

TESES SOBRE A EDUCAÇÃO MUNICIPAL E O CONSELHO MUNICIPAL DE EDUCAÇÃO NO BRASIL

TESIS SOBRE EDUCACIÓN MUNICIPAL Y EL CONSEJO MUNICIPAL DE EDUCACIÓN EN BRASIL

THESES ON MUNICIPAL EDUCATION AND THE MUNICIPAL COUNCIL OF EDUCATION IN BRAZIL

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RESUMO: A questão central deste artigo focaliza os debates que giram em torno da participação e papel mobilizador dos conselhos. O artigo apresenta os tensionamentos presentes nos conselhos, originários de seu esvaziamento sistêmico de funções “tradicionais”, para um avanço no que diz respeito ao seu papel político de mobilização; para tanto faz-se uma apresentação da gênese dos conselhos seguida por sete teses sobre a perspectiva de democratização do CME, apresentando suas consequentes antíteses e indicando ao leitor a tarefa de fazer uma reflexão quanto às respectivas sínteses. Vale dizer que a autonomia dos conselhos e dos conselheiros se insere no campo dos processos democráticos da organização municipal das políticas públicas de educação, ou seja, está relacionada a um projeto coletivo de sociedade justa e igualitária, o que implica ter acesso aos bens materiais, sociais, culturais, econômicos e políticos.

PALAVRAS-CHAVE: Conselho municipal de educação. Participação. Mobilização. democratização.

RESUMEN: *El tema central de este artículo se centra en los debates en torno a la participación y el papel movilizador de los consejos. El artículo presenta las tensiones presentes en los consejos, derivadas de su vaciado sistémico de las funciones "tradicionales", para avanzar con respecto a su papel político de movilización. Con este fin, presentamos la génesis de los consejos seguida de siete tesis sobre la perspectiva de democratización del WEC, presentando sus consecuentes antítesis e indicando al lector la tarea de reflexionar sobre sus respectivas síntesis. Vale la pena mencionar que la autonomía de los consejos y concejales es parte de los procesos democráticos de la organización municipal de políticas de educación pública, es decir, tiene relación con un proyecto colectivo de sociedad justa e igualitaria, lo que implica tener acceso a patrimonios materiales, sociales, culturales, económicas y políticas.*

PALABRAS CLAVE: *Consejo municipal de educación. Participación. Movilización. Democratización.*

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ABSTRACT: *The central issue of this article focuses on the debates surrounding the participation and mobilizing role of councils. The article presents the tensions present in the councils, originating from their systemic emptying of “traditional” functions, to an advance with regard to its political role of mobilization. To this end, we present the genesis of the councils followed by seven theses on the democratization perspective of the CME, presenting its consequent antitheses and indicating to the reader the task of reflecting on their respective syntheses. It is worth mentioning that the autonomy of councils and councilors is part of the democratic processes of the municipal organization of public education policies, that is, it is related to a collective project of a just and egalitarian society, which implies having access to material, social, cultural, economic and political goods.*

KEYWORDS: *Municipal council of education. Participation. Mobilization. Democratization.*

Introduction

We have developed in this article a discussion about the tension present in the councils, originating from their systemic emptying of “traditional” functions for an advance regarding its political role of mobilization, mainly. By traditional function we are understanding the attributions regulated/standardized in the municipal decrees that create the councils (and later in its regiment), establishing here a date from 1996, which represents a moment of creation of the municipal education systems and the implantation of the Law of the Fund for the Maintenance and Development of Elementary Education and the Valorization of Teaching (FUNDEF)².

Due to political role, the actions that the councils develop, but are not present in its legal framework, work as a hidden curriculum, that is, it is present, but it is not expressed in the norms, nor is it subordinated to a disciplinary bureaucratic routine. As a hidden curriculum, it increases actions that can be of a conservative or transforming nature. This work consists of a historical-social panorama of the genesis of the councils, followed by seven theses that seek to problematize the function and role of the Municipal Councils of Education (CMEs, Portuguese initials), going through the processes of democratization, participation and types of councils.

The adopted methodology consisted of documentary research, made operational through the reading of minutes³ and from references (primary and secondary) dealing with CMEs, being considered official documents from the federal, state and municipal spheres, news carried by press organizations, indexed articles and books.

