

**GENDER-RACE PUBLIC POLICIES AND DEMOCRATIC MANAGEMENT IN  
EDUCATION: A STUDY ON SCHOOL MANAGEMENT IN THE FEDERAL  
CAPITAL**

***POLÍTICAS PÚBLICAS DE GÊNERO-RAÇA E A GESTÃO DEMOCRÁTICA NA  
EDUCAÇÃO: UM ESTUDO SOBRE A GESTÃO ESCOLAR DA CAPITAL FEDERAL***

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EDUCACIÓN: UN ESTUDIO SOBRE LA GESTIÓN ESCOLAR EN LA CAPITAL  
FEDERAL***



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**ABSTRACT:** Democracy, development and gender policies are linked to the conditions of social justice, provided for in legislation, but still under construction (BRAZIL, 1988, 1996, 2007; CORRÊA, 2018; MADSEN, 2008; OLIVEIRA, 2018; SERPA; PETRY, 2017). Women's political participation is under-represented (IBGE, 2018a; 2018b), despite being the majority of the Brazilian population (51.7%) and of those with higher education. This study analyzed the sexual and racial division of teaching work, important for power relations, asymmetries and democracy (BIROLI, 2018), and political participation in school management. Documentary research was carried out with a qualitative approach into the results of school elections in the public school system of the Brazilian capital in the last 12 years (2008-2019), of five electoral processes. Despite the majority in the category at 76.3% (SEPLAG, 2016) and the growth of units by 10.8% in the period, there was a drop in women from 69.7% (2008) to 61.1% (2019). An increase in directors declared to be multiracial was identified, unlike the national average.

**KEYWORDS:** Gender policies. Sexual division of labor. Democratic school management. Women. Political participation.

**RESUMO:** Democracia, desenvolvimento e políticas de gênero estão ligados às condições de justiça social, previstas na legislação, ainda em construção (BRASIL, 1988, 1996, 2007; CORRÊA, 2018; MADSEN, 2008; OLIVEIRA, 2018; SERPA; PETRY, 2017). A participação política das mulheres é sub-representativa (IBGE, 2018a, 2018b), ainda que sejam maioria da população brasileira (51,7%) e daqueles com escolarização superior. Este estudo buscou analisar a divisão sexual e racial do trabalho docente, importantes para relações de poder, assimetrias e democracia (BIROLI, 2018), e a participação política na gestão escolar. Foi realizada pesquisa documental qualitativa dos resultados das eleições escolares na rede pública de ensino da capital brasileira nos últimos 12 anos (2008-2019), em cinco processos eleitorais. Apesar da maioria na categoria, em 76,3% (SEPLAG, 2016), e do crescimento de unidades em 10,8% no período, houve queda de mulheres de 69,7% (2008) para 61,1% (2019). Identificou-se um aumento de diretores declarados pardos, diferentemente da média nacional.

**PALAVRAS-CHAVE:** Políticas de gênero. Divisão sexual do trabalho. Gestão escolar democrática. Mulheres. Participação Política.

**RESUMEN:** Democracia, desarrollo y políticas de género están vinculados a las condiciones de justicia social, previstas en la legislación, pero aún en construcción (BRASIL, 1988, 1996, 2007; CORRÊA, 2018; MADSEN, 2008; OLIVEIRA, 2018; SERPA; PETRY, 2017). La participación política de las mujeres es subrepresentativa (IBGE, 2018a; 2018b), a pesar de que son la mayoría de la población brasileña (51,7%) y la educación superior. Este estudio analizó la división sexual y racial del trabajo docente, importante para las relaciones de poder, las asimetrías y la democracia (BIROLI, 2018) y la participación política en la gestión escolar. Se realizó una investigación documental cualitativa de los resultados de las elecciones escolares en el sistema escolar público de la capital brasileña en los últimos 12 años (2008-2019), de cinco procesos electorales. A pesar de la mayoría en la categoría con un 76,3% (SEPLAG, 2016) y del crecimiento de las unidades en un 10,8% en el período, hubo una caída de mujeres del 69,7% (2008) al 61,1% (2019). Se identificó un aumento de directores declarados multirraciales, a diferencia del promedio nacional.

