Institutionalization of educational policies within the municipal scope

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ABSTRACT. The municipality as space and municipal policies aimed at quality basic education are discussed. As a methodology, several studies that focus on educational policies implemented in municipal network systems of the state of Rio Grande do Sul, Brazil, are reviewed through a re-assessment of multiple cases in which interviews were made and documents analyzed. Current paper analyzes different forms of exercise of local political autonomy in municipal policies on education, based on occurrences identified in the different cases which caused discontinuities. Results show the need for institutionalization as a dimension of local political autonomy and as a relevant factor to contain the discontinuity flow that disrupts the projects for quality municipal education. The educational policies linked to the Instituto Ayrton Senna are focused.

Keywords: occupied space, school education, institutionalization of educational policies, federation and local government.

Institucionalização de políticas educacionais em âmbito municipal

RESUMO. Este artigo discute o município como espaço ocupado e as políticas municipais voltadas para a qualidade da educação básica. Como metodologia, retoma várias pesquisas que enfocam políticas educacionais implementadas em redes municipais rio-grandenses, caracterizando-se, portanto, como revisitação de casos múltiplos nos quais foram realizadas entrevistas e análise de documentos. Analisa diferentes formas de exercício da autonomia política local em políticas educacionais municipais a partir das intercorrências identificadas nos vários casos, provocando descontinuidades. As conclusões apontam para a necessidade de institucionalização tomada como uma dimensão da autonomia política local, como um fator relevante para conter os fluxos de descontinuidade que rompem os projetos de qualificação da educação municipal. Neste texto, são consideradas as políticas educacionais vinculadas ao Instituto Ayrton Senna.

Palavras-chave: espaço ocupado, educação escolar, institucionalização de políticas educacionais, federação e governo local.

Institucionalización de políticas educacionales en el ámbito municipal

RESUMEN. Este artículo discute el municipio como espacio ocupado y las políticas municipales dirigidas para la calidad de la educación básica. Como metodología, retoma varias investigaciones que enfocan políticas educacionales implementadas en redes municipales de Rio Grande do Sul - Brasil, caracterizándose, por lo tanto, como revisitación de múltiples casos en los cuales fueron realizados análisis de documentos y entrevistas. Analiza diferentes formas de ejercicio de la autonomía política local en políticas educacionales municipales a partir de las complicaciones identificadas en los varios casos, provocando discontinuidades. Las conclusiones señalan la necesidad de institucionalización tomada como una dimensión de la autonomía política local, como un factor relevante para contener los flujos de discontinuidad que rompen los proyectos de calificación de la educación municipal. En este texto, son consideradas las políticas educacionales vinculadas al Instituto Ayrton Senna.

Palabras clave: espacio ocupado, educación escolar, institucionalización de políticas educacionales, federación y gobierno local.

Introduction

The Brazilian Federal Constitution was established more than 25 years ago and from this on the cities were regarded as autonomous entities. The Federal Constitution of 1988 (FC/88) regarded the city an important position in Federation, ensuring autonomy in the organization of its territory and allowing the creation of new cities, leading to a "[...] municipalist surge" (Souza & Faria, 2005, p. 31). Concerning education it enabled the creation of a system and the responsibility to mainly assist primary education and, concurrently with the State, secondary education.

This study approaches the theme of Brazilian federation, highlighting the municipal autonomy and the possibilities of establishing a 'strengthened local educational policy', given the mechanisms of institutionalization.

Local poltical[1] autonomy is a concept that describes political-administrative relations within the municipal scope, which are verifiable and applicable to different contents of social life. In this text it is connected with the municipal conditions that are favored by the Federal Constitution of 1988, which acknowledges the city as a federate entity together with Union, States and Federal District. While the previous Constitutions concerned competences delegation, the FC/88 declares the system of collaboration and the freedom of organization of the educational systems regarding the city as minor territorial unity with own government.