² BRASIL, 2019. FUNDEF. Provides for the Fund for the Maintenance and Development of Elementary Education and the Valorization of the Teaching Profession, as provided for in art. 60, § 7, of the Transitional Constitutional Provisions Act, and makes other provisions.

³ We consulted the minutes of the CME of Uberlândia/MG in the period from 2015 to 2019.

The origin of the Municipal Councils of Education in Brazil

To deal with Councils is to substantially problematize democracy and direct participation. The Federal Constitution of 1988 (FC/88) was unique in emphasizing that our social and political organization concerns democratic principles: “All power emanates from the people, who exercise it through elected representatives, or directly, under the terms of this Constitution”, Sole paragraph of article 1 (BRASIL, 1988). But it is not enough that the legal plan institutes participation, it is necessary that a determined people have in its political, social and cultural roots the configurations that lead to participatory determinations. In Brazil there was no densification of massive participatory cultures. For Holanda (1981), democracy in Brazil has always been a regrettable misunderstanding, that is, an arrangement over the top, of those who had the decision-making power and when it came to their claims, chose to deal with them within the order. Uprisings and rebellions have always suffered such a treatment, initially through veiled or explicit repression, later via benefits and cooptation.

Participating is, therefore, a social construction that implies political and cultural injuries. Many studies have pointed out that participation implies wanting to be part of something, understanding how it works and making it operational, talking and being heard about it and finally having and seeing results in the configuration of a particular episode.

The configuration of Education Councils (CEs) in Brazil is not new. They are established since colonial Brazil, however they are not conceived on the real plane as/with a popular practice. Their perspective of decentralization occurs precisely - at the legal level - during the period of the military dictatorship. Law no. 5,692 of 1971 will refer to them as decentralized institutes. However, they will be created in a few municipalities, located in a region with a more strengthened and organized concept of education, the Southern Region of Brazil. They return to the scene in the first half of the 1990s, this time with a democratic-participative conception, due to the very history of the 1980s, when social and popular movements were established that sought to redemocratize the country, as well as forms of institution of social control.

It is a period that became known as a claim framework (1980s) and a later period that was characterized as a regulatory framework (1990). However, to understand these periods, it is necessary to warn about their economic, political and social complexities, since they are configured in a movement for a democratic society and a Social State, focused on well-being, and a later moment, in which the impact democracy is reduced and the State is reconfigured as a quasi-state, or a minimal, managerialist state, or even a private state. We left, therefore, a

decade in which the public was grounded in an emancipatory project for society and entered the nineties in a model of society leveraged by market ideals, constituting a change in the state organization, which became, after the advent of State reform in 1995, orchestrated by Minister Bresser Pereira, a managerial state, based on three forms of property: public, private and non-state public.

These postulates that CMEs undergo a reorganization in the 1990s, from social instruments aimed at an emancipatory and participatory quality, they are held accountable as organs of consent and legitimizing space and referencing of the so-called neoliberal policies, which brought together social exclusion via the provision of unqualified, precarious and scrapped services, such as education, but also other social services such as health, safety, public transport.

In this modality of “technical” councils, they constitute mirrors of social and political organization, adopting a model of participatory construction in Brazil of economic, political and social relations, characteristics that can be apprehended in order to configure their essence: there are reduced number of participants; directors are usually appointed and not elected; its president is usually the education secretary himself; they do not decide big questions, because they become more listeners, consulted than deliberative; they are engaged in marginal and peripheral issues, as the Municipal Education Secretariat (SMED, Portuguese initials) defines the direction of municipal education policies.

They can be classified from their creation: municipalities constituted their CMEs in the first half of the 1990s, in a more democratic perspective of education, and a second strand, when the majority of the municipalities created the CAEs and FUNDEF Councils - later transformed into FUNDEB councils - as they are mandatory in terms of financing education.

In summary, in the 1980s there was a demand for the establishment of popular councils, and in the 1990s, councils were regulated from an operational, instrumental, technical-rational perspective, that is, institutionalized and bureaucratized and, in the years of 2010, such councils move forward in a more participatory perspective, as we will see below.

Having made these brief considerations, below, we present how the Municipal Councils of Education are situated in functional and political performance.

