

<https://doi.org/10.1590/198053146982>

IMPLEMENTATION OF EDUCATIONAL POLICIES AND EQUITY: REGULATION AND MEDIATION

 Vanda Mendes Ribeiro^I

 Alicia Bonamino^{II}

 Sergio Martinic^{III}

TRANSLATED BY Deyse Assis de Miranda^{IV}

^I Universidade Cidade de São Paulo (Unicid), São Paulo (SP), Brazil; vandaribeiro2@gmail.com

^{II} Pontifícia Universidade Católica do Rio de Janeiro (PUC-Rio), Rio de Janeiro (RJ), Brazil; alicia@puc-rio.br

^{III} Universidad de Aysén (UAY), Aysén, Chile; sergio.martinic@uaysen.cl

^{IV} Good Deal Consultoria Linguística, Juiz de Fora (MG), Brasil.

Abstract

The present article addresses the regulation model of two Law initiatives as equity in school environment. References about the implementation of public policies and actions, and the regulation of teaching systems account for the generation of categories, a priori. The assessed data were collected during interviews carried out with school principals, managers and teachers. Data interpretation was based on content analysis. In conclusion, both initiatives were guided by similar regulation models, they lied on monitoring the actions and interactions of school principals and implementation agents by mixing bureaucratic and post-bureaucratic education measures. These models encompass instruments, techniques and tools that imply actors' involvement in the prescribed goals and in solving distress cases to highlight their ability to influence daily routines.

PUBLIC POLICIES • EDUCATION • INEQUALITY • JUSTICE

IMPLEMENTAÇÃO DE POLÍTICAS EDUCACIONAIS E EQUIDADE: REGULAÇÃO E MEDIAÇÃO

Resumo

Este artigo discute o modelo de regulação de duas iniciativas de justiça como equidade na escola. Referências sobre implementação de políticas públicas, ação pública e regulação dos sistemas de ensino geraram categorias a priori. Os dados analisados vieram de entrevistas com dirigentes, gestores e professores. Sua interpretação baseou-se na análise de conteúdo. Conclui-se que as duas iniciativas são regidas por modelos de regulação similares, instituindo vigilância sobre ações e interações dos dirigentes e agentes implementadores, mesclando medidas educativas dos tipos burocrático e pós-burocrático. Esse modelo incorpora instrumentos, técnicas e ferramentas que implicam os atores nos objetivos prescritos, na presença de tensões, denotando capacidade de incidir nas práticas cotidianas.

POLÍTICAS PÚBLICAS • EDUCAÇÃO • DESIGUALDADE • JUSTIÇA

IMPLEMENTACIÓN DE POLÍTICAS EDUCACIONALES Y EQUIDAD: REGULACIÓN Y MEDIACIÓN

Resumen

Este artículo discute el modelo de regulación de dos iniciativas de justicia como equidad en la escuela. Referencias sobre implementación de políticas públicas, acción pública y regulación de los sistemas de enseñanza, generaron categorías a priori. Los datos analizados vinieron de entrevistas a dirigentes, gestores y profesores. Su interpretación se basó en el análisis del contenido. Se concluye que las dos iniciativas son regidas por modelos de regulación similares, instituyendo vigilancia sobre acciones e interacciones de los dirigentes y agentes implementadores, mezclando medidas educativas de los tipos burocrático y postburocrático. Ese modelo incorpora instrumentos, técnicas y herramientas que implican los actores en los objetivos prescritos, en la presencia de tensiones, denotando capacidad de incidir en las prácticas cotidianas.

POLÍTICAS PÚBLICAS • EDUCACIÓN • DESIGUALDADE • JUSTICIA

LA MISE EN OEUVRE DE POLITIQUES ÉDUCATIVES ET ÉQUITÉ: RÉGULATION ET MÉDIATION

Résumé

Cet article traite du modèle de régulation de deux initiatives de justice visant l'équité à l'école. Des références concernant la mise en œuvre de politiques publiques, de l'action publique et de la réglementation des systèmes éducatifs ont généré des catégories a priori. Les données analysées proviennent d'entretiens avec des dirigeants, des gestionnaires et des enseignants. L'interprétation s'appuie l'analyse de contenu. La conclusion est que les deux initiatives sont régies par des modèles de régulations similaires qui établissent un contrôle sur les actions et les interactions des dirigeants et des agents de l'exécution, en associant des mesures éducatives bureaucratiques et post-bureaucratiques. Ce modèle intègre des instruments, des techniques et des outils qui impliquent les acteurs dans les objectifs prescrits, même en présence de tensions, ce qui indique sa capacité d'affecter les pratiques quotidiennes.

POLITIQUES PUBLIQUES • ÉDUCATION • INÉGALITÉ • JUSTICE

THE AIM OF THE CURRENT ARTICLE IS TO ADDRESS THE REGULATION MODEL OF TWO GOVERNMENTAL initiatives – the education policy for the early years of elementary education in Marília County, São Paulo State, and Literacy at the Right Age Program (Paic) in Ceará State. Based on research evidences, these initiatives got to positive good school justice equity in a short period-of-time. In 2018, the 1988 Federal Constitution turned 30 years old; its Article 205 defines basic education as a universal social right to be provided to all, regardless of social origin, race, skin color, age, or any other discrimination form. In order to assure the exercise of such a right, the Constitution lists the duties and competences of the State, federative units and counties, in Article 211 (BRASIL, 1988). The Constitution defines the percentage of collected taxes to be applied by federal entities in the maintenance and development of teaching processes as the way to make feasible the equity principle stated in the definition of education as a right to all (Articles 22, 24, 30, 208 and 212). Besides, the Bill of Guidelines and Basis for the National Education (LDBEN) n. 9.394 (BRASIL, 1996), in its Article 22, states “equal school access and permanence condition” and “the guarantee of quality standards”; moreover, it establishes basic education funding by the Fund for the Maintenance and Development of Elementary Education and the Valorization of Teaching (Fundef) and by the Basic Education Maintenance and Development Fund (Fundeb).

The sense of equity observed in the education legislation can be interpreted in light of Dubet (2009), who advocated for a principle of justice for basic education based on a Rawlsian rational to assure a certain distribution of knowledge; in other words, basic education itself. According to this principle, educational policies must act for all, including the ones presenting more impairments and the most socially disadvantaged ones, so that they can gain the knowledge seen as necessary at this schooling stage. Such a statement brings along the sense of justice as the herein addressed sense of equity (RIBEIRO, 2014).

Crahay (2000) believes that equity at school is only possible thanks to pedagogical actions and to the regulation of teachers’ actions through an instrument called “piloting system”, i.e., a way to monitor schools, their pedagogical processes and to evaluate learning outcomes in order to implement corrections, whenever necessary. In order to act over inequalities, this instrument suggests the possibility of positive discrimination at school, which goes against the trend of inequality reproduction (BOURDIEU; PASSERON, [1975]).

A set of previous research has shown public policy experiences aimed at implementing the rights set in the Constitution. These experiences accomplished equity outcomes among the distress typical of the implementation of public policies focused on the distribution of valorized social assets, such as the case of the educational policy in Marília County, which applies to the early years of elementary school assessed by Ribeiro (2012), as well as to Paic – assessed by Kasmirski, Gusmão and Ribeiro (2017), Padilha *et al.* (2013), Vieira and Vidal (2013), Koslinski, Ribeiro and Oliveira (2017), Correa (2018), Mota (2018), Bonamino *et al.* (2019) and Cruz, Farah e Ribeiro (2020). Among all these researchs, only that by Ribeiro (2012) has addressed the regulation model guiding the educational policy in Marília County, São Paulo. Thus, the aim of the current study is to broaden the discussion about the regulation model/equity interface.