The cities of Rio Grande do Sul that created their own educational system registered the system of collaboration as a way of acknowledging their autonomy. In the laws of creation of its municipal educational systems, it is claimed that the State and Union cooperation with the City must happen through the system that presupposes lack of subordination and a relation of division of responsibilities (Werle, 2010). In other words, this expression – lack of subordination and division of responsibilities – evokes the demand, from the municipal scope, of autonomy and the use a resource of institutionalization – the law of creation of a municipal educational system -, to show expectations of problem solving, assistance of its necessities and respectful relationship with the other instances. The cities, therefore, demand spaces and attempt initiatives of exercise of local political autonomy.

Brazilian political-administrative context

Recent processes of reform of the Brazilian State did not assure an extensive and minimally stable standard for the institutional system. Consequently it reoriented the role of the State and its relations with civil society to regard it from patrimonial State to bureaucratic State in managerial State. The scenario of the Brazilian institutionalization is the result of the political-administrative context that Klaus Frey (2000)

characterizes as delegative democracy and neo patrimonial systems in which the democratic institutions are weak, and modern and traditional political-administrative behaviors coexist.

This scenario of variable institutionalization which is restricted and unstable offers conditions and limits for the proposal and development of public policies. The policies are a target in movement, as Dennis Palumbo (1994) claims. They are not objectively measurable and need to be inferred from the actions of intentional behaviors of administrative structures, and agents from different levels that, in education, include municipal secretaries of education, members of the educational groups, directors, teachers and school workers, among others. The concept of target in movement applies, because there is not a clear axis that informs how a political declaration develops until it becomes a law or a program, or take shape given practices that embody it.

For this study it is noteworthy to emphasize that the policies are not consolidated and their stability varies, among other factors, according to the level of institutionalization:

> [...] the preliminary empirical studies show an expressive dynamic of the institutional structures; [therefore] we must assume the existence of a dependency, at least partial, between the policies to be examined and the institutional variable (Frey, 2000, p. 218).

The author calls attention to the importance of institutionalization of proposals of intervention in the social reality in the form of policies that can be built and consolidated not through the volunteer groups or individuals, but through structures that legitimate them as mechanisms of State. This is a process that demands political will, facing the contradictions, consonance with values and historical conditions.

Whether on one hand we live in Brazil with weak institutions, on the other hand, the increase of institutionalization does not ensure the stability and improvement of the systems. However, the institutions are important due to the fact that they establish processualities and enable the results monitoring. In other words,

> The institutions order the social relations networks, govern the distribution of gratifications and social positions through the definition of aims and the determination of the distribution of resources, [...] they are mediated by values, represent the spiritual nature of society as a whole (Frey, 2000, p. 231)

The institutions structure social relations and please human necessities, determine positions of power or, contradictorily, remove the possibility

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[1]Political autonomy is connected with local government, according to Souza and Blumm (apud Duarte, 2001). Vitte (2006, p. 78) defines local power and applies it to the municipal scope. As for her, local power refers to a "[...] relation of powers, from which alliances and confrontations between social actors in a delimited space emerge, forming identities and specific political practices". Vitte continues, based on Fischer, "The city is understood as a local political space that allows discussions with several focuses: coexistence and cooperation among society members agenda, competition, conflict, local political heritage and forms of exercise of power, not only physically localized but also socially constituted".

of action, hampering the exercise of individual liberty at different levels. In other words, the institionalization can exclude many voices, as it can also enhance the bureaucratization.

In Brazil, the pattern of institutionalization of federal policies prevails, in which the action of the local agents as well as the authority the cities can exercise are generally imposed and disbelieved. According to Luis Antonio Cunha,

> The direction of the school apparatus is not always heard, but it is frequently silenced in its projects, even by internal sectors to the government itself. This is the general pattern of elaboration/ promulgation of the normative documents that express the educational policy of the State. Another pattern, that complements this one, consists of the elaboration of the educational policy from the core of the State, never the outskirts. First, a law or federal decree is declared, from which laws or state decrees are promulgated and due to all of them, laws or municipal decrees are declared. Both patterns articulate. (Cunha, 1981, p. 5-6)

The criticism which is pointed in this passage questions the imposition and prevalence of the decisions of the Union and States that contradict the expectation from the cities of insubordination between the federate entities. Although it cannot just emerge in the strongest instances of the State apparatus, the institutionalization of policies has favorable aspects for it shows a systematic of functioning, creates ways of operationalization. Even with restrictions, the institutionalization of policies is important due to the level of historicity, contextualization, recognition, credibility, reliability and acceptation it involves.