**PALABRAS CLAVE:** Políticas de gênero. División sexual del trabajo. Gestión escolar democrática. Mujeres. Participación política.

## Opening remarks

Public policies on gender and race, as well as the democratization of public education, are well supported by legislation, but are still in the process of construction (BRAZIL, 1988, 1996, 2007; MADSEN, 2008; SERPA; PETRY, 2017). Despite these legal provisions on the democratic principles of education, they do not manifest themselves unanimously in the states regarding the implementation and how participation in decision-making processes in public education is experienced (GIMENES; ALVES, 2019). In the study by Bittencourt, Castro and Amaral (2021), the indicator election-participation was raised, which identified that democracy and greater community participation in the process of selecting principals appeared more expanded in the states, while it is less present in the municipalities. In Serpa's (2011) survey, of the 24 Brazilian states, despite the legal obligation, 67% of state secretaries and 82% of municipal secretaries implemented direct democratic electoral choice.

The device of democratic school management aims to meet the desires, establish dialogue and autonomy, and allow the decentralization of power (GIMENES; ALVES, 2019). The democratization of management in public education had greater visibility with the Brazilian re-democratization in the 1980s and favored the direct participation in the choice of the professional to occupy the position of director or school manager, one of the few possibilities possible for democratic occupation of positions in institutional systems.

Gender politics, on the other hand, which includes gender equality and seeks redistributive justice, recognition, and representation, began to suffer setbacks starting in the 1990s (CORRÊA, 2018; MONTAÑO; PITANGUY; LOBO, 2003; OLIVEIRA, 2018). Corrêa (2018) described the experience of following the discussions on gender politics in world conferences, highlighting the resistances and the role played by Latin America in the geopolitical dynamics. Women's rights, including reproductive rights, were challenged by religious barriers, especially Catholic ones, from Islamic states and the like. Despite being a transnational issue, much attention has been paid to the Latin American region because of the advancement of gender policy debates there.

The demand for indicators and visibility for inequality is necessary for the construction of public policies aimed at gender equality, capable of measuring the situation of women and men (AGOSTINHO; SABOIA, 2011). The attention to the growth and inequalities of women's conditions, in terms of educational aspects, employment, political participation, health and welfare, became part of the debates. The relationship between democracy, development and

gender policies is connected, above all, to the rescue and construction of gender agendas to combat violence, in addition to the guarantees of the exercise of institutional politics, so that the demands of women as active agents are prioritized. (BIROLI, 2018; OLIVEIRA, 2018).

Studies of the world of work (IBGE, 2018b; MIRANDA *et al.*, 2009; PALMA; SÁ, 2011; VIANNA, 2013) point to the low occupation of women in management positions; even when more qualified, they are more often found in subordinate or informal positions. In this sense, black men and women also occupy hierarchically inferior positions. The development of the professional role of women in the formal market has occurred, above all, with the promotion of schooling. Factors such as their insertion in public life, their participation in society in the definition of public policies, and the recognition of their citizenship have been growing, but there are still obstacles to their accessibility (DEL PRIORE, 2004; PALMA; SÁ, 2011).

The changes in the world of work have enabled women to occupy a representative share of positions. This has led to an increase in relationships, disputes for space, and opportunities in very complex and challenging processes. In this context, the management models adopted define the ascension or not of women to leadership positions, which started to provide opportunities for a new identity of women, with more participation and engagement (DEL PRIORE, 2004; MIRANDA *et al.*, 2009; PALMA; SÁ, 2011).

Transformations in the subjectivities of men and women were necessary for the occupation of spaces of power and political participation. Subjectivity is the result of a complex socio-historical-cultural process of the subject-society relationship, encompassed by organic, behavioral, relational, social and historical multidimensions (GONZÁLEZ-REY, 2003). Morin (2007) pointed out that the subject uses several social roles and identities in everyday life, the result of intense complexity and part of science and everyday life. In the process of building their professional identity, women seek to overcome cultural barriers and stereotypes built by society and the ways of acting (PALMA; SÁ, 2011; VIANNA, 2013).