THEORETICAL FUNDAMENTAL

DECISION-MAKING AND PUBLIC POLICY IMPLEMENTATION

Lipsky (2010), in his studies about the action of implementation agents has found that they are mediators between State and population. Although they are subjected to rules, they can use sanctions or select beneficiaries based on their own merit criteria and influence political decisions. He highlights that these workers also use discretion and can determine the nature, amount and quality of granted benefits. Giusto and Ribeiro (2019) assessed public policy implementation studies and revealed other influencing factors: contexts, labor conditions, interaction patterns between implementation agents, their different interactions resulting from communication processes, as well as their beliefs, interests and personal values. The multiplicity of factors that, based on the literature, influence the implementation of public policies argue the normative rational or the application of top-down policies aimed at accomplishing equity through public actions.

THE SOCIOLOGY OF REGULATIONS: MEDIATION OF INTERACTIONS IN THE IMPLEMENTATION OF EDUCATIONAL POLICIES

The asymmetry issues observed between the educational policy design and its implementation in school environment have been approached by the Sociology of regulations. Maroy (2008) defines the institutional regulation models of the educational system as a set of orientation, interpretation and control mechanisms that allow the coordination of teachers, school managers, students and families at educational system level. According to this author, regulation is put in place by processes, actors and action contexts – sometimes contradictory – that entangle macro and micro levels, as well as that encompass negotiations, transactions and institutional arrangements to set system coordination. Based on Maroy (2008), implementation accounts for an interrelation system, for commitment, arrangements and articulations at different levels, scenarios and field, and among different actors and systems of action. Researchers state that reforms and policies are social action and co-construction systems set among several actors, in which ideas, beliefs, values and knowledge play a central role (MULLER, 2000; DRAELANTS; MAROY, 2008).

Accordingly, Barroso (2005) adopted a regulation concept that is seen as a way to coordinate teaching systems or governance forms. He states that regulation brings along an instance of mediations, translations and flow pathways that play an essential role, such as “knots” in a net. He also points out that it is possible predicting the success of strategies set by the rules, and that is why regulation brings along educational policy measures focused on dealing with unbalance conditions between rule and action.

Lascoumes and Les Galès (2012, p. 22) state that instruments, techniques and tools play an important role in the articulation of actors over their common goals. These instruments correspond to a technical strategy that has its own concept of regulation and that is able to guide and predict actors’ behavior – the demographic census would be an example of such an instrument. Instruments take place through the use of techniques and tools; techniques are “a concrete strategy that operationalizes the instrument”, for example, one of the statistical categories of the census, such as race/skin color. Tools, in their turn, represent “a micro-instrument within a technique”, as it can be illustrated by a formula to calculate a social inequality index.

REGULATION OF TEACHING SYSTEMS IN BRAZIL: AN EXPLORATORY DISCUSSION

Maroy (2004, 2008, 2011) and Barroso (2005) point out the recent emergence in Europe of new forms of post-bureaucratic “governance” for teaching “evaluating State” and “almost market” teaching systems. Based on these models, governance would take place through centralized discipline matrix documents and through students’ performance control, which would be measured by external evaluations based on schools’ pedagogic and financial autonomy – targets must be negotiated and charged.

The study carried out by Center for Studies and Research in Education, Culture and Community Action (Cenpec), as a demand of Vitor Civita Foundation (BATISTA *et al.*, 2015), about discipline matrix policies in the Brazilian states and in the Federal District, shows that educational policies have been using either post-bureaucratic regulation or bureaucratic strategies. It shows that the country still adopts governance experiments aiming what managers call “improvements in the quality of education” – this concept is bond to external evaluation policies.

According to Cenpec’s studies, states

[...] focus on the control of educational outcomes by defining targets, but also aim at assuring control over the teaching and learning process. [...] there is no focus on pedagogical autonomy, as predicted in the two post-bureaucratic models presented by Maroy (2008, 2013¹) and Barroso (2005).² (BATISTA *et al.*, 2015, p. 63, own translation)

Foreign experiences have shown other countries that adopt new regulation forms based on their contexts and realities, and it gives origin to different governance types based on hybrid models that integrate the post-bureaucratic model that presents different importance degrees, as it has been documented in European countries (MAROY, 2008; BARROSO, 2005) and in Chile, among others (BELLEI, 1988, MARTINIC; ELACQUA, 2010).

THE IMPORTANCE OF COMPLEXITY IN PUBLIC POLICY IMPLEMENTATION

Whenever a public policy generates equality, it is possible assuming that interests have significant weight on its implementation, since it implies changes in the distribution of valorized social assets to favor the disadvantaged ones. Santos (1979) has published a research about the evolution of social policies in Brazil that have addressed the equity issue. Although he does not talk about regulation, he highlights the relevance of conflict mediation in policy consolidation processes. Based on this author, public policy implementation to generate equity derives from policy-making, which, in its turn, depends on factors such as the behavior of political elites, the political strength of implementation institutions (having more access to resources, or not, can somehow generate more or lesser power), knowledge and intentions these elites have, scarce structure (concerning budget resources and the quality of physical and human resources), conflicts among groups and their mediation, State bureaucracy, political strength and demographic conditions.

It is possible stating that regulations and their political measures are closely related to contexts, educational measures, and to the trajectory and dynamics of intervening actors due to the challenge of achieving equity. Thus, it is essential assessing such regulations and measures in order to better understand their particularities.

OBJECT OF STUDY AND METHODOLOGICAL PROCEDURES

THE ASSESSED GOVERNMENTAL INITIATIVES: INITIAL YEARS OF ELEMENTARY SCHOOL (EF1)

The two assessed governmental initiatives were implemented at management spheres of educational systems under different geographic contexts. Implementation at management spheres of educational systems is exemplified by the municipal policy developed in Marília County-SP;

1 MAROY, C. *L'école à l'épreuve de la performance*: les politiques de régulation par les résultats. Belgique: De Boeck, 2013. (Perspectives en Éducation et Formation).

2 In the original: “foco no controle dos resultados educacionais, com definição de metas, mas buscando garantir também o controle do processo de ensino e aprendizagem. [...] não há foco na autonomia pedagógica, conforme preveem os dois modelos de regulação pós-burocrática, apresentados por Maroy (2008, 2013) e Barroso (2005).”

the initiative created at state level, in Ceará State, is an example of different geographic contexts. At first, it is known that the closeness between these two experiences is put in place by the focus on EF1, because they have reached equitable educational outcomes, as well as by lack of disruption within timelines longer than 10 years.

The educational policy in Marília – encompasses pedagogical educational measures and the organizational structuring within a 10-year timeline. According to the interviewees and to the statistical evidences presented by Ribeiro (2012), these factors have influenced the educational outcomes recorded between 2010 and 2011.

Paic started from a civil society mobilization set in 2005. Officially, it was launched as public policy and institutionalized through Bill n. 14.026, in 2007, which focused on the second EF1 year³ and aimed at establishing the necessary conditions to students to reach the 5th grade in elementary school without any age-grade distortions and with full domain of reading, writing and mathematical calculation competences - adjusted to their age and school level.

Paic determined that the State, by fulfilling the collaboration regime, could provide technical and financial cooperation to counties in Ceará State, in order to improve their learning process outcomes. The program was initially organized into five axes: a) Municipal management; b) Literacy; c) Formation of a Reader; d) Child Education and e) External Evaluation. The Cooperation Coordination with Municipalities for Learning Development at the Right Age (Copem) of Ceará State Department of Education (Seduc) acts through 20 Regional Education Development Coordinators (Crede) that have implemented the Regional Cooperation Centers with Municipalities (NRCOMs). According to Gusmão and Ribeiro (2011), Paic organization comprised municipal teams accountable for school guidance; schools should be guided by a manager and follow a division system similar to that observed in Copem: three or more people, depending on county size and on the structure of the Municipal Secretariat of Education (SME).