Council configurations: popular or institutionalized (managers)

The Council is one of these chameleonic institutions. I explain, by means of two classic examples: NGOs are born in the field of resistance and end up being assistants in effecting the

emptying of the social state; cooperatives are born in the libertarian field and culminate serving the interests of capital. The councils have aspects in the field of resistance, however, today, institutionalized, they act with granted participation. Despite the finding, paradoxically the councils are in dispute, they are of interest to the government, as well as of interest to organized civil society.

Hence the complexity that makes each council and each councilor a subject who carries forms and actions depending on their local history, the complexity of the city, culture, economic relations, and social struggles. Empiricism has demonstrated that this political-social framework results in a denser and more conflicting council or consensual to the corporate interests of the municipal administration.

Something in common in the councils is to be implemented in a massive way in the second half of the nineties of the twentieth century, influenced by the advent of the Federal Constitution, state constitutions and Municipal Organic Laws (LOMs). They will, in fact, be implemented (recreated) after the advent of LDB 9,394/96 and infraconstitutional laws, such as the FUNDEF Law. This model of council will be called by Institutionalized Council (CIs) or Manager, since they are generated in the governmental sphere, from a legal need and of a nature of sharing/redistributing public funds.

In this way, we can understand the existence and identity of the Councils as Popular or Institutionalized. The CIs will have amplitude in the second part of the 1990s, when the Municipal Teaching Systems (SMEs, Portuguese initials) were created. They start to have an expansion of their actions, becoming consultative, normative, supervisory, deliberative and eminently roles of propositional and mobilizing postures. As for the popular, they had an ephemeral existence in the 1980s, leaving some inheritances/characteristics of a participatory nature.

There is reference to a controversial genesis of the Councils in just three decades (1990, 2000 and 2010). Something extraordinary for a country that since the Proclamation of the Republic (1889) tries to constitute a concept of an autonomous state, decentralized and with some social character. In thirty years, the councils have undergone a rapid change, as the Brazilian State has taken on a dynamic that broke with dualities, before very explicit: centralization x decentralization, public x private, participation x autocracy. Finally, the councils were formed as the State began to focus on the deconcentration of social policies, creating hundreds of municipal education systems; services for the newly created third sector (or non-state public) are also deconcentrated; the State started to concentrate social control policies, calling itself an evaluating State (whose core policies are curricular and evaluative);

the Councils now have a function of management characteristic, assimilating notions of business management.

The expansive genesis of the councils, from the nineties of the twentieth century, is given, on the one hand, by the social struggles around the manifestations for local power and of a decentralizing nature, but also, on another hand, is driven by governments that seek to decentralize obligations for other federated entities, and from regional governments to local, and from local to schools, for example, in a dynamic of discarding responsibilities for public affairs.

The councils consist of chains of principles resulting from deconcentrating movements: they are not conceived in autonomy, in the emancipatory logic and in resistance, but, on the contrary, they organize and plan based on guidelines for solving problems of immediate, located, focused, emergency categories - living up to the minimized and fragmented conceptions of social educational policies developed in Brazil since forever.

However, if they acquired this dynamic, present in most councils in Brazil, they are not only this reference, if we affirm the mirroring thesis, in previous pages, we question whether they, in their entirety, act as mirrors, reflecting the organization, mostly of the time autocratic from the municipal executive. The mirror thesis does not validate all advice, as, like any social instrument or institution, they are always in dispute.

The theses that follow contribute to the argument about what is mirrored as real, in fact an appearance of the real, followed by antitheses that question the essence of themes that are involved in CMEs.

The theses

In order to problematize the municipal organization of educational policies in a democratic and participatory perspective, we used seven theses, also presenting their respective antitheses. In the theses, we affirm a movement that we are going through, in the antithesis, we problematize and deny the thesis, indicating that another path is possible and necessary.

First thesis: Times of disappointment and embarrassment.

Brazil has undergone a process of ruptures with a pattern of democracy that was being reconfigured from 2013, when the June uprising, a movement that challenged the governments (federal, state and municipal), claiming a range of transformations that went through the issues ethical and economic: disarmament, anti-corruption, apolitical, others.

In 2010, we were building a model of public social policy, in which the State was the maintainer, and its configuration was not in line with the premises of the private field. So we had a model of education, health and social security, among others, which, if they were not the best, were financed by the public purse almost entirely, which guaranteed their continuity, even with precariousness.