For Hirata (1998), there persists a fear, socially constructed by women, of succeeding, exercising power, and overcoming limitations to a different way of doing things than the re-edition of a masculine way of dominating. The studies of Freitas (2015, 2017) pointed to the omission or unfeasibility of women, even under equal conditions, from decisions and the occupation of spaces of power, a structural phenomenon of complex and deep roots, socially and culturally instituted in everyday life and in the collective imagination in an imperceptible, subtle and implicit way, the foundation of social and gender inequality. She also verified in her studies that, even being the majority of the electorate and presenting superior technical

competence and qualification, gender inequality is maintained by the insufficient belief in the competence of themselves and of their female colleagues in the occupation of decision-making spaces and command posts.

From the perspective of social representations, besides the reason and science proclaimed by the Western world, the value systems, composed of beliefs, superstitions, prejudices, and mysticism, compose and permeate society in a generalized way (ARRUDA, 2002; GUARESCHI, 2000; MOSCOVICI, 2003). Jodelet (2002) states that social representations are systems of interpretation that govern our relationship with the world and with others. The uncertainty, the diversity, the multiplicity, and the paradoxes of interrelations between subjects and the world, in the previous and present moment and possibilities, were raised by Morin (2005). For him, the human condition is constructed in social, cultural, and political interrelationships in a historical and global context.

The background of women in management is based on the existence of distinct and hierarchical social roles, fruits of social construction, from what is established as being social roles of men and women, different in each culture. The historical, social and cultural construction takes place in the relationships between them; besides the influences of gender, coexist those of race, class and creed, among others, such as images, behaviors, values and representations (GROSSI, 1998; PALMA; SÁ, 2011).

In the study by Miranda *et al.* (2009), it was found that invitations for job opportunities and high positions were made to peers by men, while for women such invitations only happened when there was a support group in the background. Differently among them, it was evidenced that men's rise occurred with more stability, which confirmed the stereotypes, values, and beliefs of partnership and recognition among them (ZANELLO, 2018). These results derived from the mistrust of female bosses by male subordinates, which generated a need for self-charging for higher performance, being a dynamic that extrapolated the expectations and functions beyond the positions when they were assumed by women. A correlation was also identified between the role of the organization and the construction of identities for management, as well as contradictions in stereotypes for management positions (MIRANDA *et al.*, 2009).

The participation of women in spaces of power and decision-making, from the formulation to the social control of public policies, is important for the construction of new social relations and attention to inequality and discrimination. Oliveira, Barros, and Souza (2010) refer to the National Women's Plans, which outline guidelines for a policy of equality

and promotion of balance of power between women and men, which includes fostering public education in the social construction of values that emphasize the importance of work historically delegated to women for human relations and the production of living, and for a democratic and sustainable development.

This requires the recognition of the State's responsibility in the implementation of policies that affect the social, sexual, and racial division of labor and, on the other hand, the implementation of affirmative policies for different groups of women. The goals contained in the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) of the 2030 Agenda aim to promote opportunities for effective participation in public, civic, and political life (IBGE, 2018b; ONU, 2015).

This paper aims to examine the sexual division of teaching work through political participation in the area of public-school management through documentary research and analysis of the number of women and men elected candidates, from the perspective of gender studies. The relations of women and management, women in education, the occupation of school management, and especially the occupation of women in the positions of school principals will be analyzed. For Biroli (2018), the investigation of the sexual division of labor constitutes an important locus of gender production and matters to analyze power relations, gender relations, asymmetries and democracy.

## **Women and management**

The occupation of leadership hierarchical positions is linked to extra demands, which are not comfortable and, many times, not compensable. More than an innate characteristic, leadership can be learned, it can arise with the opportunity, and it can be the result of the recognition of the capacity to work in that area. It can also be the result of a desire to contribute to the work, of professional ambition (seen here as a quality), and of future projection. The determinant of its success can be characterized by the relationship of leadership to the management of the people under its supervision.

The instituted social, sexual, and racial division of labor derives from historical and sociocultural determinants representative of the hegemonic logic of reproduction versus production, still in effect (HIRATA, 2015; MOLINIER, 2013). The logic of the sexual division of labor within organizations results from the understanding of the world, the social process, and the interactions involved, which go through gender and must be made explicit (CRAMER, 2016).