LOCATIONS AND TEACHING NETWORKS WHERE INITIATIVES WERE DEVELOPED

Marília County is located in São Paulo State, Brazil. In 2020, time when data adopted in the present study were collected, the county had total population of 216,745 inhabitants.

According to Censo Escolar (RIBEIRO, 2012), in 2011, at the beginning of EF1 activities, the municipal network in Marília – accounted for 58% of school enrollments (7,707 students); gross pre-school schooling rate was 95%, in 2010 – this same rate at country scale was of 62.5%. Daycare schooling gross rate was 47% in this county. This author has also informed that, according to Anísio Teixeira National Institute of Educational Studies and Research (Instituto Nacional de Estudos e Pesquisas Educacionais Anísio Teixeira – Inep), the approval rate in the initial years of EF1, in 2010, in the herein assessed municipal network, was close to 100%, and the abandonment rate was of almost 0%; age-grade distortion reached 4% (whereas the state average in Marília, São Paulo was 14%). School failure rate recorded 4%, in 2010. According to Ribeiro (2012), in 2005, the Basic Education Development Index (Ideb) recorded for the initial EF1 years of the municipal network in Marília County – reached 5.4 and rose to 6.4, in 2009. In 2017, Inep's website informed that Ideb reached 7.2.

Ceará State, which is one of the nine states in the Northeastern region, has 184 counties distributed in a territory bigger than 148 thousand km². The State has approximately 8.5 million inhabitants. Most of the population (75.1%) lives in urban zones, and more than half of them (52.4%) is living in Fortaleza Metropolitan Region. In 2005, Human Development Index (HDI) in the State was 0.764, which was lower than the Brazilian Index (0.795), but higher than that recorded for the Northeastern region (0.720) (CEARÁ, 2012).

³ Later on, it was changed by Bill n. 15.921, from December 15th, 2015; Paic became Mais Paic, based on the action set by the program to all EF, and it implied changes in action axes. We will herein only analyze Paic.

According to a document of Ceará Department of Education (2012), in 2009, the State had 9,913 basic education institutions, and 49% of them were found in urban zones, 37 schools were located in indigenous areas and 22 in *quilombo* remnants. Yet, in 2009, and according to this document, the state counted on 2,567,230 children enrolled in basic education; 370,975 (14.5%) in child education and 1,550,930 (60.5%) in elementary school. With respect to the age group 4 to 6 years, in 2009, population school rate in the state was higher than that recorded for Brazil and for the Northeastern region (90.7% vs 74.8% in Brazil vs 81.4% in Northeastern region). As for the age group 6 to 14 years, in this same year, the state rate was a little higher than that observed for the country and for the Northeastern region; and in the age group 15 to 17, it was a little lower than the Brazilian rate and almost the same as that observed for the Northeastern region (98.3% in Ceará, 97.4% in the Northeastern region and 97.6 in Brazil) (CEARÁ, 2012). When it comes to school failure rates in the initial years of elementary school, while “the country dropped 2.0 points, and the Northeastern region dropped 2.5 points, between 2005 and 2009, the state [Ceará] reduced by 3.6 points its school failure rate” (CEARÁ, 2012, p. 46).

Cruz, Farah and Ribeiro (2020) have stated that 17.1% of the population in the state lived under extreme poverty conditions in 2010; this rate is higher than the Brazilian one (8.5%). In 2010, 77.1% of residences in Ceará had total family income of up to one minimum wage – this number reached 56.4% at national scale. According to Cruz, Farah e Ribeiro (2020), in 2016, 39.83% of the population in Ceará State was *Bolsa Família* beneficiary.

DATA USED IN THE CURRENT STUDY

Data evidencing the educational policy configuration in Marília County – derive from interviews carried out with policy implementation agents at macro and micro-level (school principals, Education Secretariat technicians and school managers from a particular school). They are available in the thesis defended by one of the authors of the present article (RIBEIRO, 2012),⁴ which counted on data collected during a broader research about education networks called “Pesquisa Bons Resultados no Ideb: estudo exploratório de fatores explicativos”. This research program is coordinated by professors of the Education School of São Paulo University (FE/USP).

Based on micro-data from Prova Brasil 2007, this thesis assessed two municipal networks accountable for more than 5,000 enrollments at the initial years of EF1 in São Paulo State. The cluster analysis, which combined the coefficient of variation of mathematic scores to students’ mean socioeconomic level (NSE) and mean students’ proficiencies, made it possible observing that the state counted on four groups of teaching networks with more than 5,000 enrollments, one of them presented 19 networks with the best equitable teaching distribution in the initial EF1 years – one of them was located in the county the current study refers to. The rate of students in the lowest NSE quartile – plotted for the 5th grade in this network – who have acquired proper mathematics proficiency (225 in the Saeb scale) reached 41%, in 2007; whereas the average in the group of the best equitable networks in the state recorded 31%. Similarly, 39% of the total of students in the most equitable network had proficiency higher than 225 – the herein assessed county recorded 49%. With regard to the group in the least equitable network, only 21% of its students reached adequate proficiency level.

Based on these data, the educational policy adopted for the teaching network in Marília County is a case to be study in order to better understand its “singularities”. The research has featured three of the policy implementation processes in question: 1) planning; 2) evaluation and 3) learning follow-up. It was also possible collecting information about both teachers’ training and discipline matrix. Interviews were carried out with school principals, implementation agents from the Education Secretariat and from the schools, as well as observations about the infrastructure and organization chart of this Secretariat and of a particular school, besides document collections and analyses.

4 This thesis provides a detailed description of the policy implemented in Marília and of its implementation strategies.

Paic data were collected throughout 22 interviews carried out between 2018 and 2019 with school principals, managers and former-managers from the Education Secretariat of Ceará State, and with school managers and teachers from two schools in Fortaleza. The motivation for the current research rose from studies that had reported broader equity in EF1 in Ceará State; Padilha *et al.* (2013) stated that educational outcomes in this state have more consistently improved in municipal schools presenting lower economic insertion. Kasmirski, Gusmão and Ribeiro (2017) have concluded that students at lower socioeconomic level in Ceará State have more significantly improved their proficiency between 2007 and 2013 – Paic accounted for part of such an equity.

ANALYSIS CATEGORIES A PRIORI

Dara were investigated through content analysis (BARDIN, 1977), messages were classified by taking into account the following categories, *a priori*, which resulted from the theoretical fundamental:

- Implementation and conditionality context:
 - » Managers' power to make decisions;
 - » Intention/interests of ruling elites;
 - » Technical ability of managers and implementation agents.
- Regulation in school/teaching networks: mediation of interactions and action coordination:
 - » Instruments, techniques and tools;
 - » Tensions, conflicts and negotiation spaces.
- Regulation model of the assessed initiatives:
 - » Follow-up applied to schools by management bureaus;
 - » Discipline matrix;
 - » Using external evaluation resources.

ANALYSIS

IMPLEMENTATION AND CONDITIONALITY CONTEXT

The two assessed initiatives show “protection” by the Chief Executive towards decisions made by education managers. This *protection reinforces the autonomy and power of these managers in order to deal with the interests of City Councilors, Congressmen and other actors of the local politics, without significantly “distorting” the previously set goals.*

The Municipal Education Secretariat in Marília County has informed that the Mayor protects the Education field from political interferences:

The Mayor supports our decision too. If not so... [...] besides the fact that we are free to tell the Mayor that the thing is not exactly that, many times you can take a certain action that the Mayor can't agree with, but he will support it. And when you say “no” to a City Councilor – and yes I say “no” City Councilors –, I also say “no”, but it is substantiated by a good argument: “I can't meet your request because of...” (RIBEIRO, 2012, p. 439)

Based on the former Assistant Secretary of Education in Ceará State (2007/2015 administrations) and on the macro-level implementation agent and former Copen coordinator (from 2007 to 2014), Paic team was set without having to accept political interference in the nominations for specific positions due to political protection.