The containment of financing, starting from EC 95/2016⁴, brought enormous damage to the social areas, opening spaces for the autocratic, private and social organizations, which contributed to the scrapping of social services. Diseases, fires, floods, summary murders, attacks on teachers, have since increased sharply.

First antithesis: Reaction times and strengthening.

We still have a very withdrawn reaction to the ultra-liberal attacks. In times of limitation and militarization, people are embarrassed and start to hide and defend their mush (“little flour my mush first”). Social and popular movements are oppressed and judicialized. The school occupations that took place in 2016, throughout Brazil, are an example of unexpected upheaval, or spontaneous resistance.

Such occupations were combated with a reaction that spread a message in which the students were unable to make decisions, as they were very young, childlike, however those boys and girls aged 13 to 17 were able to work. Apt to work, but not to make political decisions?

The antithesis indicates that there is no full autocracy in a society that has already experienced democratic achievements. Reluctances are constituted as forms of social and political democratization, although the economic wear and tear that Brazil is going through is violent (pension, labor reform, privatizations, etc.).

Second thesis: CME as a democratizing space.

This is a fundamental problem to be overcome: democracy is seen as a universal value, that is, as a finished product, a solution to all needs, since its central focus is freedom and the search for equality, essential elements for the construction of subjects. If democracy occurs, the world will be perfect. The existence of the Council can be the solution to the problems of education.

The thesis of democracy as a universal value has Coutinho (1980) as its signatory, who considers democracy to be an open discussion. However, the author endorses that such discussion will only be closed “[...] in the last instance, when the Brazilian people themselves, through their struggles, prove and prove again in practice the value of democracy for solving

⁴ BRASIL, 2019. Amends the Transitional Constitutional Provisions Act, to institute the New Tax Regime, and takes other measures.

their problems"⁵ (COUTINHO, 1980, p. 16). Such a thesis leads us to consider that the applicability of democracy would imply the resolution of conflicts and contradictions, from disputes between neighbors to issues of labor exploitation under capital.

Second antithesis: Democratization as a space in dispute.

Democracy is not a finished product, but a relation of procedural power, having as main aspect the elements of disputes, the coming and going of participatory advances, social gains or losses, the strengthening or weakening of public social policies.

Democracy in its potential depends heavily on popular organization (on how *polloi* react to situations of inclusion and exclusion, peace or violence, retention or socialization, freedom of expression or constraints on opinions, etc.). Coutinho's first essay on the issue was written in 1979 (quoted earlier). In 2003, twenty-four years later, he reconsidered the universal value of democracy, stating that he would work with

Democratization as a universal value, since what has universal value are the concrete forms that democracy acquires in certain historical contexts [...], but what has universal value is this process of democratization that is expressed, essentially, in an increasing socialization of political participation (COUTINHO, 2003, p. 17, author' highlights).⁶

Again, the author, on screen, was mistaken, because participation constitutes a democratization process that in turn forms the contours of democracy, oscillating between an instrumental and conservative or renovating and transforming model. Therefore, it does not constitute infallible modes of applicability for solving problems of the working class, be it conflicts and even less contradictions.

Third thesis: Watch out for *polloi*.

Polloi are the mass, the many; which means that there may be embarrassment for the few thinkers, specialists, holders of power (economic, knowledge, political). Finally, *polloi* are considered a threat to those few who have the power to make political and economic decisions. It is the new subjects who enter the scene to practice shambling. They are eternal threats. We follow the reasoning of the criticism exerted by Galeano

Subordinates owe eternal obedience to their superiors, just as women owe obedience to men. Some are born to command, others to obey. Racism, like machismo, is justified by genetic inheritance: it is not the poor who are fucked

⁵ “[...] em última instância, quando o próprio povo brasileiro, através de suas lutas, provar e comprovar na prática o valor da democracia para a resolução de seus problemas.”

