

ARTICLE

REGULATION BY RESULTS AND RECONFIGURATIONS IN INSTITUTIONAL ARRANGEMENTS AIMED AT THE DEMOCRATIC SCHOOL GOVERNMENT

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ABSTRACT: In the context of the growing implementation of accountability measures in basic education identified with policies of regulation by results, this paper analyzes possible reconfigurations of institutional arrangements to account for democratic school government in terms of participation and social control. We conducted this documental research in two Brazilian capitals (Fortaleza [CE] and Palmas [TO]). We surveyed, examined, and systematized target documents, guidelines, measures, and conditions for the democratic government of public basic education, which were in line with result-based regulation policies carried out since the 2000s. Nonetheless, we conclude that the ensemble of changes in each capital may indicate some favoring of the institutional conditions of participation and social control. However, we highlight that the suggested potential of these changes seems to lose power when faced with a political-institutional framework that emphasizes measures identified with policies of regulation by results.

Keywords: public education, regulation by results, democratic management, participation and social control, accountability.

REGULAÇÃO POR RESULTADOS E RECONFIGURAÇÕES EM ARRANJOS INSTITUCIONAIS ENDEREÇADOS AO GOVERNO DEMOCRÁTICO DA EDUCAÇÃO

RESUMO: O trabalho tem por objetivo analisar, no contexto de uma crescente implantação de medidas de accountability na educação básica identificadas com políticas de regulação por resultados, possíveis reconfigurações de arranjos institucionais destinados a responder pelo governo democrático da educação pública, em termos de participação e controle social. Com base em pesquisa documental, o processo de investigação, incidente em duas capitais brasileiras – Fortaleza (CE) e Palmas (TO) –, compreendeu o levantamento e exame de documentos-alvo, sistematização das diretrizes e condições para o governo democrático da educação básica pública e de medidas sintonizadas com políticas de regulação por resultados, levadas a efeito a partir dos anos 2000. Se, por um lado, conclui que o conjunto de alterações

processadas em cada capital possibilita reunir indícios de algum favorecimento das condições institucionais de participação e controle social, por outro, destaca que o sugerido potencial dessas alterações parece perder expressividade diante de um quadro político-institucional que sobreleva medidas identificadas com políticas de regulação por resultados.

Palavras-chave: educação pública, regulação por resultados, gestão democrática, participação e controle social, accountability.

REGULACIÓN POR RESULTADOS Y RECONFIGURACIONES EN ARREGLOS INSTITUCIONALES DIRECCIONADOS AL GOBIERNO DEMOCRÁTICO DE LA EDUCACIÓN

RESUMEN: El trabajo tiene por objetivo analizar, en el contexto de una creciente implantación de medidas de accountability en la educación básica identificadas con políticas de regulación por resultados, posibles reconfiguraciones de arreglos institucionales destinados a responder por el gobierno democrático de educación pública, en términos de participación y control social. Basado en investigación documental, el proceso de investigación, incidente en dos capitales brasileñas – Fortaleza (CE) y Palmas (TO) –, comprendió el levantamiento y examen de documentos objetivos, sistematización de las directrices y condiciones para el gobierno democrático de la educación básica pública y de medidas sintonizadas con políticas de regulación por resultados, realizadas a partir de los años 2000. Si, por un lado, se concluye que el conjunto de alteraciones procesadas en cada capital possibilita reunir indicios de cierto favorecimiento de las condiciones institucionales de participación y control social, por otro, se destaca que el sugerido potencial de esas alteraciones parece perder expresividad delante de un cuadro político-institucional que prevalece medidas identificadas con políticas de regulación por resultados.

Palabras clave: educación pública, regulación por resultados, gestión democrática, participación y control social, accountability.

INTRODUCTION

In different parts of the world, the final decades of the twentieth century have been marked by educational reforms that, among other repercussions, have redefined the bases of education regulation. According to the *theory of social regulation*, as developed by Reynaud (1997), this would be a new perspective of social regulation, while a conception based on the *theory of regulation* would take into account the existence of "a conjunction of mechanisms that promote general reproduction, given the existing economic structures and social forms" (BOYER, 1990, p. 46), which refers to the institutional and structural dimension of regulation.

As an expression of these reforms, the introduction of new mechanisms for the regulation of education¹, according to Maroy and Voisin (2013), shows the decline of traditional forms based on the bureaucratic model and the rise of assumptions and management mechanisms identified with the regulation by results. Focused on directing and controlling production, the corresponding policies have in external evaluation systems the main driver of regulation by results, whose quality standard responds to the interests of capital. It is worth saying, based on Aglietta (2001, p. 20), that a regulation mode "is a set of mediations that ensure that the distortions created by capital accumulation are kept within limits compatible with social cohesion within each nation." (translation ours).

In the dynamics of this product-based regulation, the introduction of accountability measures supported by the assumptions of the New Public Management (NPM), emerged from the neoliberal environment, takes place. It is worth noting that the NPM operates a break with the bureaucratic paradigm in favor of a more flexible or organic model of bureaucracy, a formula congruent

¹ Because this is a diversity of arenas, forms, and modes of regulation, operated by a variety of internationally and nationally identified actors, Barroso (2018) proposed that we think of multiregulation.

with the business world and the requirements for the reorganization of the State. Therefore, as Maroy et al (2015, p. 803) summarize, it is a management perspective committed to "diminishing the role of the state, its structures and fields of action, in favor of the private sector and competition."

In Brazil, policies that require the school and education systems to produce results, whose engine is the evaluation of student performance articulated with other measures of accountability (accountability and responsibility), have been undertaken since the 1990s and stamp organic relationship with the changes mentioned here. Thus, introducing new forms of educational management, following the guidelines of efficiency, effectiveness, flexibility, and transparency (MATIAS-PEREIRA, 2008), corroborates the perspective of results-oriented regulation.

Therefore, if we consider accountability a management mechanism and the mobilization of related measures — evaluation, accountability and responsibility — a strategy for focusing priorities that, in general, relate to "quality control," it is due to recognize that this is one of the requirements addressed to the management of Brazilian basic education in contemporary times. Subjected to the obligation for results, the political-managerial referential of the school conceives it as a production system (MAROY; VOISIN, 2013).

Given the rise of the aforementioned formula in the domain of public policy and in addition to the degree of its influence in determining political options and practices in the government of education, our inquiry concerns the possible repercussions of this phenomenon on the democratic wave. In this particular case, we refer to the references that emerged in the context of the movements for the re-democratization of Brazil in the 1980s, according to which educational management has its own characteristics that surpass the mere application of a protocol of principles and administrative techniques, since it conceives the school as a social institution, with "its organizational logic and its purposes marked by political-pedagogical ends that go beyond the cost-benefit horizon *stricto sensu* (DOURADO, 2007, p. 924).