Copem and Paic also benefited from a decision that was like that: teams of the Education Secretariat are set by following a logic of commitment and positive outcome in the developed work, rather than the logic of “you were nominated by whoever or by that particular person, or by a City Councilor, A or B Congressman or politician sibling”. (Former assistant education secretary of Ceará State, 2007 to 2015 administrations)

[...] he never interfered in the secretariat to say “put that person in this position, take that person from that position”, never messed up with our team, he was always that person to support what was the right thing to do, to support what had to be done in order to make the work go on. Thus, he politically supported everything that was necessary. (Former Copen Coordinator - from 2007 to 2014)

With respect to the technical ability to manage education, both initiatives show implementation agents and macro-level managers experienced in education management, all of them had higher education degree. The assistant coordinating the pedagogical dimension of the municipal network in Marília County – has stated that he could count on internal knowledge production in the network: “the courses we have provided for training at work [...] were elaborated by this team! So, we reached a level at which the team itself makes the searches for and take them to teachers”. According to the interviewee, the Secretariat prefers professionals from the network to fulfill pedagogical-guidance positions at schools:

We got to assemble here at the Education Secretariat a pedagogical team composed of professionals from the municipal network itself. Long-career teachers who stand out at work in schools and who we thought “boy, this guy is good, I’ll bring him to our side”. They really know the needs; we talk about professionals at school’s plant-floor. (RIBEIRO, 2012, p. 445)

The thesis by Ribeiro (2012, p. 445) highlights that the Education Secretariat in Marília County – has college major in public management and managed the network; she also has a major in Sports and Pedagogy, she started at the municipal teaching network as manager after being approved in a public tender; she is now in her third administration, she has been in the Education Secretariat for 10 years. The Mayor also has a major degree in Pedagogy and taught in the network. The Education Secretary participated in the direction board of the National Union of Municipal Education Directors (Undime). The main assistant has worked in the state teaching network for 31 years; he was a teacher, as well as school principal, supervisor and teaching delegate. He is also a professor at the local university: “I have been working for 15 years and I teach at the Pedagogy Faculty. I have a college major in Basic Education and Master’s Degree in Education. My experience since high school sums 41 years” (RIBEIRO, 2012, p. 446).

In case of Ceará State, interviews carried out with three different managers from the State Secretariat and with 12 technicians and former technicians from Copem have shown that managers were professors who acted in Sobral experiment, and technicians and professionals from the teaching network who started acting in Paic implementation after they stood out for their actions as professors, pedagogical coordinators, superintendents, education secretaries, Crede technicians and secretariat technicians. These actions gave them the management expertise and related knowledge to hold the position they were nominated for.

It was also observed a common trace between the two experiences: *the intention of the ruling elites to improve the quality of education and focus on literacy at the right age*. The Education Secretary in Marília County reported that she focuses on

Improvements in the quality of the teaching process. But, in order for us to reach a quality level really focused on children having knowledge, [...] we have several factors [...]. It passes through the access, and such an access, in my understanding, goes from school transportation for children who need it, to access to children who have learning issues or some physical disability, [and also to] inclusion of all within education. [...] Focus on literacy, at first. If the child is literate at the right age, there will not be distortions in the grades, there is no Youngsters and adults' education and the learning process takes place in a very easy way. (RIBEIRO, 2012, p. 447)

The macro-level state manager in Ceará State (2007-2014 administrations) has stated that the program was born as a public policy based on diagnostics and concrete experiences in order to mitigate the school illiteracy issue.

And we have the Sobral experience in coping with school illiteracy as a reality we have observed, in Sobral case, in 2001, and the committee had already happened in the State Congress, it had already been implemented when Ivo went to the Congress as State Congressman. He made a proposition at the direction board of the Congress to launch the Cearense Committee for the Elimination of School Illiteracy, so, this Committee, I understand that it was a very important seed for Paic. [...] It was a convocation process, an invitation for other counties for the adhesion to it, at the first moment we made some combinations concerning the evaluation to be done, the very challenge driving us, which was assuring students' literacy success, of children at the right age.

REGULATION IN SCHOOLS/TEACHING NETWORK: ACTION COORDINATIONS AND INSTRUMENTS

It is possible stating that the *external evaluation and the centered and detailed discipline matrix* – in both initiatives – were used in all schools that *are instruments of the concept proposed by Lascoumes et Les Galès (2012): they guide and make the action of implementation agents more predictable*. Several techniques and tools were added to these instruments in the teaching network. As for the herein assessed county, data have pointed out that planning can also be considered an instrument that gathers tools and techniques.

External evaluation in Paic uses bimonthly exams; it is a technical strategy to set external evaluations in school environment to have all actors bond together in order to help students to reach the best performances. External evaluation, as an instrument, also reveals its main tool: the standard student-performance measurement, which must be accomplished by the students – it combines the content to be taught to what must be learned. The structured didactic material can be understood as one more technique that features the instrument known as “discipline matrix”. One finds the same bimonthly examination tool in the very core of this technique, namely: what all teachers teach on a daily basis so that the standard performance measurement can be accomplished.

We see the questions that students mostly did not give the right answer to in order to have an idea of what they already learned and what they still have to learn. Besides, we also see the students who, overall, got good grades and students who did not have them. So, we have an idea of the students who are having a harder time learning. (5th grade teacher, school 2)

Data has shown visitations to schools as a technique aimed at bonding the formation provided by the program to learning outcomes, which are measured through external evaluations. These

visitations happen within a chain system: Copem visits Crede, from Crede it goes to the counties and from them to the schools. The macro-level implementation agent, who coordinates Paic management cell at Copem, stated that visitations are a technique to assess and check the needs:

[...] when I was at Crede, I visited [the counties] and I could see the reality, what they were in need of. [...] after the training [which gathers Credes trainers], the team here at Copem will visit each Crede... And they follow the trainings that are taking place there in order to know whether they have been reproduced according to what was planned.

Copem's, macro-level bureaucrat in Ceará State has reported that

[...] this part of the visitation in the State and the strong collaboration to the schools, is Crede's duty. We also follow... Crede makes the visitations. We go along. In 2017, I visited several schools. We map [the ones that need more due to their outcomes].

In other words, the chain described above, which defines the features of visitations to schools, can be broken; moreover, Copem's visitations to the counties can happen whenever it is observed that schools are not going forwards in their external evaluation results. These bad results evidence the power of the tool known as "standard measurement of students' performance" to make implementation agents face common goals. Some counties in Ceará State, such as Fortaleza and Sobral, count on superintendents to follow-up the schools. Such a follow-up aims at revealing to school managers the association among the prescription set in the instruments (discipline matrix propositions, external evaluation), results (resulting from external evaluation) and the ways to act during visitations in order to improve outcomes.

With respect to the herein assessed county, Ribeiro (2012, p. 277, own translation) informed that, based on the Education Secretary: "the work plan is developed, each school has its pedagogical policy project, it has its targets to reach. This work is systematically followed-up by the Secretariat's team: there are constant visitations to schools".⁵ Based on Ribeiro (2012, p. 294, own translation), these constant visitations were also reported by Secretariat technicians: "And there are the visitations that we make along with the main assistant, who interferes in matters that needed to be approached in the school".⁶ Visitations to schools were added as technique – the pedagogical coordinator has to visit the classrooms. The pedagogical coordinator at Escola Municipal de Ensino Municipal (Emef), which was also assessed in this county, stated that her work is organized through a weekly schedule that includes "visitations to classrooms; every week a different grade" (RIBEIRO, 2012, p. 298).