⁶ *A democratização como valor universal*, já que o que tem valor universal são as formas concretas que a democracia adquire em determinados contextos históricos [...], mas o que tem valor universal é esse processo de democratização que se expressa, essencialmente, numa crescente socialização da participação política (COUTINHO, 2003, p. 17, grifos do autor).

up because of history, but because of biology. They carry their fate in their blood and, worse, chromosomes of inferiority tend to mix with the perverse seeds of crime. And when a dark-skinned poor man approaches, the danger-o-meter turns on a red light. And the alarm goes off (GALEANO, 2010, p. 45).⁷

Galeano is talking precisely about the *polloi*, the majority minority who with their ways and manner constrain the snobbish nobility. But more than that, they begin to claim the king's meat, fat.

Third antithesis: The *polloi* have their unspecialized wisdom.

The wisdom of the *polloi* registers their non-specialized, undocumented knowledge, that is, non-academic, non-meritocratic, non-bureaucratic... As having no notorious knowledge, they are not welcome in certain spaces.

Who can be part of a health council, for example? The technicians will answer: - Well, the specialists, of course! After all, there are such complex subjects.

Now, does participation require specialization or political will?

First, to participate, the subject must be imbued with will, creating needs, constituting desires. Then, other fundamental elements are added, such as understanding the process, the object, the topic under discussion, then the ability to express an opinion and, finally, see your opinion endorsed.

It's that simple! It is necessary to know to participate, to problematize, to deny what is not in the interest of the working class.

Fourth thesis: Council as an instrument of the Secretariat of Education (SMED).

There are links between SMED and CME, however such a link cannot be characterized in a system of subordination, nor of full freedom.

The Municipal Decree must consider: composition and performance. The councils must comprise 50 percent of the community representing institutions not linked to the executive and 50 representing the executive. Its function must be advisory, informative and deliberative.

The Decree must also safeguard the autonomy of the council, as well as budgetary expenses under the responsibility of the executive branch. Autonomy is a norm expressed in LDB 9,394/96 and it is clear that autonomy means a relationship with other institutions linked to education, it must be emphasized that autonomy is not full freedom.

⁷ Os subordinados devem obediência eterna a seus superiores, assim como as mulheres devem obediência aos homens. Uns nascem para mandar, outros para obedecer. O racismo, como o machismo, justifica-se pela herança genética: não são os pobres uns fodidos por culpa da história e sim por obra da biologia. Levam no sangue o seu destino e, pior os cromossomos da inferioridade costumam misturar-se com as perversas sementes do crime. E quando se aproxima um pobre de pele escura, o perigômetro acende a luz vermelha. E dispara o alarme (GALEANO, 2010, p. 45).

Why the insistence on a normal, legal process, under the tutelage of a decree? Now, because it is a state policy and not a government policy. Council, in this sense, cannot be confused with SMED.

Exemplary what standardizes the Law that regulates the CME of Patos de Minas (2019), determining in its articles:

Art. 2 The Municipal Education Council of Patos de Minas - CME, is a collegiate and autonomous body [...].

Art. 6, paragraph 3 Ongoing formation will be offered to counselors for the purpose of subsidizing them in the exercise of their functions in the CME, with their formation expenses being borne by the Municipal Department of Education [...].

Art. 9º To participate in the CME meetings, the member of the staff will be released from his/her workday without prejudice to his/her salaries or assessments (PATOS DE MINAS, 2019).⁸

Such articles demonstrate the construction of autonomy on the part of the CME of Patos/MG, seeking, on the one hand, to build identity, through continuous formation, and, on the other, ensuring the participation of the counselor without embarrassment on the part of his immediate superiors. The articles oppose the thesis on screen by indicating that the councils are part of the municipal education organization without being subordinated to the education department.

Fourth antithesis: Council as an instrument of social movements.

Many have confused the Council as a trench to fight governments, sometimes from the right, now from the left. The Council then becomes characterized as a locus of defense or attack on certain interests of a party ideological nature. Now, the Council is ideological, it will always defend an education project, a municipality, a country. However, when it assumes the defense of certain propositions of the union or party it ends up being confused with the parties and unions.

Positioning means the uncompromising defense of an emancipatory, inclusive and political education process. How can we position ourselves, therefore, in the face of a project such as the Law of Gagging (School without Party)? It is an ideological, political and partisan project. But what catches the most, and there the Councilors must stick, that is an anti-democratic and unconstitutional project.

⁸ Art. 2º O Conselho Municipal de Educação de Patos de Minas – CME, é órgão colegiado e autônomo [...].