One must consider the complexity of the task and the new demands of leadership roles (MIRANDA *et al.*, 2009). For women, who already have the overload of domestic activities and responsibility for the care of the family, such as children, elderly, disabled, among others, the leadership of a sector or a work unit can add to the demands of everyday life, and others more, and characterize exhaustion (CYRINO, 2009; HIRATA, 2015; MIRANDA *et al.*, 2009; MOLINIER, 2013). Women's jobs involve many experiences of suffering, naturalized double journey, indignity, disqualification and subjection, arising from the organization of work (CRAMER, 2016). The findings of Oliveira, Brangion and Magalhaes (2011) showed the triple journey for women; despite the social representation of their independence and the reduction of differences, resistance and prejudice in activities previously exclusive to men were still identified.

For Hirata (2015), women still bear almost exclusively the responsibility for domestic work, despite the conquests of high positions and managerial functions, because the spheres of knowledge and power are concentrated on the opposite gender. For the author, capitalism and its logic of production use biological differences and male and female stereotypes for profitability, hierarchization, and sexual division of labor. According to Molinier (2013), the sexual division of labor is based on the priority call of men to the productive sphere, characterized by high added value, and women to the reproductive sphere, because in Western culture men are recognized for what they do, and women, for what they are.

According to the Brazilian Institute of Geography and Statistics (IBGE, 2018b), in 2016, Brazilian women dedicated about 73% (18.1 hours) more hours to caring for people and/or housework than men (10.5 hours). The opportunities for access to participation in public life and to decision-making positions or positions are restricted in the face of this framework. In December 2017, it was surveyed that of the total 28 ministers of state, only two were women, which represented 7.1%. In the 2016 survey of the occupation of Brazilian public managerial positions, 60.9% were occupied by men, while 39.1% by women. The higher the age group, the higher the proportion of men in managerial positions. A race gap was also identified by the reduced occupation of these positions by black or brown women. With regard to race/ethnicity, in the study by Drabach and Freitas (2012), school principals were mostly white (54%), brown (35.4%), black (7%), yellow (3%), and indigenous (0,6%).

## **Women and Education**

The occupation of leadership positions and higher hierarchies in the public educational service has repercussions on the results of schools and are the result of historical Brazilian inequality and the sexual division of labor (DEL PRIORE, 2004; DRABACH; FREITAS, 2012; FREITAS, 2015, 2017; LOURO, 1997, 2004; PONTES, 2015; SOUZA; GOUVEIA, 2010). In education and other professions considered caregiving, such as health, social assistance, and nutrition, the labor market for women had its origin in the extension of domestic work, and, with this, the occupation is still mostly theirs (D'ALONSO, 2008; PALMA; SÁ, 2011; VIANNA, 2013; ZANELLO, 2018).

The feminization of teaching, still present, extrapolates the idea of the quantity of women teachers due to the socio-political-economic-subjective context beyond numbers, due to the ideas attributed to their nature and the characteristics associated with dedication and vocation, essentially in the early years of elementary education (LOURO, 1997, 2004; VIANNA, 2013). The greater or lesser feminization of the various segments of the educational system reiterates the pre-defined place of women in the role of child care and motherhood, incompatible, from the sociocultural point of view, with the male universe of decisions and command (FREITAS, 2015, 2017).

Drabach and Freitas (2012) explain that the school constitutes the space of socialization and education of men and women subjects. In this aspect, representation constitutes an educational and modeling form of ways of thinking, which will impact the future of relationships between people and the construction of democratic relationships in society. In the study by Langamer and Timm (2013), the role of school as one of the main means of socialization and consolidation of these hegemonic gender representations was evidenced. The representations do not pre-exist in the world, they are socially created and occur through power relations. It was raised that children already have internalized social representations of gender, and the school contributes to the formation and consolidation of both representations and stereotypes through interactions, the production of naturalized practices, and the reproduction of sexist and violent actions between genders.