According to Ribeiros' thesis (2012, p. 278), schools' planning encompass "organizing teachers' time in the classroom". The technique adopted to make such a bond effective is called "weekly plan"; it is elaborated by the teacher and includes the evaluation of what was planned to the week before – what was, or was not, done, and the reasons why it was not done –, as well as the plans for the week to come. The role of pedagogical coordinators mainly evolves around what this technique informs about the teaching and learning processes, since it enables observing what was already done based on the overall plan, on the most fruitful strategies adopted by the teachers and on the main barriers faced by them. The main assistant informed that "all teachers make their weekly plans, called 'semanário'. And we coordinate [...], in line with it. The weekly plan brings along the expectation towards students, contents, activities

5 In the original: "tem um plano de trabalho que é feito, cada escola tem o seu projeto político pedagógico, tem suas metas a alcançar. Esse trabalho é acompanhado sistematicamente pela equipe da Secretaria: são visitas constantes às escolas".

6 In the original: "E tem as visitas que nós fazemos com o assessor principal intervindo justamente nessas questões que precisam ser trabalhadas dentro da escola".

and evaluation. It happens in every network". Notably, the main tools composing this technique encompass a time-for-teaching definition set for teachers and the learning expectation set for students. The Education Secretariat corroborated this interpretation and advocated that the weekly plans organize teachers' time based on students' learning expectations:

One thing I consider essential is teachers' time organization in the classroom. So, all teachers do their weekly plan. It is the weekly organization, and this is something you will observe there, in the school. Ask them to see the teachers' weekly plans. So, the main function of the coordinator teacher lies on working in the weekly plan along with the teacher. At the week it was predicted, did the teacher really address and focus on all necessary contents? Did she evaluate what happened in the week before? Did she reprogram what was not possible doing? Is what she is doing in compliance with the students? What do the students really need to learn? Does your class have students with learning issues?

Both experiences show managerial organization, which allows implementation agents to coordinate through techniques and tools that help each other at planning (in the case of the county), external evaluation and at the development of a structured discipline matrix (in both initiatives). Techniques such as visitations for inspection and guidance to schools and classrooms aim at linking the students' performance measurement tool to the discipline matrix and to actions taken by implementation agents.

The experience observed in Ceará State stands out for involving all its counties in a regime focused on collaboration to the state (CEARÁ, 2012). It is done in order to influence the interests of implementation agents and municipal managers, such as the Mayor. Therefore, some incentives were adopted; they can be also understood as instruments based on the perspective by Lascoumes and Les Galès (2012) – the way how the aliquot of 25% of Tax on Circulation of Goods and Services (ICMS) started being divided is among these instruments. This aliquot, which concerns the percentage the state distributes to the counties based on the legislation, is linked to educational, health and environmental policy outcomes. Of the total of 25%, 18% are linked to educational outcomes measured based on the index (a tool) that was developed according to external evaluation standards. According to Seduc's macro-level implementation agent and coordinator of Nota Dez Award,

[...] what does happen? He turned this 25% into 18% to education, five to health, to the environment. Before Cid Gomes' administration, these 25% were almost fully distributed [in an equal way]. It would only go to the big counties. Nowadays, with this 18% here, there are counties like this one that have doubled their ICMS due to education outcomes. It is the main resource's means – it is the education outcome. And then, the mayor who understands it, and who every once in a while is called to present this data there... And he, if he is really interested in doubling his ICMS, he will tease the Education Secretary and say: 'look, lets' go, lets' go'... That is how it is done, that is how you reach the targets, because there is a lot of politics behind it, right?

It is possible observing that this instrument involves all mayors in the state and turns them all into part of a set of actors who are interested in implementing Paic. Nota Dez Award, which awards the schools that reach their targets, is another of these initiatives that work as instruments. According to the macro-level bureaucrat from Ceará State, Nota Dez Award generates political capital to mayors. Therefore, one can conclude that it is an instrument that implies managers' involvement in implementing Paic; besides, there are the financial interests deriving from ICMS' aliquot division.

The Award has a very strong political capital: the mayor would bring his schools... The school is awarded, gets the prize, a trophy, a plaque, takes it to the county and says 'Look, we got the outcomes!', gets it from the hands of the governor himself and a huge party with thousands of people and given...we have already gotten to put 10 thousand people in a center for events for the award. So, there is a huge political capital. (Nota Dez Award coordinator, at Copem)

[...] there is the Nota Dez Award – so, besides all the money involved, the prize and the involved financial resources, there is the event as whole, a momentum... It looks like the Oscar night in Ceará State, you know? The minister of education comes to the event, the governor... And all that means a lot to mayors, to the schools, that very moment of reaching the top, to be in the core of the event with the audience, with 2 thousand, 3 thousand people and call the mayor and afterwards leave the place with the entire media and the news there... It has an impact, right? (Coordinator of the External Evaluation Axis, Copem)

The testimony by the awards' coordinator highlighted that these instruments provided tools, such as prize criteria, that encourage each county to improve the outcomes in all schools in order to avoid having some schools with excellent results and others where children cannot learn.

Schools nominated for the award must have at least 70% of their students at the desired literacy scale level. The network in the county has to be right there, otherwise, it is not nominated. It can be the best school in the state, but, if the network, that county, does not have at least 70% of its students at the desired level, the school of the county will be out. It does not participate. Then, before looking at the school, it is necessary looking at the network. If you want to have an awarded school, you must take 70% of the kids to the desired level.

The award also has its index, which is herein interpreted as a tool focused on equity. It encourages schools to improve the outcomes of children with learning issues. Therefore, it aims at regulating the teaching process in order to reduce the reproduction of school inequality by making the adoption of meritocratic practices – that often invest in the smartest kids – a liability. This criterion was introduced in 2011, after the Secretariat observed that several counties were adopting the meritocratic practice. It was a trajectory correction that has allowed observing that such a measure – the award – had generated negative reflexes because it led to actions capable of creating inequity. Therefore, this measure is capable of creating and reconfiguring interests.

With respect to equity, a barrier was created, IDE – School development index. IDE comprises participation fee, school proficiency and the factor called Factor for Adjusting Universal Learning. What does this factor do? This factor takes the number of students who have the worst indices and the ones who have the best grades. The school that let the rate of students with the worst indices increase will have its IDE dragged down. The ones that decrease the number of students with bad indices record higher IDE. (Nota Dez Award coordinator)

There is also another index, IQE, which is the index that goes to mayor who also has a reduction factor, as one has a student at the lowest levels, there is reduction in that grade, either in the award or in the ICMS calculation, there is this index that calculated the rate of children at those levels, right? Then, it is like that, a lot of induction. (Former Copem's coordinator, from 2007 to 2013)

SCHOOLS/TEACHING NETWORKS' REGULATION: TENSIONS, CONFLICTS AND NEGOTIATION MEASURES

Ribeiro (2012) did not interview teachers, and that is why he could not accurately identify conflicts typical of the regulation processes in the assessed county. The testimonies by school managers aimed at pointing out the existing consensus about the measures and instruments adopted by the network.

Although acknowledging the importance of the external evaluation instrument at Paic for the teaching/learning process, the micro-level implementation agent in Fortaleza had some criticism to its exhausting profile. She featured the external evaluation as an instrument that, due to the specificities of its techniques and tools, demands closer attention and longer work shifts. She also criticized several of the carried out evaluations.

