOA between 2004 and 2016, the Public Policy Guide for the PBQ (Seppir, 2013), the Policy Report for Traditional Communities (Seppir, 2012) and the Racial Equality Agenda 2012, Quilombola Communities and Traditional Peoples and Communities (Mpog, 2012).

In the state of Maranhão, the Extraordinary State Secretariat for Racial Equality (Seir) and the State Steering Committee of the PBQ provided documents related to the program. Thus, analyzes were carried out on two government documents of that state: the State Plan for Integrated Actions of the *Brasil Quilombola* Plan in Maranhão (Estado do Maranhão, 2012), formulated and published in 2012, and the Report on the execution of the *Brasil Quilombola* Plan in Maranhão (Estado do Maranhão, 2014), released at the end of the of governor Sarney's mandate in 2014.

Understanding the effectiveness of government actions is a way of analyzing the performance of public policies and state performance (Kettl, 1988). The importance of this work, therefore, is in its objective of evaluating the impact of budget allocation on public policies for quilombola communities, that is, to analyze how the budget allocation has repercussions on programs and actions and, therefore, on the target audience (Costa & Castanhar, 2003). In the case analyzed here, it is a question of analyzing the initial input for any actions defined in the framework of the PBQ.

The article presents three sections for the discussion, in addition to this introduction and the final considerations. The first section outlines the characteristics of the PBQ. Then, in a coordinated way, the PBQ budget programming in the national context is examined to find out what the resources

availability and the budget execution show about the governmental action. Then, the PBQ is examined in the state of Maranhão.

The data gathered led to the conclusion that the PBQ operated as a government device that symbolically included quilombola communities, apparently meeting the demands and agendas of social movements. However, it effectively excluded this population, by means of budgetary regulation. In addition, there was a decline, at least in budgetary terms, of racial-based public policies in the country under the federal government, based on the LOA of 2014.

2. PUBLIC POLICIES FOR THE QUILOMBOLA POPULATION: PROGRAMA BRASIL QUILOMBOLA (PBQ)

There are several definitions for the concept of public policy and there is no consensus in the academic literature. Dye (1984) defines public policies as what the government chooses to do, which differs from the definition of Peters (1986), who understands them as the sum of government activities, by direct or delegated action, that impact or influence the lives of citizens. Lasweel (1958), on the other hand, affirms that public policies are decisions and analysis that imply answering who gains what, why and what difference it makes. Heidemann (2009) also indicates that there are two essential elements in public policies: action and intention.

The definitions, although with differences, indicate a centrality of the role of the State in the formulation and implementation of public policies. In a review of the literature on the subject, Souza (2006) and Frey (2000), discuss the definitions and summarize public policy as the field of knowledge that simultaneously proposes to know “the government in action” and to propose changes in the direction of these actions. The formulation of public policies is the translation of political proposals into programs and actions that aim at results or changes in concrete aspects of the social world.

Thus, the processes of formulation and implementation of public policies are important to change the course of a given situation, and it is also important the verification and evaluation of public policies, as highlighted by the various models related to the public policies (Faria, 2005; Trevisan & Bellen, 2008).

The budget analysis of the PBQ, therefore, is oriented towards an evaluation of the implementation of the program through the budgetary function, analyzing the role of actions of a redistributive nature.

According to Domingues (2007), the agenda of public policies aimed at the black population in Brazil results from a framework outlined since the mid-1980s, when the mobilizations of black movements and social actors involved in the anti-racist struggle intensified. According to Rodrigues (2010), the creation of agendas of racial-based public policies resulted from the strategic alignment of several black groups in order to present demands, above all, to the Executive Branch.

As a result of the mobilization of the black movement in the first half of the 1990s, and especially since the “Zumbi dos Palmares March for Citizenship and for Life”, held in November 1995, strategies of struggle and mobilization were outlined in the document entitled “*programa de superação do racismo e da desigualdade*” (program to overcome racism and inequality), encompassing a set of public policies aimed at including race in government information systems; granting fiscal incentives for companies that adopt policies to promote racial equality; and implementing affirmative actions for access to higher education (Rodrigues, 2010).

In 2003, the Special Secretariat for Policies for the Promotion of Racial Equality (Seppir) was created to monitor and coordinate policies to promote racial equality. According to Rodrigues (2010), this Secretariat has been asked to comply with the policies proposed in the program to overcome

racism and inequality, as well as to honor the commitments made in Durban, South Africa, at the International Conference to Combat Racism in 2001.

It was in the 2000s, according to Lima (2010), that racial-based public policies stood out in Brazil, especially during the Lula administration, as a result of the recognition that socioeconomic inequalities in the country affected, more intensely, the black and indigenous population. In addition, the debate about how important it is for citizenship to encompass specific social demands, such as territorialization and identity-based policies following the logic of recognition, has permeated the Brazilian agenda on racial and affirmative policies. In this sense, a set of affirmative policies with the purpose of mitigating social inequalities were triggered, especially in the areas of education and health (Lima, 2010).

The policies for quilombola communities, although not affirmative actions, are within this context. The federal government launched the PBQ in 2004. The coordination of the program was the responsibility of Seppir in partnership with 11 ministries that comprised the program's Steering Committee. Decentralization of management was done through coordination with states and municipalities and the establishment of State Steering Committees responsible for consolidating the State Plans of Integrated Actions (Seppir, 2013).

After the PBQ, the Quilombola Social Agenda was established by Decree n° 6261 (2007). With this presidential decree four priority axes were established in order to focalize public policies aimed at this public:

1. **Infrastructure and quality of life:** allocation of infrastructure works such as basic sanitation, electricity, housing, etc., and construction of social facilities to meet health, housing and social assistance demands;
2. **Access to land:** follow up of the processes of certification and land titling for quilombola communities;
3. **Productive inclusion and local development:** support for local productive development capable of guaranteeing the economic and social sustainability of communities;
4. **Rights and citizenship:** encourage initiatives to promote rights of quilombola communities with different government agencies, considering issues of access to communities, major works, conflicts, access to water, energy and other key elements.

