POLÍTICA PÚBLICA E COLABORAÇÃO INTERGOVERNAMENTAL: ANALISANDO O CASO DO PNAIC EM RECIFE

POLÍTICA PÚBLICA Y COLABORACIÓN INTERGUBERNAMENTAL: ANALIZANDO EL CASO DEL PNAIC EN RECIFE

PUBLIC POLICY AND INTERGOVERNMENTAL COLLABORATION: ANALYZING THE CASE OF PNAIC IN RECIFE

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RESUMO: O trabalho trata sobre o Pacto Nacional pela Alfabetização na Idade Certa (PNAIC) e teve como objetivo analisar como se deu o processo de implementação desse Programa na cidade do Recife, tomando como referente o regime de colaboração e o poder local na gestão desse programa educacional. A metodologia foi do tipo qualitativa e utilizou como procedimentos de coleta de dados entrevistas semiestruturadas e análise de documentos. Os dados revelaram que a cooperação seguiu o disposto na legislação própria do PNAIC, que define as ações que são de responsabilidade de cada instância administrativa envolvida. No entanto, foi possível observar lacunas na implementação da política, seja por fragilidades locais, seja pela própria dinâmica de ação da política.

Palavras-chave: Política educacional. Regime de colaboração. Pacto Nacional pela Alfabetização na Idade Certa (PNAIC). Recife.

RESUMEN: El trabajo trata sobre el Pacto Nacional por la Alfabetización en la Edad Cierta (PNAIC), y ha tenido objetivo analizar cómo se dio el proceso de implementación de ese Programa en la ciudad de Recife, teniendo como referente el régimen de colaboración y el poder local en la gestión de este programa educativo. La metodología fue del tipo cualitativo y utilizó como procedimientos de recolección de datos entrevistas semiestructuradas y análisis de documentos. Los datos revelaron que la cooperación siguió lo dispuesto en la legislación propia del PNAIC, que define las acciones que son de responsabilidad de cada instancia administrativa involucrada. Sin embargo, fue posible observar lagunas en la implementación de la política, sucede por fragilidades locales, o por la propia dinámica de acción de la política.

PALABRAS CLAVE: Política educativa. Régimen de colaboración. Pacto Nacional por la Alfabetización en la Edad Cierta (PNAIC). Recife.

ABSTRACT: The paper deals with the National Pact for Literacy in the Right Age (PNAIC), and had as objective to analyze how the process of implementation of this Program in the city

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of Recife took place, taking as reference the collaboration regime and local power in the management of this educational program. The methodology applied was the qualitative type and semi structured interviews and document analysis were used as data collection procedures. The data showed that the cooperation followed the provisions of the specific legislation of the PNAIC, which defines the actions that are the responsibility of each administrative body involved. However, it was possible to observe gaps in the implementation of the policy, either by local weaknesses or by the very dynamics of policy action.

KEYWORDS: Educational policy. Regime of collaboration. National Pact for Literacy in the Right Age (PNAIC). Recife.

Introduction

The present work deals with the National Pact for Literacy in the Right Age (PNAIC, Portuguese initials) and sought to look at this Program from the perspective of municipal management, collaboration regime and local power. The aim of PNAIC is to ensure that all children are literate until the age of eight, at the end of the 3rd year of elementary school, and for this purpose proposes a collaborative action among the governmental instances involved in the process.

Thus, the research had as objective to analyze how was the process of implementation of the PNAIC in the city of Recife, considering the collaboration regime and the local power in the management of this educational program. It was assumed that the collaboration system was an important element in the challenge of implementing the Program in the municipality, contributing to improve the quality of education and literacy processes.

The PNAIC is one of the programs that assumes that the guarantee of education depends on a commitment involving the Ministry of Education (MEC, Portuguese initials), the state, district and municipal departments of education. Thus, the Program is characterized by encouraging states and municipalities to make effective literacy of children based on the justification that "Many Brazilian children complete the cycle for their literacy without being fully literate" (BRASIL, 2012a, p. 04).

The compromise is reinforced by the insertion of the term pact in the nomenclature of the program, in order to understand that this term clarifies the political structure in the program's offer, starting from the agreement, that is, it requires collaboration between the federated entities in the its effectiveness. Thus, this term appears as a guide of interest in this research, since it is our purpose to analyze the program from the point of view of its materialization as a policy that requires cooperation between the federated entities. In fact, we understand the term pact beyond a simple contract by adhesion; it suggests a guiding principle for the federated entities, impelling them fundamentally for the process of progress and the implementation of the Program.

We chose Recife as a research field, which is a municipality that has developed actions to strengthen municipal education within the scope of its responsibilities with basic education and joined the PNAIC in 2012.

The qualitative research focused on the implementation process, since, as Perez (2010) puts it, we believe that the formulation and implementation context must always be articulated, understanding that a policy is put into action in not static phases and stages, but dynamic (PEREZ, 2010).

