

THE IMPLEMENTATION OF PNAIC IN VULNERABLE TERRITORY IN THE MUNICIPALITY OF SÃO PAULO

A IMPLEMENTAÇÃO DO PNAIC EM TERRITÓRIO VULNERÁVEL NO MUNICÍPIO DE SÃO PAULO

LA IMPLEMENTACIÓN DE PNAIC EN TERRITORIO VULNERABLE EN EL MUNICIPIO DE SÃO PAULO

Silvana Menegoto Nogueira DI GIUSTO¹
Vanda Mendes RIBEIRO²
Claudia Lemos VÓVIO³

ABSTRACT: This article deals with the implementation of Pnaic in the Municipal Teaching Network of Sao Paulo, specifically in a territory of social vulnerability. The research made use of interviews with implementing agents in macro, medium and micro levels, which were analyzed on the basis of categories produced in the literature on public policies. Resistances to Pnaic were raised due to didactic prescriptions as to the development of phonological consciousness, as well as through situations interpreted as uncompromising towards the program. Adjustments designed to deal with these resistances were put in place in the directives, and pedagogical coordinators were included in the processes of formation. On the other hand, strategies to guaranteeing literacy in contexts of social vulnerability were not observed.

KEYWORDS: Pnaic. Educational policies. Implementation of public policies. Literacy. Social vulnerability in the territory.

RESUMO: *Este artigo trata da implementação do Programa Pacto Nacional para Alfabetização na Idade Certa (Pnaic) na Rede Municipal de Ensino de São Paulo (RMESP), em território de vulnerabilidade social. A pesquisa empregou entrevistas entre agentes implementadores de nível macro, meso e micro, analisadas a partir de categorias advindas da literatura sobre políticas públicas. Constatou-se resistência ao Pnaic no município estudado devido às prescrições didáticas para o desenvolvimento da consciência fonológica e às situações interpretadas como descompromisso dos agentes de nível macro com o programa. Implementadores do Programa usaram de sua discricionariedade por meio de adequações nas diretrizes para lidar com tais resistências e para incluir coordenadores*

¹ São Paulo City University (UNICID), São Paulo – SP – Brazil. Master's Degree from the Postgraduate Program in Education. ORCID: <https://orcid.org/0000-0001-9997-9631>. E-mail: silgiusto@uol.com.br

² São Paulo City University (UNICID), São Paulo – SP – Brazil. Professor of the Postgraduate Program in Education and the Postgraduate Program Formation for Educational Managers. Member of the Network of Studies on the Implementation of Educational Public Policies (REIPPE). Doctorate in Education (USP). ORCID: <https://orcid.org/0000-0002-2275-7122>. E-mail: vandaribeiro2@gmail.com

³ Federal University of São Paulo (UNIFESP), Guarulhos – SP – Brazil. Associate Professor at the Department of Education and Professor of the Postgraduate Program in Education. Member of the Network of Studies on the Implementation of Educational Public Policies (REIPPE). Doctorate in Applied Linguistics (UNICAMP). ORCID: <https://orcid.org/0000-0002-6141-8203>. E-mail: cl.vovio@unifesp.br

pedagógicos nas formações. Estratégias específicas para garantia da alfabetização nos contextos de vulnerabilidade social não foram observadas.

PALAVRAS-CHAVE: *Pnaic. Políticas educacionais. Implementação de políticas públicas. Alfabetização. Vulnerabilidade social no território.*

RESUMEN: *Este artículo trata de la implementación del Programa Pacto Nacional de Alfabetización en Edad Adecuada (Pnaic) en la Red Municipal de Educación de São Paulo (RMESP), en un territorio de vulnerabilidad social. La investigación empleó entrevistas entre agentes implementadores a nivel macro, meso y micro, analizadas a partir de categorías derivadas de la literatura sobre políticas públicas. La resistencia al Pnaic se encontró debido a prescripciones didácticas para el desarrollo de la conciencia fonológica y a situaciones interpretadas como desvinculación del programa. Se realizaron ajustes a las directrices para hacer frente a estas resistencias e incluir coordinadores pedagógicos en la formación. No se observaron estrategias para garantizar la alfabetización en contextos de vulnerabilidad social.*

PALABRAS CLAVE: *Pnaic. Políticas educativas. Implementación de políticas públicas. Literatura. Vulnerabilidad social en el territorio.*

Introduction

This article presents research⁴ results whose objective was to study the implementation of the National Pact for Literacy in the Right Age Program (Pnaic, our translation) in the Municipal Education Network of São Paulo (RMESP), in a territory of social vulnerability. The Pnaic was a policy established by Ordinance 867 of 4 July 2012 (BRASIL, 2012a), implemented by the Ministry of Education (MEC), whose main strategy was the continued formation and dissemination of subsidies and teaching and pedagogical materials for literacy teachers, providing for its implementation the adhesion and partnership of federated entities (federal government, Federal District, states and municipalities) and public Higher Education Institutions (HEI). It counted on the annual adhesion of more than 5 thousand municipalities, during its execution, according to MEC data.

⁴ The text originates from a master's thesis entitled “*A Implementação do Pnaic na rede ensino do município de São Paulo em territórios vulneráveis*” (The Implementation of the Pnaic in the education system of the city of São Paulo in vulnerable territories), carried out within the scope of a larger research, “*Implementação de Políticas Educacionais e Equidade em Contextos de Vulnerabilidade Social*” (Implementation of Educational Policies and Equity in Contexts of Social Vulnerability), financed by the Foundation for Research Support of the State of São Paulo (FAPESP), process number 2018/11257-6. This research brought together a group of researchers from various national and international institutions, several of them from the Network of Studies on the Implementation of Educational Public Policies (Reippe), under the coordination of Vanda Mendes Ribeiro, from Unicid. The opinions, hypotheses and conclusions or recommendations expressed in this material are the responsibility of the author(s) and do not necessarily reflect the views of FAPESP.

Two broad reviews to identify studies on the Program were carried out by Alferes and Mainardes (2019) and Xavier and Bartholo (2019). Alferes and Mainardes (2019) analyzed 64 works published on the Pnaic, between the years 2013 and 2016, and found the emphasis on studies that seek to describe the Program and analyze formation documents and notebooks and the opinion of educators and teachers about their strategies to the detriment of those who approach the Program as an educational policy. In this regard, they signal the need for studies that focus on policy production (at a macro level) and its execution (at meso and micro levels). The review produced by Xavier and Bartholo (2019), with an emphasis on the Program's impacts and effects, also points to shortcomings: of the 121 studies analyzed by the authors, only four of them “estimated the possible effects of the Pnaic” and no study was found on its implementation.

The implementation comprises the achievement of a public policy, in which several factors interfere, from those related to the values, interests, conceptions and formation of implementers, through the context of policy execution, to those related to the degree of discretion of agents in taking decisions and actions (LOTTA, 2019). For Arretche (2001, p. 48, our translation), this stage is characterized by “a certain degree of uncertainty regarding the convergence of the implementers' actions and, by extension, the perfect adequacy between the original formulation and the effective implementation”. Thus, analyzing the implementation of the Pnaic seems to be of great value, since it is a national program, based on commitment and cooperation between states and municipalities, in a federative and multi-party country, in which entities have political autonomy and the Ministry Education has an inducing role. As Arretche (2001) points out, this context can generate uncooperative and competitive behaviors.

Studies in the Sociology of Education have found that social vulnerability in the territory affects schools in terms of their organization, functioning and provision of human and material resources, with negative impacts on the performance of students who inhabit these locations and attend these schools, posing challenges to educational policies (RIBEIRO; VOVIO, 2017). This study intends to contribute to fill the gap detected by the mentioned literature review, focusing on the issue of the implementation of the Pnaic and the understanding of this process in territories of social vulnerability.

National Pact for Literacy at the Right Age at RMESP

Pnaic is inspired by the Learning in the Right Age Program (Paic, Portuguese initials), implemented by the State of Ceará in 2007, having as its origin the recognition of the social phenomenon of school illiteracy. In the Ordinance that institutes it, it was foreseen: to ensure that all children were literate by the end of the 3rd year of Elementary School, to reduce the age-grade distortion in Basic Education and to improve the Basic Education Development Index (Ideb, Portuguese initials) (BRASIL, 2012). The Pact corresponded to the fulfillment of two goals of the National Education Plan: Goal 05, which defines the obligation of literacy by the end of the 3rd year of Elementary School, and Goal 02, which establishes the universalization of 9-year Elementary Education, sustained by the commitment assumed by the federated entities.