Referred to these, the plans for popular participation and participation and social control report involvement in the formulation and execution of public policies. In the sense that gained strength in the aforementioned decade, such involvement was linked to the idea of control over the State, exercised by organized sectors of civil society, therefore, in the perspective of social control, so that these sectors, by participating in the formulation of plans, programs and projects, proceed to the monitoring of executions and act in the definition of the allocation of resources, to meet the interests of the community (CORREIA, 2008). According to Stotz (2008), a definition of social participation requires considering the multiplicity of actions developed by different social forces to influence the design, execution, and evaluation of public policies.

Indeed, a perspective of social control that does not depend only on the formal existence of related instances also involves other issues, such as the question of representation (GUIZARDI, 2009). However, what we wish to emphasize in the present debate is the circumstance in which a democratization project, which aimed at building a more just and egalitarian society, is currently competing with perspectives that promote the weakening of democracy itself, with the refunctionalization of its political instruments, which have become pillars of new consensuses, apparently representative of all social segments (SHIROMA, 2009).

Therefore, the question about the repercussions of the mentioned formula on the democratic management of public education, because of possible reconfigurations in institutional arrangements destined to promote participation and social control, constitutes the reason for this study, with which we also aim to contribute to the debate about "the limits of the reach of the struggle for democracy within the apparatus of the capitalist state (TEIXEIRA, 2007, p. 161).

The delimitation in the municipal sphere aims to consider the tension that is established between a plurality of contexts and the circumstance of the involvement of this sphere in a larger mesh of policies of regulation by results, as well as its recent political projection and incumbency to organize its own educational system and, within this, the regulation of the democratic management of public education. Thus, the objective of this paper is to analyze, in the context of growing implementation of accountability measures in basic education identified with policies of regulation by results, possible reconfigurations of institutional arrangements designed to account for the democratic government of

public education in terms of participation and social control. The empirical field includes two Brazilian capitals: Fortaleza (CE) and Palmas (TO).²

The investigative process consisted of documentary research,³ understanding the document as an expression and result "of a combination of intentionalities, values, and discourses, [that] are constituted and constituent of the historical moment" (EVANGELISTA, 2012, p. 63). As explained in the next section of the paper, the target documents were: legislation; technical documents; news; articles; reports; and other publications.

The first stage of the research aimed to consult the websites of the governments of the capital cities, to search for documents related to guidelines and conditions for the democratic government of education and consistent with the referential bases for measures and/or accountability system in basic education. For the focus on the democratic government of basic public education, the referential period was from the 1990s on, given the validity of the current Federal Constitution, the approval of the Municipal Organic Laws, and the laws of institutionalization of the municipal education systems. Regarding the measures and/or accountability system, documents dating from 2000 were considered.

The second stage of the research was to examine the collected documents in order to, on the one hand, make it possible to systematize the guidelines and conditions for the democratic government of basic public education in the municipality, concerning participation and social control, and to point out the characteristics of the changes introduced in institutional arrangements formally identified with democratic government; and, on the other hand, to identify the characteristics of the measures and/or the system of accountability in basic education. The third and last stage consisted in the critical-comprehensive analysis of aspects of participation and social control, in view of the reconfigurations of the institutional arrangements addressed to the democratic government of education throughout the period, in their possible relations with the adoption of accountability measures identified with policies of regulation by results.

The next section presents the findings, considering the investigation of elements that indicate tensions on the democratic government of education, given the repercussions of educational accountability measures driven by results-based regulation policies in Brazil. Finally, in the last section, we make considerations about the possible effects of the reconfigurations in the institutional arrangements for the democratic government of public education in terms of conditions for participation and social control.

INSTITUTIONAL (RE)ARRANGEMENTS IN TWO BRAZILIAN CAPITALS: TENSIONS IN THE DEMOCRATIC GOVERNMENT OF PUBLIC EDUCATION?

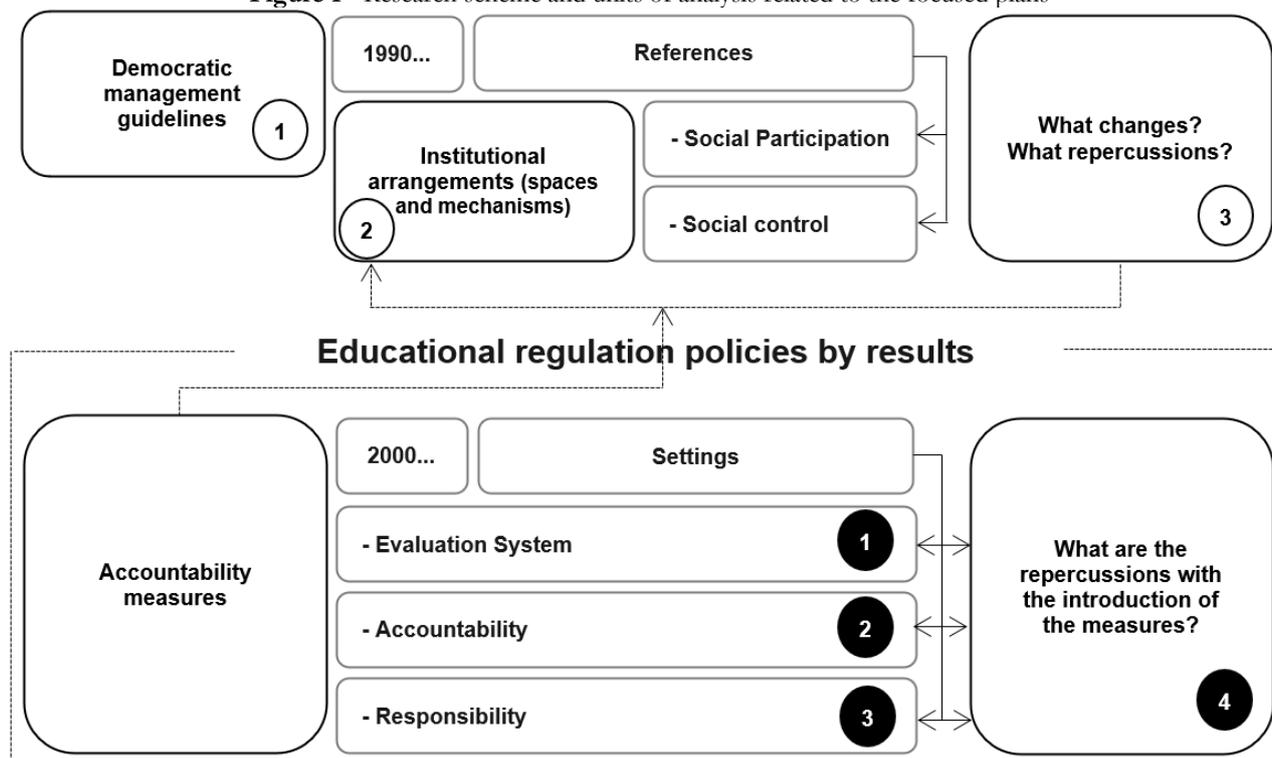
In order to investigate the indicative elements of tensions on the democratic government of education, considering the reconfiguration of arrangements in institutional spaces for participation and social control, impacted by accountability measures driven by the policies of regulation by results, seven units of analysis identified with the scope of these two plans were defined, as shown in Figure 1:

The units of analysis of the plan *institutional arrangements for participation and social control from the perspective of the democratic government of public education*, therefore, include: (1) guidelines for the democratic government of education; (2) spaces and mechanisms for participation and social control (represented by the Municipal Education Council, elections for school principals, school council or equivalent, and Municipal Education Forum); and (3) repercussions of these spaces and mechanisms. In the first case, the consultation of municipal legislation stands out, while the others include technical documents, news, articles, and other publications.