This study discusses the possibility of actions from the municipal scope, highlighting the importance of its institutionalization, which can oppose and subvert the patterns of functioning of public policies that Luis Antonio Cunha mentions. It deals with the rupture of such patters on functioning – centralization and authoritarianism – given the exercise and enlargement of local autonomy that besides becoming practice, establishes and is strengthened through the institutional via, without becoming mechanical bureaucratization.

> Political institutions are regulated patterns of interaction, known, practiced and in general acknowledged and accepted by the social actors, [...] they are the result of political processes of previous negotiations, reflect the existing relations of power and can have decisive effects for the political progress and its material results (Frey, 2000, p. 231-232).

This claim permeates three dimensions of policies, all mutually influent and interlaced – institutions, processes and results. The political 'institutions' involve the juridical system and the institutional structure, the political 'processes' result from negotiations and are full of conflicts towards the objectives, contents and distribution of resources, and the content of the policies imply concrete 'result', including political programs, technical problems and contents of policies. However, the policies are not definitely assured, even attempting results, processes and institutionalities. As already claimed, a declared expectation in laws and rules does not have its duration and implementation ensured.

Thus, after highlighting these dimensions, the mutual interweaving and processuality are emphasized. Hence, it is impossible to forget the instituing dynamicity that permeates the policies and the multiple factors that reach, strengthen or weaken and stabilize them. Therefore, "There are situations in which the political processes are little consolidated and it is difficult to explain the events through the institutional factor" (Frey, 2000, p. 234).

Discussing the assessment of processes and impacts on social programs, Lobo, for instance, highlights the repercussions resulted from the discontinuity of government and supposedly, the alternation of political parties, in the implementation of political-administrative actions.

> It is worth mentioning some institutional problems that affect the implementation of social programs and that will surely impact on the assessment. The political-administrative discontinuity, a historical trait of our public administration is one of them. How can we ensure that a program which began in a certain administration can be consequently assessed, and is not 'contaminated' by the good or bad opinion about the predecessors? In which way the transition of one administration into another one affected the implementation of the program in such way it influenced its results? Questions such these and several others must not be neglected. (Lobo, 2006, p. 82, author's emphasis).

The author highlights the political-administrative discontinuity in some way, which is common when dealing with social policies in Brazil and it reaches different levels of public management. The institutionalization of social demands through the systematization and broad discussion with different groups until its formalization in documents of policies, however, points some advances, which are continuous and enables new practices. It is also directly related with the territorialization and occupation of new

spaces.

In Brazil the FC/88 (Brasil, 1988), as mentioned before, institutionalized a new way of collaboration between the State instances, acknowledging the position of the cities as federate members different from the others and not submitted to them. The cities are acknowledged as a place where 'people live', in a way the citizen can closely interact with the municipal power as a space of political propositions. The public social policies – health, education, social assistance - start to contemplate the municipal participation, ensuring the presence of local society in its formulation and social control. The cities (Costa, 1996) started to be 'positiveness carrier', in a way the structures of local power constitute a space of possibilities, innovative democratic experiments and active exercise of citizenship. Such possibilities enable the local power to manage the public funds and promote initiatives to develop social and economic life.