The Program was also justified by the wide debate on the relationship between teacher education and the quality of educational opportunities and was supported by previous research and experiences, of a federal initiative, such as Pro-literacy and the National Network for Continuing Education, which it brought together public universities as key actors in their networking actions, together with public education systems and public schools (XAVIER; BARTHOLO, 2019).

In its formulation, the actions were structured around four main axes: 1) **Continuing education** (both the formation and constitution of a network of local educators and study advisors – SA – and the formation of literacy teachers from the participating public education networks) ; 2) **Teaching materials, literature and educational technologies** (textbooks and teacher manuals for the literacy cycle, pedagogical works complementary to textbooks, distributed from the National Textbook Program, reference, literature and research works, distributed by the National Library at School Program, pedagogical games aimed at literacy and educational support works for teachers); 3) **Assessments** (through the annual application of *Provinha Brasil* to students from participating schools, at the beginning and end of the 2nd year of Elementary School and treatment of the results, making them available for public networks, and universal external assessment of the literacy level at the end of the 3rd year of Elementary School); 4) **Management Control** (mobilization and social control, responsible for monitoring and ensuring program implementation).

The institutional and hierarchical arrangement between the federal, state and municipal instances, responsible for monitoring and supervising the implementation process of the Pact was organized by a National Management Committee, Institutional Coordination,

State Coordination and Municipal Coordination, being the responsibility of the MEC the design of teacher formation and its contents, the preparation and distribution of teaching and teaching materials, the granting of scholarships to participants, distribution of literature collections, the institution of standardized assessment. It should be noted that the federal government, through the Ministry of Education, concentrated efforts on formulating, regulating and distributing resources. The execution was under the responsibility of local agents, HEIs and public education networks.

According to Resolution CD/FNDE n. 4, of 27 February 2013 (BRASIL, 2013), it was up to the HEIs to define the general coordinator, the deputy coordinator, the supervisor and the educator. In addition to local formation, the university took on a complementary action to that of the MEC, in formulating the policy, defining guidelines and contents and producing subsidies for continuing education. The Center for Studies in Education and Language (CEEL), of the Federal University of Pernambuco (UFPE), was in charge of producing the Formation Notebooks, in a total of 34, and the literacy games. This production was based on formative materials from the Program that preceded it, the Pro-literacy, and the Notebooks were enhanced with new content and approaches to the literacy process, an example of which was the inclusion of the notion of phonological awareness and its defense as a whole of skills that favors the mastery of the alphabetic writing system, an aspect that also underlies the pedagogical games distributed within the scope of Pnaic. In addition to the treatment of teaching objects, the Notebooks brought reports from the classroom, prescribed successful pedagogical practices and ways of managing the routine (LOVATO, 2016; MANZANO, 2015). In addition to Portuguese language and literacy, other subjects were incorporated, such as Mathematics. The local HEIs also prepared texts and indicated complementary works. All these materials were aimed at SA and literacy teachers.

The adhesion of the municipality of São Paulo took place in November 2012, at the end of Gilberto Kassab's term, contemplating the choice of implementing agents, both at the level of the Municipal Education Secretariat of São Paulo (SMESP) and at the level of the formative HEI. With the beginning of Fernando Haddad's administration, in 2013, there were a number of changes in the implementing agents, from those registered for management to course participants. RMESP, one of the largest public education networks in Latin America, is organized from 13 Regional Education Boards (DRE, Portuguese initials), which at the time of the study occupied 538 Elementary Schools, had 232,916 enrolled students and 10,223 professors.

It is also noteworthy that the implementation of the Pnaic in São Paulo took place at the same time as the implementation of a new municipal educational policy, the More Education Program (SÃO PAULO, 2014). The Program provided for the curricular and administrative reorganization and the expansion and strengthening of the RMESP, resulting both in the organization of the literacy cycle, as provided for by Pnaic, and in the adoption of the Curriculum Guidelines provided for in the Pact by municipal schools⁵, instead of the established curriculum and teaching materials previously distributed by RMESP.

In February 2013, the SA formation courses began in the municipality. The program was managed by the State Management Committee and two Higher Education Institutions, the Federal University of São Carlos (UFSCar) and the São Paulo State University (Unesp). Educational professionals from SMESP and DRE were involved at the meso level, and at the micro level, pedagogical coordinators and literacy teachers. This program was completed at the end of the first half of 2018.

Implementation of Educational Policies

Lipsky (2010) and Lotta (2014; 2019) argue that the implementation stage should be considered as a dynamic, broad and comprehensive process, consisting of decisions, clashes and interactions between different agents. Lotta (2012), especially, considers that the goals are not always achieved due to several factors, among those listed by the author, interests us: the possibility of different interpretations and discretionary actions, the involvement of a multiplicity of actors and agencies in the implementation, communication and interaction between actors and instances, the interests and values of implementing agents and agencies and the motivations for implementation.

The centrality of agents in implementation is justified, according to Lipsky (2010), because they translate the guidelines with the target audience, being mediators between the State and the citizen, providing benefits or sanctions. Lipsky (2010) identified that implementing agents make use of discretion, a relative autonomy that can affect the distribution of resources. They are responsible for determining the nature, quantity and quality of services, and do so according to subjective conceptions arising from their trajectories, values, education, formation and professional experience, in addition, they are influenced by the political, institutional and economic context in which operate (LIPSKY, 2010).

⁵ See Ordinance n. 5930/13 of 14 October 2013; Ordinance n. 6,571 of 25 November 2014 and document More Education Program São Paulo: subsidies for implementation (SÃO PAULO, 2014).

Lipsky (2010) and Lotta (2014; 2019) point out that there may be different levels of discretion, depending on personal and institutional factors. As for the implementing agents, Arretche (2001) indicates three issues to be considered: if they know the program, so as not to elect other references for implementation; if they accept the objectives and rules of the program, because if they disagree, they can choose their own; if institutional conditions are adequate, thus avoiding adaptations that often deviate from the planned design.

According to Hill (2003), formative processes collaborate to promote, in the implementation, knowledge, skills and reasons for making policy, to stimulate change and improve final results and avoid the weight of subjectivity or previous experiences in decision making, in processes of negotiation or mismatches of conduct.

Dealing specifically with educational programs, which involve different actors and institutional instances, Torres *et al.* (2010) highlight factors that interfere in the performance of teachers (such as salary, motivation, models and images about students, especially the poorest, workplace) that can generate the differentiation of educational opportunities between distinct beneficiaries of the policy, creating or reinforcing discrimination processes. These authors also deal with the discontinuity of guidelines and actions that promote instability at school, especially the differences in procedures and conduct when there is a change of government, with implementations carried out quickly, incompletely and without transition processes.

Torres *et al.* (2010) also discuss the challenges of implementing universal educational public policies in heterogeneous urban spaces, in view of the conditionalities that intervene in this process, for example, the characteristics of institutions; formation and communication processes; the characteristics of the strategies adopted; the legitimacy of decisions made by the government authority; interactions between institutions and agents; the agents' values, preferences, beliefs and degree of autonomy; the degree of discretion; the conflicts and interests involved in the implementation processes; the agents' professional and personal trajectories; the characteristics of hierarchical relationships in institutions; the motivation and formation of agents; the cultural, political, historical contexts of institutions and agents; the language and construction of meanings with agents; the working conditions of the implementing agents.

Social Vulnerability in the Territory and educational processes

For Kaztman (2000), vulnerable territories are characterized by restricted access to conditions to improve well-being, with fragile ties between individuals and the labor market, sociocultural and political isolation, social homogeneity, low education and low access to public services and private. This author states that social vulnerability cannot be captured only by the dimension of family income, being broader than the phenomenon of poverty.

The literature on social vulnerability in the territory has considered schooling as one of the resources that most contributes to obtaining goods and services, and that contributes the most to the families that live there, including regarding social mobility. Ribeiro and Koslinski (2010), in a study on the neighborhood effect at school, state that the characteristics of the place of residence have an impact on the living conditions, social mobility and educational destination of its residents, interfering with educational opportunities.