Social representations could not exist if they were not felt and perceived collectively, because, besides structuring identity and social conditions, they influence them without being recognized (GUARESCHI, 2000). Louro (1997) states that social representations are crossed by different discourses, symbols, representations, and practices, and the subjects construct



themselves as masculine or feminine, arranging and disarranging their social places, their dispositions, and their ways of being and being in the world. For Foucault (1984), school practices function as an institution of control and discipline of the bodies, being strategic in the manufacture of standardized bodies for the functioning of capitalist society. According to Louro (1997, 1999, 2004), the classroom is constituted and constitutive of relationships, and the reproduction of technologies on the schooled body is evident. Still, Arruda (2002) points to the fact that social representation means intense exchanges by complex mechanisms and operates by the transformation of the subject and the object, as both are modified in its elaboration, because they are dynamic sets, and its status is that of a production of behaviors and relationships with the environment, which are modified by power relations.

## Women and School Management

The feminization of the teaching profession is outlined by the disqualification from the entry of women in the career, by the decrease in the prestige and remuneration of the teaching career and the consequent professional devaluation (DEL PRIORE, 2004; MIRANDA *et al.*, 2009; PONTES, 2015; VIANNA, 2013; ZANELLO, 2018). The difficulty of the occupation by women of high leadership positions in organizations is characterized as a phenomenon of "glass ceiling", i.e., there are subtle barriers to access to high positions, resulting in the routine absence of women in management, unless by sacrifice of personal and family life (MIRANDA *et al.*, 2009). This phenomenon was observed in education by Souza (2006, 2007), Correa (2010), Souza and Gouveia (2010), and Vianna (2013), who identified discrimination in access to school management and in working conditions, despite the predominance of female teachers.

Democratic management is provided for in the Federal Constitution (FC) (BRAZIL, 1988) and in Law n. 9.394/1996 (BRAZIL, 1996), the so-called Law of Directives and Bases (LDB). Its main proposal is the decentralization of school management to ensure the participation of the school community in the pedagogical, administrative and financial spheres of the school, as well as relational and political (CORREA, 2010; DRABACH; FREITAS, 2012; SOUZA, 2006, 2007). González-Rey (2003) pointed to the dynamics established between subject-social groups-institutions, of complex historical and cultural articulation in the organization of educational processes. These multi-aspects structure the complexity of the function of school direction and the socioprofessional relationships established. Paro (2010) highlighted the contradictions of the role of school principal in this organization of work, and

for Brant and Melo (2016), in addition to the contradictions, the function of the manager is characterized by mediation among peers. However, despite presenting a desire to create, the manager lacks autonomy due to the impossibility of transforming the system, acting as a mere reproducer of the dominant logic.

Demographic and training characteristics indicate that the Brazilian teacher profile is mostly composed of women (71%), with an average age of 39 years, 14 years of service in teaching and higher education, 36% with a post-graduate degree (INEP, 2015). Another survey on the profile of basic education teachers showed an index of 81% women, 90% of them working in early childhood education and the early years of elementary school, white (42%) and brown (25.2% in total; 4.1% black, 0.6% yellow, 0.7% indigenous, 27.4% undeclared), in the age range of 30-49 years, with higher education (78.4%) (CARVALHO, 2018).

With regard to school principals, in the national study by Drabach and Freitas (2012), there was a characterization of a majority of female principals, in the 40-49 age range, of declared white race or color, with higher education in Pedagogy, active for more than 15 years in education and in the position of principal for less than four years, with remuneration between 5-8 minimum wages. The national survey of race/ethnicity of incumbent principals showed a majority declared white (DRABACH; FREITAS, 2012), unlike the Federal District (DF), in which a brown majority occupies the most frequent place. This demonstrates a change in the profile or points to an increasing redistribution in the accessibility of representative leaders.

Other data analyzed from the DF profile portrayed 71% of female directors, aged between 40 and 49 years (59%), mostly mixed race (49%), followed by white (34%), with exclusive dedication (92%), with salaries above six minimum wages (71%), with a degree in Pedagogy (40%) or other degrees (31%), with a long time of graduation - between 8-14 years (37%), 15-20 years (33%) or more than 20 years (22%) - and graduation in a private network (65%). There was a predominance of 11-15 years of teaching experience (27%) and, in management positions, 3-5 years (28%), but there were more than 20 years of experience in education (48%), which points to a longer path in the area before assuming a management position (QEDU, 2018).