Thus, programs for land regularization (recognition, demarcation and land titling), for health, (such as the *Programa Saúde da Família* (Family Health Program) and *Saúde Bucal* (Oral Health), actions of the National Health Foundation for the supply of drinking water and sanitary improvements that led to the so-called "PAC Quilombola", etc.), for education, environmental protection and social assistance, were added to the PBQ, as well as policies such as *Luz para Todos* (Electricity for all), *Fome Zero* (Zero Hunger) and *Bolsa Família* (conditional cash transfer program), which were also directed to this public.

In analyzing policies for the quilombola communities, Arruti (2009) states that the purpose of the PBQ was to coordinate actions dispersed by various ministries and government sectors. Decentralization, therefore, is a hallmark of the program, avoiding that only a government sphere or agency bears the responsibility of meeting the demands of this public. For Petinelli (2014), this is a feature associated with policies to promote racial equality in Brazil. Based on a research that analyzed the capacities of national conferences to influence sectoral policies in Brazil during the Lula

administration, the author argues that policies to promote racial equality stand out in two aspects: 1) low degree of legal institutionalization and high degree, in the states, of deconcentration and decentralization of racial-based public policies. This is a consequence of 2) the multiple organizations of civil society grouped around the black movement that made up the participation framework within the analyzed conferences, reflecting the plurality of the composition of the movement.

Thus, the cross-sectional organization of the PBQ precedes and aligns with the Cross-sectional and Thematic Agendas implemented on the basis of the 2012-2015 Pluriannual Plan whose suggestions or formulations have taken place in national forums and conferences (Progrebinschi, 2012; Santos & Avelino, 2014)¹.

According to data presented in the Diagnosis of the PBQ (Seppir, 2012), in 2012 there were 1,948 communities recognized by the Brazilian State, and 1,834 were certified by the *Fundação Cultural Palmares*. By May 2016 this number had already reached 2849. In the state of Maranhão there are 653 communities officially recognized by the *Fundação Cultural Palmares* (2016).

3. CHARACTERISTICS OF THE BUDGET OF THE PBQ: THE SUNSET OF A GOVERNAMENTAL PROGRAM

The guide to public policies for quilombola communities (Seppir, 2013) states that the community's agenda was incorporated into the Pluriannual Plan of the federal government for the first time in the 2004-2007 Pluriannual Plan, symbolically marking the inclusion of the topic in public policies.

For the execution of government actions and programs, there is a need for annual planning and funding by the federal government through the LOA. The PBQ had its first allocation of resources in the LOA in 2005, and was funded as a government program until 2011.

The planned and executed budget of the PBQ is shown in Table 1.

TABLE 1 BRAZIL QUILOMBOLA PROGRAM, BUDGET EXECUTION, 2005-2014

Fiscal year	Legally authorized budget- LOA	Amount executed (Paid to suppliers)	Percentage of the total of the program
2005	R\$ 30,462,763.00	R\$ 7,134,148.84	23.41%
2006	R\$ 52,034,263.00	R\$ 14,105,671.18	27.10%
2007	R\$ 51,171,234.00	R\$ 8,819,537.32	17.23%
2008	R\$ 71,660,952.00	R\$ 5,096,322.08	7.11%
2009	R\$ 55,871,846.00	R\$ 9,622,138.07	17.22%
2010	R\$ 83,860,371.00	R\$ 23,395,638.21	27.89%
2011	R\$ 55,723,757.00	R\$ 28,705,098.94	51.51%
2012	0	R\$ 3,948,701.80	
2013	0	R\$ 1,544,006.31	
2014	0	R\$ 313,048.56	

Source: Elaborated by the authors based on Data from Siga Brasil/Brazilian Senate.

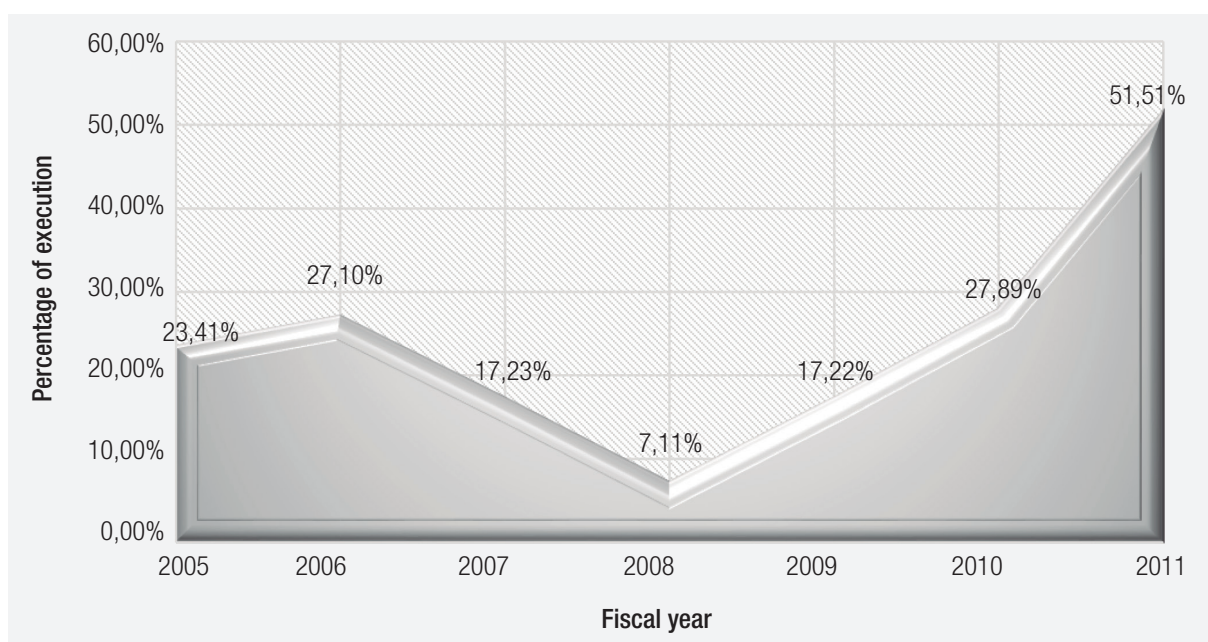
¹ For an analysis regarding the public policies national conferences about the decisions of the Brazilian Congress, see Progrebinschi and Santos (2011).