Érnica and Batista (2012), Koslinski, Alves and Lange (2013), Ribeiro and Koslinski (2010) identified that students in schools in more vulnerable regions tend to have worse school performance. Christovão and Santos (2010) and Marcucci (2015) found that negative stigmas and low expectations towards students in these conditions lead to behaviors such as low pedagogical investment, simplification of content and reduction of time dedicated to learning.

Pereira-Silva (2016) shows, after conceptual analysis and research results carried out in São Paulo and Rio de Janeiro, that social vulnerability in the territory greatly challenges the fair distribution of knowledge in the school⁶, with internal and external factors overlapping, which, alone, they already have the potential to negatively impact school inequality. Acting together in these territories, they do not allow the institution to fully develop its functions as a promoter of knowledge.

Methodological procedures

This is a qualitative study, whose main instrument was the application of semi-structured interviews. The application took place in the city of São Paulo, between September 2016 and June 2017, four years after the implementation of the Pnaic in the city. Ten implementing agents at macro, meso and micro levels participated, belonging to the

⁶ Ribeiro (2014) recalls that skills and learning not acquired in school in an equitable way compromise the school trajectory of students and, consequently, the acquisition of other valued social goods, such as better paid jobs, reproducing inequalities processes.

Municipal Secretary of Education of São Paulo, to one of the Boards of Regional Education in the municipality and two schools in the vulnerable territory of which the aforementioned Boards of Regional Education is a part. The São Miguel Paulista Board of Regional Education, the privileged locus of this study, is located in the far east, houses 51 municipal elementary schools and 203 preschools, serves around 9,000 students, spread across its seven districts: Itaim Paulista, Jardim Helena, Lajeado, São Miguel, Vila Curuçá, Vila Jacuí and Vila Maria. Its choice was due to the consideration that it is a socially vulnerable location, with the São Paulo Social Vulnerability Index (IPVS) of 4.2 (SEADE, 2010), meeting the criteria of this study, and having participated in other investigations dealing with the territory effect on educational opportunities (ALVES *et al.*, 2015; BATISTA; CARVALHO-SILVA, 2013; ERNICA; BATISTA, 2012).

The interviews were used to capture the perception of implementing agents in the city of São Paulo about the Pnaic. The roadmap explored the following topics: the Pnaic implementation process; the attributions of different agents in these processes; the positive and negative points of formation and pedagogical proposals; the facilities and difficulties encountered during implementation; and the possible adaptations made, also considering the needs imposed by the social vulnerability of the territory.

Table 1 presents a brief profile of the 10 agents interviewed, representatives of SMESP, the DRE of São Miguel Paulista and two municipal schools in this board. Each of them had the opportunity to prepare their answers and testimonies spontaneously and freely.

Table 1 – Respondents Profile

Name ⁷	Employment Position	Time in function	Role in Pnaic	Level of implementation	Workplace
Aurora	Assistant Secretary of Education.	6 months	Municipal and State Coordinator	Macro	SMESP
Miguel	Regional director	10 years		Meso	DRE/SMESP
Maria	Director of the Pedagogical Division	3 years	Regional Coordinator	Meso	DRE/SMESP
Ana	Education Technician Assistant (ETA)	4 years	SA – Educator	Meso	DRE/SMESP
Karen	Pedagogical Coordinator	8 years	SA – Educator	Micro	School A
Laura	Pedagogical Coordinator	6 years	SA – Educator	Micro	School B
Bruna	Child and Elementary School Teacher I	12 years	Literacy Teacher	Micro	School A
Mirela	Child and Elementary School Teacher I	7 years	Literacy Teacher	Micro	School A
Renata	Child and Elementary School Teacher I	14 years	Literacy Teacher	Micro	School B

⁷ In order to preserve the identity of the interviewees, the names are fictitious.

Neusa	Child and Elementary School Teacher I	17 years	Literacy Teacher	Micro	School B
-------	---------------------------------------	----------	------------------	-------	----------

Source: Devised by the authors

The two participating schools were identified as A and B. They are structurally different schools (one larger and older and another smaller and newer), physically close and similar in terms of the public served. They have similar educational results and below the municipal average. As for the management complexity index (MCI), according to the National Institute of Educational Studies and Research Anísio Teixeira (INEP, 2018), school A is classified at level 3, while school B is at level 5, on a scale of up to 6. The average proficiencies in Portuguese Language and Mathematics, in 2015, in the early years of elementary school, were 198.04 and 215.13 in school A and 202.3 and 216.2 in school B and were below the average of the municipal schools in São Paulo at the time (QEDu, 2018). The IDEB, in 2015, for both was 5.6, below the established target of 5.8 (INEP, 2018). The failure rates for the initial years of elementary school were, in 2016, 0.2% in school A and 0.7% in school B (QEDu, 2018).

The interviews were audio-recorded and later transcribed. The first organization of the data was based on the exhaustive reading of each one of them, ordering the messages according to pre-defined categories. These categories were based on the theoretical framework on the implementation of public and educational policies mobilized in this study, focusing on the following intervening factors in this process, namely: 1) Adherence of implementing agents to the program's objectives and methodologies. 2) Appropriate and coherent qualification and formation, with clear objectives and program rules. 3) Discretionary of implementing agents. 4) Interaction processes and institutional context. 5) Discontinuation of programs and guidelines. In addition to these categories, another was chosen, based on studies on the relationship between educational opportunities and social vulnerability in the territory: 6) Context of social vulnerability and other social factors that hinder favorable conditions for learning. As a result of the immersion in the data, a comparative table was elaborated, with the answers and the treatment given to each of these categories, based on the narratives of the implementing agents.

Analysis

Adherence of implementing agents to the objectives and operating methodologies of the programs

In 2013, among the 490 literacy teachers working at the DRE in São Miguel at the time, only 53% completed the continuing education in Portuguese Language (PL) offered by Pnaic. In 2014, with a lower membership, around 33% of teachers who started formation in Mathematics completed it. The testimonies of DRE managers indicate that many abandoned the training or implementation of the program for various reasons, including sick leave or retirement.

The survey data suggest that the factor that most contributed to this phenomenon was the knowledge, previous experiences, values and beliefs of DRE professionals and schools that led them to a certain interpretation of Pnaic's pedagogical proposals. In the Formation Program and Notebooks, the development of phonological awareness was defended as a means to favor the process of appropriation of the alphabetic writing system of students. The development of pedagogical practices that favored “phonological awareness” was prescribed, which was considered inadequate by professionals who were long used to a certain constructivist approach to literacy. The understanding, on the part of the course participants, that the Pnaic proposed literacy based on traditional methods, of synthetic march, which provided the phoneme or the syllable as a teaching unit, also generated resistance. Maria, Director of the Pedagogical Division and Regional Coordinator of Pnaic, says that there was this “distortion in understanding”. Teacher Bruna (School A, our translation) explains: “When the Pnaic first arrived, it was strange because it was another proposal”. And she continues: “So much so that many colleagues who started the training gave up. We had many cases like this [...]”.

Bruna (School A) also explains the resistance to the literacy games distributed by Pnaic, which emphasized contents aimed at phonological awareness, such as oral and written word analysis, focusing on units such as syllables, rhymes, alliteration, for example. Her testimony suggests that she was based on previous references, coming from other formations, such as the Read and Write Program⁸:

⁸ The Programa Ler e Escrever (Read and Write Program) began in 2007 in the state education system, it is a set of articulated actions that include teacher formation, pedagogical and technical coordinators, monitoring of student learning, preparation and distribution of teaching materials and other subsidies (OBSERVATÓRIO DO PNE, 2017).

I did not abandon some practices, because I thought it was interesting and today I continue with these practices in this more constructivist view, with more orientation from the program we worked on, Read and Write. I thought it (Pnaic) was presenting a different proposal, which in a way widened and opened the range more. I even used the activities a few times (referring to the games), I didn't understand that I needed to throw everything out [from previous practices] and implement the Pnaic guidance and that's it. Not for me. I thought I might mix it (Teacher Bruna, our translation).

The agents' testimonies also show that there were formations being carried out in a simplified and accelerated way, which promoted the students' dissatisfaction and non-adherence in subsequent years.