If disputes of power are established in the municipal territory, there are also actions of management from the other instances of public power, there are initiatives of civil society, companies, NGOs, groups with different interests; therefore, it is important to take into consideration that it is not only a physical place or a place confined to itself. In other words, the territory of a city is not a 'container', a support of natural elements, so it is incoherent to explain it by the place. It is relevant to emphasize that the city is not self-sufficient. We claim the conception of occupied territory – synonym of inhabited space – understanding that the actors produce it, from the State to the individual, composing 'knots', 'mesh' and 'networks'. The local development is produced when the actors, forming a community/society, recognize themselves as such, based on their territory. The actors, although trespassed by processes of disembedding[2] , projects their action upon the textures, knots and networks of the institutional, individual and group inter-relations, developing their potentialities (environmental, human, economic), constituting themselves as active

beings in the intervention on their territory. It is used by work, economy, religion, and different sectors of government – health, education, public security – by the articulations and interest of social groups.

The concept of political autonomy, which acknowledged a movement of organization of educational policies at a local level, is directly linked to the conception of occupied territory. This is a movement that does not extend to all cities, it is not homogenous, and it reaches different levels of maturity, disembedding and reflexivity[3]. It is an initial movement in some cities and more detailed in others, not always continuous and conflicting, however it cannot be unknown or denied by authoritative processes, centralist ones or which demobilize local autonomy.

City as an occupied space[4]

Our topic for discussions is the city as an inhabited space, the used territory and the way each city that composes a region is organized and institutionalizes their actions and educational policies. The use of territory is not a historical product of necessities and human interests – economic, cultural, moral, social and educational. Therefore, the use of territory is characterized by interests and educational necessities.

It is not uncommon to find examples of alterations that produce a suburb not yet urbanized, which initially presents characteristics of rural area. A school is built there. After some time, that school becomes part of an urban space. That happens because the creation of a school in that suburb turns the place interesting for recently constituted family residences, i.e., couples that settle there, which need pharmacies, grocery stores, another type of commerce and several services. This way, that school becomes a space and promotes new ways of local occupation.

This course is tortuous for many times, due to the fact that the newly-installed school starts functioning without pavement on the street, without fencing, without electric power in its surroundings, things that demand several efforts and political negotiations of the school direction

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[2]Disembedding consists of "[...] dislocation of social relations in local contexts and its reorganization through undetermined distances of space/time" (Giddens, 2002, p. 221). It is a concept that emphasizes the liberation actors, institutions and phenomena are reaching facing their bonds with near time and space, when local habits and practices are considered restrictive. With the dislocation, the social relations are kind of removed from their context, taking their situationality and the bonds with specific places (Giddens, 1991, p. 59). It is the separation between time and space that makes the articulation of social relations out of the local context possible. It is not about face to face relations anymore, which are rooted in articulations, weaved by the physical proximity, but a withdrawal from the geographical scenario.

[3]The institutional reflexivity is the "[...] reflexivity of modernity, which involves the routine incorporation of new knowledge or information in situations of action that are reconstructed or reorganized." (Giddens, 2002, p. 223). According to Giddens (1991, p. 47), there is a chronic review of the social practices in the light of knowledge about them [what is] part of the modern institutions themselves." It explains the relevance of drawing attention to the policies as targets in movement that incorporate reflexivity to comprise the practices that indicate local political autonomy, specific in the field of education.

[4]This heading was elaborated after consulting different authors, for instance: Rambo and Costa (2011), Rambo and Filippi (2012), Affonso (1996), Coelho and Oliveira (2010).

with the local authorities, which, if fulfilled, configure new uses of the space that was previously rural, poorly urbanized. These precarious conditions of infrastructure of the community influence the educational proposals of school and contribute to establish differences between schools, even within an only chain and between different ones. It is important to consider the forces that historically compose the space of the city as they express at what extent management, politics and their spaces are inter-related. The teacher and their practices occupy and use the territory too. Thus, the city as used territory is not only an understanding of geographical space. The territory is used by work, economy, religion, presence or lack of services, such as: health, education, public security and social groups. The territory of the city is always a field of expression of public power, private power, governmental or non-governmental and, especially, population. Each territory has a determined area, population and instance of power, which interact within each other.