The technique of data collection involved systematic observation, survey and analysis of documents (specific legislation of the PNAIC) and application of semi-structured interviews. The interviews were applied to different subjects involved with the PNAIC: 2 representatives of the MEC; 3 UFPE representatives, 2 local (municipal) representatives, 1 study supervisor, 2 literacy teachers. For analysis, we apply the technique of content analysis of Bardin (1989).

Public policies, educational policies and the collaboration regime: the context of the emergence of PNAIC

When we are dealing with an educational program, we insert the same in the computation of social-cutting policies; in this case, policies linked to the decisions that the public authorities make in relation to education. Considering education a phenomenon of great complexity, we are referring here to school education.

If "public policies" are all that a government does or does not do, public educational policies are all that a government does or does not do in education. However, education is a very broad concept for dealing with educational policies. This means that educational policies are a more specific focus of the treatment of education, which generally applies to school issues. In other words, it can be said that educational public policies are related to school education (OLIVEIRA, 2010, p. 4).³

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³ Se "políticas públicas" é tudo aquilo que um governo faz ou deixa de fazer, políticas públicas educacionais é tudo aquilo que um governo faz ou deixa de fazer em educação. Porém, educação é um conceito muito amplo para se tratar das políticas educacionais. Isso quer dizer que políticas educacionais é um foco mais específico do tratamento da educação, que em geral se aplica às questões escolares. Em outras palavras, pode-se dizer que políticas públicas educacionais dizem respeito à educação escolar (OLIVEIRA, 2010, p. 4).

Here, in Brazil, in order to understand and analyze educational policies, it is necessary to focus them in the scope of the federalist organization that marks our State. It is also from this perspective that we can understand the question of the collaboration regime. Concepts important for the analysis of our object of study. Federalism as a form of politicaladministrative organization can be applied in several ways. In our case, the Federal Constitution (CF, Portuguese initials) (1988) opted for the federalist model of cooperation, which:

> It seeks a balance of power between the Union and the member states, establishing a bond of collaboration in the distribution of multiple competencies through activities planned and articulated with each other, aiming at common ends. This political federalism is the legal record of our current constitution (CUNHA; COSTA; ARAÚJO, 2010, p.18).4

As can be pointed out, in Brazil, the federalist regime is the cooperative, given Article 23 of the CF (1988), which in the single paragraph defines: "Complementary laws will establish rules for cooperation between the Union and the States, the Federal District and the Municipalities, with a view to the balance of development and well-being at the national level." Regarding education policies, this federalist model implies responsibilities of each federated entity for levels and stages of teaching and the need for cooperation to offer them. Since basic education will be covered by states and municipalities, with the collaboration and complementarity of the Union when necessary. The Law of Guidelines and Bases of Education, n° 9.394, in Art. 11, item V, municipalities should offer early childhood education and, with priority, Elementary Education. "Provide early childhood education in kindergartens and preschools, and, with priority, primary education" (BRASIL, 1996).

It is seen that, although municipalities have recently been incorporated as entities and have lower revenues, they have been absorbing students from all elementary schools since the municipalization process. As well discussed in Cunha, Costa e Araújo (2010, p. 19), after 1988, "important tasks, previously assumed by the Union or by the State, became the responsibility of the municipality", which generated major challenges for these federated entities.

It should be emphasized that Brazilian federalism maintains close relations with local power, allowing a prominence of the various municipalities, since, in principle, these enjoy autonomy (ANDRADE; GOMES, 2012). In this perspective, it starts from a systemic

⁴ Busca um equilíbrio de poderes entre a União e os Estados membros, estabelecendo laço de colaboração na distribuição das múltiplas competências por meio de atividades planejadas e articuladas entre si, objetivando fins comuns. Esse federalismo político é o registro jurídico de nossa atual constituição (CUNHA; COSTA; ARAÚJO, 2010, p. 18).

management concept, in which there is a proposal of unity within this new federalism, always needing the strengthening of the collaboration regime, which, for Andrade (2013, p. 02).

Established co-responsibility between States, Municipalities and Union, what is verified is the lack of definition of what is the responsibility of each authority, especially when it refers to the constitution of instruments that explain the specific roles of each administrative sphere, as well as the actions that will be agreed between the education systems in order to reach the attendance of all basic education at the municipal level.⁵

It is in this federated context that the Union has exercised its function of establishing and coordinating educational policies to improve the quality of education in all areas of our education. Thus, the PNAIC appears in this scenario, with actions involving states and municipalities, since the latter have direct responsibility for the offer of Elementary School.

When establishing the PNAIC, the MEC refers to Decree No. 6,094, of April 24, 2007, which ensures the "implementation of the Plan of Commitment All for Education, by the Federal Government, in collaboration with Municipalities, Federal District and States", revealing coordinated actions in a broader plan with regard to improving the quality of education and collaborative actions among federated entities. Thus, our investigation starts from the idea of the commitment and collaboration between the federated entities provided for in the Ordinance, and this implies the relevance of this research in the local context, specifically focusing on the implementation of this program in a municipality.