[...] because the (formation in) Mathematics did not meet their expectations (teachers). First, because the proposal was for 20 meetings, it was reduced to 10. It was a mess in terms of organization. And this discourages the teacher a lot because he realizes that the formation was a money limited [...] for the next year it is logical that there was a downfall [...], many gave up (Pedagogical Coordinator Laura, our translation).

In addition to these problems, according to two SAs, there were problems in the organization of formation courses. Laura, Pedagogical Coordinator (School B), points out the difficulties in organizing the courses: “it was a confusion in terms of organization, do you understand?”. Ana, ETA from DRE, considers that the conditions of participation varied, which caused problems in the adhesion of teachers to the courses (at one time, they were held on Saturdays and, at another, during the teachers' working hours). In her words, “During service hours, we had all the logistics to avoid getting in the way. And we privileged everyone to participate in this formation. But [for Saturday] people are not always available”. In other words, the scholarship offered to course participants was not enough incentive to prevent low adherence, when the formation took place outside working hours.

Corroborating Arretche (2001), the data above indicate that the Program had, in terms of adherence, implementation problems. For this author, the success of a program depends, firstly, on getting the implementing agents to adhere to the objectives and methodology of operation. In case of partial or total resistance to the objectives and methods, the agent may create their own interpretations of the rules or even refuse to participate in the program or implement it.

The research shows that there were basically three main reasons for dropouts or lack of adherence in schools: 1) beliefs regarding literacy methods; 2) simplification of formative contents and disorganization in the organization of courses, especially in Mathematics, generating an understanding among school agents that the Program was not understood by the implementers at the macro level as a guideline that would have come to stay; 3) the offer of formation outside office hours. There were no reports that allow for asserting resistance to the Pnaic's objectives.

Adequate and consistent formation and training with clear program objectives and rules

According to Hill (2003) and Torres et al. (2010), the education and training of agents are essential to align concepts, skills and practices, in addition to seeking to reduce the adaptations and distortions promoted by implementers in the face of vague and conflicting decisions. In several interviews, the experiences in the Pnaic formation courses, both by the managers, the SA or even the teachers were thematized, which was expected, considering that continuing education is one of the main pillars of the program, and, at RMESP, was carried out in a very intense way, with the involvement of several professionals in its different stages of planning, organization and execution. However, the implementation of the Pnaic in São Paulo, despite mobilizing several professionals and resources, and having been considered very fruitful by the participants and organizers, presented, according to the research, some issues in their formation that generated rejections and adaptations of the program and your materials.

One of these issues concerns the prescription of pedagogical content and practices aimed at the development of phonological awareness, which, being misinterpreted, was confused with the proposition of traditional literacy methods, such as the phonic or syllabic method, as explained by the manager Maria, Director of the Pedagogical Division and Regional Coordinator of PAIC, in this regard:

[...] the material [proposed by Pnaic] brought up some questions that were new and had distortions in understanding, for example, phonological awareness. Emília Ferreiro already spoke of phonological awareness in her books right at the beginning, but many educators thought it was syllabation. And it wasn't. (Manager Maria, our translation).

There were, then, controversies, doubts and rejections, due to concepts rooted in the network and built-in other formative processes, with strong hegemony of constructivist precepts, disseminated by PFLT (Program for the Formation of Literacy Teachers)⁹ and by Ler escrita, previously implemented in the municipality. The Pnaic Pedagogical Coordinator and SA, Karen (School A), refers to this controversial moment:

[...] The municipal network had not been working with this conceptual line [of a phonological basis], it had been working with a closer look at the socio-constructivist issue. When the program arrives here in São Paulo, it kind of shocks the educators themselves [study advisors] who had been

⁹ Profa (PFLT) was launched in December 2000 by the Secretariat of Fundamental Education of the Ministry of Education (SEF/MEC) with the aim of offering new literacy techniques to teachers, based on research by Emília Ferreiro and Ana Teberosky, in the work "Psicogenesis of Written Language" (MENEZES; SANTOS, 2001).

receiving formation in this line and start to have contact with this other line [...]. (Pedagogical Coordinator Karen, our translation).

Another recurring criticism regarding formation was the discontinuity on the part of the participants. Some teachers interviewed report participation in only a few editions of the formation. This absence is justified by the fact that they were not teaching in literacy at the time the courses were held and, therefore, were unable to participate in the formation. This situation was reported by the younger teachers and ratified by DRE professionals. In the year of graduation, they did not have a fixed room and did not teach exclusively in literacy, which was a requirement of the Program. The following year, if they entered a literacy classroom, they would not receive formation. Teacher Bruna (School A, our translation) confirms this fact, when she was unable to participate in Mathematics training in 2014, because she was not teaching literacy at that time, and ended up losing this content: “In the second year it was Mathematics, I did not participate because I was with another group, I wasn't in the literacy cycle and that's why I couldn't participate.”

According to testimonies, there was also the case of formation carried out in 2015, addressing other areas of knowledge (History, Geography and Arts) and, in 2016, on evaluation, carried out in a few meetings, with limited time for discussion of the issues and no support material didactic. The pedagogical coordinator and SA Laura (School B) narrates her experience as an educator, considering these aspects:

The Pnaic edition of the knowledge areas was really fast, so it didn't go any further, it was very superficial, which was very bad, because the teachers were anxious to discuss History, Geography, Science, Arts, Physical Education itself. [...]. And there was a lack of material, this material has not arrived until today. [...] It was a course that was supposed to be in 20 meetings, then it was reduced to 10, then it was reduced to 5. And the other hours were all in DE (distance education). (Pedagogical Coordinator Laura, our translation).

Another problematic issue refers to the distribution of teaching materials and pedagogical support, both for use in courses (Formation Books) and in the classroom (literacy games and literature books). Laura also says that the distribution of support materials occurred out of sync with the courses, compromising follow-up by the participants: “[...] one thing is for you to go to formation on your first day, you already receive the material and then you have the formation. [...]. Now at Pnaic, in the 3 editions I worked on, the material either came in the end or when the course had already ended” (our translation).

In addition, this same coordinator also criticizes the fact that this support material comes in digital format, whether in CD distribution or for download over the internet:

Not every teacher is able to access this issue of the use of technology. Teacher is still very attached to this thing about the book, the physical material. What's right! Because the guy is here on a daily basis, he goes to the classroom, if he has a printed material he carries it with him, crosses it, underlines, consults. Schools still do not have equipment with a mega power internet, which you can consult or print at all times. [...]. So that's one of the things I think was really bad. (Pedagogical Coordinator Laura, our translation).

Based on the perception of the implementing agents, there were several obstacles faced in the formation of agents: the organization of formation carried out with variations in the ways of organizing the courses; the controversial one in relation to the prescription of contents aimed at phonological awareness vis-à-vis teachers' previous knowledge and experiences about literacy; the precarious distribution of formation and support materials, carried out in a disjointed manner; the impossibility of participation by young teachers who, at the time, did not teach literacy; and the discontinuity of courses, carried out in a simplified and reduced manner. Considering that continuing education was a basic strategy of the Pnaic, the problems mentioned open a range of risks for the policy, whether due to problems in interpreting its objectives and guidelines, or due to vague, conflicting decisions or mismatched conduct, as asserted by Hill (2003). The process of interpreting its guidelines, objectives and even prescriptions was limited to the agents' prior knowledge and experience, especially teachers, which can generate something quite different from what is established and foreseen as a goal. Hill (2003) and Torres *et al.* (2010) also assert the importance of formation in the implementation framework, as a means of providing implementers with more intellectual resources in the form of knowledge, skills and reasons for making the policy, which, in the present case, was obscured by problems of order of values, functional and organizational.

Discretion on the part of implementing agents

According to Lipsky (2010) and Lotta (2014), implementing agents make judgments about the different situations that present themselves and have some freedom to choose which conduct they will adopt (discretionary). This judgment and choice are guided by personal interpretation of the rules and one's own references. The research denoted the use of discretion by the SA who thought it was necessary to bring the material brought by Pnaic closer to the reality of the São Paulo municipal network. They assessed that the target audience of the formation could not receive the guidelines as described, mainly due to conflicts between teachers' previous knowledge and experiences, arising from previous formative processes versus the pedagogical contents and

practices prescribed by the Pnaic, especially the establishment of contents aimed at phonological awareness in literacy, interpreted as the resumption of traditional methods of literacy, phonic and syllabic. As described by the pedagogical coordinator Laura (School B):

The groups of educators in the regions were establishing other guidelines for their region. We received the formation and little of it could be used, because we thought we didn't talk to our teachers. [...]. So, we had to build another course. (Pedagogical Coordinator Laura, our translation).