As observed, the program received funding during the period between 2005 and 2011. It is therefore the period in which the government clearly recognized its role and the existence of the program, its planning and activities.

It can be seen that the budgeted amounts, between R\$ 30 and R\$ 83 million, were not executed in full. On the contrary, the only year in which there was a greater execution of the program's budget was in 2011, when execution reached the peak of 51.51%, as shown in figure 1.

In addition, the 2012-2015 Pluriannual Plan did not provide budget for the program. Since then, the PBQ was not included in the Annual Budget Act (LOA), which means that it was out of the Pluriannual Plan *Brasil Maior*. Between 2012 and 2014, the only resources still related to the PBQ were remnants to pay, that is, expenditures committed and assumed by the federal government in previous years. As a result, the program has been unofficially discontinued since 2012. However, Seppir (2013) launched the Guide for Public Policies for Quilombola Communities and promoted events and festivities celebrating symbolically the alignment of public policies with the demands of social movements. At the same time, however, the federal government extinguished a specific program for quilombola communities by means of budget cuts.

FIGURE 1 PBQ, BUDGET EXECUTION BETWEEN 2004- 2014 (%)



Source: Elaborated by the authors based on Data from Siga Brasil/Brazilian Senate.

The low budget execution shown in figure 1 can be explained by political – the governmental (non) priority to the program – and operational factors, such as the lack of work plans necessary for the commitment of public resources through agreements with states and municipalities. However, the percentage of payment (execution) shows that the non-governmental priority was decisive in the process, since the period of existence of the PBQ was a period of fiscal expansion, an aspect that

characterized the second term President Luís Inácio Lula da Silva, as Giambiagi argues (2009) and is corroborated by De Paula, Modenesi and Pires (2015).

The period was marked by the adoption of an expansionist policy in public spending, which also allowed the implementation of social programs for different publics (Mesquita, Miranda, Santos, & Martins, 2011). In spite of this, the actions for the PBQ that had the highest percentages of execution in 2010 were those that had the lowest budget allocations, such as community leadership training activities (Volpe, Goes, Lobo, & Silva, 2012).

As PBQ sought to coordinate the three spheres of government in order to achieve its goals, it is important to identify, again through the funding provided, how decentralized the budget was for the planning and execution of the program.

When verifying the transfer of resources from the federal government to states or municipalities, it is noted that this has rarely occurred. The only transfers recorded were in 2008, with R\$ 100 thousand to the state of Sergipe and for the municipality of Itacaré; two installments of R\$ 300 thousand to the state of Amapá executed in 2009 and 2010; R\$ 145,432.50 to the state of Maranhão in 2011; and R\$ 400 thousand to Bahia in 2012. The percentages, therefore, were well below the national amount and were concentrated in only four states.

As of 2012, with the so-called *Brasil Maior* Pluriannual Plan and with the end of the PBQ, the federal government included in the LOA the Program of Combating Racism and the Promotion of Racial Equality.

As a result, this program covered a wide range of governmental actions involving various ministries and secretariats, but without the purpose of coordinating actions aimed exclusively at quilombola communities, such as the previous program. The actions directed to the quilombola communities, therefore, had their budget allocated in the general budget for the Program of Combating Racism and Promotion of Social Equality. In the publication "*Espelho de avaliação da agenda de igualdade racial, comunidades quilombolas e povos e comunidades tradicionais*" (Evaluation framework of the racial equality agenda, quilombola communities and traditional peoples and communities) (Mpog, 2012), the PBQ is presented as part of the Quilombola Social Agenda and not as a government program with a specific budget allocation.

Table 2, shows the situation of the budget execution for the actions in the years from 2012-2015.

TABLE 2 PROGRAM OF COMBATING RACISM AND PROMOTION OF RACIAL EQUALITY

Fiscal year	Legally authorized budget- LOA	Amount executed (Paid to suppliers)	Percentage of the total of the program
2012	R\$ 105,533,333.00	R\$ 12,805,953.00	12.13%
2013	R\$ 57,766,682.00	R\$ 12,287,676.42	21.27%
2014	R\$ 64,153,000.00	R\$ 22,691,876.36	35.37%
2015	R\$ 86,965,105.00	R\$ 7,588,377.73	8.72%

Source: Elaborated by the authors based on Data from Siga Brasil/Brazilian Senate.

The amounts paid by the new program, in all actions carried out, were lower than the resources previously earmarked for the PBQ. The only exception was in 2014, when the budget executed approached the budget observed in 2011. There is therefore a drastic reduction in resources for racial-based public policies.

The analysis may consider only the resources explicitly intended for quilombola communities. Among the budgetary actions foreseen in the program of Combating Racism and Promotion of Racial Equality, the following stand out because of the direct involvement of quilombola communities: the promotion and local development of quilombola communities and other traditional communities; institutional development of organizations representing quilombola communities and other traditional communities; recognition, delimitation, removal of non-quilombola populations and land titling of quilombola territories; support for the sustainable development of quilombola communities and traditional peoples and communities; indemnification of improvements and land to occupants of properties in areas recognized for quilombola communities and recognition and indemnification of quilombola territories.

Table 3 shows the resources directed to these actions.