When we mention used territory, we refer to ways of local development somehow. Analyzing the territorial development is a way of understanding, valuing and articulating the relations of power and management upon a territory, in a local or regional scale, considering the interaction with the actors and the institutions of the other scales – in the case of education, the actors of the state scale and the national scale in the federal public power, the primary education schools, the Universities, the colleges and executive departments. The discrepancies between the cities and regions become more and more evident at the current technical, scientific and organizational phase of society and the political-administrative decentralization is connected with them, which enables different actors to act under the perspective of local political autonomy over the territory. It is a performance that sometimes occurs synergistically, articulated, cooperatively facing some purposes, but it is sometimes conflicting and when facing disputes, it causes pulverization of forces and discontinuities.

Therefore, the local political autonomy and the territorial, local and regional development are associated and bring light to the discussions towards municipal education, reassuring that the territory is not only a physical support of natural elements, but also a space appropriated by man. In other words, a territory gets richer when more actions, interactions, synergies and conflicts

happen in it. It is seen as an appropriated space, be it a concrete or abstract appropriation, material or symbolic, performed by the social actors, and the State, market, civil society, NGOs, industries, families and individuals themselves make up the social actors. These actors produce the territory and their articulations compose knots, mesh and networks in the municipal space. In other words, the individuals and these actors do not live closed and insulated in themselves in that territory, but they are in relation, which gives sense and use to this territory.

Action of an NGO towards public education

The Ayrton Senna Institute[5](IAS) is an example of involvement of private initiative and civil society in actions addressed to Brazilian public schools. Although initially the IAS is available all over Brazil, there is a lot of diversity in its adherence and operationalization in the scope of the municipal public power. The IAS develops actions, such as Acelera Brasil, a program launched in 1997, which intends to fight the low levels of learning that cause grade retention, in a way that in one year the student who failure twice or more times at the first grades of primary school is submitted pedagogical actions to follow their school life in grade closer to their age. The IAS also offers the cities, schools and educational systems other programs, such as: Se Liga, Circuito Campeão, Gestão Nota 10, SuperAção Jovem, Educação pela Arte, Educação pelo Esporte, Escola Conectada, among others. These programs aim to offer tools of qualification in education, and so it intervenes in the pedagogical and management of public schools practices.

Many researches have been performed concerning the Programs of IAS (Adrião & Peroni, 2013a, b, c; Adrião et al, 2013; Caetano, 2008; Gutierres, 2010; Pires, 2008). They present criticism towards these programs that intervene in the municipal and school autonomy. Gutierres (2010), for instance, discusses the partnership between the city hall of Altamira, Pará and the Ayrton Senna

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[5]The Ayrton Senna Institute is an NGO – Non Governmental Organization – a non-profitable organization, founded in 1994 aiming to promote the human development of children and the young, in cooperation with companies, government, city halls, schools, universities and NGOs. The institute has some partners such as: Brasil Telecom, Intel, Microsoft, Nívea, Oracle, Siemens, Suzano Celulose e Papel, Vale, Instituto Votorantin, Instituto Unibanco, Instituto Vivo, Instituto Coca-Cola do Brasil, Copersucar, Credicard, Grendene, among others. The institute creates, implements, evaluates and systematizes social technologies which address formal education, further education and education and technologies. The programs of Ayrton Senna Institute are educational solutions in large scale to help 'fight' the main problems of public education in the country and many of them are instituted as public policies in educational chains of the country. The Unesco (United Nations, Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization) awarded this institute the title of

Chair of Education and Human Development in 2003 due to the work of creation, implementation, evaluation and dissemination in large scale of social technologies in human development. (accessed on August 13, 2014, available at http://senna.globo.com/institutoayrtonsenna/).