An adaptation considered successful, identified in the investigated location, refers to the inclusion of pedagogical coordinators in Pnaic formation courses. São Paulo is a municipality that has this type of professional education in its teaching network, however, the design of the program did not establish this formation, nor did it provide scholarships or scores to those who voluntarily participated in the formation. Manager Maria (DRE), Regional Coordinator of Pnaic, reports:

[...] we made a study group of the DRE and in the meetings we talked about everything that was happening in Pnaic in general, so that they [coordinators] could also follow. And even because the teachers took tasks and activities (Manager Maria, our translation).

It appears in this case, as highlighted by Lipsky (2010), the interference of implementing agents, making use of their discretion, but in the sense of proposing actions that seek to optimize policy results: the involvement of coordinators in formation, a situation not foreseen in the Pnaic drawing.

Adaptations made by school institutions and their teachers were also notified, with the purpose of adapting content and practices with students. In this case, the teachers judged that there was content that was not consistent with the needs of the students. As expressed by teacher Bruna (School A):

I try to follow the curriculum, but eventually we need to make adaptations, depending on when it's a child who has one or another specification, more difficulty, we have to adapt and it's necessary because we need to reach this child, even if we have to stop [...] and that activity that we programmed to develop three, we develop only one (Teacher Bruna, our translation).

The rejection of the work proposal with phonological awareness also brought resistance to didactic games with this approach, leading to adaptations, as mentioned by coordinator Laura (School B, our translation): “[...] at the beginning of the year I ask which teachers want to use [games and teaching materials provided by Pnaic], because many teachers don't agree with that material, they don't like it, so I leave it free”.

The pedagogical coordinator Karen (School A) also mentions about the rejection:

[...] I found it very interesting, games within the phonic concept. They were different games, things we didn't have access to. Now, I don't know of a school or a practice that has developed this work and that literally embraced everything item by item, I don't know. Also, because, as I told you, in the domain of the alphabetic base I see this great distance between Pnaic and the actions already used (Pedagogical Coordinator Karen, our translation).

The research suggests that the school institution itself stimulated and gave ample freedom to professionals to make adaptations. This research was not intended to assess the characteristics of these adaptations, their scope or even their impact on the implementation of Pnaic in schools. Therefore, it cannot be said whether they were carried out with the sole purpose of meeting the learning needs of students or even if they have actually achieved the expected results. It can, however, be stated that they are largely related to the values and interpretations of professionals, thus corroborating the literature on public policy implementation: for Lipsky (2010), the implementing agents' discretion is to determine the nature, quantity and quality of benefits, and there may be different distributions of these benefits, with sanctions or with greater or lesser involvement and intensity, depending on the analysis they make about who is or is not deserving of the benefit. This would be an important research point for the future: did teachers adapt Pnaic content for students to favor learning because they thought it would facilitate the learning of the content or did they do so because they believed they could not learn it? This question is of interest since Alves *et al.* (2015) indicates the existence of stigmas on students from favelas and locations considered “natively” more vulnerable.

Interaction processes and institutional context

Interpersonal relationships and working conditions interfere in the professional performance of implementing agents and are likely to interfere in the results of public policies, thus, it is important to know the relationships and institutional aspects that influence their actions (ARRECTHE, 2001; LOTTA, 2014).

As the pedagogical coordinator Karen (School A) mentions:

[...] it is a facilitator when you have the team conceptually tuned. Because the director... he's the one who runs the boat, the head of the unit, but he has to have a more aligned political pedagogical project and that goes through the direction and a more or less tuned team (Pedagogical Coordinator Karen, our translation).

The interviews allow us to infer that the exchanges of experiences among professional colleagues, which took place during the formation courses, were evaluated by the educators as enriching for the improvement of knowledge. teacher Neusa (School B, our translation) comments: “[...] what Pnaic provided was exactly this issue of exchanging experiences, we talked a lot. And you learn from the experience of the other [...]”. Researching in two other schools in the same territory, Breches (2015) announced that there was a type of informal peer exchange among teachers that, considering the formation requirements explained in the literature (TARDIF, 2014; IMBERNÓN, 2009), would not be able to give all the answers to the teachers' questions regarding the students' learning needs. When analyzing the positive evaluation of the participating teachers, on the incidence of formation in exchange between peers, it can be inferred that Pnaic formation may have contributed to professional learning, providing more structured and less informal formative means for the school environment.

However, other statements make it possible to question whether Pnaic has achieved this result. Considering the institutional environment, many reports from school professionals coincide in pointing out, as factors that hampered their performance, the excessive number of students per classroom, the lack of support from families in educational processes and the presence of students with disabilities in the regular rooms. Teacher Renata (School B, our translation) states: “[...] that's where the absence of parents comes in (as a point that makes it difficult) [...]. Children with disabilities in the room too, and we're not getting support. I have a special student and it's hard work because I don't have anyone to help me [...]”. Teacher Bruna (School A, our translation) says: “I think that if there were a slightly reduced number (of students in the classroom), we would have more time to really look at each student in their specificity”.

These teachers' reports lead to different inferences from the previous ones: that institutional interactions in the studied schools were not enough to offer the support that teachers needed to give effective answers regarding their ability to teach everyone, which is the focus of educational policy. The reports show that they felt alone. And they mentioned issues outside the school to justify the difficulties encountered, such as lack of support from family members. Teacher Bruna's speech, when she says that she cannot focus on each student to see their specific learning needs, contradicts the guidelines of the Pnaic, whose formation aims to help the teacher to alphabetize all students at the right age. It can be inferred, therefore, that the Pnaic, in the schools studied, despite the teachers' good assessment of the exchange of experiences that it allowed, had difficulty in generating an institutional school environment with interactions capable of establishing strategies for

everyone's learning. Further research is needed to verify the extent of this phenomenon. As it is broad, the Program would not have, for example, been able to face, in the studied network, the problem of informal peer exchange between teachers, as the only formative means (insufficient, especially in vulnerable territories), reported by Breches (2015). And it would also not have been able to interfere in the interactions of schools so that the teacher felt they had the necessary support to see the difficulties of each student in the teaching and learning process, a condition to achieve the expected learning of everyone at the right age.

Discontinuation of programs and guidelines

The Pnaic implementation process, right at its beginning, between the years 2012 and 2013, in the studied region, faced changes and uncertainties when there was the transfer of the city's mayor, from Gilberto Kassab (2009-2012) to Fernando Haddad (2013 -2016). Manager Maria (DRE) reports:

When we took over the management, there were already some people appointed to provide formation for the first Pnaic group here at DRE. Of course, when the management changed, many people who had been nominated didn't want to do it anymore [...]. So, we had to look for new educators (Manager Maria, our translation).

It is noticed that, with the change in management, the program faced discontinuity in the way it was being organized by the previous group. Maria (DRE) also explains that the new team faced doubts and uncertainties, having to deal with many assimilations of a program in its organizational beginnings, but already with some established guidelines:

[...] they held meetings with all managers [SME]. It was at the very beginning of the administration, at the organization meeting. Of course, many doubts arose... Imagine, people taking over management, explaining something new that was also coming to São Paulo, and so, at the beginning, there were many doubts (Manager Maria, our translation).

Teachers Mirela (School A) and Bruna (School A) considered the discontinuity of the program as a negative point of Pnaic:

[...] there would have to be a State policy that in fact it doesn't exist. Because a government enters and wants to erase the previous one. When in fact what is good should be maintained and what is not, we try to adjust to improve. Even more so, this discontinuity. Because in the first one (the first formation in 2013) we had an extensive schedule, there were two, three monthly meetings, it was very detailed. As time went by, it seems that it was

just doing the bare minimum... only a few meetings were held and got scarce (Teacher Mirela, our translation).