² The project has the support of the National Council for Scientific and Technological Development (CNPq) and involves three other Brazilian capitals, besides those focused on in this work.

³ Project exempted from registration and evaluation by the CEP/CONEP system, in accordance with item VI, of art. 1 of Resolution n. 510, of April 7, 2016.

Figure 1 - Research scheme and units of analysis related to the focused plans



Source: prepared by the authors.

Regarding the plan *accountability measures identified with policies of educational regulation by results*, four are the units of analysis: (1) external evaluation system; (2) accountability measures; (3) responsibility measures; and (4) repercussions of the existence of measures external evaluation, accountability and responsibility.

Fortaleza (CE)

In educational terms, data from the 2020 Basic Education census (BRASIL, 2021) indicate that Fortaleza, with a population of 2.68 million inhabitants, has 548.7 thousand students enrolled in Basic Education. Of this universe, 229.6 thousand are in the municipal network, of which 52.4 thousand are in Infant Education (42.2% in day care and 57.8% in pre-school), 166 thousand in Elementary School (53.4% in the initial years and 46.2% in the final years), and roughly 11.1 thousand in Youth and Adult Education. The network has 304 teaching establishments, where 9 thousand teachers work and attend 8,822 classes.

Regarding the *institutional arrangements for participation and social control in the perspective of a democratic government of public education*, the Organic Law establishes, among the principles that guide the promotion of education in the municipality, the "democratic management of public education" (item IX of art. 270). In the list of guarantees to be ensured by the municipality are listed in art. 271 of the Organic Law:

[...]

XII - public selection for school management among professionals of the public teaching network with a college degree and a minimum experience of two (2) years in effective teaching; a) The social control of the school unit will be conducted by the School Councils, according to the Law.

XIII - the creation of a management group for municipal public schools, integrating the administrative, financial, pedagogical, and secretarial functions, ensuring technical criteria in the selection of these professionals;

[...]

XX - Institution and strengthening of participation mechanisms for school and local communities, through school councils, and student councils, among others, ensuring their full

autonomy and the availability of school facilities for activities of parent, student, and worker organizations; [...] (FORTALEZA, 1990).

The content of items XII and XIII corresponds to the wording given by an amendment to the Organic Law (n. 10/2003). In the case of public selection for school direction, referred to in item XII, the previous wording established the "democratic choice of school direction among the professionals of the municipal public teaching staff, with the requirement of higher education and technical qualification, as provided by law, ensuring the direct participation of teachers, employees, students and parents of students."

Other spaces for participation are also indicated in the Organic Law, namely: Municipal Education Council, with the participation of representatives of the Public Authority, education workers, students, unions, "Councils of Rights and Guardianship," families, and the community must be assured in its composition (art. 273); and Municipal Education Conference, with broad popular participation, aimed at the construction and monitoring of educational policies (art. 276).

The law that provides for the municipal education system, another reference document for the indication of principles and guidelines for the democratic management of public education, basically focuses on the reorganization of the Municipal Education Council (competencies, composition and other aspects), while the aforementioned principles and guidelines are absent. Themes such as "autonomy and democratic management of municipal public schools" matter to the council itself (FORTALEZA, 2007b).

In 2014, with the approval of Complementary Law No. 169 of September 12, providing for the democratic and participatory management of the municipal school network of Fortaleza, the following principles were established:

Art. 1 [...]

I - community participation in the definition and implementation of pedagogical, administrative, and financial decisions through collegiate bodies;

II - respect for plurality, diversity, the secular character of the public school, and human rights in all instances of the Municipal Public School System of Fortaleza;

III - autonomy for school units, under the terms of the legislation, in pedagogical, administrative, and financial management aspects;

IV - transparency in the management of the public school of Fortaleza, in pedagogical, administrative, and financial aspects;

V - quality assurance, translated into the constant search for the full development of the person, the preparation for exercising citizenship, and the permanent elevation of the students' learning level;

VI - the democratization of pedagogical and work relations and the creation of a safe and favorable environment for learning and the construction of knowledge;

VII - valuing education professionals;

VIII - choice of School Principal, Vice-Principal of School, School Superintendent, School Secretary, and Pedagogical Coordinator through public selection, guaranteed ample publicity.

Just as the principles and guidelines of democratic management of public education are presented, in which we see participation and, to some extent, social control affirmed, local legislation also provides institutionalized mechanisms for participation. The examination of the legislation, having as a reference the set of mechanisms focused on in the present study, allowed us to identify the institutional arrangements and the changes that occurred over time. The data collected are shown in Box 1.

According to the data, it is evident that the changes that took place during the period greatly impacted the Municipal Board of Education. Over a little more than twenty years, since the creation of the body, three major changes have occurred, indicated as restructuring, reformulation, and restructuring, respectively. As pointed out, the changes have affected the composition, the mandate, the function, the performance's character, and the body's attributions.

Box 1 - Institutional arrangements for participation in the management of education in the Fortaleza municipal school system and formalized changes - from the 1990s