Institute, describing compliance, goals and responsibilities of the city hall, and at what extent these interferences become an imposition that, 'neutralized', incorporate in the Municipal Plan of Education as a policy. In this case, such partnership becomes 'identity' among the aims of the IAS – which, over time, takes on new designations, 'Rede Vencer', 'Escola Campeã', 'Gestão Nota 10' -, and the City Hall ones, in a way they are registered in the new and successive 'Particular tools of Partnership'. The City Hall even accepts the imposition of a profile and criteria of choice of public manager and school director of the chain, something that has caused repercussion in the debate of democratization of educational management.

In this study, however, we intend to describe and analyze how the cities that adopted, in some historical moment, the Programs of IAS establish their educational policies. It deals with education policy that happens at public schools of basic education, which are promoted by an NGO, the IAS, together with the municipal public power. The actions that do not present in an empty space, but in an occupied territory are the references. Actions that will contribute with new ways of occupation and in the establishment of new and modified knots, networks and bonds. Actions that happen in a federation whose democratic institutions are weak, where modern and traditional political-administrative behaviors coexist, where there is hypertrophy of funds in the Union instead of states and cities, something that characterizes a federative submission of these entities to the Union.

The choice of the programs of IAS derives from the adopted theoretical framework, which considers the city as an occupied space and the educational policies as a target in movement. The presence of institutions and NGOs, such as IAS, attributes specific characteristics to the places, which get consolidated in the inter-relation with the other institutional, political and historical conditions and reconfigure the ways of local occupation.

Thus, the schools and school chains are rooted in the territory too, and they consolidate in the dialogue, in the interaction with the other institutions – companies, other cities, the other federate entities, churches, NGOs – and, consequently, they consolidate themselves, and at the same time, the use of that territory. It means the head office of an institution, company, an in this case, the IAS, after some time occupying the space – material space, but also social, cultural,

symbolic – offers a reference[6] to the population of such territory and to the actions developed there. The development of ways of inter-institutional cooperation, from the consolidation of relations between this complex of actors, considering the establishment of an awareness of belonging together and contribution towards the territorial dynamic, makes a coalition standard, connected with local interests. An institution roots in a territory and, dynamically, consolidates knots, networks and relational interactions with other institutions.

Municipal policies of education: articulations in some cities of Rio Grande do Sul

Two researches, which focus on educational policies of cities of Rio Grande do Sul[7], Brazil, are reference for this part of the analysis (Battisti, 2010; Martins, 2013). The first analyzed seven, among the 34 cities of the Association of Cities of the Superior Hill of the Northeast of the Gaúcha Mountain Range (Amesne), and the second, the 12 cities of the Association of Cities of the Valley of Rio dos Sinos (Amvrs). It is noteworthy that, in Rio Grande do Sul, the cities are organized through Associations, which are articulated in a federation called Federation of the Association of the Cities of Rio Grande do Sul (Famurs)[8].

Both researches focused on municipal educational policies. The first one verified how the municipal secretaries of education appropriate and translate the data of external evaluation of basic education promoted by the federal government for the schools of basic education managed by them. The second one proposed to analyze municipal policies towards the primary education focused on facing the age-grade discrepancy. The associations of cities whose components are focuses of these researches gather cities which have some historical identity (region of German colonization in the Amvrs region, of Italian colonization in the Amesne), but they differ a lot concerning the dimensions of their populations, educational issues and, as mentioned

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[6]The reference to the institutional presence indicates, as mentioned before, different types of institutions: NGOs, financial institutions, development agencies, schools, centers of services, technological institutes, universities, government agencies of health and transport.

[7]Rio Grande do Sul is a Brazilian state located near Argentina and Uruguay. It has 497 cities and an estimated population of 10.693.939 inhabitants, distributed in an area of 281.730,223 km². Rio Grande do Sul occupies more than 3% of the Brazilian territory, but it houses 6% of the population, and it generates a GNP of U$ 90 billion. The national per capita GNP is R$ 19.766, in Rio Grande do Sul it reaches R$ 27.514 (accessed on August 10, 2014, available at www.brasil.gov.br).