Vieira and Vidal (2014) and Pontes (2015) analyzed the profile of principals by gender and age and identified that 73.9% are women. In Brazil, according to the authors' analysis, in the 2011 Prova Brasil data, 79.4% of public-school principal positions were held by women, revealing a high predominance of women. The directors have, in their majority, higher level degrees in Pedagogy with a focus on school management and, due to the complexity of the

function, the competencies and skills required, the age range identified was older. In DF, principals had more management experience, but less graduate level education, which differed from the national data in this study. The research pointed to factors such as the time to access post-graduate studies (master's and doctorate), difficulty in reconciling study and work routine, incompatibility between the academic nature of the courses offered and the profile of the managers, as well as the unattractiveness of the incentives in the career plans.

The importance of surveying the socio-demographic aspects of the context of work, training, and others, is the possibility of radiographing the profile of the people involved and favoring the design of public policies. The gender perspective encompasses the understanding that the differences between the sexes are influenced by the socio-historical-cultural, economic, and political contexts. Importantly, for Vianna (2013), gender, more than the distinction between the sexes socially defined as female and male, contributes to the aggregation of values and concepts that interrelate social, cultural, economic, and historical aspects to the study of inequalities. The social roles of women and men are more complex than merely biological factors, especially in the sexual division of labor. For Laqueur (2001), sex would be linked to the anatomical-physiological body, and gender to the cultural categorization.

Scott (1989) stated that war, diplomacy, and high politics are not explicitly in these relations, since gender does not seem to apply to these objects, but it is relevant to questions of politics and power, since the spheres are not separated between sexuality or politics, family or nation, women or men. The author pointed to the need for a rejection of the fixed and permanent character of the binary opposition and the need for genuine historicization and deconstruction of the terms of sexual difference.

Arruda (2002) conceptualized the theory of social representations as the social thought or common sense in its dynamics and diversity. Gender studies, on the other hand, as the fruit of social factors and critics of reductionism and partiality in science, conclude that, despite their different purposes, these theories emerged in paradigmatic transitions and serve as a good instrument for the understanding of the human being and its complexity, functioning as new conceptual tools for the analysis of reality from new angles and the advancement of knowledge. In common, both constructs - the theory of social representations and gender studies - are counter-hegemonic, critical of binarities, and have the purpose of composing relational and structured theories on subjectivities, on the mobility and dynamics of these subjective processes.

The analyses of the sexual division of labor, as well as the social representations of gender, can point to the development of new perspectives and actions. For Santos (1996) *apud* Guareschi (2000), alternative social practices will generate new forms of alternative knowledge and new ways of knowing, despite the complexity of reality. Through social representations, one can understand society and gender relations to know the context in which individuals are inserted, as well as the social practices experienced (OLIVEIRA; BRANGION; MAGALHÃES, 2011).

## Methodology

According to Salge, Oliveira and Silva (2021), in documentary research, the documents are a source of data and ground the understanding of phenomena. In this work, of qualitative approach, a research and documentary analysis was carried out from the results of the elections of school managements in the public school network of the Brazilian capital of the years 2008, 2012, 2013, 2016 and 2019, available in the institutional electronic addresses of the State Secretariat of Education of the Federal District (SEEDF, 2016a, 2016b, 2018, 2020), the Center for Selection and Promotion of Events of the University of Brasilia (CESPE, 2008), the Union of Teachers of the Federal District (SINPRO-DF, 2012, 2013, 2016, 2019), the School Censuses (SEEDF, 2018), the Official Gazette of the Federal District (DODF) (Distrito Federal, 2016), as well as complementary bases, such as other government platforms, media (CORREIO BRAZILIENSE, 2012, 2013) and civil society organizations, due to the insufficiency of official sociodemographic information on the elections, such as sex/gender, to characterize the profile of candidates and elected principals in institutional materials.

To analyze the sexual division of teaching work and political participation in the area of public school management, the number of men and women appointed was considered. The survey was divided into seven stages: 1) a survey of the material on the websites; 2) a copy of the approved lists; 3) a survey of the number of directors elected by teaching region; 4) a survey of the number of directors elected by name; 5) a survey of the number of school units with a single slate, without candidacies, non-elected candidacies, impugned candidacies, and annulled candidacies; 6) categorization; and 7) analysis. The first names and last names of women and men were masculine and feminine of universal reference in Western culture, researched in official publications and/or social networks when ambiguous. We also sought to identify the race and ethnicity of the participants.