Discussing policies in their relations with municipalities is also to highlight the issue of local power and the debate on the participation of minority groups in political and social issues. Local power can be understood as the capacity for organized reaction of the members of a local, neighborhood, community or municipality, united by a sense of belonging and of identity recognition, in the face of tendencies of imperative deliberations originating from more centralizing powers. As this group of local power is recognized, it is able to provoke the admission of its specificities as an important element in the formulation of public policies (SANTOS, 2002; DOWBOR, 2008).

This means spaces increasingly permeated by democratic participatory expressions deciding on the course of the lives of the individuals belonging to these spaces, which also strengthens democratic principles of insertion of different individuals in the decision of local

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⁵ Estabelecida a corresponsabilidade entre Estados, Municípios e União, o que se constata é a indefinição do que cabe a cada instância de poder, sobretudo quando se refere à constituição de instrumentos que explicitem os papéis específicos de cada esfera administrativa, assim como as ações que serão pactuadas entre os sistemas de educação com o fim de atingir o atendimento de toda a educação básica no âmbito municipal.

politics. Thus, it is possible to seek to analyze the extent to which local power has intervened in national-level policies.

The relevance of the discussion on the site also emerges amid the debate about the processes of globalization. For Santos (2002, p. 75), when it comes to globalization, it is expected that the local will occur through "counter-hegemonic transformation, which consists in the construction of emancipatory multiculturalism, that is, in the democratic construction of rules of reciprocal recognition between identities and between different cultures". It can be seen that, when this author refers to globalization, he also emphasizes, by contrast, the appreciation of the set of symbols of local individuals marked by a common sense of belonging.

In our investigation, we take into account the particularities of local power discussed above, but we also reinforce that "[...] it is therefore a municipal effort on itself" (DOWBOR, 2008, p. 80). It is in this context that we chose to carry out this research, taking as empirical field the city of Recife, a northeastern capital city. It is our intention to investigate the relationship between the regime of collaboration and the prerogatives of local power for the success of a nationally developed policy.

PNAIC: a policy in need of collaboration

It is in the context of collaborative actions in the federal state that the federal government creates the National Program for Literacy in the Right Age (PNAIC), a program to be executed based on a formal commitment assumed by federal entities (Federal Government, Federal District, states and municipalities).

It is constituted by a training network whose ultimate objective consists in the formation of literacy teachers of the agreed networks. Its actions are divided into four axes: On-site continuing education for literacy teachers and their study counselors; Didactic materials, literary works, pedagogical support works, games and educational technologies; Systematic evaluations; Management, mobilization and social control.

The first axis is the main one: Continued classroom training for literacy teachers and their study counselors. The literacy teachers attend a face-to-face course conducted by study counselors. This course lasts 2 years, with a workload of 120 hours per year. Based on the *Pró-Letramento* (Pro-literacy) program, its methodology proposes studies and practical activities. The training of study supervisors would correspond to 25 (twenty-five) individuals, up to 34 (thirty-four), attended by a Higher Education Institution (IES, Portuguese initials); each class

of study counselors would contain a trainer, tasked with training the trainees. It is still important to highlight the role of IES in this training process. According to Administrative Rule 867, of July 2012, Art. 12, mainly, it will be up to the IES: "I - to carry out the academic and pedagogical management of the training course" (BRASIL, 2012b).

In the area of didactic materials, literary works, pedagogical support works, educational games and technologies, the MEC distributes the didactic materials for the literacy teacher training and sends materials to the schools that are involved. The materials are: Textbooks (delivered by the National Textbook Program (PNLD, Portuguese initials)) and their teacher manuals; Pedagogical works complementary to didactic books and collections of dictionaries of Portuguese Language (also distributed by PNLD); Educational games to support literacy; Works of reference, literature and research (delivered by the National Library of the School Program (PNBE, Portuguese initials)); Works of pedagogical support to teachers; Games and software to support literacy.

The evaluation axis of the PNAIC has a reference in *Provinha Brasil*, applied at the beginning and end of the second year and in the third year; completing the Literacy Cycle, the MEC instituted the National Literacy Assessment (ANA, Portuguese initials). This was to produce indicators that contributed to the literacy process in Brazilian public schools.

The Management, mobilization and social control Axis has the following organization: a National Steering Committee and an Institutional Coordination in each state and in the Federal District, composed of several entities, with strategic attributions and mobilization around the objectives of the Pact; a State Coordination, responsible for the implementation and monitoring of the actions in its network and for the support to the implementation in the municipalities; and a Municipal Coordination, responsible for the implementation and monitoring of actions in its network.