TABLE 3 RESOURCES FOR QUILOMBOLA COMMUNITIES IN THE PROGRAM OF COMBATING RACISM AND PROMOTION RACIAL EQUALITY

Fiscal year	Amount executed (Paid to suppliers)	Percentage of the total of the program
2012	R\$ 7,227,709.78	56.44%
2013	R\$ 11,536,585.96	93%
2014	R\$ 20,118,252.92	88.65%
2015	R\$ 6,818,059.77	89.84%

Source: Elaborated by the authors.

From the data, it can be seen that the initiatives involving quilombola communities have received most of the program's resources. In 2013, the percentage was 93%, which points to the low implementation of actions related to racial-based public policies in Brazil. This is not an overvaluation, in this context, of policies aimed at quilombola communities, but of the recognition that there are high-cost actions aimed at this public. Of this amount, R\$ 8,668,237.23 was allocated to the Recognition and Indemnity of Quilombola Territories, which may be related to the indemnification of few rural properties or the implementation of sparse activities around the country.

The budget cuts came to a peak in 2015, when the budget paid under the Program of Combating Racism and Promotion of Racial Equality was of little more than R\$ 7.5 million, of which almost 90% went to quilombola communities (a small amount for indemnification of properties, for example). This is, from the budgetary point of view, the 'sunset' of racial-based public policies, still under the President Rousseff administration.

The low budget allocation for programs aimed at quilombola communities is therefore not related to the fiscal crisis that began at the end of Rousseff's first term, considering that when she took office, the government initially adopted a contractionary policy, as pointed out by Cagnin, Prates, Freitas, and Novais (2013), presenting from 2012, an expansionary economic policy that lasted until the 2014 elections (Dweck & Teixeira, 2017). In 2015, the government adopted policies of fiscal adjustment to contain the crisis that impacted in the most different economic spheres (Orair & Gobbeti, 2017). The low budget allocation in quilombola policies was therefore not linked to the crisis that intensified after 2015.

These aspects had, as will be pointed out in the following sections, repercussions on the living conditions of the communities.

4. PLANNING AND EXECUTION OF THE 'BRAZIL QUILOMBOLA PROGRAM' IN MARANHÃO

In Maranhão, the PBQ's State Steering Committee was created in 2013, related to the Extraordinary State Secretariat for Racial Equality (Seir), as provided by State Decree 29486 of 24 October 2013. It was, therefore, a late implementation of the program.

The planning of the actions of the PBQ is systematized and presented, at the state level, in the State Plan of Integrated Actions. This is the plan of action, with proposals for programs, projects and actions to achieve the objectives established in the PBQ.

The state of Maranhão, through the Extraordinary Secretariat for Racial Equality of the Roseana Sarney administration, elaborated the plan for the period from 2012 to 2015, during which time the PBQ was implemented and its actions executed. The year in which the project started in Maranhão, contradictorily, was the first year in which the PBQ no longer had resources allocated in the LOA proposed by the federal government, indicating a possible non-effectiveness of the program at the state level. The analysis of the PBQ in Maranhão was carried out through the four axes of the Quilombola Social Agenda: access to land, infrastructure and quality of life, productive inclusion and local development, and rights and citizenship.

4.1 Access to land

Rodrigues (2010) analyzes the PBQ based on land issues and points out that this axis is structuring, since it crosses most of the interests and conflicts involving the quilombola communities, and involves redistribution of land.

The land regularization processes – guaranteed in Article 68 of the Transitional Constitutional Provisions Act of the Federal Constitution (1988), and regulated by Decree 4887 (2003), and by the Normative Instruction of the National Institute for Colonization and Agrarian Reform (Incra) n° 57, of 20 September 2009 - are permeated by a series of administrative steps that begin with the opening of the process of regularization of the territory traditionally occupied until the titling of the lands in favor of the communities.

Before that, however, communities need to be recognized (certified) as quilombolas by the *Fundação Cultural Palmares*, a procedure that determines the formal existence of the community for the Brazilian government. After this step, and based on the community demand, the administrative process of land titling is started. This formal recognition of the state is also a precondition for the quilombolas' access to the specific public policies designed for them.

Assessing the dynamics of land titling processes, Rodrigues (2010) emphasizes that territories are important for communities by ensuring them physical and cultural reproduction. For the author, the

main problems in the regularization of the territories are on the efficient management of budgetary resources, the representation of community interests and the land policy (Rodrigues, 2010, p. 272), problems that explain the mismatch between the increasing number of communities recognized by the Fundação Cultural Palmares and the low number of communities that complete the process of land titling.

In the case of Maranhão, according to the Plan of Integrated Actions (Estado do Maranhão, 2012), the state actions for regularization of territories should prioritize communities in conflict situations, communities in areas of difficult access, those that have been impacted by large infrastructure projects and communities in a situation of nutritional deficiency.

According to the Extraordinary State Secretariat for Racial Equality, some of the actions planned in the program were already part of the secretariat roles, such as receiving complaints about conflicts in communities; legal services; leadership training; participation in hearings; promoting working meetings to define joint activities; and signing technical cooperation agreements.

According to the program execution report (Estado do Maranhão, 2014), the regions mapped by the state government with the highest concentrations of communities were: Pericumã, Baixada Maranhense, Litoral Ocidental, Baixo Itapecuru, Lagos and Alto Munim. In these regions there were 65 communities that went through land titling processes, 30 of them by Incra and 35 by the Institute of Colonization and Lands of Maranhão (Iterma).

The planned actions would include the regularization, between 2012-2015, of 246 quilombola territories, representing an estimated cost of R\$ 9.1 million. The actions carried out, however, were the issuance of 27 titles of “domain recognition” to the organization of “occupants of public lands”. Of these, only 17 were initially planned. In addition to the low execution capacity of what was planned, the result shows that the prioritization criteria were adopted afterwards, giving preference to the regularization of territories located on public land and without a history of social tensions or conflicts.