The inclusion criterion was principals with women's names from the elected slates, and the exclusion criteria were vice-principals with women's names, principals with male names, and data of omitted character, denominated as unidentifiable (NI). In the following steps, the data were analyzed from the perspective of content analysis. The quantitative calculation was done proportionally to the number of schools with elections per teaching region and per year, according to the lists presented in the elections.

## Results and discussion

The models for choosing principals for the DF public schools varied throughout the process. In 2008, there was not enough data presented because the process was mixed and included a test for candidates as a form of selection, unlike subsequent ones. In other years, there were complementary elections for new schools, which were not analyzed in this paper. After that, the election took place directly, by simple majority, by the segments of professionals, students and parents. The procedures for the presentation of candidacies and the composition of the slates for principals, vice-principals and school council, for a three-year term for the public schools of the DF, are contained in the Law of Democratic Management, Law No. 4.751/2012 (DISTRITO FEDERAL, 2012).

It should be noted, however, that no analysis of the dynamic representation of sex/gender of the participants in the elections was performed, since the documentary information considered the nominal identification and not the history or social identity. However, the representation by sex allowed us to portray the sexual division of labor existing in the institution, which has a tradition of feminization in its staff. In the official documents, there was no indication of race or ethnicity of the candidates, nor of the elected managers.

An improvement in the information on the electoral process was observed over the years, especially in the last election. The forms of presentation and the nomenclatures were quite different and particular to each teaching region and to each election. It was verified that there are conflicting data among the documents analyzed, such as the omission of units without candidates, among other situations. The divergences in the number of schools in the census and the number of schools with elections, more or less, can be deduced by the transition between the creation or annexation of the school in another teaching regional.

DF's public education system increased in number of school units in this period (Table 1). The Census showed an increase in the number of schools, from 616 (2008) to 683 (2019), a

growth of the network by 10.9% (SEEDF, 2018). In the comparative analysis of the election tables from 2008 to 2019, the number of school units shown in the election results went from 261 (2008) to 683 (2019), the latter the basis of calculation in this study (Table 1).

**Table 1** – Number of school units, candidate slates, and school principals by gender in the DF school units from 2008-2019

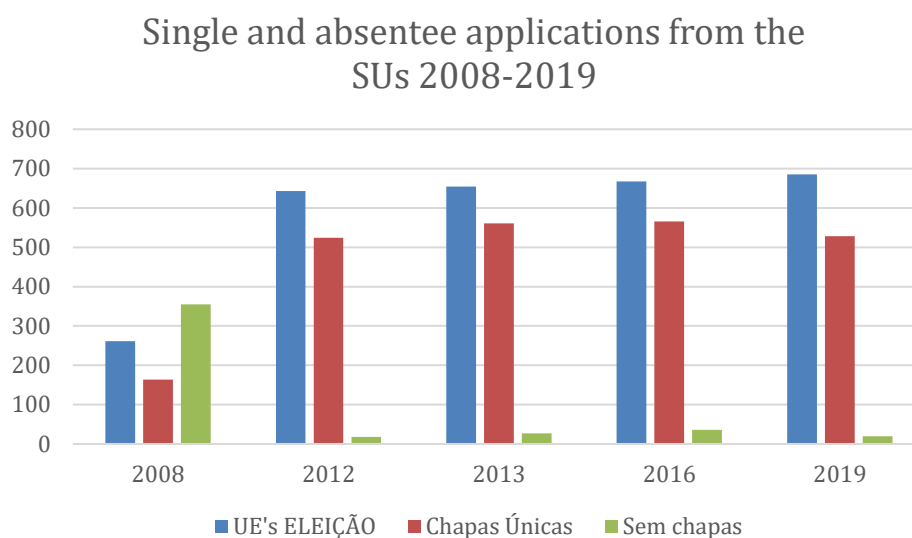
YEA R	Cens us SUs	SUs with electio ns	Lack of application	Single Boards	Boards not elected	Impugned and others	Female Principal s	Male Principal s
	<i>n</i>	<i>n</i>	<i>n</i>	<i>n</i>	<i>n</i>	<i>n</i>	<i>n</i>	<i>n</i>
2008	616	261	355	164	NI	NI	182	79
2012	645	642	14	524	4	6	444	174
2013	651	654	27	561	10	1	419	197
2016	662	667	36	566	14	3	415	199
2019	683	683	20	528	14	3	417	229