External evaluations? Well... [laughter]. I have some problem with them. I understand their importance: you will evaluate a whole network; you need a big evaluation. But I think that it has been a little excessive. We make lots of evaluations! We must make the evaluation that already takes a long time, which is the time to apply it, and then, we must correct this evaluation in the classroom, and it takes even more time. And we do it every month, and it is very tiring. I think that, sometimes, I end up stopping working with other important stuff, because I have to correct the evaluations. I think that the evaluations help me understanding in a more objective way what I have to teach and what students still have to learn. How they must dominate a content in order to solve a certain question. I like the external evaluations. But I think that it is becoming a bit excessive, you know? (5th grade teacher, School 2, Fortaleza County)

Another micro-level bureaucrat from another school in Fortaleza made an ambiguous testimony about the external evaluation, she once more showed that it is an instrument capable of generating distress. In her opinion, there would not be external evaluations, because one single exam is unable to point out what each student knows in total. However, she acknowledges the relevance and seriousness of this instrument for herself and for the city.

The evaluation, in my opinion, should no longer exist. This thing of measuring... But I know that it is necessary. I see it as 'knife with double blade'. It is a tournament. When the time comes, the student can be ready or have a blackout. Spaece [Permanent Basic Education Assessment System] is an indicator. It is an external evaluation. I am concerned because it is important to me, to the city. That our education is presenting an ascending curve. But I do not take a subject because it is listed in the external evaluation. I will not get tight to it. Spaece is a very serious thing. It came to bring more responsibility to teachers. And each student is a life. (3rd grade Teacher, school 1, Fortaleza County)

A 5th grade teacher showed that Spaece application creates anxiety and distress, because it is set to measure her work.

In my opinion, I don't stop feeling tense. Because it is a... it is the outcome of work throughout the year. The result of the work will be there. It is either students' learning outcome or I see it as the outcome of the work. So, either the grade or the value or concept they will get will reflect on my work. Wow, this is my work. So, I get tense, and stressed... "Gosh, here comes Paic". But I don't let students see it, you know? And I don't let it impair my work. It is something quite particular, but it doesn't hinder my work.

The testimonies transcribed above present criticisms and, at the same time, acknowledge the relevance of the external evaluation for the regulation of the teaching-learning process. They evidence the power of this instrument for the coordination of actions taken by implementation agents to reach Paic's targets.

The testimonies of macro-level managers have pointed out their awareness about the distress involving different federative levels bond to Paic that also adopt measures to mitigate it. The state director in Ceará State – who has accounted for Paic implementation in 2007 - stated that Seduc's leaders made an effort to *change the way to understand the hierarchic relationship between Crede and the counties*, in order to implement this program in the counties. According to her, their speech as Credes' leaders was: “we do not have power on the counties, we are in a horizontal relationship, so, we must be humble, nobody bosses anyone here”. She stated that this way of qualifying the interaction between State Secretariat and municipal teams was the measure facilitating the engagement of the Municipal Education Secretariats. These factors, in their turn, also favored interactions with schools. According to her, Crede's technicians are “representatives of the Secretary in the counties”, “they have the task of reinforcing...”

Based on the thesis by Ribeiro (2012, p. 295), a technician from the Education Secretariat in Marília County – has informed that municipal education managers try to set partnerships with schools, and this is why they get to achieve a good interaction.

I guess that [a good reason for a good relationship with schools is] this follow-up [...] that we have here of going to the school for real, not just for a formal visitation to find unconformities, that is not it. We go to the school to feel the atmosphere in it, to listen to the teachers, the coordinator, and to think together with them about a specific proposition to the school. The schedule in these schools is made by us. In case the school requests, we go to the school at the schedule time.

Macro-level implementation agents in both experiences talk about *trust relationship as the means to mitigate resistances and tensions among different policy implementation instances*, to create appropriate environments for the adhesion to the established guidelines. In the case of Ceará State, these instances involve inter-governmental relationships (state/county) that are – by constitutional definition – horizontal and autonomous. Data have shown that Paic had to deal with the belief shared by intermediate-level implantation agents that the state would be in a higher hierarchic position in relation to the county, and that it impairs the establishment of partnership relationships.

According to the manager in Ceará State, who is also the former State Secretary, in order to deal with the interests of implementation agents and municipal managers, and to minimize the beliefs, practices and conflicts that impair program implementation, managers and Paic's macro-level implementation agents must use what she called

[...] balanced support-incentive combination. If it was just ICMS and the award, and if we did not have, let's say, pedagogical considerations about what is adequate, ICMS and the award could have produced a huge fuzz, but in some places, in some cases, there would be even moves to the wrong direction. If there was just the pedagogical support, guidance and the construction of a view of what is necessary learning and if there was ICMS and the award, there would not be a significant move capable of changing the profile of the state.

Deeper analysis of testimonies and the larger number of implementation agents shine light on other tensions observed in the implementation of the herein addressed initiatives, as well as on the new configuration of beliefs and interests deriving from their implementation.

REGULATION MODEL/CONCEPT APPLIED TO THE ASSESSED INITIATIVES: PERSPECTIVES IN TENSION

The regulation of the assessed initiatives, namely: more equitable networks in terms of knowledge distribution, are referenced in a hybrid regulation model, which is not exclusively bureaucratic nor post-bureaucratic, it takes into account the ideal types defined by Maroy (2011) and Barroso (2005), “evaluator State” and “almost-market”. There are evidences that perspectives that have theoretically created tension are put in place due to the need of implementing policies focused on meeting amendments in the 1988 Constitution, such as pedagogical support to teachers and the need of reaching positive results in external evaluations, among others.

Both initiatives present a centralized circle with details about competences and skills. Targets are set and mandatory for schools, but there are no evidences of focus on schools’ pedagogical autonomy, such as that observed in post-bureaucratic models.

We don't have schools that have total autonomy to use this method, this or that guideline. When say: 'look, we will think about this proposition'. [It becomes] an umbrella to the whole network. [...] Nowadays, the proposition is the same, if you leave the center and displaces to the sides [to the periphery], the proposition, teachers' qualifications, school conditions, even in a poor neighborhood, you find the same conditions. (Education Secretary in the assessed county)

According to Paic, continuous qualification is a relevant element to the regulation model, it is a way to follow-up and influence the pedagogical process in schools. It is organized within a chain that involves Seduc, Crede and municipal management bureaus. Counties organize qualification moments with teachers in order to encourage them to engage to what is expected from the teaching/learning process. According to the macro-level implementation agent,

There is a consulting system that forms the State former. And then, this state former multiplies in the macro-regions. What are the macro-regions? They are poles where there are more than one Crede. Crede corresponds to some counties. [...] There would be a state former, a student granted with a scholarship [...]. The student provides this formation that was acquired from the consultant to the municipal former. Then, this municipal former is also granted with our scholarship [in order to work at the school].

Professors interviewed in Fortaleza have stated the existence of continuous formation in the district on a monthly basis; their statements have confirmed their participation in it. Some of the participants bring evidence that formation focuses on the classroom and on the didactic material distributed by Paic. One of the teachers has reported that the formation meeting concerns the association among school targets, contents to be approached and how to do it.