Municipal Education Council Law n. 7.991, of December 23, 1996	
Changes made	
Composition and term of office	
Law n. 8.213/1998	(From 12 to 14 members) <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ↑ Representative of the City Children's Foundation (Funci). ↑ Representative of the Municipal Secretariat of Social Development (SMDS), linked to the Education Coordinator. ↑ Representative of the six regional executive offices, the District of Education. ↑ Representative of private institutes and/or universities. ↑ Representative of non-governmental organizations linked to work with children and adolescents. ↑ 2-year term. ↓ Representative of the Municipal Education and Culture Secretary (Seduc). ↓ Representative of the Municipal Health Secretary (SSM). ↓ Representative of the Association of Parents of Students of the State of Ceará (Apacec). ↓ 4-year term.
Law 8.620/2002	(From 14 to 10 members) <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ↑ Representative of the Attorney General's Office. ↑ Representative of the Federal University of Ceará (UFC), the State University of Ceará (UECE) and universities duly accredited by the Ministry of Education and Culture. ↑ Representative of the Association of Principals and Vice-Principals of the Municipal Schools of Fortaleza. ↑ Representative of the association of day care centers of the city of Fortaleza. ↑ 4-year term. ↓ Representative of the Ministry of Education and Culture, in Ceará (Demec). ↓ Representative of the Federal University of Ceará (UFC). ↓ Representative of the State University of Ceará (UECE). ↓ Representative of the City Children's Foundation (Funci). ↓ Representative of the private school teachers' union. ↓ Representative of the community schools of Fortaleza. ↓ Representative of private institutes and/or universities. ↓ Representative of non-governmental organizations linked to work with children and adolescents. ↓ 2-year term.
Law 9.317/2007	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ↑ Representative of Early Childhood Education teachers, in full exercise in the municipal public network. ↑ Representative of the elementary school teachers, in effective exercise in the municipal public network. ↑ Representative of the board of directors of the schools in the municipal education network. ↑ Two representatives of entities representing private institutions of Early Childhood Education in the municipality. ↑ Representative of the students, aged 16 and over, from the municipal schools, linked to the School Council. ↑ Representative of the Guardian Councils of Fortaleza. ↑ Representative of the Municipal Council for the Rights of Children and Adolescents. ↑ Representative of the executive body of culture of the municipality. ↑ City Council Representative. ↑ Part of the representatives with a 4-year term and part with a 3-year term, ↓ Representative of the Attorney General's Office. ↓ Representative of the union of public school teachers for Primary or Early Childhood Education. ↓ Representative of the Association of Principals and Vice-Principals of Municipal Schools. ↓ Representative of the union of private educational establishments. ↓ Representative of the county's daycare association. ↓ 4-year term.
Function	
Law 9.137/2007	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ↑ A normative and representative body, of a technical-pedagogical nature and of social participation.
Character	
Law 9.137/2007	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ↑ Normative, consultative, deliberative, evaluative, and supervisory. ↓ Normative, consultative, deliberative, evaluative.
Assignments	
Law n. 8.213/1998	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ↑ Elaborate and reformulate its bylaws, to be approved by Decree of the Chief Executive. ↑ Propose to the Chief of Executive Power. the structure of its organization, operation and policies to be drawn up in favor of education. ↓ Elaborate and reformulate its Rules of Procedure. ↓ To provide for its organization, functioning and policy.
Law 8.620/2002	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ↑ Elaborate, reformulate and approve its Rules of Procedure. ↑ To provide for the structure of its organization and operation. ↑ To follow up, evaluate, and issue a quarterly opinion about the annual and pluri-annual application plan of the financial resources destined to education, coming from the Union, the state, and the municipality. ↑ Monitor the distribution, transfer and application of Fundef resources.

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ↑ To follow up, evaluate, and issue an opinion about the application of public resources in the area of education, passed on to contracted entities. ↑ To establish norms for the organization and functioning of Kindergarten and Elementary School in the establishments under its jurisdiction. ↑ Authorize, recognize, accredit, and supervise the educational establishments in the city of Fortaleza under its jurisdiction. ↑ To organize forums and public debates about the issues concerning education in the city of Fortaleza, with the support of the City's Education Coordinator. ↑ Resolve, in plenary session, the omitted cases of its Internal Regulations, by absolute majority of the councilors. ↓ Elaborate and reformulate its bylaws, to be approved by Decree of the Chief Executive. ↓ Propose to the Chief of Executive Power the structure of its organization, operation and policies to be drawn up in favor of education. ↓ To approve and follow up the plans and projects for the application of financial resources destined to education, elaborated by the Municipal Administration, for the purpose of obtaining financial aid from the State, the Union, and/or international organizations.
Law 9.137/2007	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ↑ Propose policies for public and private school education in Fortaleza within the municipal education system. ↑ To follow the elaboration and analyze the draft of the Municipal Education Plan and its alterations. ↑ To monitor and evaluate the development of the municipal public education policy, highlighting, among other instruments, the execution of the Municipal Education Plan. ↑ Dispose about the following matters: [...] diversified part of the school curriculum; appeals against school evaluation criteria; autonomy and democratic management of municipal public schools; other matters at the request of the government or entities representing organized civil society. ↑ Answer consultations and issue opinions on matters of education, within the scope of the municipal education system. ↑ To establish criteria to guide the elaboration of the pedagogical proposal of the school institutions that make up the municipal education system. ↓ To provide for the structure of its organization and operation. ↓ Outlining policies for public and private education in Fortaleza. ↓ Approve the municipal education plan. ↓ To monitor and evaluate the policies developed by the SMDS Education Coordinator, in order to ensure the full execution and transparency of actions. ↓ Monitor the distribution, transfer and application of Fundef resources. ↓ To establish norms for the organization and functioning of Kindergarten and Elementary School in the establishments under its jurisdiction. ↓ To establish accreditation criteria for private schools, for the purpose of allocating public resources. ↓ To promote inquiries and issue opinions on matters under its jurisdiction in establishments subject to its jurisdiction, and to apply appropriate correctional measures. ↓ To examine plans, programs, projects, and guidelines for Kindergarten and Elementary School, for the municipality's educational establishments. ↓ Publish, annually, a report of its activities. ↓ Resolve, in plenary, the omitted cases of its internal regulation, by absolute majority of the councilors.
School Council	
Law n. 7.990, of December 23, 1996	
Complementary Law 169, of September 12, 2014 (arts. 14 to 22)	
No changes	
Municipal Education Forum	
No specific official act	
Caption:	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ↑ Inclusion ↓ Exclusion

Source: prepared by the authors based on the legislation of the city of Fortaleza (CE).

As to the composition, it seems that efforts have been made to update the roster of representatives in view of different historical moments and, probably, of the understanding about the role of the Council as a mechanism for democratic management, social control, and normatization. As for the mandates, the attribution of these same hypotheses is less certain, since the changes reveal the exclusion of provisions that were then reintroduced. It is true that in the last edition of the changes, which occurred in 2007, there seems to have been a more organic reformulation, whether in terms of compliance with the principle of democratic management, or in terms of conditions for the technical-administrative performance of the body. Article 3 of Law 9.317, of December 14, 2007, synthesizes this double characterization: "Article 3 - The Municipal Council of Education of Fortaleza (CME), a normative and representative body, of a technical-pedagogical nature and of social participation, will have administrative autonomy, being linked to the central executive body."

The Council's action has repercussions in the city, showing the amplitude of its action. For example, a news published in 2020 informs about the opinion approved by the body, providing the return to classes in a staggered way, in the face of the pandemic (RODRIGUES, 2020). The publication also brings the manifestation of a representative of the Single Union of Education Workers of Ceará (Sindiute), which was against the opinion, suggesting that the Council is a space permeable to the debate on issues of collective interest.