The government of Maranhão, in the Plan of Integrated Actions, had committed resources in the budget of the 2012-2015 Pluriannual Plan to complement the federal government transfers agreed with Seppir in order to carry out processes of land regularization. Table 4 shows the performance of these investments.

TABLE 4 FINANCIAL PLANNING AND EXECUTION OF PBQ IN THE STATE OF MARANHÃO

Fiscal year	Financial planning ²		Financial execution	
	State funding	Transfer from federal government	State funding	Transfer from federal government
2012	623,400	1,454,600	60,000	No transfer
2013	623,400	1,454,600	180,000	No transfer
2014	623,400	1,454,600	20,000	No transfer
2015	623,400	1,454,600	No information	No transfer
Total	2,493,600	5,818,400	160,000	No transfer

Source: Elaborated by the authors based on Maranhão (2012, 2014).

² Financial data planned by the Extraordinary State Secretariat of Racial Equality of Maranhão.

As observed, there were no transfers of federal resources to fund the action. The signing of an agreement between Seppir and civil organizations representing the Quilombola communities of Maranhão, which was intermediated by Seir and expected to contribute R\$ 480 thousand (90% of which under Seppir's responsibility). However, there was no transfer of the amounts by the federal government and no maintenance of resources by the government of Maranhão (Estado do Maranhão, 2012).

The state government pointed out, however, that the "celebration of Agreement" with the Public Defender of the Union and of the State and the Association of Black Quilombola Rural Communities of Maranhão (Aconerug) were maintained, but without specifying the resulting actions.

4.2 Infrastructure and quality of life

The infrastructure and quality of life axis had programs, projects and actions for the state's quilombola communities in several areas. Initiatives such as education and health programs, urban development in quilombola communities (from research on types of residence to actions of environmental sanitation and accessibility) as well as actions in the area of infrastructure, such as the improvement of vicinal roads, construction of dwellings, dams, cisterns, bridges, etc. (Estado do Maranhão, 2012).

In evaluating the execution of the actions, however, it is verified that few actions have been carried out. Regarding the education program, the state government informs that educational kits were distributed for regional education units with topics of quilombola communities' interest. In addition, investments were made in training a few (104) teachers to disseminate specific content on the issue, in addition to the direct training of almost 400 teachers in several municipalities of the state. A partnership was established with the Roberto Marinho Foundation, in order to adopt the project *A Cor da Cultura* (The Color of Culture) and to reform at least 10 schools from all over the state (Estado do Maranhão, 2014).

In relation to the quilombola health policy, the actions reported by the state government were "actions developed [...] with an emphasis on education and institutional support for management", "Dialogue with managers, professionals, quilombola leaders [...] about the implementation of the human health policy", as well as prevention and immunization campaigns and workshops. Regarding the construction of basic health units, "there was no information on the referred action" (Estado do Maranhão, 2014, p. 11).

Regarding housing initiatives, no racial-based action was carried out for the quilombola population. There was no racial-based initiative in terms of infrastructure implementation and improvement for quilombola communities.

Thus, there is a lack of implementation of the strategies planned in the axis, and an identification of low technical and managerial capacity of the government agencies in the state of Maranhão, which are unable to provide indicators related to the implementation of the actions planned.

4.3 Local development and productive inclusion

The activities of the axis were separated in promotion and support to agriculture and non-agriculture production, with actions planned for investments in the productive chain; support to the commercialization of the products from family farming; establishment of productive systems; technical assistance and rural extension; as well as the implementation of the Quilombola Seal of Origin. The initial planning and the actions carried out are shown in Box 1.

BOX 1 PROMOTING AND SUPPORTING PRODUCTION — 2012 TO 2015

Action	Expected Output	Financial Goal R\$	Completed
Investment in the productive chain	50 projects	7.9 million	Installation of 02 irrigation systems in the municipality of Alcântara, an investment of R\$ 20,204.40 and benefitting 13 families
Support to the commercialization of the products from family farming	5,700 farmers	27.1 million	No information
Establishment of sustainable productive systems	7,000 farmers	7.2 million	No information
Technical assistance and rural extension	89,000 farmers	18.8 million	2,730 DAPs (Declaration of Adequacy to the National Family-Based Agriculture Development Program – Pronaf) granted to quilombola family farmers
Implementation of the Quilombola Seal of Origin Network	100 initiatives	1.8 million	-

Source: Maranhão (2014). Elaborated by the authors.

Investments were also planned for the rural Quilombola youth in order to develop skills and competences through the implementation of projects promoting citizenship and the dissemination of sustainable practices able of encourage succession. The estimated funding was R\$ 165,000.00 from the state government and R\$ 1,537,500.00 from the federal government.

The action carried out in the period was the initiative Rural Youth and Women Entrepreneurship, with activities to train women to work as hairdressers, experts in braids, and activities to develop fish farming for two communities in the municipality of Alcântara. There was no transfer of resources from the federal government or the commitment of the state government to the implementation of actions.

In addition, actions were planned to promote socio-biodiversity products, support the marketing of family farmed products, encourage fish farming, as well as restructure technical assistance and rural extension. However, there was no alignment of government actions, to the extent that the Extraordinary Racial Equality Secretariat did not know of any actions that have been taken between 2012 and 2015 in these areas (Estado do Maranhão, 2012, 2014).

4.4 Axis – rights and citizenship

As for the axis – rights and citizenship, the plan was to carry out a census in all quilombola communities formally recognized in the state of Maranhão; activities to strengthen the protagonism of communities; implementation of a program for the protection of human rights defenders; digital inclusion of youth and adults, and the implementation of a human rights service center (*Balcão de Direitos*), in order to provide psychosocial and legal assistance to quilombolas.