[8] The Famurs was created in 1976, and nowadays it articulates the 497 gaúchos cities, through the 27 Regional Associations, which compose it. Its institutional, political and technical performance aims at the enhancement of municipalism, the municipal public agents' qualification and assistance to the city halls. It performs in several areas (culture, assistance, sports, health, education, tourism, traffic, technology of information).

before, present several uses of the municipal space. The smallest city regarding population in the Amvrs has 2.423 inhabitants (President Lucena) and the biggest 238.940 (Novo Hamburgo). In the case of Amesne, the smallest city has 1.492 inhabitants (Vista Alegre do Prata) and the biggest 410.166 inhabitants (Caxias do Sul). Due to historical matters, characteristics derived from ethnical origin, population elements or economic characteristics and job market, although they are situated in regions which are relatively near Rio Grande do Sul, these cities constitute spaces occupied in a very peculiar and different way.

This study will deal with the cities that implemented some programs provided by the Ayrton Senna Institute (IAS), namely: the cities[9] A (4.864 inhab.), B (18.346 inhab.), C (57.226 inhab.), D (70.000 inhab.), and E (73.979 inhab.).

In city D, according to the pedagogical coordination of the municipal chain, there are policies to qualify education, among which the programs Acelera Brasil and Circuito Campeão are mentioned. Although they were not created by the municipal secretary of education, the pedagogical coordination does not regard them as state policies, but as government policies, locally rearticulated. "Therefore, none of these policies is, in fact, created by the Municipal Secretary itself, they are adapted by it" (Battisti, 2010, p. 68). This situation is similar, therefore, to the one described by Gutierres (2010) for the city of Altamira.

City C was one of the pioneers in the implementation of the program Acelera Brasil, which worked from 1997 to 2005. The pedagogical orientation of the Program is prepared by the IAS within the so-called 'Pedagogy of Success', which works the self-esteem of the student and the teacher in order to acquire positive results. The IAS was present in this city during eight years, monitoring methodologies, results and programs of students' learning, through weekly evaluations, something which separated the groups linked to the program Acelera Brasil from the others.

As the group of goals and aims was very detailed and constantly controlled, the planning of Acelera Brasil had to be strictly followed. This situation caused lack of autonomy for the groups involved. This action of the IAS of activities disconnected with the proposal of the school led

the municipal managers to create and implement other educational public policies, redirecting the education so that the age-grade discrepancy did not highlight in the city rates (Martins, 2013).

Thus, in 2005, when this program was ended, the city had already had a strategy, which was articulated when the Program of the IAS was yet under development, but in order to continue with it, through a diagnosis, planning and strategies built locally. This proposal of action was elaborated with the support of local community and was named 'Welcoming Project: challenges for beyond the school life', composed of more than 20 programs of incentive for the permanence and school learning.

In cities A, B and E, some of the Programs of the IAS were developed, but there are not records, reports or documents concerning them. The IAS was present, but, without records, it is not possible to claim it characterized the educational space of these cities; the weakness of the political-administrative institutions give way to the eclosion of strategies of destruction of this part of the local institutional history.

Observing the reality of these five cities, it is noted that it is a program developed without the participation of local community or educators of the chain it implements, and it suffers discontinuity very often. The community that was unconcerned about the decisions related to this program, at the moment they could decide, they choose to 'erase' the events related to it from their proposals of action.

As for city C, however, the local political autonomy was prevalent upon the imposed operational procedures, the control, the centralization and the displacement of the local context in a way it developed autonomous ways to provide continuity to a project of qualification of the municipal chain, without disregarding the history and local conditions though. In this city, it was possible to identify strategies of institutionalization that provide continuity to a proposal derived from articulation with the IAS, which brought a distinct educational technology, although it was continuously worked in the dialogue with local conditions, in a way to accumulate and reconstitute in new targets of educational policy. Data for city C suggest there were processes of policies that denote explicit intentions, coherent and in dialogue with the available resources (human, financial, technological, material) and integrating new targets to reach in terms of qualification of education. The political actions in this city show

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[9]The cities will not be identified by the name, but by letters of the alphabet in order.

an intention of institutionalization: the alternative of qualification through the search of new educational proposals was rearticulated, in a constructive and interpretive way, in new targets of educational policy, demonstrating local political autonomy; a political autonomy enhanced through its institutionalization.