As the documentation examined reveals, Fortaleza does not hold direct elections for municipal school principals. The method used to fill this position is public selection, as provided for in the Organic Law, in which "professionals from the public education network with a degree and a minimum experience of two years in effective teaching" may participate (FORTALEZA, 1990).

Extensive to vice-principals, the selection is also dealt with in Complementary Law 169/2014, article 51, which adds to the list of criteria to apply for the positions: "have the availability to comply with the regime of forty hours per week" (item III); and "be approved in a public selection that aims to ensure the technical capacity of this professional (item IV). The first selection took place in 2013, and to carry out the process, the municipality adhered to a Notice of the Secretary of Education of the State of Ceará (Seduc), which regulates the Public Selection for the Composition of the School Managers' Bench to Fill the Director's Commissioned Positions (FORTALEZA, 2013b).

School councils, created by Law n. 7.990/1996 (FORTALEZA, 1996), have a consultative, deliberative, normative, and evaluative nature, added, through Complementary Law n. 169/2014⁴, of a supervisory, mobilizing, and representative nature for the community. The Complementary Law establishes that each school has a council in which representatives of the segments that make up the community participate.

The mention of school councils in different documents that deal with the democratic management of public education corroborates the emphasis on the presence of this school body and its relevance to the process of democratization of management. Evidence of the dynamism of the collegiate was the creation, through Decree No. 12.302 of November 28, 2007 (FORTALEZA, 2007), of the Municipal Forum of School Councils of Fortaleza, "an entity of representative, consultative and evaluative character [...] with the function of developing actions that mobilize parents and community to participate in discussions and experiences that contribute to the development and implementation of public policies in education (art. 1). As a strategy, the Forum constitutes a space for integrated planning, dialogue, and exchange of experiences.

Finally, regarding the Municipal Education Forum, although no legal act constituting this formal space for participation and social control has been identified, information shows that its activities date back to 2006 (FORTALEZA, 2008), in the context of the construction process of the Municipal Education Plan, whose approval occurred in 2008, through Law n. 9. 441, of December 30. Before that, in 2007, the 1st Municipal Education Conference took place, which was instituted by Law n. 8.242, of January 18, 1999, although its realization was not directly attributed to the Forum. Differently, in 2013, when the Municipal Mayor (FORTALEZA, 2013a) called for the III Municipal Conference of Education, the act established that the installation of the Forum would occur during the III Conference, whose definition about the composition, attributions and competencies fell to the Municipal Secretary of Education. The installation of the Forum was also reported (EDUCAÇÃO..., 2013).

According to policies of regulation by results, educational accountability measures constituted the next moment of the research. The first mark verified was the adoption of systems or practices of external evaluation on a large scale, in effect at the same time as the reconfigurations in institutional arrangements aimed at the democratic management of public education. The data make it possible to verify the presence of two systems in the municipal school system: the Permanent System for the Evaluation of Basic Education (Spaace); and the System for the Evaluation of Elementary School (SAEF). In addition, there is the System for the Evaluation of Basic Education (SAEB), which publishes the IDEB every two years.

⁴ Complementary Law, like Law no. 7.990/1996, also provides for the council's composition, attributions, form of choice and dynamics, and no substitutive measures to the first legal text have been verified, only complements.

Spaace was created in 1992 by the Secretary of Education of the State of Ceará (Seduc), having been applied for the first time in 1994 and officially institutionalized in 2000 (MAGALHÃES JUNIOR; FARIAS, 2016). The Program was developed in partnership with the state's municipalities and followed the SAEB's paths. In the case of the assessments aimed at 2nd year students of elementary school, in the literacy process, the system is called Spaace-Alfa. The evaluations are carried out in a census-based manner, covering state and municipal schools, guided by reference matrices that are aligned with those of SAEB. Questionnaires are also applied to collect socioeconomic data, data on students' study habits and school teachers' and principals' profile and practice.

The SAEF was implemented in 2010 and comprises an online system through which data from the diagnostic assessments are entered. The production of the tests is the responsibility of the evaluation sector of the Education Districts, which distributed them to schools in February, April, June, August, September, October, and November (LOPES; VIEIRA; RAMOS, 2017). This is a system for registering student evaluations, to obtain performance reports, either of students or schools (DANTAS, 2018).

Magalhães Junior and Farias (2016) indicate that the first participation of municipal networks in the Spaace evaluation process occurred in 2000. However, no legal acts were identified that provided for cooperation between the state government of Ceará and that of Fortaleza regarding the development of the Spaace in the municipality. Still, the consolidation of this evaluation system in the municipal network is evident, as is the case throughout the state of Ceará. The repercussions of the system, and especially the results derived from it, corroborate this statement.

For example, a news release in 2014 pointed out that the capital city had the worst education index in the state. Although mainly reporting on the Spaace-Alpha results of state schools, the performance of students in Fortaleza was also commented on by the then-mayor, who acknowledged the problem and stressed that investments were underway and that results would soon be seen. In addition to equipment and teacher training, the mayor highlighted measures directed to school management by merit (CAPITAL..., 2014). In 2017, when the Spaace 2016 results were released, a story published in the newspaper *O Povo* pointed out:

Even with only one institution among the 265 public schools in Ceará that achieved the best learning results in 2016, managers of the municipal network celebrate progress. They are optimistic about following the teachings of municipalities that, in the interior, have already established good experiences in the program (FORTALEZA APARECE..., 2017, n.p.).

In the context of a culture of external evaluation rooted in the municipality, the repercussion of the disclosure of the results obtained by students in the evaluations extends to the IDEB. Recent news reports, which consider the IDEB results for 2019, released in 2020, show the significance of this indicator for the municipal school system. The *Diário do Nordeste*, for example, features an article highlighting that 93.5% of the schools in the municipal network beat their IDEB goals and that only 4.9% were below the previously stipulated 5.2 grade (IDEB, 2020). In another article, the highlight was that the results represented a leap of 13 positions in relation to the IDEB of 2015, emphasizing that, according to the City Hall, the full-time day and changes in the hiring of school principals were important points to explain the evolution in the ranking (MAIA, 2020).

The exceeding of the goals of the municipal network, established for 2019 and 2021, was the highlight given by the G1 CE Portal, which pointed out the 4th best performance in the final years of elementary education of the schools, among the capitals (ESCOLAS, 2020). The IDEB result was commented by the Municipal Mayor, Roberto Cláudio, who justified it:

All this transformation has happened over the last eight years, thanks to (sic) a great pact that was made in understanding that education should be the highest priority, especially in an unequal city. The public school bench guaranteeing classes, learning, food, and support to these children will make our city change (VASCONCELOS, 2020, n.p.).

Besides the wide dissemination of the results of the evaluations and the corresponding indexes through official agencies and the media in general, it is evident that practices congruent with responsibility measures are part of the repercussions of the external evaluation systems in the network.