According to Seir (Estado do Maranhão, 2014), the actions carried out on the axis were: workshops on the valorization of ethnic-racial topics; the diagnosis of access to public policies in 17 communities in several municipalities of the state; training of leaders to elaborate the history of the community to apply for a formal recognition from Fundação Cultural Palmares; reports on entrepreneurship to communities and local leaders.

As for the *Balcão de Direitos*, Seir reported that, in 2014, the status of the initiative was “under implementation”, and in the case of the program for the protection of human rights defenders the status was “not implemented”, which was the same status for the digital inclusion program for quilombolas’ youth and adults. The Police Specialized in Agrarian Conflicts, however, worked in situations in different regions of the state, following cases of conflicts, threats, invasion of quilombolas territories and murders.

Seir considers that the government of the state of Maranhão, for the period from 2012 to 2014, does not have enough data to properly evaluate the public policies for the quilombola population. In addition, the secretary mentions the difficulty posed by the cross-sectorial characteristics and by the challenges related to the state’s political and administrative implementation and execution (Estado do Maranhão, 2014).

Along the same lines, the following statement is found in the report: “In the area of local development and productive inclusion, the information obtained must be better worked out so as to have an effective picture of the policies implemented” (Estado do Maranhão, 2014, p. 36). Notwithstanding, Seir considered the public policies based on quilombola populations as positive.

The only transfer of the federal government to the state of Maranhão related to the PBQ, occurred in 2011, in the transfer of R\$ 145,432.50 to the Maranhense Society of Human Rights to train agents of the quilombola communities.

5. FINAL CONSIDERATIONS

The objective of this work was to analyze the budgetary allocation of the PBQ and its repercussions in the execution of the public policies for quilombola communities in Brazil and in the state of Maranhão.

It was possible to observe that the low access of quilombola communities to public policies is strongly associated to budget allocation. In addition, the study showed the decline, at least in budgetary terms, of racial-based public policies under the responsibility of the federal government.

When evaluating the presence of the PBQ in the budgeting plan, it is verified that the program was included in the Annual Budget Law between 2005 and 2011. It was the period in which the federal government considered the program as part of its activities, planning, actions, and budgetary and administrative functions. With the pluriannual plan *Brasil Maior* in the second term of the Rouseff administration, PBQ was discontinued unofficially. In 2013, when the public policies guide for quilombola communities (Seppir, 2013) was launched, the program no longer existed in the federal government’s budgeting plan, since it had been diluted in the Program of Combating Racism and Promotion of Racial Equality, in force in the *Brasil Maior* plan. The PBQ therefore ceased to be a government program, despite the inclusion of the theme in racial-based festivities and celebrations promoted by the federal government.

As for the transfer of resources to state and municipal governments, it is noted that this has rarely occurred. The only transfers were to the states of Sergipe, Amapá, Bahia and Maranhão. The amounts,

however, were below what was in the budgeting plan, and designated to support specific activities that were not the structuring actions of the Quilombola Social Agenda. As a result, actions at the state and municipal levels were compromised.

In addition, budget reductions peaked in 2015, when the budget for the Program of Combating Racism and Promotion of Racial Equality was just over R\$ 7.5 million, of which almost 90% went to the quilombola communities. It is, from the budgetary point of view, the closing of an agenda of racial-based public policies.

When resuming the issue of a possible relationship between the budgetary policies – redistributive – and the process of recognition, as proposed by Fraser (2006), this group was included in the political-governmental agenda, although this did not directly impact the budget allocation in communities through the decentralization of resources to states and municipalities. Thus, government recognition of the singularities and specificities of quilombola communities was not accompanied by an effective redistribution process capable of increasing the resources destined to this socially disadvantaged group.

In this sense, there was a government mechanism that symbolically included quilombola communities by proposing specific policies and naming them, celebrating their existence in public festivities and ceremonies. However, effectively, through budgetary regulation, there was a process of exclusion of these communities from public policies. The PBQ generated elements to accommodate, in the narrative, the demands of the social movements; demands that were not feasible due to the inexistence of budget for the implementation of the proposals.

In the state of Maranhão, the PBQ's State Management Committee was created in 2013, but it did not have an effective existence. The government actions were articulated from the Extraordinary Secretariat for Racial Equality (Seir). This means that it was a late implementation of the program. When it started in Maranhão, PBQ no longer had resources in the provisions of the Annual Budgetary Law (LOA) of the federal government, since 2011, which greatly impacted the execution of the state government's actions.

There was a transfer from the federal government to the state of Maranhão, related to the PBQ in 2011, with the aim of supporting the training of agents of the quilombola communities. There were not, once again, structuring actions within the state government.

In addition, some aspects should be highlighted at the state level, such as the lack of planning, the lack of mechanisms to monitor actions and performance indicators. It is important to mention that changes related to the alternation of groups in political power in the state reflected in the execution of specific policies. In the establishment of Seir in 2015, in governor Flávio Dino administration, there was no transfer of information from what had been accomplished in the previous administration. The Seir itself acknowledged in the evaluation of the program (at the end of the Roseana Sarney administration), the difficulty in coordinating secretariats and government agencies to execute the activities and even to deal with elementary issues, such as the availability of information about communities (Estado do Maranhão, 2014).

In the state of Maranhão, therefore, the government did not have basic managerial tools in the Extraordinary Secretariat of Racial Equality to implement the PBQ, to plan actions and activities, and thus it did not carry out the monitoring of actions that had been started and were very incipient and sparse.

In the federal government sphere, the decentralization of actions for quilombolas did not actually take place and the resources remained concentrated in the ministries. This prevented the operationalization of actions by the states and municipalities that registered on the PBQ.

As a result, the lack of public policies in the quilombola communities of Maranhão is part of a nationwide context in which racial-based government actions are symbolically recognized in their potential to mitigate the inequalities of socially vulnerable groups, but they are limited to being part of a process of instrumentalization of public policies in order to be closer to social movements without effectively improving the living conditions of these disadvantaged groups.