Concluding, although temporarily

Historically, the Brazilian cities were referred to as a space of coronel-like, patrimonial, client-like, populist relations in the average and big cities. However, the structures of local power enable that, nowadays, from 1988, they turn to be a space of possibilities of democratic and innovative experiments, and the exercise of an active citizenship. There is a desire that the democratization within the educational and the society scope happens increasingly. As any possibility, however, beyond democratic experiments, there is also space for traditional behaviors, which are regressive to the strategies of imposition and authoritarianism.

It is commonplace to claim that education will not be able to be democratic if the society is not; thus, we will only consolidate a democratic management if it happens in the space of the territory, and not only within school. With the FC/88 the local power started to be a carrier of possibilities of management of public funding and protagonist of initiatives of development of economic, democratic and social life.

The alternative of the city to be autonomously organized is an important value, because it gives way to establish democratic experiments in this space. The local is a positiveness carrier, as people, the institutions that are there can organize so that they work local aspects, dialoguing with the global in the perspective of a collectivity.

Within a discussion of local political autonomy, all the cities mentioned here started actions connected with the IAS aiming to qualify the basic education, which were possibly distant from a proposal of autochthonous articulation and coherent with the history of local education and with the possibilities of exploring the knowledge from the educators of the chains. However, only one city presented other proposals ending the articulations with the IAS, it showed alternatives of continuity, concerning the qualification of education. City C created own actions of educational policy, considering its conditions and necessities; it kept the programs of the IAS for eight years, but when it was interrupted, it implemented strategies locally structured. It is

possible to identify traits of local political autonomy in all the cities mentioned here. However, we can claim that there are levels of local political autonomy between them.

We conclude reassuring the use of territory is a historical product of the human necessities and interests, be them educational, economic, cultural, moral, social or emotional. The different ways the cities deal with their reality after the conclusion of partnership with the IAS is an example.

We observe initiatives that point efforts to build, in the field of education, elements of local political autonomy, which is explicit as the municipal government show ability to create and implement a political agenda and public policies rooted in their history, local conditions and necessities, from a reflexive movement and political articulation. Such initiatives, however, are not equally exercised by all, which reinforces the idea that there are levels of local political autonomy, differing actions from policies, even in contiguous cities.

The non-institutionalization through documents of politics – municipal laws and other rules – that can ensure continuity, improvement and implementation conditions is an issue to be faced. If the over institutionalization crystallizes and bureaucratize the public administration, on the other hand, it can enable the development of political-administrative processes beyond specific managing groups which alternate in the municipal government. The institutionalization – which demands administrative procedures, planning, monitoring, evaluation, technical competence, political articulation/support, financial and human resources – allows innovative proposals to develop and consolidate, avoiding its fast abandonment. The institutionalization associated with the local political autonomy can avoid external planned policies to be assumed as proposals of municipal authorship and as 'State policies'.

Together with the institutionalization of these processes, the local management needs to count on technical teams with consistent and updated formation, who are committed with common weal and the human formation of quality for all. A legitimated, respected and supported team in their spaces of professional competence. The institutionalization of municipal policies composes the framework of inhabited space of a region. Analyzing the way this institutionalization processes contributes to give significance and enlarge the understanding concerning the municipal differentiation in Brazil and in its

several regions.

The relevance of this discussion for the evaluation of processes and results, considering the improvement of education, derives from the importance of the role of sub national instances, such as the Brazilian cities, to be committed with projects of improvement of education quality, but also with the necessary processuality for its implementation and sedimentation. An institutionalizing and formalizing axis of local initiatives enables ways of cooperation to consolidate and the different actors to develop a stronger belonging awareness and co-responsibility regarding municipal education.

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