My target is to literate 100% of the students. We are charged for it. The formation meeting [in the district works with targets]. As for this last meeting, the target was 60%. There are two formation meetings per month. One at the Secretariat and another with the pedagogical coordinator. The former in the network talks about how to use Paic's book. The guiding activities. How do make it. (1st grade teacher, school in Fortaleza)

There is the formation in the district. They approach the books we work with in the classroom. (2nd grade teacher, school in Fortaleza)

Formation is organized by the district. Part of it by SME and afterwards by the district. Formation takes place on a monthly basis, I use to go. (4th grade teacher, school in Fortaleza)

We have formation in the district, once a month. They talk about the contents. It is in compliance with the contents that have been approached in the classroom. Because there is the follow-up of contents in the didactic book. [the formation matter lies] on how you would work a given content in the classroom in order for the student to achieve a satisfactory learning (5th grade teacher, school in Fortaleza)

All counties in the state receive structured didactic materials and kits with children literature stories produced in the state due to Paic. Schools assessed in Fortaleza have shown great teachers' adhesion to propositions in the didactic materials distributed by Paic. There are evidences that the didactic material is a successful technique, at least in these schools, since it bonds the teaching/learning process to discipline matrix and to the expected standard outcomes. The teacher who has made some criticisms to the material also seemed to value it.

Particularly, I like Paic. It is a material like this [...] well guided to the content and to students' needs at that level, at that grade, you know? Something more... than practical. I think it is better than the didactic material, than the didactic books, you know? Because the didactic books, the texts are huge, the questions are huge to be answered. On the other hand, Paic has some basic texts, necessary for students to learn. (5th grade teacher, school 1, Fortaleza)

I love [the book] Paic. It is didactical. There are many stories that they [the students] know well. [...] It has much more local stories. From Ceará. The activities are well sequenced. It makes it easier to memorize. (1st grade teacher, school 1, Fortaleza)

I love to work with Paic's material. It is a matter of textual genre, very good. Every moth there are four textual genres. (5th grade teacher, school 1, Fortaleza)

I use Paic's material to plan, it is a good material. I use PNLD too. [...] Paic is very popular. The speech matches reality. They are feasible, familiar, common. There is the periphery profile. (3rd grade teacher, school 1, Fortaleza)

Yes, I like Paic. I think it is more straight forward. So, overall, I like it. There are few issues... For example, there are questions here that, when you check at the answer template, I don't agree with it. [...] Here it says that Item B; but it is not B, it is C. And then Item C will remain. (5th grade teacher, school 2, Fortaleza)

The network in Fortaleza is divided into regional districts; superintendents working in these districts often visit schools in their jurisdiction. The interview with the principal in charge of the district, in one of the assessed schools, who is also an intermediate level manager, has indicated the role played by this management bureau in the coordination of teachers' actions at school.

Yes! We have followed-up the schools. [All five respondents in the district answered together]. At the first formation session of the pedagogical coordinator we work on teachers' routines. The superintendent also follows the school. If the superintendent sees that a teacher is not following the routine [defined in Paic for the classroom], the recommendation is to make a decision in loco. We also have a system to follow school management. Sage; it is in line with the superintendent. There are questions to be answered with "yes" or "no" answers. For example: the teacher follows the routine, yes or no. This year we made an operation to change it into yes. We elaborated a follow-up instrument for the pedagogical coordinator. The coordinator fills out and the teachers sign it. We have the perspective of cooperating. But also of saying: "teacher, it would be better making this way". In a recent meeting, we listed the schools that were labeled with red, orange ribbon on the arm. We set a pedagogical group to suggest actions for these schools. We made an action plan. We are following-up one of these schools closely, it has very low outcomes in the external evaluations. I have been there three times. This group comprises several professionals, the superintendent, formers (who keep an eye on the teacher), the people from the longer shift... We have the project "Embrace this school". (District principal, with the participation of former teams and of the superintendents in charge for school 1 - assessed in Fortaleza)

Based on data above, schools are followed-up based on the evolution of their educational outcomes, but also on the type of adopted pedagogical practices.

FINAL CONSIDERATIONS

The present article addresses two governmental initiatives implemented in two educational systems in different contexts: one municipal initiative developed in the Southeastern region and another in the state network in the Northeastern region, i.e., in regions presenting deep differences from socioeconomic and cultural viewpoints. However, there are several convergence points between them: focus on improving the quality of the experience within a 10-year timeline; the executive power protection over decisions made by managers and macro-level implementation agents; the profile of managers and macro-level implementation agents and the regulation model ruling them.

This regulation model uses educational measures that are theoretically divergent. Although there is a unified and centralized discipline matrix, and a performance standard set through external evaluations (measures typical of post-bureaucratic models), there is no incentive to pedagogical autonomy. At this point, it becomes different from the post-bureaucratic models by Maroy (2011) and Barroso (2005), which corroborate the study carried out by Cenpec (BATISTA *et al.*, 2015) and Ribeiro (2012).

The Adopted educational measures – instruments, techniques and tools (LASCOSMES; LES GALÈS, 2012) – head towards the implementation of the system's surveillance over education professionals' interactions, as well as to practices and guidance actions taken by municipal managers (in case of Paic) – these factors guide their behavior to previously established goals. This model that guides governance experiences to help managers improve the quality of education, although this sense of quality is bond to standards that point out the knowledge distribution terms, which are defined as relevant, and the perspective of promoting intra-school and systemic equity. This association between standards and surveillance over actions has opened room for new education

measures aimed at setting the correlation or reframing of implementation agents' interactions and actions. This outcome is in compliance with Crahay (2000), who addressed the requirements to reach equity at school.

These instruments embodied routine practices in Paic, although not without tension. Teachers simultaneously acknowledge the importance of external evaluations for the teaching process, but they also understand that they spend too much time preparing for these evaluations, that their techniques and tools demand an exhausting work and that they simplify what students have to know in terms of learning.

It is worth highlighting the use of instruments focused on the mediation of interactions between federation units: according to the testimonies, tools guiding the division of the aliquot-part between counties and Nota Dez Award force mayors to participate in Paic's implementation, it makes them reinforce the management ability of the Education Secretariat. Despite the interest in more financial resources, mayors get political power among their peers and voters, through symbolic means - in the award ceremony and events after it.

The literature about the implementation of public policies and the Sociology of Regulations states that when the distance between prescription and implementation is shortened, there is influence on beliefs, interest, knowledge and communication means. Equity, in the contemporary society, is not reached without coping with conflicts. Based on such a statement, it is possible concluding that educational measures and instruments adopted by the herein assessed initiatives were capable of leading to changes. New research may shine light on the types of new beliefs and knowledge that have emerged and on how interests in the herein analyzed implementation of governmental initiatives are configured.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

We are grateful to Rede de Estudos sobre Implementação de Políticas Públicas Educacionais (Reippe), which has been supporting this research and allowing encouraging discussions about the implementation of educational policies. The article was elaborated in the scope of the research "Implementação de políticas educacionais e equidade em contextos de vulnerabilidade social", which is financed by Fundação de Amparo à Pesquisa do Estado de São Paulo (Fapesp), process n. 2018/11257-6.

REFERENCES

- BARDIN, L. *Análise de conteúdo*. Lisboa: Edições 70, 1977.
- BARROSO, J. O estado, a educação e a regulação das políticas públicas. *Educação e Sociedade*, Campinas, v. 26, n. 92, p. 725-751, out. 2005.
- BATISTA, A. A. G.; MELLO, D. A.; FREITAS, P. F.; RIBEIRO, Vanda M.; GUSMÃO, J. B. de; BARRETTO, E. S. de S.; LUGLI, R. S. G.; NOVAES, L. C.; ALTENFELDER, A. H. Currículos para os anos finais do Ensino Fundamental: concepções, modos de implantação e usos. *Estudos e Pesquisas Educacionais*, São Paulo, v. 5, p. 15-72, nov. 2015.
- BELLEI, C. Dificultades y resistencias de una reforma para des-mercantilizar la educación. *Revista de La Asociacion de Sociología de La Educación*, v. 9, n. 2, p. 232-247, 1988.
- BONAMINO, A.; MOTA, M. O.; RAMOS, M. E. e CORREA, E. V. Arranjo Institucional de Implementação do PAIC e burocratas de médio escalão. In: LOTTA, G. (org.). *Teorias e análises sobre implementação de políticas públicas no Brasil*. Brasília: ENAP, 2019.
- BOURDIEU, P.; PASSERON, J. C. *A reprodução: elementos para uma teoria do sistema de ensino*. Lisboa: Veja Universidade, [1975].
- BRASIL. *Constituição (1988)*. Constituição da República Federativa do Brasil. Brasília, DF: Senado, 1988.
- BRASIL. Lei n. 9.394, de 20 de dezembro de 1996. Estabelece as diretrizes e bases da educação nacional. *Diário Oficial da União*, Brasília, DF, 23 dez. 1996. p. 27833.