If it came as in the first year, from more complete formation, to include more professionals, I think it would have a more focused work, I think it would reach more. So, what happened? The formations became scarcer. [...] I think that it is a project that could have been cool, a project that could have been completed, a project that could have had a much greater influence, ended up stray (Teacher Bruna, our translation).

Teacher Bruna (School A, our translation) summarizes this issue of discontinuity not only in Pnaic, but in general in public policies: “It is our policy, unfortunately, partisan and not educational.”

The research corroborates Torres et al. (2008) regarding the statement that discontinuity generates instability in the school and incomplete implementation of actions, without transition processes, bringing difficulties for full collaboration or adherence. The data indicate that it was faced with meso-level agents who were quite committed to the actions of the Pnaic, however, they could not face problems generated in higher hierarchical instances and which also refer to conflicts inherent in the relationships between different federated entities.

When asked about the reasons why Pnaic was discontinued in 2016 – the formation scheduled for that year only took place in the municipality in the last two months – manager Maria says that:

[...] it was more a matter of hiring, the federal and municipal government agreements, it was not a decision of the Secretariat. Even with these changes this year that we had, the Pnaic was not discussed at the federal level. In fact, when I was arguing, there was this whole process that we are going through [impeachment process against President Dilma Rousseff]. [...] I don't know if any other state did it, or some other city did it... because from then on, they make contracts, but for São Paulo [the guidance to promote formation] hasn't arrived (Manager Maria, our translation).

Data analysis shows that such contingencies reinforced the belief, on the part of the interviewees, that the organizers were not interested in actually implementing a policy that would improve the quality of education. Discontinuity, problems in the distribution of materials, quick execution of what requires more reflection, are signs that seem to refer to something that comes from afar, evoking memories with street bureaucrats, which make them simply discredit. As if it was not worth investing in changes in their practices, when there are indications that it is not “for real”.

Context of social vulnerability and other social factors that hinder favorable conditions for learning

When talking about the factors that affect the development of their work and the students' learning performance, the teachers repeatedly referred to several aspects related to the lack of support offered by families to the school process, especially when faced with associated social vulnerability factors.

[...] you feel that the child who arrives with a broader view of the world (with access to books), they arrive more open to other possibilities, the form of conversation, what they bring, how they contribute to activities that you are developing. And the child who does not have access, due to “n” reasons, as we see, he falls short (Teacher Bruna, our translation).

As for the expectations regarding students coming from homes with high social vulnerability, teacher Mirela (School A) expresses, between the lines, the contradiction between perceiving herself as a professional who must be engaged in the evolution of student learning, - referring to Lipsky (2010) with his observations that teachers are engaged street bureaucrats – and, at the same time, being in a context where expectations for these students are low.

*As a teacher, our expectation is always that they can evolve, as well as any and every citizen they can have their place in society and be successful [...]. And we are surprised at times, when we see that the student has improved, that there has been change and others, unfortunately, that continue to be the same or worse. So, these are situations that we have the best expectations, but to find out, it goes from case to case, [...]. **It's not like... it is in our hands** (Teacher Mirela, authors' highlights, our translation).*

By stating that “sometimes” these students are surprising, the teacher indicates that her expectation is that he does not actually learn. This is why she ends her speech saying that the learning of these students is something that refers to something outside the teaching-learning relationship, as it is out of “their hands”.

Teacher Neusa (School B) expresses the difficulty in being that teacher who needs to teach and generate learning and, at the same time, face students who experience social situations that create limits to their action.

[...] I always think that I'm doing my best and I'm really doing my best, if I'm doing this... what else can be done? [...] We have to work together. When it's not possible anymore, we have to know, be humble enough to understand that when it's not possible for you alone, you have to ask your partners for help. Whether the partners are teachers, or coordinators, or management (Teacher Neusa, our translation).

Coordinator Laura (School B) mentions the social vulnerability in the territory and its relationship with literacy, stating that the situation cannot be an excuse for the students not learning, but reporting the difficulties of the context.

I understand that the issue of vulnerability requires having a support network, but it doesn't justify the boy not learning, that doesn't exist. It brings more challenges. Today we are in a universe that you cannot say that this school is complete. We deal with everything... the constitution of a family today is no longer the same, but it exists, it is there, and we have to understand that the child has to learn (Coordinator Laura, our translation).

And she also mentions the right to literacy and the fact that there are teachers who are not clear about this right, which is independent of the context:

[...] our role is not to solve poverty, our role is to ensure that this boy has his right to learn guaranteed. This for many teachers is still not clear. This is something that is not clear to many teachers, but it is a struggle. That's why I'm in the formations... because I think it's important to raise this flag (Coordinator Laura, our translation).

Data indicate that teachers do not see public policy investment to help students in vulnerable conditions. Teacher Renata (School B) verbalizes this conflict and locates a problem that would be external to her possibilities of action: the lack of interest on the part of the policy itself in acting in a way to provide support, which generates a feeling of impotence on the part of teachers. The data suggest that the Pnaic did not consolidate, with the teachers, the view that the macro level policy implementers would be interested in guaranteeing the right to learning of the children they work with, an objective advocated by the Program analyzed here.

*[...] deep down, we want to do it differently, we want to help, and my expectation is that they would have a lot of opportunity. The city hall, for example, how many things I think could be done differently, especially with children, because they are very alone, they are abandoned. They are on their own. It's not just difficulty with food, but I think the biggest one is the absence of a family, the absence of someone to take care of them. I would like them (governors) to look at children differently. Because we can see it, because we live with each other, and you often cry and feel sad. It's a terrible feeling we have. **We feel kind helpless**, you often can't do much (Professor Renata, authors' highlights, our translation).*

Teacher Bruna (School A) brings a narrative that corroborates research that claims that the school is often the strongest public facility in the context of social vulnerability in the territory of large cities (ERNICA; BATISTA, 2012), emphasizing the importance of the

school, the teacher and knowledge in the lives of these children, as a way to overcome isolation in terms of information:

[...] often the school is the only way, the only opportunity for them to broaden this vision. Because their family world, social relationships are so restricted, so precarious.... Then you realize that if I don't offer my student something so that he can know that there are other means of information, that there are books that contribute to building his imagination, that there is another universe besides the family/social one in which he lives in, you wonder if he will have this opportunity in another place and what is this place? (Teacher Bruna, our translation).

The teacher exposes a narrative immersed in the contradiction between believing that the student can overcome this isolation and be in the midst of a social situation that is very adverse to him, placing the school in this gap between being in this context and having the potential to contribute to the rupture of inequality reproduction cycle.

I do believe that he can break this bond, this cycle. I think that here is a door to this new world and to understand that he has the capacity to break this cycle, even the most vulnerable one, I believe in that. Of course, it is more difficult and the challenges are greater, because then you need to change the child's conception and thinking and vision so that he can reach the father as well. [...] So, this change of conception, of vision is very difficult, it is very difficult for you to break what is being reproduced, but I believe that our role here is fundamental. I think it's a little seed that we plant [...] (Teacher Bruna, our translation).

For manager Miguel (DRE), the lack of security in schools is a fundamental factor that negatively affects the implementation of public policies in regions of high social vulnerability: “I think we need to study how school security can be resolved. There is a need to increase the protection of schools. This needs to be resolved because when the teacher is attacked, it creates a bad mood” (our translation). Miguel also refers to the lack of cultural offerings in the region. Your consideration of this issue involves the fact that educators themselves are involved in this environment that is isolated from valued cultural activities.

[...] I think that our educators should read more, know more, they should have more access to culture, theater, cinema, music... and people in the region need to have a more permanent cultural experience, a differentiated culture. This helps the teacher a lot. There is a lot of commitment, a lot of dedication, a lot of commitment, but I think that sometimes this clearer and deeper understanding of some cultural processes is lacking. This needs to be overcome (Manager Miguel, our translation).

This finding corroborates the hypothesis raised by Breches (2015), when studying schools in this region: it is not only the students who are involved in the social isolation

reported by the literature on social vulnerability in the territories of large cities, it is also the teachers. ETA Ana (DRE), which was SA, reports the lack of cultural offerings, among others, present in the region.

A challenge to be overcome is to have more areas for groups to live with. Leisure... I think there's a lot to do. The CEU was a tremendous advance for these regions. It is a place for formation, leisure, entertainment. But it needs more, like the issue of transport and security... everything is intertwined. (ETA Ana, our translation).