As a recommendation in terms of management, the research points out that the decentralization of public policies to states and municipalities needs to be accompanied by a process of technical and managerial training of the team that will be responsible for the implementation of the program in the states. At the same time, as there was no coordination between agencies and ministries at the federal level, capable of carrying out the actions provided in the Quilombola Social Agenda, another recommendation is to build instances with an effective capacity to influence decisions in public agencies that are responsible for cross-sectional programs.

In this direction, future research can be carried out to understand how managers of public agencies implement actions related to cross-sectional agendas. Does the decision-making process by managers consider cross-sectional agendas? How do ministries structure their teams to monitor the effectiveness of these policies? How do states and municipalities that adhere to cross-sectional and decentralized policies organize themselves to implement them? What are the state capabilities? Another suggestion for future research would be to analyze the role of national conferences and agents participating in the thematic forums on the displacement of the PBQ to the set of policies to promote racial equality in the Rousseff administration, which we did not manage to achieve in this study because of the focus on the analysis of the allocation of resources by managers within the federal government, and mapping whether the perception of the social problems of the quilombola communities is racial based, in the view of the occupants of the Seppir at the time of the research, with racism being the element that causes social disadvantages.

These are questions and aspects that can be addressed in future studies in order to promote a better understanding and the effectiveness of the implementation of public policies, ensuring the budgetary redistribution as part of the strategy to recognize and promote equality and respecting differences.

REFERENCES

- Almeida, A. W. B. (2002). Os quilombos e as novas etnias. In E. C. O'Dwyer (Org.), *Quilombos: identidade étnica e territorialidade* (pp. 56-88). Rio de Janeiro, RJ: Ed. FGV.
- Arruti, J. M. (2009). Políticas públicas para quilombos: terra, saúde e educação. In M. Paula, & R. Heringer (Orgs.), *Caminhos convergentes: Estado e sociedade na superação das desigualdades raciais no Brasil* (pp. 75-110). Rio de Janeiro, RJ: Fundação Henrich Boll.
- Ato das Disposições Constitucionais Transitórias*. (1988, October, 5). Brasília, DF.
- Bardin, L. (2009). *Análise de conteúdo*. Lisboa, Portugal: Ed. 70.
- Bendix, R. (2017). *Nation-building and citizenship: studies of our changing social order*. London, England: Routledge.
- Cagnin, R. F., Prates, D. M., Freitas, M. C. P., & Novais, L. F. (2013). A gestão macroeconômica do governo Dilma (2011 e 2012). *Novos Estudos CEBRAP*, 97, 169-185.
- Costa, F. L., & Castanhar, J. C. (2003). Avaliação de programas públicos: desafios conceituais e metodológicos. *Revista de Administração Pública*, 37(5), 962-969.
- Decreto n. 4.887, de 20 de novembro de 2003*. (2003). Regulamenta o procedimento para identificação, reconhecimento, delimitação, demarcação e titulação das terras ocupadas por remanescentes das comunidades dos quilombos de que trata o art. 68 do Ato das Disposições Constitucionais Transitórias. Brasília, DF.
- Decreto n. 6.261, de 20 de novembro de 2007*. (2007). Dispõe sobre a gestão integrada para o desenvolvimento da Agenda Social Quilombola no âmbito do Programa Brasil Quilombola, e dá outras providências. Brasília, DF.
- De Paula, L. F., Modenesi, A., & Pires, M. C. (2015). The tale of the contagion of two crises and policy responses in Brazil: a case of (Keynesian) policy coordination? *Journal of Post Keynesian Economics*, 37(3), 408-435.
- Domingues, P. (2007). Movimento negro brasileiro: alguns apontamentos históricos, *Tempo*, 12(23), 100-122.
- Dweck, E., & Teixeira, R. A. (2017). *A política fiscal do governo Dilma e a crise econômica* (Texto para Discussão n. 303). Campinas, SP: Instituto de Economia da Universidade Estadual de Campinas.
- Dye, T. D. (1984). *Understanding public policy*. Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice Hall.
- Esping-Andersen, G. (1991). As três economias políticas do Welfare State. *Lua Nova: Revista de Cultura e Política*, 24, 85-116.
- Estado do Maranhão. (2012). *Plano de ações integradas do Programa Brasil Quilombola/ Maranhão*. São Luís, MA: Autor.
- Estado do Maranhão. (2014). *Plano de ações integradas do Programa Brasil Quilombola/ Maranhão: relatório preliminar*. São Luís, MA: Autor.
- Faria, C. A. P. (2005). A política da avaliação de políticas públicas. *Revista Brasileira de Ciências Sociais*, 20(59), 97-109.
- Fraser, N. (2006). Da redistribuição ao reconhecimento? Dilemas da justiça numa era "pós-socialista". *Cadernos de Campo*, 14-15, 231-239.
- Frey, K. (2000). Políticas públicas: um debate conceitual e reflexões referentes à prática da análise de políticas públicas no Brasil. *Planejamento e Políticas Públicas*, 21, 211-259.
- Fundação Cultural Palmares. (2016). *Quadro geral de comunidades remanescentes de quilombos*. Brasília, DF: Autor.
- Giambiagi, F. (2004). A política fiscal do governo Lula em perspectiva histórica: qual é o limite para o aumento do gasto público? *Planejamento e Políticas Públicas*, 27, 1-57.
- Heidemann, F. G. (2009). Do sonho do progresso às políticas de desenvolvimento. In F. G. Heidemann, & J. F. Salm (Orgs.), *Políticas públicas e desenvolvimento: bases epistemológicas e modelos de análise* (pp. 23-39). Brasília, DF: Ed. UnB.
- Jorge, A. L., Brandão, A., & Dalt, S. (2016). Faz diferença estar na agenda? Lideranças comunitárias quilombolas e percepções sobre acesso às políticas sociais nos anos recentes. In: *Anais do 40o Encontro Anual da Anpocs*. Caxambu, MG: Anpocs.
- Kettl, D. F. (1998). A revolução global: reforma da administração do setor público. In L. C. Bresser-