Let's take a look at the responsibilities of the Union and the municipalities in the implementation of the PNAIC with regard to teacher training and teaching materials (BRASIL, 2012b):

Article 11. The MEC shall:

[...] IV - promote, in partnership with Higher Education Institutions (IES), the training of study leaders and literacy teachers in educational networks that adhere to the Pact actions; V - grant scholarships to encourage the participation of study counselors and literacy teachers in training activities in educational networks that adhere to the actions of the Covenant; VI - provide the teaching and literary materials, games and technologies provided for in articles 6°, 7° and 8° of this Ordinance, in educational networks that adhere to the actions of the Pact; VII - promote mobilization and management actions. Art. 14. It will be the responsibility of the Municipalities:

[...] IV - to manage and monitor the implementation of the Pact actions in its network; V - designate coordinator(s) to dedicate themselves to the actions of the Pact and allocate necessary staff for its management, including in its regional units, if any; VI - indicate the study guides of their educational network and pay for their travel and lodging for the training events; VII - to promote and guarantee the participation of the literacy teachers of its educational network in the training activities, without prejudice to the classroom timetable, financing the displacement and lodging, whenever necessary; VIII - to monitor, in collaboration with the MEC, the application of *Provinha Brasil* and the external evaluation, delivery and use of the literacy support materials provided for in this Ordinance; IX - provide technical assistance to schools with greater difficulties in implementing the Pact's actions and in achieving positive literacy outcomes [...].⁶

The actions developed by PNAIC are based on a decisive commitment to children's literacy, which reverberates in the democratization of quality education in our country. The PNAIC proposal was presented to the states and municipalities and its elaboration was compared to the Literacy Program in the Right Age (Paic, Portuguese initials) of Ceará (SANTOS, 2015), considered one of the influences for the emergence of the Pact beyond *Pró-Letramento*. Santos (2015) presents a strangeness regarding the lack of clarity of this relation in the origin of the PNAIC. In fact, the author reiterates "the strangeness caused to her by the absence of such reference in the documents, as well as the need to investigate the reason for this lack" (ibid., 61).

The decision by the PNAIC as a new program was followed by an awareness-raising process for states and municipalities to better understand the proposal and subsequently the opening of the SisPacto⁷:

After this awareness, we opened a system, which was the SisPacto. It was a job to build because we had, let's put it that way, to be able to aggregate the

⁶ Art. 11. Caberá ao MEC:

^[...] IV - promover, em parceria com as Instituições de Ensino Superior (IES), a formação dos orientadores de estudo e dos professores alfabetizadores nas redes de ensino que aderirem às ações do Pacto; V - conceder bolsas de apoio para incentivar a participação dos orientadores de estudo e dos professores alfabetizadores nas atividades de formação nas redes de ensino que aderirem às ações do Pacto; VI - fornecer os materiais didáticos, literários, jogos e tecnologias previstos nos artigos 6°, 7 ° e 8° desta Portaria, nas redes de ensino que aderirem às ações do Pacto; VII - fomentar as ações de mobilização e de gestão.

Art. 14. Caberá aos Municípios:

^[...] IV - gerenciar e monitorar a implementação das ações do Pacto em sua rede; V - designar coordenador(es) para se dedicar(em) às ações do Pacto e alocar equipe necessária para a sua gestão, inclusive em suas unidades regionais, se houver; VI - indicar os orientadores de estudo de sua rede de ensino e custear o seu deslocamento e a sua hospedagem para os eventos de formação; VII - fomentar e garantir a participação dos professores alfabetizadores de sua rede de ensino nas atividades de formação, sem prejuízo da carga-horária em sala de aula, custeando o deslocamento e a hospedagem, sempre que necessário; VIII - monitorar, em colaboração com o MEC, a aplicação da Provinha Brasil e da avaliação externa, a entrega e o uso dos materiais de apoio à alfabetização previstos nesta Portaria; IX - disponibilizar assistência técnica às escolas com maiores dificuldades na implementação das ações do Pacto e na obtenção de resultados positivos de alfabetização [...].

⁷ The SisPacto is the monitoring system of the National Pact for Literacy in the Right Age made available in Simec. Avaible at: http://simec.mec.gov.br.

municipalities, they recognize, by the time they enter, that they have joined the program. So as the municipality joined, it was assuming the responsibilities (Representative of MEC 1).8

In addition to the articulation between entities, still in the first contacts with states and municipalities, we verified that there was a relevant partnership, with the National Council of Secretaries of Education (Censed, Portuguese initials) and with the National Union of Municipal Education Leaders (Undime, Portuguese initials), in the course as an important element for the Representative of the MEC and also for the Representative of the university:

We invited Undimes and municipal secretaries, so we started with a meeting with them, so we articulated what the needs were. At the same time, we had a Covenant Steering Committee, which was composed of the Undime representative, the representative of the Education Secretariat, the general and adjunct coordinators of the PNAIC (Representative of the UFPE 2).

These fragments are interesting because they announce the kind of linkage between the PNAIC technical staff at the national level, the IFES and social entities. According to the proposal of cooperation agreement, this partnership with social entities should reach the states and municipalities, given the Art. 10 of Ordinance No. 867, in which "UNDIME should value mobilization and the proposal of solutions for strategic issues, within the state "(BRASIL, 2012b). After this broad discussion about the origin of PNAIC, we will focus on its implementation in Recife.