CEARÁ. Secretaria de Educação. *Regime de colaboração para a garantia do direito à aprendizagem: o Programa Alfabetização na Idade Certa (Paic) no Ceará*. Fortaleza: SEDUC, 2012.

CORREA, E. V. *Accountability na Educação: impactos do Prêmio Escola Nota Dez na eficácia e equidade escolar do estado do Ceará*. 2018. 207 f. Tese (Doutorado em Educação) – Pontifícia Universidade Católica do Rio de Janeiro, Rio de Janeiro, 2018.

CRAHAY, M. *L'école peut-elle être juste e efficace? De l'égalité des chances à l'égalité des acquis*. Belgique: De Boeck, 2000. (Pédagogies en Développement).

CRUZ, M. C. M. T.; FARAH, M. F. S.; RIBEIRO, V. M. Estratégias de gestão da educação e equidade: o caso do programa aprendizagem na idade certa (mais PAIC). *Revista on line de Política e Gestão Educacional*, [S.l.], ago. 2020. Available at: <https://periodicos.fclar.unesp.br/rpge/article/view/13904>. Access on: Aug. 13, 2020. doi: <https://doi.org/10.22633/rpge.v24i3.13904>.

DRAELANTS, H.; MAROY, C. *L'analyse des politiques publiques: un panorama*. Iaundê: Programme Supérieur de Spécialisation en Finances Publiques, 2007.

DUBET, F. Les dilemmes de la justice. In: DEROUET, J. C.; DEROUET-BESSON, M. C. *Repenser la justice dans le domaine de l'éducation et de la formation*. Lyon: Peter Lang, 2009. p. 29-46.

GIUSTO, S.; RIBEIRO, V. M. Implementação de políticas públicas: conceito e principais fatores intervenientes. *Revista de Estudos Teóricos y Epistemológicos en Política Educativa*, v. 4, p. 1-10, 2019.

GUSMÃO, J. B.; RIBEIRO, V. M. Colaboração entre estado e municípios para a alfabetização de crianças na idade certa no Ceará. *Cadernos Cenpec*, São Paulo, v. 1, n. 1, p. 9-34, 2011.

KASMIRSKI, P.; GUSMÃO, J.; RIBEIRO, V. M. O Paic e a equidade nas escolas de ensino fundamental cearenses. *Estudos em Avaliação Educacional*, São Paulo, v. 28, n. 69, p. 848-872, set./dez. 2017.

KOSLINSKI, M. C.; RIBEIRO, E.; OLIVEIRA, L. X. Indicadores educacionais e responsabilização escolar: um estudo do "Prêmio Escola Nota Dez". *Estudos em Avaliação Educacional*, São Paulo, v. 28, n. 69, p. 804-846, set./dez. 2017.

LASCOUMES, P.; LES GALÈS, P. A ação pública abordada pelos seus instrumentos. *Revista Pós Ciências Sociais*, São Luís, v. 9, n. 18, p. 19-44, jul./dez. 2012.

LIPSKY, M. *Street-level bureaucracy: dilemmas of the individual in public services*. Nova York: Russell Sage Foundation, 2010.

MAROY, C. ; DEMAILLY, L. Les régulations intermédiaires des systèmes éducatifs en Europe: quelles convergences? *Recherches Sociologiques*, v. 35, n. 2, p. 5-24, 2004.

MAROY, C. Europe? Vers une régulation post-bureaucratique des systèmes d'enseignement en Europe? *Sociologie et Sociétés*, Montreal, v. 40, n. 1, p. 31-55, dec. 2008.

MAROY, C. Em direção a uma regulação pós-burocrática dos sistemas de ensino na Europa? In: OLIVEIRA, D. A.; DUARTE, A. (org.). *Políticas públicas: regulação e conhecimento*. Belo Horizonte: Fino Trato, 2011. p. 19-46.

MARTINIC, S.; ELACQUA, G. *¿Fin de ciclo? cambios en la gobernanza del sistema educativo*. Santiago: UNESCO-OREALC-PUC, 2010.

MOTA, M. O. *Entre a meritocracia e a equidade: o Prêmio Escola Nota Dez na percepção e atuação de agentes implementadores*. 2018. 297 f. Tese (Doutorado em Educação) – Pontifícia Universidade Católica do Rio de Janeiro, Rio de Janeiro, 2018.

MULLER, P. L'analyse cognitive des politiques publiques: vers une sociologie politique de l'action publique. *Revue Française de Science Politique*, Paris, v. 50, n. 2, p. 189-208, 2000.

PADILHA F.; KASMIRSKI, P. R.; CORRÊA, G. Z.; RIBEIRO, V. M.; BATISTA, A. A. G. Qualidade e equidade no ensino fundamental público do Ceará. *Cadernos Cenpec*, São Paulo, v. 3, n. 1, p. 82-110, dez. 2013.

RIBEIRO, V. M. *Justiça na escola e regulação institucional de redes de ensino do estado de São Paulo*. 2012. Tese (Doutorado em Educação) – Faculdade de Educação da Universidade de São Paulo, São Paulo, 2012.

RIBEIRO, V. M. Que princípio de justiça para a educação básica? *Cadernos de Pesquisa*, São Paulo, v. 44, n. 154, p. 1094-1109, out./dez. 2014.

SANTOS, W. G. *Cidadania e justiça: a política social na ordem brasileira*. Rio de Janeiro: Campus, 1979.

VIEIRA, S. L.; VIDAL, E. M. Construindo uma história de colaboração na educação: a experiência do Ceará. *Educação e Sociedade*, Campinas, SP, v. 34, n. 125, p. 1075-1093, dez. 2013.

NOTE ON AUTHORSHIP

Vanda Mendes Ribeiro conducted interviews with educational and school managers in Marília-SP for her thesis and, in Ceará State, for the study about Paic. She contributed to the conceptual discussion on equity, to the use of instruments in public action and regulatory model, to the elaboration of categories a priori and to data analysis. Alicia Catalano Bonamino conducted interviews with educational and school managers in Ceará State, for the study about Paic. She prompted the discussion about the Brazilian context, the new constitution and equity. She contributed to the conceptual discussion on the use of instruments in public action and to data analysis. Sergio Martinic contributed to the theoretical discussion on the model of regulation and educational policies, to the definition of categories a priori and to data analysis.

HOW TO CITE THIS ARTICLE

RIBEIRO, Vanda Mendes; BONAMINO, Alicia; MARTINIC, Sergio. Implementation of educational policies and equity: regulation and mediation. *Cadernos de Pesquisa*, São Paulo, v. 50, n. 177, p. 698-718, jul./set. 2020.
<https://doi.org/10.1590/198053146982>

Received on: NOVEMBER 18, 2019 | **Accepted for publication on:** MARCH 30, 2020



This is an open-access article distributed under the terms of the Creative Commons Attribution License.