Art. 6º, parágrafo 3º Será oferecida a formação permanente aos conselheiros com a finalidade de subsidiá-los no exercício de suas funções no CME, com suas despesas de formação sendo custeadas pela Secretaria Municipal de Educação [...].

Art. 9º Para participação nas reuniões do CME o servidor que o integra estará liberado de sua jornada de trabalho sem prejuízos em seus vencimentos ou avaliações. (PATOS DE MINAS, 2019).

The CME of Uberlândia/MG was providential in manifesting itself in a motion of repudiation against such ideology of the school, let us analyze the motion

The Municipal Education Council of Uberlândia, through this motion, expresses its rejection of the initiative to promote in the municipalities the dissemination of a project by Miguel Nagib, founder of the NGO Escola sem Partido, whose purpose is to curtail the freedom to teach, a constitutional right. [...]

The CME joins other movements in the face of this agenda that it is intended to impose, since it is a brutal way of concealing the inequalities, injustices and oppressions that are in view of the whole society, which would destroy our already so fragile democracy.

For these reasons, the councilors oppose the arbitrary proposal of the city councilors of Uberlândia, Wilson Pinheiro and Márcio Nobre, to implement such a project within the scope of education in the city of Uberlândia.

Motion approved at the 203rd meeting of the Municipal Education Council of Uberlândia, on November 8, 2017 (UBERLÂNDIA, 2017).⁹

We can infer that this Council has contributed to a participatory practice for the construction of a critical society model, refuting the ideas that are of interest to the ruling class, to the State. It therefore moves away from a government logic to establish itself as a State body, serving general, popular, non-factual and segmented interests.

Fifth thesis: The role of the Council is to advise SMED.

The Council is an advisory body, does this mean that it is subordinate to SMED? For some, however, this option makes the council bureaucratic, which can make it an extension of SMED. Just as it is unethical for the Secretary of Education to be the chairman of the council, it is unethical for councilors to act as SMED employees (on the Council they are councilors!).

Fifth antithesis: The role of the CME is to problematize educational policy.

It is a role, to foster and critically question the performance of municipal educational policies. SMED has a government, party policy, so it will seek to implement educational policies that are under an ideological-party orientation. The Council is ideologized, however, without having a party, supra-party ideological basis, therefore, consisting of a State program for education. Those who establish these bases for an education project that is above

⁹ O Conselho Municipal de Educação de Uberlândia vem, por meio desta moção, manifestar seu repúdio à iniciativa de se promover nos municípios a disseminação de um projeto de Miguel Nagib, fundador da ONG Escola sem partido, cuja finalidade é cercear a liberdade de ensinar, um direito constitucional. [...]

O CME junta-se a outros movimentos diante dessa agenda que se pretende impor, visto que é uma forma brutal de escamotear as desigualdades, injustiças e opressões que estão à vista de toda a sociedade, o que destruiria a nossa já tão frágil democracia.

Por tais razões os conselheiros se posicionam contrários à proposta arbitrária dos vereadores do município de Uberlândia, Wilson Pinheiro e Márcio Nobre, de implantar tal projeto no âmbito da educação do município de Uberlândia.

Moção aprovada na 203ª reunião do Conselho Municipal de Educação de Uberlândia, em oito de novembro de 2017 (UBERLÂNDIA, 2017).

government oscillations are the Federal Constitution, the Law of Guidelines and Bases of National Education, the state constitutions and the municipal organic laws, mainly. Based on these, the Council may or may not endorse municipal educational policies.

Thesis sixth: CME functions: supervisory, advisory, deliberative.

These functions are of a normative nature, determined by Municipal Decree. They are of a bureaucratic character because they have norms and suffer hierarchies. They are meritocratic in character, as they require certain academic knowledge. As an educational policy it brings together the following elements: organicity, discretion, objectivity. Designing a formation (production and reproduction) of values and behaviors.

Sixth antithesis: CME roles: ombudsman, claimant, mobilizer.

The role is not a prescribed thing. It escapes bureaucratic and meritocratic rationality. It has to do with the history of each councilor and the history of each council. Academic, political and union formation, that is, the activism of each councilor, imposes a specific *modus operandi* of each council. Hence, the questioning, the claiming, the formulation of proposals, and the most impacting, the mobilizing character is imperative. In the years 2015 to 2019, the Uberlândia/MG Council was more active in the mobilization issue, with several motions of repudiation and support, with questioning actions, organization of debates on various controversial topics, such as the Law of Gagging, financial contingency, EC 95/2016, among others.