PNAIC in Recife: analyzing an experience

To situate the reader, we started by bringing some data from the municipality of Recife. The municipality has 320 teaching units, which serve about 90 thousand students. There are 232 elementary schools - of which five offer full-time education -, 53 nurseries and 21 nurseries school, as well as 14 units of Technology in Education (Utecs, Portuguese initials), distributed by the 6 Political-Administrative Regions (RPA, Portuguese initials), which account for 94

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⁸ Depois dessa sensibilização, a gente abriu um sistema, que foi o SisPacto. Foi um trabalho construir porque tinha, vamos dizer assim, de ser capaz de agregar os municípios, eles se reconhecerem, na hora que eles entrarem, que aderiram o programa. Então na medida em que o município aderiu, estava assumindo as responsabilidades (Representante do MEC 1).

⁹ A gente convidava Undimes e secretarias municipais, então a gente começava com uma reunião com elas, então aí nós articulávamos quais eram as necessidades. [...] paralelamente a isso, a gente tinha um Comitê Gestor do Pacto, que era formado pela representante da Undime, pela representante da Secretaria de Educação, pelas coordenações geral e adjuntas do Pnaic Representante da UFPE 2).

neighborhoods in the city¹⁰. The capital of Pernambuco also counts on the provision of vocational education and Youth and Adult Education (EJA, Portuguese initials).

Recife joined the PNAIC in 2012 and its concerns about children's literacy are also recorded in other documents that reveal the municipality's commitment to this issue. The Recife Municipal Education Plan (Pmer, Portuguese initials), which runs from 2015 to 2025, is an example of this commitment. Composed of 20 goals, the plan "deals with the whole of education, [...] expressing an educational policy at all levels, as well as the stages and modalities of education and teaching" (RECIFE, 2015, p. 19).

Among its goals, we explain two that approach the literacy debate for children up to 8 years of age. Goal 2 specifically addresses primary school attendance and aligns with PNAIC objectives in that it proposes goals for children's literacy and efforts for students to complete this stage of schooling.

We also have at Goal 5, "Alphabetize all children up to the end of the 3rd year of elementary education", which is identical to PNE's goal 5 (2014-2024) and closely related to the objectives of the PNAIC, thus indicating that, according to the goals contained in the Pmer's planning, the municipal network remains in tune with national goals and aligns itself in the search for a solution to educational problems.

There are also in the Pmer the indication of projects and programs that are destined to the area of reading, writing and mathematics and to literacy in general, such as the Recife Literacy Program (Proler/2014, Portuguese initials); School Flow Correction (2015); Extended learning journey (1995); In the waves of reading (2015); *Qualiescola* I and II (2006) and Life Lesson Program/EJA (2009). Thus, in addition to joining the PNAIC, the municipality has revealed, as proposed in this Plan, a concern with actions that seek to advance the literacy processes of children and young people. That is, the municipal policy walks in articulation with the policy proposed by the Union, as the municipality covers a set of projects and programs as above highlighted.

Thus, in the continuity, we seek to differentiate and clarify the consolidation of partnerships and collaborations in the PNAIC, considering, as Raic (2009, p. 92) explains, that "official documents do not bring into their text how this collaboration should happen" and that their respective regulations. In this case, the question is: what is meant by a collaboration regime? How does this process happen in practice?

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Avaible at: http://www.portaldaeducacao.recife.pe.gov.br/.

As we have already pointed out, the main line of action of the Pact is the process of teacher training. The municipality adheres and initiates the process of organization and insertion of the literacy teachers and organizes the operational definition to make the formative process viable.

One of the main obligations of municipalities and states, also described in Articles 13 and 14, of Administrative Rule 867/2012, is to ensure the participation of literacy teachers in the formations, "Fostering and ensuring the participation of literacy teachers in their education network in the activities of training, [...] costing the displacement and lodging, whenever necessary "(BRASIL, 2012b). The Local Representative, on the choice of the training day, informs that:

He had another way, but the MEC itself, in the first lectures he was giving, signaled to Saturday, not to compromise the school day. Of course, the network could have embraced and said: no, I will do according to my reality, it would have this autonomy, but 2013 was a very atypical year, is not it? It was a year of change of management, it was a political year, the membership adhesion was in 2012, in 2013 we were with a new management in the network, understood? It was a very troubled year (Local Representative 1).¹¹

As we have seen, it was not an idealization of the municipality of Recife that the formations were on Saturdays; occurred through MEC guidelines. This orientation given by the MEC facilitated at the national level for the municipalities and states in relation to the need to fill the absence of literacy teachers in the classroom, due to the obligation of students' school days. However, this strategy sacrifices part of the weekly rest time of literacy teachers and study counselors.