The fact that the school serves as a logistical support in case of tragedies also appears in her report. “In the last flood, a school had to house most of the people in the region” (our translation). Érnica and Batista (2012) address this aspect when they talk about school and social vulnerability. The authors state that when there is a lack of social benefits around the school, the institution is led to deal with adverse situations, for which it is not prepared and that certainly interfere in its daily life, as in this case reported here by Ana (ETA from DRE).

It is observed that the reports presented here confirm the data brought by the literature in the field of Education in vulnerable territories in large cities (RIBEIRO; VÓVIO, 2017). The overlapping of situations that generate social inequality in vulnerable territories creates specific challenges for the school. The analysis of the Pnaic documents does not show that there is a guideline for implementing agents who are located in territories of high social vulnerability in large cities. Vargas, Bizelli and Santos Cruz (2020, p. 884, our translation), studying data and indices calculated by Inep, conclude that:

the municipal network [including in São Paulo] has more positive inputs – schools with less complex levels of management, more regular and less overloaded teachers, lower average number of students per class and similar hours to the state in the early years of elementary school – and, however, it presents results inferior to those obtained by the state network: higher rate of age-grade distortion and lower performance in IDEB.

One of the explanatory hypotheses of these authors is that municipal schools are usually located in peripheral regions, in locations that present more challenges to school management. This hypothesis leads to the inference that studies on social vulnerability in the territory are showing relevant knowledge: promoting literacy (or any school learning) amidst the overlapping condition of inequalities is a challenge. And, in this research, this challenge is explicitly recognized by meso-level implementing agents. There are, however, no reports of adaptations of practices related to the Pnaic because they are operating in vulnerable territories. The reports indicate the existence of an understanding, among meso-level

implementers, of the impact of the social vulnerability of the territory on the school, as a "latent" problem, which does not translate into implementation strategies that support teachers who deal daily with such situations. About how is to face the overlapping of inequalities that affect students in this territory, teachers perceive themselves alone, given their difficult role as an engaged street bureaucrat, as pointed out by Lispky (2010), immersed in the contradictions between social representations that are unfavorable to students and their role as responsible for their learning.

Final considerations

This article aimed to analyze the implementation of the Pnaic in a region of high social vulnerability in the city of São Paulo. Therefore, interviews were conducted with 10 professionals who participated in this implementation, in addition to a consultant in the field of Education. We tried to verify how the implementation processes took place according to the following previous categories: adhesion of agents to the implementation processes; proposed formations and training; discretionary actions present in your shares; interaction processes and the institutional context; discontinuity of programs and guidelines; in addition to the influence of the context of social vulnerability.

It is concluded that, in the studied region, it was not possible to count on the full adhesion of teachers to the Pnaic implementation processes. Although the formations were considered enriching for promoting, according to the teachers, exchanges of experiences and also for clarifying doubts, the data from the schools show few changes in teaching and management practices and indicate the hypothesis that the Pnaic may not have impacted the environment educational from the point of view of constituting interactions capable of generating teaching focused on learning for all at the right age. New research could focus on this issue in more detail. The data also indicate that there was rejection, lack of motivation and disinterest on the part of teachers in the proposals, teaching materials and formative courses of the Pnaic, especially motivated by factors such as: failures in the planning and execution of the program, related to the discontinuity of the courses; failure to access support materials; criteria for choosing participants (not adapted to the context of the municipality, excluding coordinators and young teachers); and, above all, partial or distorted understanding of the work proposal (due to the agents' previous values and references, such as activities with phonological awareness, confused with the phonic method); in addition to the belief in the government's lack of interest in the program.

Discretion was used to adjust guidelines according to the target audience, due to the rejection of aspects of the program (such as the issue of phonological awareness). It was also used to correct what was considered a flaw in the Program: the absence of pedagogical coordinators in training, included by DRE managers in parallel courses.

Meso level agents stated that they understand the issue of vulnerability as a “latent” problem, with overlapping inequalities, however, there were no strategies that supported schools and teachers in order to guarantee full literacy in these conditions. Teachers were immersed in the contradiction between being in an environment conducive to low expectations for students and being “engaged” implementing agents, as pointed out by Lipsky (2010), responsible for children's literacy. The adaptations they made, as they said, were intended to generate learning. However, it is not clear whether these adaptations occurred due to the belief in learning or due to values that indicate that students would not be able to learn the contents of the materials. Further research could clarify this issue.

This study ratifies considerations arising from other research carried out in vulnerable territories (RIBEIRO; VOVIO, 2017; TORRES et al., 2008): in order to increase the quality of education in these territories and eliminate educational inequalities, it is necessary to promote and monitor the implementation of integrated public policies, with actions that consider the specificities of these contexts; identify and consider values, beliefs and references of implementing agents; plan plausible and long-term goals, ensuring their continuity and transition processes. It adds other points to such studies: the need to promote continuing formation that deal with the values of professionals and the institutional culture that supports the way professionals interact with each other, since this seems to be the key to the support that such professionals need to ensure the learning of all students. And also, the need to promote specific formation for professionals who deal with situations of vulnerability and inclusion in order to better prepare them to guarantee basic learning with quality and educational equity.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS: We thank the Foundation for Research Support of the State of São Paulo (FAPESP) for supporting this research. And also the implementing agents of the São Paulo municipal education network who, committed to their actions, kindly granted us interviews and shared with us their knowledge and perceptions.

REFERENCES

- ALFERES, M. A.; MAINARDES, J. O Pacto Nacional pela Alfabetização na Idade Certa em ação: revisão de literatura. **Ensaio: aval. pol. públ. Educ.**, Rio de Janeiro, v. 27, n. 102, p. 47-68, mar. 2019.
- ALVES, L. *et al.* Seleção velada em escolas públicas: práticas, processos e princípios geradores. **Educação e Pesquisa**, São Paulo, v. 41, n. 1, p. 137-152, jan. /mar. 2015.
- ARRETCHE, M. Uma contribuição para fazermos avaliações menos ingênuas. *In*: MOREIRA, M. C.; CARVALHO, M. C. B. (org.). **Tendências e Perspectivas na Av. de Pol. e Prog. Sociais**. São Paulo: IEE/PUCSP, 2001.
- BATISTA, A. A. G.; CARVALHO-SILVA, H. **Família, escola, território vulnerável**. São Paulo: Cenpec, 2013.
- BRASIL. **Portaria no 897, de 4 de julho de 2012**. Institui o Pacto Nacional pela Alfabetização na Idade certa e as ações do Pacto e define suas diretrizes. Brasília, DF, 5 jul. 2012a. Available: https://www.in.gov.br/materia/-/asset_publisher/Kujrw0TZC2Mb/content/id/10857301/do1-2018-04-18-portaria-n-897-de-4-de-abril-de-2018-10857297. Access: 10 janJan 2018.
- BRASIL. **Resolução CD/FNDE no 4, de 16 de novembro de 2012**. Altera a Resolução CD/FNDE nº 62, de 11 de novembro de 2011. Brasília, DF, 16 nov. 2012b. Available: <https://www.fnde.gov.br/aceso-a-informacao/institucional/legislacao/item/3514-resolu%C3%A7%C3%A3o-n%C2%BA-4-de-16-de-mar%C3%A7o-de-2012>. Access 10 Feb. 2018.
- BRASIL. **Resolução CD/FNDE no 4, de 27 de fevereiro de 2013**. Estabelece orientações e diretrizes para o pagamento de bolsas de estudo e pesquisa para a Formação Continuada de Professores Alfabetizadores, no âmbito do Pacto Nacional pela Alfabetização na Idade Certa. Brasília, DF, 27 fev. 2013. Available: <http://www.fnde.gov.br/index.php/aceso-a-informacao/institucional/legislacao/item/4306-resolu%C3%A7%C3%A3o-cd-fnde-n%C2%BA-4,-de-27-de-fevereiro-de-2013>. Access: 20 Aug. 2017.
- BRECHES, B. **Formação continuada em uma escola de território vulnerável do município de São Paulo**. 2015. 117 f. Dissertação (Mestrado) – Universidade Cidade de São Paulo, São Paulo, 2015.
- CHRISTOVÃO, A. C.; SANTOS, M. M. S. A escola na Favela ou a Favela na escola? *In*: RIBEIRO, L. C. Q. *et al.* (org.). **Desigualdades urbanas, desigualdades escolares**. Rio de Janeiro: Letra Capital: Obs. das Metrôpoles: IPPUR/UFRJ, 2010. p. 277-297.
- ÉRNICA, M.; BATISTA, A. A. G. A escola, a metrópole e a vizinhança vulnerável. **Cadernos de Pesquisa**, v. 42, n. 146, p. 640-666, maio/ago. 2012.
- GATTI, B. A.; NUNES, M. M. R. **Formação de professores para o ensino fundamental: estudo de currículos das licenciaturas em pedagogia**. São Paulo: FCC/DPE, 2009.