- Pereira, & P. Spink (Orgs.), *Reforma do Estado e administração pública gerencial* (pp. 75-122). Rio de Janeiro, RJ: Ed. FGV.
- Laswell, H. D. (1958). *Politics: who gets what, when, how*. Cleveland, OH: Meridian.
- Lavalle, A. G. (2003). Cidadania, igualdade e diferença. *Lua Nova: Revista de Cultura e Política*, 59, 75-93.
- Leite, I. B. (2008). O projeto político quilombola: desafios, conquistas e impasses atuais. *Revista Estudos Feministas*, 3, 965-977.
- Lima, M. (2010). Desigualdades raciais e políticas públicas: ações afirmativas no governo Lula. *Novos Estudos CEBRAP*, 87, 77-95.
- Maciel, P. J. (2013). Finanças públicas no Brasil: uma abordagem orientada para políticas públicas. *Revista de Administração Pública*, 47(5), 1213-1242.
- Marshall, T. H. (1967). *Cidadania, status e classe social*. Rio de Janeiro, RJ: Zahar.
- Mesquita, A. C. S., Miranda, G. L., Santos, M. P. G., & Martins, R. F. (2011). Assistência Social. In: Instituto de Pesquisa Econômica Aplicada, *Políticas sociais: acompanhamento e análise* (Vol. 19, pp. 49-85). Brasília, DF: Ipea.
- Ministério do Planejamento, Orçamento e Gestão (2012). *Espelho de Avaliação 2012 – Agenda: Igualdade Racial, Comunidades Quilombolas e Povos e Comunidades Tradicionais*. Brasília, DF: Autor.
- Moraes, R. (1999). Análise de conteúdo. *Revista Educação*, 22(37), 7-32.
- Mozzato, A. R., & Grzybovski, D. (2011). Análise de conteúdo como técnica de análise de dados qualitativos no campo da administração: potencial e desafios. *Revista de Administração Contemporânea*, 15(4), 731-747.
- Musgrave, R. A., & Musgrave, P. B. (1980). *Finanças públicas: teoria e prática*. São Paulo, SP: Campus.
- Orair, R. O., & Gobbeti, S. W. (2017). Brazilian fiscal policy in perspective: from expansion to austerity. In P. Arestis, C. Baltar, & D. Prates, *The Brazilian economy since the great financial crisis of 2007/2008* (pp. 219-244). Gewerbestrasse, Switzerland: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Peters, B. G. (1986). *American public policy*. Chatham, NJ: Chatham House.
- Petinelli, V. (2014). *Uma análise dos condicionantes da capacidade de influência das conferências de políticas públicas sobre os programas das respectivas políticas setoriais: o caso da 1ª CAP, 1ª Concidades, 1ª CMA, 1ª CE, 1ª CPM e 1ª CPIR* (Tese de Doutorado). Universidade Federal de Minas Gerais, Belo Horizonte, MG.
- Progrebinschi, T. (2012). *Conferências nacionais e políticas públicas para grupos minoritários* (Texto para Discussão Ipea n. 1741). Brasília, DF: Instituto de Pesquisa Econômica Aplicada.
- Progrebinschi, T., & Santos, F. (2011). Participação como representação: o impacto das conferências nacionais de políticas públicas no Congresso. *Dados*, 54(3), 259-305.
- Rodrigues, V. (2010). Programa Brasil Quilombola: um ensaio sobre a política pública de promoção da igualdade racial para comunidades de quilombos. *Cadernos Gestão Pública e Cidadania*, 15(57), 263-278.
- Santos, J. C., & Avelino, D. P. (2014). Participação social como instrumento efetivo de monitoramento e avaliação de políticas: anotações sobre o Fórum Interconselhos no Plano Plurianual 2012-2015. *Revista Brasileira de Planejamento e Orçamento*, 4(2), 164-182.
- Secretaria de Políticas de Promoção da Igualdade Racial. (2012). *Programa Brasil Quilombola: diagnóstico de ações realizadas*. Brasília, DF: Autor.
- Secretaria Especial de Políticas de Promoção da Igualdade Racial. (2013). *Guia de políticas públicas para comunidades quilombolas*. Brasília, DF: Autor.
- Souza, C. (2006). Políticas públicas: uma revisão da literatura. *Sociologias*, 16, 20-45.
- Stiglitz, J. (1999). *Economics of the public sector*. New York, NY: Norton.
- Trevisan, A. P., & Bellen, H. (2008). Avaliação de políticas públicas: uma revisão teórica de um campo em construção. *Revista de Administração Pública*, 42(3), 529-550.
- Ugá, V. D. (2004). A categoria “pobreza” nas formulações de política social do Banco Mundial. *Revista de Sociologia e Política*, 23, p. 55-62.
- Volpe, A. P. S., Goes, F. L., Lobo, M. S. S. H., & Silva, T. D. (2012). Igualdade racial. In Instituto de Pesquisa Econômica Aplicada, *Políticas sociais: acompanhamento e análise* (Vol. 20, pp. 313-367). Brasília, DF: Ipea.

Tadeu Gomes Teixeira



<https://orcid.org/0000-0003-4620-2401>

PhD in Social Sciences; Professor of the Department of Accountancy and Administration and of the Graduate Program in Psychology of the Federal University of Maranhão (UFMA). E-mail: tagote@gmail.com

Camila Alves Machado Sampaio



<https://orcid.org/0000-0002-5820-8512>

PhD in Social Sciences; Professor of the Department of Sociology and Anthropology of the Federal University of Maranhão (UFMA). E-mail: camsampaio@gmail.com