Continuing education, compulsory for the first cycle of literacy and outside working hours, on Saturdays, is a government strategy to reduce costs in hiring substitute teachers. Mainly because the participating teachers receive scholarships. Which somehow ends up pushing teachers to align themselves with this kind of policy. The municipality's arguments were restricted to the obligation of the literacy teacher to attend on Saturdays (since there were scholarships) and the administrative difficulty of replacing all classroom teachers if the training took place during school hours. Let's look at the repercussions on this:

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¹¹ Tinha de outro jeito, mas o próprio MEC, nas primeiras palestras que ele foi dando, ele sinalizou para o sábado, para não comprometer o dia letivo. É claro que a rede poderia ter abraçado e ter dito: não, eu vou fazer de acordo com minha realidade, ele teria essa autonomia, mas 2013 foi um ano muito atípico, não é? Foi um ano de mudança de gestão, foi um ano político, de adesão, a adesão foi em 2012, em 2013 a gente estava com uma nova gestão na rede, entendeu? Foi um ano bem conturbado (Representante local 1).

In fact, the great problem of the PNAIC was [to be] on Saturdays, in spite of being remunerated, the remuneration did not weigh as much as the day of Saturday, there were people who left because of this (Advisor of studies).

They said because it was a project you are getting a scholarship, and then if you take all the teachers out of class you have to have a very large demand of teachers to replace, you know? However, if it is taken to the pedagogical side, the teacher is doing something that will improve the classroom (Literacy teacher 2).¹²

The choice of the training day weighed on the teachers in the years after 2013 regarding the permanence in the PNAIC, as well explained the Study Advisor of Recife that was in the Program at the time of the research. Here we see a kind of hindrance that is common in continuing education programs. Municipal governments are not always able to solve the issue of leaving the classroom teacher in order to participate in the training moments. In these cases, the hardest part is for teachers who have to work on an extended working day on Saturdays. Extended time here is understood in the sense that the continued formation of the PNAIC is in function of the teaching activities.

Another interesting point of analysis in the PNAIC implementation process is linked to its larger goal, which reverberates on the school floor. Thus, by taking Administrative Rule no. 867/2012, in Article 10, item I, we note that the municipal coordination of the Program in Recife was entrusted with the "mobilization of the school community, the Education Councils and local society around the actions of the Pact" (BRASIL, 2012b). As can be seen, there is a need for mobilization of the community, that is, there is an incentive for a movement around this program in order to help put it into action in the school community.

In this sense, we understand that the actions of PNAIC, besides involving the members of the training chain, should propose "an articulation with all those involved in the school" (Representative of MEC 1). In an interview, this interviewee indicated precisely the destinies of the actions of the PNAIC: "the learning is there at the tip. When it comes to the point, one must understand that the right to learn until the age of eight is not only the responsibility of the teacher who is there, but of the school as a whole. Hence the need for broad involvement" (Representative of MEC 1). That is, it is in the school that the actions of the PNAIC materialize, that is where they must take shape. Thus, several elements are important to the success of these

¹² Na verdade, o grande problema do Pnaic era [ser] aos sábados, apesar de ser remunerada, a remuneração não pesava tanto quanto o dia de sábado, teve gente que saiu por conta disso (Orientador de estudos). Eles diziam porque como era um projeto que vocês estão recebendo uma bolsa, e aí se for tirar todos os professores de contra de

de sala de aula vai ter que ter uma demanda muito grande de professores para substituir, entendeu? Só que, se for levado para o lado pedagógico, o professor tá fazendo algo que vai melhorar a sala de aula (Professora alfabetizadora 2).

actions. One of these is the responsibility of the MEC, in this process of agreement: the distribution of teaching materials. The standardization and proposal of this Program reveal the importance of the material, since there is a great articulation between the formative process, the activities developed in the classroom and the didactic material. Hence this is an element that can contribute to the success of PNAIC. This delivery process happened with some problems: "In the first year, only arrived later, we started without didactic material, right? I think at least in the first month, but then it came" (Literacy teacher 2).

Besides the MEC delays in sending the materials used by Recife's literacy teachers, there is also a record of misuse by the schools themselves. Reports that the material, when arriving at the schools, was organized in such a way that it prevented the teachers from using it, so it was often kept.

It [the materials] arrived at the school storehouse, the sealed box of the literacy game, or the PNLD packets of beautiful, wonderful books in a closed box in the principal's office because she said she could not spoil it (Representative of MEC 1).¹³

So, as can be seen in the testimony, there was little clarification on the part of some directors or lack of involvement of the school community in the process of implementing the Program. As is well known, in large schools, some of the teaching materials are organized and administered by school management, which until 2015 did not participate in PNAIC training. This lack of "partnership" between Recife's literacy teachers and school management in the administration of teaching materials is a reflection of the low involvement of the school community (including school administrators) in the conduct of PNAIC's actions.

The [guiding] people worked by focusing on the teacher, we were not so focused on the school. [...]. The PNAIC did not design the school, designed those classes, it is very difficult to work like this [...]. It was not the whole school (Advisor of studies).¹⁴

The focus of training actions, insofar as it focused on literacy teachers, favored this type of disarticulation between these and the other segments of the school community. In the case of Recife, this was evident, because, besides problems with the use of didactic material, there were also difficulties in the relations between school management, pedagogical coordination

¹³ Eles [os materiais] chegaram no almoxarifado da escola, a caixa lacrada do jogo de alfabetização, ou então os pacotes do PNLD de livros lindos, maravilhosos, numa caixa fechada na sala da diretora porque ela disse que não podia estragar (Representante do MEC 1).