The rewarding of schools that obtain better results is the most expressive. In this regard, it is worth mentioning the fact that the same law that provided for the democratic and participatory management of the municipal school system of Fortaleza (Complementary Law 169/2014) also contains provisions that pave the way for the practice of rewarding schools that excel in educational indicators. This is the creation of the School with Excellence in Performance Program, as stated in art. 75, which aims to

Sole Paragraph - [...] awarding prizes through financial resources or movable goods, to the public schools of Fortaleza that, when participating in specific projects created by the Municipal Department of Education, achieve goals that should be measured through the evaluation of indicators duly specified in that project, according to its own regulations (FORTALEZA, 2014).

Among the "duly specified" indicators, those related to the Spaece figure prominently, as we can identify in ordinances of the Municipal Secretary of Education regulating the allocation of awards, i.e., the definition of Program transfer values for schools that achieve the best performances in the Spaece and Spaece-Alpha. The awards consist of financial resources, honorary plaques, teacher certification, and commendations published in the Official Gazette (FORTALEZA, 2019, 2020).

In 2016, a story published in the *Diário do Nordeste* reported that 146 schools in Fortaleza were being recognized for excellence in performance (in Spaece and Space-Alfa) (PEIXOTO, 2016). The same occurred in 2019, when the same vehicle reported, "More than 270 elementary school units received awards [...] However, students complain about the lack of basic items in the institutions." (SCHOOLS..., 2019). Complaints like this, among the few identified in news stories that address the theme of external evaluations and awards in the municipality, make up a tiny picture of positions contrary to the educational goals fed by the meritocratic logic of the evaluations. In a specific way, it was identified a criticism made by the Single Union of Education Workers of Ceará (Sindiute), in 2017, when defending better salaries, for understanding that the awards are a deception and that everyone should say no to the meritocracy farce (SINDIUTE, 2017).

In sum, considering the changes in the institutional arrangements for the democratic government of public education, there are no elements that point to consequences for the mechanisms of participation and social control examined, given the adoption by the capital of accountability measures identified with policies of regulation by results. Nevertheless, it is suggested that the institutional apparatus formally addressed to the materialization of democratic management, as well as the political weight it holds, is conformed in the context of great valorization of the logic of results performed by local public policies.

Palmas (TO)

The capital of Tocantins, the youngest of the Brazilian capitals, has an estimated population of 306.3 thousand inhabitants (BRASIL, 2020). According to data from Inep, relative to the 2020 educational census (BRASIL, 2021), the municipality has 75.2 thousand students in Basic Education. Of this contingent, 41.6 thousand are enrolled in the municipal network, of which 12 thousand in Early Childhood Education (41.7% in day care and 58.3% in pre-school), 28.6 thousand in Elementary School (59.8% in the early years and 41% in the final years), and about one thousand in Youth and Adult Education. The network has 75 teaching establishments, where 1.8 thousand teachers work and attend 1,329 classes.

Regarding the *institutional arrangements for participation and social control from the perspective of democratic government of public education*, the research made it possible to identify a set of guidelines for the democratic management of education. Although we focused on the Municipal Organic Law (PALMAS, 1990) and the law that institutes the Municipal Teaching System (Law n. 1.350, of December 9, 2004), because we consider them referential to the theme, no principle or provision dealing with democratic management of public education is included in the content of the Organic Law. It is in Law 1350/2004 that the theme is dealt with, more precisely in Article 1, clause VIII - "democratic management of public education in the form of the law," as a purpose, having in mind education based on the principles of freedom, human solidarity, equality, and social justice. A last direct mention to democratic management can be identified in art. 5 of the law: "The actions of the Municipal Secretariat of Education will be guided

by the principles of democratic management, productivity, systemic rationality and autonomy of the teaching units, prioritizing the decentralization of pedagogical, administrative and financial decisions" (PALMAS, 2004).

According to the content examined, the law keeps the scope of the principle of democratic management of public education open, since it does not advance in specifications that give form and greater precision to the matter. Something different, although punctual, falls in the field of the actions of the executive body of the educational system, following art. 5 of Law 1.350/2004, the reason for which we conclude that the possibilities of participating and exercising social control in educational matters remain dependent on other legal acts and, mainly, on the configuration of institutional spaces and mechanisms of participation.

The examination of the educational legislation in effect allowed us to identify a set of these spaces and mechanisms based on the delimitation defined in this study. It also allowed us to point out the changes that have occurred over time. The data and information are presented in Box 2.

Box 2 - Institutional arrangements for participation in the management of education in the Palmas municipal school system and formalized changes - from the 1990s

Municipal Education Council Law n. 44 of March 21, 1990	
Changes made	
Composition and term of office	
Law n. 1024/2001	(Changes the composition from 13 to nine members) <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ↑ From two to three representatives of the Municipal Secretariat of Education, Culture, and Sports ↑ Representative of the private schools union ↑ Representative of the Municipal Council for the Rights of Children and Adolescents ↑ Representative of the School Community Association ↑ Representative of the directors of the municipal school units ↑ Representative of the Municipal Secretary for Children and Youth ↓ Two representatives of the students' parents ↓ Two representatives appointed by the City Council ↓ Two representatives of representative entities of the community ↓ From two to one teacher's union representative ↓ Two private education representatives ↓ Trade association representative
Law 1.461/2007	(Changes the composition, from nine to 19 members, and integrates the Fundeb Council as a Chamber. Basic Education Chamber with nine members and Fundeb Chamber with ten members) <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ↑ Representative of teachers of undergraduate degree courses from higher education institutions, public and private ↑ Representative of the municipal school councils or equivalent ↓ Representative of the Municipal Secretariat of Education and Culture Fundeb Chamber: ↑ Two representatives of the Municipal Secretariat of Education and Culture ↑ Representative of the municipal public basic education teachers ↑ Representative of the municipal public school principals ↑ Representative of the technical-administrative servers of the municipal public schools ↑ Guardianship Council Representative ↑ Two representatives of parents of students from the municipal public basic education (except municipal employees) ↑ Two student representatives from the municipal public education system (except municipal employees)
Character	
Law 1.461/2007	(Originally, of a normative, consultative and supervisory nature) <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ↑ Deliberative ↑ Mobilizer ↑ Propositive ↑ Social control ↑ Advising
Assignments	
Law n. 1.024/2001	↑ Authorize and/or promote training and improvement courses, regulating their implementation in the municipality.
Law 1.207/2003	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ↑ To evaluate the quality of private Kindergarten and Elementary School in the Palmas education system and authorize its operation and/or recognize it. ↓ Evaluate the quality of private education and authorize its operation.
Law 1.461/2007	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ↑ Promote the participation of civil society in planning, monitoring, and evaluating municipal education. ↑ Ensure the pedagogical and social quality of education in EMS. ↑ Ensure compliance with current EMS legislation.

were excluded and the number of representatives of the teachers' union was reduced. In addition, among other changes, representatives of representative entities of the community were excluded, but a vacancy was opened for a representative of school principals. In 2007, there was a significant increase in the number of members (from 9 to 19) due to creating a specific chamber that replaced the Municipal Council for Monitoring and Social Control of the Fundeb. This measure brought back representatives from parents of students (two seats) and from the students themselves (two seats). According to the federal legislation in effect at the time⁵, of the minimum of eight seats for the new Council, the municipality chose to compose it with ten, with an addition for the Municipal Secretariat of Education and Culture (which now has two seats) and one for the Council of Guardianship.