HILL, H. C. Understanding Implementation: Street-Level Bureaucrats' Resources for Reform. **Journal of Public Administration Research and Theory**, v. 13, n. 3, p. 265-282. 2003.

IMBERNÓN, F. **Formação docente e profissional: formar-se para a mudança e a incerteza**. 7. ed. São Paulo: Cortez, 2009.

INEP. Instituto Nacional de Estudos e Pesquisas Educacionais Anísio Teixeira. **Ideb Escola**. 2018. Available: <http://idebescola.inep.gov.br/ideb/escola/dadosEscola/35055759>. Access: 10 Jan. 2018.

KAZTMAN, R. Notas sobre la medición de la vulnerabilidad social. 5 taller regional, la medición de la pobreza, métodos e aplicaciones. **BID-BIRF-CEPAL**, México, 2000. Available: <http://www.cepal.org/deype/mecovi/docs/TALLER5/24.pdf>. Access: 10 Aug. 2016.

KOSLINSKI, M. C.; ALVES, F.; LANGE, W. Desigualdades educacionais em contextos urbanos: um estudo da geografia de oportunidades educacionais na cidade do Rio de Janeiro. **Educação & Sociedade**, Campinas, v. 34, n. 125, p. 1175-1202, out./dez. 2013.

LIPSKY, M. **Street-level bureaucracy: dilemmas of the individual in public services**. Original edition published in 1980. Russell Sage Foundation. New York, 2010.

LOTTA, G. A política pública como ela é: contribuições dos estudos sobre implementação para a análise de políticas públicas. In: LOTTA, G. (org.). **Teoria e análises sobre implementação de políticas públicas no Brasil**. Brasília: Enap, 2019. p. 11-38.

LOTTA, G. Agentes de implementação: uma forma de análise de políticas públicas. **Cadernos Gestão Pública e Cidadania**, São Paulo, v. 19, n. 65, jul./dez. 2014.

LOTTA, G. O papel das burocracias do nível da rua na implementação de políticas públicas: entre o controle e a discricionariedade. In: FARIA, C. A (org.). **Implementação de políticas públicas: teoria e prática**. Belo Horizonte: PUCMINAS, 2012.

LOVATO, R. G. **O pacto nacional pela alfabetização na idade certa (PNAIC/2013) e os professores do município de Castelo ES**. 2016. 204 f. Dissertação (Mestrado) – Universidade Federal de Minas Gerais, Belo Horizonte, 2016.

MANZANO, T. S. **Formação continuada de professores alfabetizadores do Pacto Nacional pela Alfabetização na Idade Certa (PNAIC) no Município de São Paulo: proposições e ações**. 2015. 127 f. Dissertação (Mestrado) – Pontifícia Universidade Católica de São Paulo, São Paulo, 2015.

MARCUCCI, F. **A educação nas grandes metrópoles: ensino de Língua Portuguesa em São Miguel Paulista**. 2015. 218 f. Dissertação (Mestrado) – Escola de Filosofia, Letras e Ciências Humanas, Universidade Federal de São Paulo, São Paulo, 2015.

MENEZES, E. T.; SANTOS, T. H. Verbete Profã (Programa de Formação de Professores Alfabetizadores). **Dicionário Interativo da Educação Brasileira - Educabrazil**. São Paulo: Midiamix, 2001.

OBSERVATÓRIO DO PNE. Programa Leer e Escrever. **Observatório do PNE**. Available: <http://www.observatoriodopne.org.br/metas-pne/5-alfabetizacao/programas-governo/programa-ler-e-escrever>. Access: 10 Aug. 2017.

PEREIRA-SILVA, C. **Vulnerabilidade social nos territórios das grandes cidades, educação e o princípio de justiça como equidade na escola**. 2016. 97 f. Dissertação (Mestrado em Educação) – Universidade Cidade de São Paulo, São Paulo, 2016.

QEDU. 2018. Available: <http://www.qedu.org.br>. Access: 10 Jan. 2018.

RIBEIRO, L. C. Q.; KOSLINSKI, M. C. A. Fronteiras Urbanas da Democratização das Oportunidades Educacionais: o caso do RJ. *In*: RIBEIRO, L. C. Q. *et al.* (org.). **Desigualdades urbanas, desigualdades escolares**. Rio de Janeiro: Letra Capital: Obs. das Metrôpoles: IPPUR/UFRJ, 2010. p. 121-154.

RIBEIRO, V. M.; VOVIO, C. L. Desigualdade escolar e vulnerabilidade social no território. **Educ. rev.**, Curitiba, n. spe. 2, p. 71-87, set. 2017.

RIBEIRO, V. Mendes. Que princípio de justiça para a educação básica? **Cadernos de Pesquisa**, v. 44, n. 154, p. 1094-1109, 2014.

SÃO PAULO (Município). Secretaria Municipal de Educação. Diretoria de Orientação Técnica. **Programa Mais Educação São Paulo**: subsídios para a implantação/Secretaria Municipal de Educação. São Paulo: SME/DOT, 2014.

SÃO PAULO (Município). Secretaria Municipal de Educação. Diretoria de Orientação Técnica. **Programa de Reorganização Curricular e Administrativa, Ampliação e Fortalecimento da Rede Municipal de Ensino de São Paulo**: “Mais Educação São Paulo”. São Paulo: SME/DOT, 2013.

SEADE. **Índice Paulista de Vulnerabilidade Social – IPVS**. São Paulo: Fundação Sistema Estadual de Análise de Dados (SEADE), 2010. Available: <http://indices-lp.al.sp.gov.br/view/index.php?prodCod=2>. Access: 10 July 2016.

TARDIF, M. **Saberes docentes e formação profissional**. Rio de Janeiro: Vozes, 2014.

TORRES, H. G. *et al.* Educ. na periferia de SP ou como pensar as desigualdades educacionais? *In*: RIBEIRO, L. C. Q.; KAZTMAN, R. **A Cidade contra a Escola?** Segregação urbana e desigualdades educacionais em grandes cidades da América. Rio de Janeiro: Letra Capital, 2008. p. 59-90.

TORRES, H. G. *et al.* Perfis do Professorado da Rede Pública de SP: a Interação entre Espaço, Regras Institucionais e Escolhas Individuais no Resultado de uma Política Pública. **Cadernos Cenpec**, São Paulo, v. 3, n. 1, p. 125-158, jun. 2010.

VARGAS, T. C.; BIZELLI, J. L.; SANTOS CRUZ, J. A. Política de municipalização: avaliação do desempenho escolar. **Revista Brasileira de Política e Administração da Educação - Periódico científico editado pela ANPAE**, v. 36, n. 3, p. 869-888, nov. 2020. ISSN 2447-4193. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.21573/vol36n32020.104814>

XAVIER, R. S. S. F.; BARTHOLO, T. L. Os impactos do pacto nacional pela alfabetização na idade certa: uma revisão sistemática. **Educ. rev.**, Belo Horizonte, v. 35, e211143. 2019.

How to reference this article

DI GIUSTO, S. M. N.; RIBEIRO, V. M.; VÓVIO, C. L. The implementation of PNAIC in vulnerable territory in the municipality of São Paulo. **Revista Ibero-Americana de Estudos em Educação**, Araraquara, v. 16, n. 3, p. 2133-2162, July/Sep. 2021. e-ISSN: 1982-5587. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.21723/riaee.v16i3.15413>

Submitted: 10/12/2020

Required revisions: 05/01/2021

Approved: 10/02/2021

Published: 01/07/2021