¹⁴ A gente [orientador] trabalhava focando no professor, a gente não estava tão focado na escola. [...]. O Pnaic não projetou a escola, projetou aquelas turmas, é muito difícil trabalhar assim [...]. Não era a escola toda (Orientador de estudos).

and literacy teachers to exchange experiences about PNAIC in schools. Let's look at a statement: "If it is not the schoolmate to talk to, no one comes to look at our work. If the teacher does not put himself, how do the school staff learn about this PNAIC? How to enjoy the content itself?" (Literacy teacher 1).

One important element that the MEC suggested to assist in the development of PNAIC's actions in schools was the Literacy Center, but this strategy was not structured in schools.

A literacy teacher reports on the follow-up of PNAIC coordination in schools: "No [on school visits], we have an inspection, a pedagogical technique, but that deals with the pedagogical issues of the network itself, nothing to do with the PNAIC" (Literacy teacher 2). In this way, we verified that the movement within the schools was marked by some disarticulation and little interaction among the members of the school community, in addition to little interaction between the local coordination of the PNAIC in Recife and the school community.

And how did the local team monitor the implementation of PNAIC in Recife? "Had the training, right? We had the frequency that we followed and had the follow-up of the work of the advisor, [already] that the advisor was charging the teacher, right?" (Local Representative 1).

If the school is understood as the place of implementation of public policy or "as an administrative unit that has to put into action policies at the level of central power" (AZEVEDO, 2002, p. 56), monitoring - that was foreseen for PNAIC, but it was absent - may reveal the difficulties of implementing a major program such as the one we are analyzing, due to the lack of closeness between the central power proposal and the application in the local area. That is, in the documents and guidelines of the MEC for the implementation of PNAIC, we found several elements that aimed at the success of the actions, but not always happens as expected. There is a movement between the proposed and the executed, proper of the actions that involve different administrative instances and that require different levels of collaboration.

In the process of collaboration, municipal responsibility was linked to the provision of conditions for the implementation of the training process and conditions for its teachers to participate in the training. Thus, the Department of Education was responsible for the displacement, feeding and accommodation of literacy teachers and study counselors in the training places.

Some of the obligations of the MEC included the provision of scholarships, through Resolution n° 4, of March 27, 2013, Art. 7, item I, item f: "Grant scholarships and research funds to trainers, supervisors and coordinators of the Continuing Education of Literacy

Teachers at IES". Through the National Fund for the Development of Education (FNDE, Portuguese initials), resources were released and intended for scholarship payments to teachers and study counselors. At the same time, the MEC instituted a process of monitoring via SisPacto that allowed, among other issues, to release the payment of the grants:

For us to receive the monthly support, we had to send everything she asked us for. And then, I think it is one of the great impasses (Teacher literacy 1).

These scholarships have a deadline to be released into the system. Do not necessarily reach the bank. So, when you meet these deadlines, what happens sometimes creates a longer term from one person to another: the deadline for release of scholarships has passed, and the person has delivered the activities late. Then she will have the scholarship release delayed (Representative of MEC 2).¹⁵

The scholarships, considered as aid, were translated into implementation as regulatory objects to fulfill the criteria of the Program, which should be registered in the SisPacto. This affected both municipalities and individual participants themselves. For the UFPE representatives:

That municipality that accumulated training [and with this did not carry out the activities of the SisPacto and] also accumulated delayed scholarships had, the only way, let's say so of punishment if that it is punishment more and, as I said we could, I could, you have to do it, you have to do it this way or that way, because they had autonomy for certain issues and that was also put in the agreement (Representative of UFPE 3).

What we could do was hold the scholarships. Since the scholarships were linked to the training, if you did not have training, we cannot release the scholarship (Representative of UFPE 2).¹⁶

However, the unfolding of this correlation between SisPacto's obligations and the receipt of scholarships did not exactly translate into an attraction for literacy teachers and study counselors to remain in the PNAIC formations in Recife.

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¹⁵ Para gente receber a bolsa mensal, tinha que ser enviado tudo que ela pedia para nós. E aí, eu acho que é um dos grandes impasses (Professora alfabetizadora 1).

Essas bolsas têm um prazo para serem liberadas no sistema. Não necessariamente chegar no banco. Então a gente quando cumpre esses prazos, o que acontece, às vezes, gera um prazo maior de uma pessoa para outra: já passou o prazo de liberação de bolsas, e a pessoa entregou as atividades com atraso. Então ela vai ter a bolsa liberada mais para frente (Representante do MEC 2).