It was also in 2007 that significant changes were made in relation to the Council's attributions, which were also given a deliberative, mobilizing, propositional, social control (due especially to the role the body now plays in relation to the Fundeb) and advisory character. In the specific case of the attributions, from a set of three to four in force until 2007 (with a notably technical dimension), they have increased to more than 20 with the changes introduced by Law 1.461/2007. This new version extrapolated the specificity of the monitoring and social control of Fundeb, then incorporated into the Council, as well as the profile of duties inherent to the role of regulatory body of the education system (PALMAS, 2007). We refer, more precisely, to the political character of certain attributions, among which stand out: promotion of civil society participation in the planning, monitoring and evaluation of municipal education; care for the pedagogical and social quality of education; monitoring of the execution and evaluation of the municipal education plan; discussions on relevant issues of education; elaboration and monitoring of the execution of the educational policy of the municipality; and monitoring of the administrative-financial execution of municipal education.

With regard to the election of school principals, the legal instrument that provides for the issue - Decree No. 249 of October 31, 2006 - has not been amended since its publication. It is worth noting that the electoral process addressed by the legal instrument is part of a mixed process for choosing school principals for the municipal school system, consisting of four stages: evaluation of professional experience, based on the candidate's curriculum and on the evaluation of the management plan (eliminatory stage); written test (eliminatory); oral test (eliminatory and qualifying); election (eliminatory and qualifying), with a two-year term of office for those elected, who may be re-elected only once. It is, according to art. 2 of the Decree, "democratic instrument values the participation of the school community in decision-making processes, within the principle of democratic management of the public school" (PALMAS, 2006).

The law establishing the Municipal Education Forum, identified as Permanent Education Forum, dated 2012, remained unchanged until 2020. The purpose of the Forum is to "Art. 1 [...] participate in the preparation of the Municipal Education Plan - PME and perform the monitoring and evaluation of its implementation" (PALMAS, 2012b), whose representation involves a wide range of bodies and institutions and society organizations.

Articles published in the period by public agencies, the press, or civil society organizations, confirmed the materialization of the aforementioned participation mechanisms and pointed out repercussions regarding their role. Published on the website of the City Hall, an article dated 2010, for example, publicized the holding of a meeting of municipal counselors of education and other professionals in the area in order to discuss the application and social control of educational resources, notably those linked to the Fundeb (PALMAS, 2010a). In 2019, a news release announced the holding of an assembly to choose representatives of the segments of parents, students, school counselors, and principals to assume the function of counselors for the biennium 2019/2021 (SEMED..., 2019). Following, on June 10 of the same year, articles published in different media outlets reported the inauguration of new counselors (COSTA, 2019; PALMAS, 2019).

Regarding choosing school principals, a notice published by the Municipal Secretariat of Education in January 2012 announced the inauguration of new principals of educational units in the capital. It also highlighted that it was a "Mixed Process of Choice of Directors, carried out by the Municipal Secretariat of Education (Semed), [which] counted on evaluations of technical qualification,

⁵ Item IV, § 1, of art. 24 of Provisional Measure no. 339, of December 28, 2006, converted into Law no. 11.494, of June 20, 2007.

knowledge and election [on December 4, 2011], in which all members of the related school communities participated." (PALMAS, 2012a, n.p.).

In 2015, under a new municipal administration, a news article signed by the Union of Education Workers in the State of Tocantins (Sintet), on a strike called by the category on September 30 of the same year, stated that one of the items on the strike's agenda was the election of principals, and that the municipal executive had not met this proposal. According to the article,

The fact that the process for the election of principals, developed in 2013, was only last week discussed again by the PCCR commission [Permanent Commission for Management of the Position, Career and Remuneration Plan], shows that the issue of the election of principals was in a drawer at SEMED, which proves that the PCCR commission, the CME [Municipal Council of Education], and even less SINTET are not to blame for the fact that the public notice was not held. The only impediment for not carrying out the process is the will of SEMED (SINTET, 2015, n.p.).

The theme of elections was pointed out again in an article published by Sintet in 2021, in which a meeting with the Secretary of Education of Palmas to discuss demands of municipal education was announced (SINTET, 2021). In this case, the election was placed on the level of the mentioned demands.

The evidence of the implementation of the Permanent Education Forum of Palmas, created in 2012, is numerous. That same year, the Forum's launching was announced, emphasizing the challenges of this participation space in the context of planning and management of the educational policy (PALMAS, 2012b). This was the theme of the lecture given, and that, equally, guided the manifestation of the authorities. Other articles published between 2012 and 2018 publicized the holding of municipal education conferences, whose work was coordinated by the Forum (UNIVERSIDADE FEDERAL DO TOCANTINS, 2012; ETAPA MUNICIPAL DE EDUCAÇÃO, 2018).

An assessment of the information on *institutional arrangements for participation and social control from the perspective of democratic government of public education* allows us, in general terms, to point out that the repercussion of the materialization of a part of them occurs under the discourse of local management, because most of it is conveyed by the municipal communication agency or reproduced, in the same format, by other press channels. In contrast, the mechanism for electing school principals ceased to be mentioned by the municipal administration after 2013, which also occurred concerning other channels, remaining restricted to manifestations by organized segments of civil society, more specifically Sintrat, which continued to demand the implementation of the mechanism.

Thus, as to whether these issues are implicated with measures of educational accountability in the management of education in Palmas, our reading about policies convergent to the regulation by results allowed us to see that the municipality implemented, in 2012, the System of Educational Assessment of Palmas (SAEP), characterized by the Municipal Department of Education as "an external evaluation that aims to provide consistent, periodic and comparable indicators of the Palmas Municipal Education Network, which can guide the agents involved in the educational system in the pursuit of improving the quality of education (PALMAS, [2012], n.p.). In institutional terms, no documents dealing with the creation of SAEP were identified, although the System is frequently mentioned in documents related to the public budget⁶ and by the local media.