Finally, we present the last thesis, resuming our first thesis.

Thesis seventh: Times of disappointment and embarrassment.

A political time in which neither politics nor democracy is believed. We started to live with obedience and subordination. Nothing, no struggle is worthwhile, institutions are not serious, democracy has failed. Governments are corrupt, politicians are a plague of Egypt. Finally, the epistocracy is the new driver of city governance practices. Governing with true knowledge, that is, who knows how to govern is the manager, therefore, the era of governing managers is established.

Seventh antithesis: reaction times and strengthening.

The central thesis of the debate concerns two questions: who finances and who has social control. For some if the sponsor is the State, education is public, for others if social control is exercised by the public, by the people, it is public education.

It seems to be a minor debate, but it is not. It bases a perspective of republican, autonomous and emancipatory education, in this democratization process in which the CME

has a fundamental role. We consider that the essence of public education is registered in the conceptual description carried out by Bruno (2002), in the following comment:

It is in the self-organization of those involved in the education process of the new generations of the working class, parents, students and teachers, who, creating their own public spaces where INTERESTS are debated in what they have in common and in the diversity in which they present themselves, it will be possible to arrive at the formulation of real alternatives to the hierarchies of command of power imposed on us [...]. Participation and democratic management of education cannot be understood as elements of yet another technique for managing the work of others [...] (BRUNO, 2002, p. 38, author's highlights).¹⁰

To think about public education is to think about education for a certain public, so it is not about education, but different educations, with different potentialities. **This implies treating the unequal unequally.**

Is it believed that in today's society, education can be the same for all classes? What is required is that the upper classes are also forced by force to conform to the modest education provided by the public school, the only one compatible with the economic situation, not only of the wage worker, but also of the peasant? (MARX; ENGELS, 1992, p. 18).¹¹

Now, it is clear that it refers to a different education and that it distances itself, in class society, from private / elite education. Therefore, there is an urgent need for education with social and political quality, which overcomes inequalities, that is, that treats unequal people as unequal, with an education model that inserts the world of workers in school and that inserts these workers in school and that constitutes the quality of education of the children of these workers for their human emancipation.

Final considerations

One of the major obstacles to the qualitative organization of the councils is in their form of constitution. The Councils were composed, predominantly, consultative and deliberative,

¹⁰ É na auto-organização dos envolvidos no processo de educação das novas gerações da classe trabalhadora, pais, alunos e professores, que, criando seus próprios espaços públicos onde os INTERESSES são debatidos naquilo que têm de comum e na diversidade em que se apresentam, que se poderá chegar à formulação de alternativas reais às hierarquias de comando do poder que nos é imposto [...]. Participação e gestão democrática da educação não podem ser entendidas como elementos de mais uma técnica de gestão do trabalho alheio [...] (BRUNO, 2002, p. 38, grifos da autora).

¹¹ Acredita-se que na sociedade atual, a educação pode ser igual para todas as classes? O que se exige é que também as classes altas sejam obrigadas pela força a conformar-se com a modesta educação dada pela escola pública, a única compatível com a situação econômica, não só do operário assalariado, mas também do camponês? (MARX; ENGELS, 1992, p. 18).

throughout the historical process. This implied a limited character of its performance and a requirement of articulation/subordination to the municipal education departments. This limitation, at first negative, was a fundamental factor that drove some councils, in the case of Uberlândia/MG, to become its mobilizing role, which meant building a political role shaped with participatory and social control practices as the main scope.

We discussed how the councils in Brazil were incorporating a conception focused on their technical-bureaucratic functions, as the mainstay of the education secretariats, however, they were also breaking these bonds and instituting roles that refer to propositional and mobilizing ways, acting in a political way, and more than that, in a political-pedagogical way, meaning to understand and make democracy, as a project of culture, education and life.

We conclude by stating that the Councils are a very recent institution, currently having relevant research on them, however, still lacking follow-up of their daily lives so that, from the preparation of new studies and data, they can, increasingly, have greater relevance in their performance, seeking to contribute to the construction of a totally democratic and egalitarian society.

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