¹⁶ Aquele município que acumulou formação [e com isto não realizou as atividades do SisPacto e] também acumulou bolsa em atraso tinha, a única forma de, digamos assim de punição se é que é punição mais e, é como eu disse a gente poderia, eu poderia chegar lá, olha vocês tem que fazer, então tem, vocês tem que fazer assim, assim, assado porque eles tinha autonomia pra determinadas questões e isso tava posto também no acordo (Representante da UFPE 3).

O que a gente podia fazer era segurar as bolsas. Como as bolsas estavam vinculadas à realização das formações, se não teve formação, não tem como liberar a bolsa (Representante da UFPE 2).

For study counselors: The guidance group was a very good group. Even sometimes, with a delayed scholarship, they never let go, and the city council gave a cost-help (Local Representative 2).

For the literacy teachers: It happened, as I said, that accumulated, like I would spent... I already got three scholarships at one time. So, in those three months I continued to attend classes normally (Literacy Teacher 2).¹⁷

Therefore, MEC-funded scholarships were delaying, and this has not always discouraged teachers and study counselors, but, as we know, there is always an interest in receiving scholarships, since the teacher's salary is not always commensurate with the profession. The implications of the grants in Recife were:

> It is very gratifying to see people's interest being there, and it is not for the scholarship, because it is not enough. But it's training. Testimony of people saying like this: I'm having ... I'm not having continuous training, that's my training. So, well ... the testimonials are beautiful (Representative of UFPE 3).

> It was delayed [the scholarship], so I did not care, right? There were people who were counting on that money there at that time, but I, in my case, no, I thought it was good because I got a bigger sum (Literacy Teacher 2). 18

Analyzing the case of scholarships, it was possible to infer that the MEC also failed in its part of cooperation with the Program. For even if teachers and counselors say that the scholarship was not the main element that kept them in the PNAIC, we are clear that the current situation of low salaries of the teachers' class indicates that a scholarship is always welcome to reinforce the monthly income. Thus, irregularity of payment also creates constraints on the implementation of the program.

Final Considerations

In working with PNAIC, our interest was turned to the understanding of the collaboration regime. As you can see, this program, prepared by the federal government,

¹⁷ **Para os orientadores de estudos:** O grupo de orientadores era um grupo muito bom assim. Mesmo, às vezes, com bolsa atrasada eles nunca deixaram de ir, e a prefeitura dava uma ajuda de custo (Representante local 2). Para os professores alfabetizadores: Aconteceu, como eu disse, que acumulou, tipo eu passava... Já cheguei a receber três bolsas de uma vez só. Então, nesses três meses eu continuei frequentando as aulas normalmente (Professora alfabetizadora 2).

¹⁸ É muito gratificante você perceber o interesse das pessoas estarem ali, e não é pela bolsa, porque é pouco. Mas é pela formação. Depoimento de gente dizendo assim: eu estou tendo... eu não estou tendo formação continuada, essa é a minha formação. Então assim... belíssimos os depoimentos (Representante da UFPE 3).

Atrasava [a bolsa] e, assim, eu não me importei, né? Tinha gente que tava contando com aquele dinheiro ali, naquela data, mas eu, no meu caso, não, eu achei até bom porque pegava uma soma maior (Professora alfabetizadora 2).

provides for the collaboration of local authorities (municipalities and states) in order to be implemented.

Recife, the site chosen as a research field, revealed some situations that directly implicated in the context of policy adherence and execution. Some elements that involve partnership and collaboration end up being weakened. Examples of this lie in the decisions to follow the schools, in the fragility of the local team, in the delay of payment of scholarships. That is, the collaboration, foreseen in the documents that normalize the PNAIC, is not something easy to put into practice. As we know, there is no clear definition in our legislation on intergovernmental collaboration processes. There is still a need for its strengthening.

Established co-responsibility between States, Municipalities and Union, what is verified is the lack of definition of what is the responsibility of each authority, especially when it refers to the constitution of instruments that explain the specific roles of each administrative sphere, as well as the actions that will be agreed between education systems in order to reach all basic education at the municipal level (ANDRADE, 2013, p. 22).¹⁹

Programs such as the PNAIC include in their regulations indications of forms of intergovernmental cooperation, which help define the responsibilities of each instance in the implementation of the policy. Even so, we understand that in this type of governmental action the central power dictates the rules of the game. Central power appears as the formulator of politics and of the more general decisions about its development.

What is perceived is that, in policies such as this, local authorities, as they constitute the locus of execution, are deployed in strategies to account for their responsibilities and to fill any gaps in the process of conducting the policy. In any case, we agree that such governmental strategies collaborate to improve basic education in our country, acting as a national pact for public education.

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¹⁹ Estabelecida a corresponsabilidade entre Estados, Municípios e União, o que se constata é a indefinição do que cabe a cada instância de poder, sobretudo quando se refere à constituição de instrumentos que explicitem os papéis específicos de cada esfera administrativa, assim como as ações que serão pactuadas entre os sistemas de educação com o fim de atingir o atendimento de toda a educação básica no âmbito municipal (ANDRADE, 2013, p. 02).

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