In a news article published in April 2013, for example, the results of the second stage of the assessment were highlighted, showing the averages obtained by 5th and 9th grade students in Portuguese Language and Mathematics, celebrated by the Secretariat of Education because it was an articulated work between the school, professionals and the secretariat, with indications that the assessment process was carried out in annual stages. According to the published article, in a statement by the then director of evaluation and statistics of Semed, Marta Pacheco, "the first assessment served to diagnose the level of student proficiency [...] and from there to make pedagogical interventions necessary for school development [...] [The] second served to verify the skills and competencies acquired by the student in the first bimester [...]" (VITRINE, 2013, n.p.). The preparation of the evaluation items would be the

⁶ The Minutes of the 2018-2021 PPA hearing and participatory budget for Fiscal Year 2018 is an example (PALMAS, 2017).

responsibility of a team of teachers, by area of knowledge. The team would also perform the correction and present the results through pedagogical reports directed to schools (PALMAS, 2020).

As stated in an article published in 2014, the System assumed a diagnostic, formative, and also performance character (CONEXÃO TOCANTINS, 2014). The diagnostic perspective of SAEP is also pointed out in news published in 2012, the first year of the application of the exams. When mentioning the expected date for disclosure of the results of the first application (students' proficiency level), the news added that "A technical pedagogical report will be prepared with the results of Saep, which will be forwarded to all schools, which will allow them a diagnosis of their realities, facilitating the foundation of the work [...]" (SISTEMA DE AVALIAÇÃO, 2012, n.p.). However, a perspective of accountability linked to the results of the external evaluation system, in relation to the indexes calculated as quality indicators, was also evident in some statements of the municipal government. As an example, there is the statement of the Director of Evaluation, Statistics, and Training of Semed, presented in February 2020:

The Saep assessments are fundamental for evaluating the school system and presenting results to the community. They make it possible to understand the progress and difficulties of students, and these parameters will serve as a basis for redirecting actions to improve learning rates significantly (PALMAS, 2020, n.p.).

In general, the news related to SAEP assumed a predominantly positive tone, with frequent emphasis on the support it provided to monitor student performance and as a way to subsidize the definition of educational practices and policies for the sector. Besides the almost absence of dissenting positions in relation to the role of SAEP, it is possible to identify some elements that connect the system with the objectives of the external evaluation model practiced at the national level. The statement that the SAEP results are strategic for the teachers of the classes to be submitted to Prova Brasil (CONEXÃO TOCANTINS, 2013) is an example of this connection.

It is based on this line of reasoning that we interpret a series of manifestations from the public authorities, although not exclusively, about the anticipated achievement of IDEB goals, the educational quality that it represents, and the position of the municipality in relation to other capitals - also, about awards conferred by the municipal government due to the progress of schools in the index.

About the early achievement of goals, in 2010, when the results of Prova Brasil of 2009 were released, according to which the capital exceeded the goal set for 2021, the then mayor commented on the promise made to teachers in 2005, that "Palmas would export technology in education, which is already being achieved, by informing that the MEC usually indicates the Capital as a reference in innovative practices in education" (PALMAS, 2010b, n.p.). Regarding the 2015 edition, an article published in 2016 printed the city hall's reading of the success of some municipal schools that were highlighted in the IDEB ranking, interpreting it as the result of motivated educators and parents involved with the school life of their children (PREFEITURA DE PALMAS FALA..., 2016).

The awarding of prizes, one of the most emblematic marks of the relationship between the hegemonic model of accountability and the policies of regulation by results, is a theme that circulates in the educational environment of the municipal network. Some examples: in 2010, in the context of the release of the 2009 IDEB results, the mayor announced the payment of the 14th salary to professionals from schools that had reached the 6.0 target (PALMAS, 2010b); and in 2015, to celebrate the "results of excellence" achieved by the municipal network in the 2015 IDEB, educators, students and schools that stood out in the 2015 IDEB were awarded (PALMAS, 2016).

Finally, it is important to highlight that the focus on results has been a municipal policy since 2015, when the results agreement and the productivity bonus were formalized through Complementary Law no. 315, of March 25, 2015, in the scope of the municipal executive branch. As provided in art. 1, item I, the results agreement is "the instrument of contractualization of results, entered into between leaders of bodies and entities of the Executive Branch and the authorities that have hierarchical or supervisory power over them, as well as the performance evaluation of each server integrating the agreed body." The award corresponds to a bonus, in compensatory nature, directed to the servers in effective exercise in the body or entity that signed the results agreement, which are subject to the productivity assessment of the overall indicators of the secretariat and the individual indicators under their

responsibility, as well as the evaluation of individual performance (PALMAS, 2015). The bonus practice does not get approval from Sintet, for it understands that, as a meritocracy program, "puts worker against worker and creates supposed 'centers of excellence' in some regions of the city and makes several others precarious" (SINETET, 2015).

In summary, considering the changes practiced in the framework of institutional arrangements aimed at the realization of the democratic government of public education, also in this case we found no specific measures that have had an impact on the mechanisms of participation and social control examined, due to the circulation of accountability measures identified with the regulation by results. However, it is more evident that these measures, with a strong inclination toward the practice of awards/bonuses based on results, have been taking the lead in the management process of the municipal network of the capital city, nesse contexto, a presença dos mecanismos de participação e controle social, tendo em conta as prioridades da ordem política vigente.

CONCLUDING REMARKS

The examination of the empirical material related to the plan of *institutional arrangements for participation and social control in the perspective of the democratic government of public education*, considering the four institutional mechanisms examined, allowed us to verify a set of changes processed over time in each capital, most of which allow us to gather evidence of some favoring of the institutional conditions of participation and social control. However, when they are placed in a political-institutional framework that emphasizes measures identified with policies of regulation by results, the suggested potential of the changes seems to lose expressiveness, given their dilution in management models congruent with the logic of the production of results. As these models tend to use the centralization of power, their collision with social participation, understood as an influential dynamic in the design, implementation, and evaluation of public policies (STOTZ, 2008), is likely.

In terms of *accountability measures identified with policies of educational regulation by results*, the findings indicate significant convergences, especially at the level of evaluation and accountability, which are also known to pave the way for responsibility measures, especially through the expedient of awards. Once their own systems of external evaluation are in place, whose organizational logic resonates with the schools' administrative, political, and pedagogical aspects, everything indicates that the result will be the strengthening of educational control exercised through the national evaluation system. This system is notably affirmed by local governments, despite the reservations formulated by some segments of society. Although different, these angles of view highlight the centrality of external evaluation in the educational policies of the capitals surveyed, configuring itself as a mechanism of regulation and control that has the results as an end in themselves.

Finally, let's consider that the flow of changes related to the first plan occurred relatively coincidentally with the emergence of external evaluation, including through its own systems. It is possible to hypothesize that the movement of guidelines and institutional conditions of participation and social control has not been an obstacle to the instrumental intensification characteristic of the current model of external evaluation, known to be overpowering in the framework of current educational policies.

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Author 1 - Project coordinator, active participation in data analysis and review of final writing.

Author 2 - Data collection, data analysis, and writing the text.

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