Source: Prepared by the authors, based on SEEDF (2016a, 2016b, 2018, 2020), CESPE (2008), SINPRO-DF (2012, 2013, 2016, 2019), Distrito Federal (2016) and Correio Braziliense (2012, 2013).

## Candidate Boards

It was identified the occurrence of a significant number of teaching units that did not present candidacies. An absence of proposing boards over the recorded period from 2012 to 2019 was found to be 57.6% (2008), 2.2% (2012), 4.1% (2013), 5.4% (2016), and 2.9% schools (2019), when the listings were tallied.

The number of application absences was non-significant for percentual results, but was provocative of subjective impacts on school day-to-day life. The results of absentee candidacy and non-referendum nods to disagreements about representation. The non-election by the working group itself leads to non-controllable alternatives, demanding other leadership models, such as delegation to nominate authorities in the hierarchy until new elections, the situation of the models prior to democratic management. Despite the reduction in the last election, these data reveal an unwillingness to take on school leadership positions, suggesting refusal or indifference to dispute and occupy this leadership position, according to the graph below.

**Graph 1** – Status of single nomination and no nomination from public school district units of school management elections between 2008 and 2019<sup>3</sup>

Source: Prepared by the authors, based on SEEDF (2016a, 2016b, 2018, 2020), CESPE (2008) and SINPRO-DF (2012, 2013, 2016, 2019)

A majority of single applications were also observed over the years. In 2008, in a mixed process of proof, title, and project, there were few applications. In 2016, it was found that there were many single boards per school (74.7%). Only 18.9% were double boards, 1% triple boards, and 0.15% quadruple bidders per school. In 2019, only one school unit submitted four boards (0.15%), eight units submitted triple boards (1.2%, among these, two dropped out and one dismissed), 104 boards were double (15.2%), and the majority, 546 (79.7%), single candidacies. A prevalence of single boards apparently points to less dissension and an increase in consensus, which could favor the occupation and holding of office.

At the same time, unelected boards have increased quantitatively, from four (2012) to 14 (2016 and 2019), according to Table 1, which suggests greater rejection of the teachers who have run for office. It can be inferred that the rejection of the proposals of the candidates for the position and, consequently, the non-ascension of the leadership to the position by election may have resulted from the improvement of the electoral process, as well as may be indicative of the existence of possible local conflicts, of a non-positive climate in the work environment, or even of contradictions regarding the exercise of the function. The single formation may also be a positive strategic result, a consequence of the relationships and negotiations in the work

<sup>3</sup> UEs ELEIÇÃO = SUs Elections; Chapas únicas = Single Boards; Sem chapas = No boards

environment. It is assumed that the candidacy proposal should occur after the approval of at least part of the colleagues and/or the community.

The rejection of the candidacy, in a first analysis, points to a lack of consensus in the school community, but it can also be derived from other factors. Of the 14 regional teaching coordination (CREs in the Portuguese acronym), in the 2016 election, four units of a CRE were registered that did not reach the quorum and, in another, two where the boards were not endorsed. In 2019, there were 14 unelected boards and 3 contested ones. The non-approval of peers or the absence of voters from single boards portray diverse motivations or setbacks in the socioprofessional dynamics.

Comparing the percentages, in 2008, the CREs of Guar (91.7%) and Ncleo Bandeirante (85.7%) had the highest rates of women. In 2012, the CREs with the highest percentage of women directors were those of Ncleo Bandeirante, with 84.9%, followed by Guar, with 84.6%. In the 2013 result, the CRE of Guar was with 76.9%, and Brazndia with 76.7% of women directors of school units; in 2016, the percentage grew again in Guar (88.5%) and Brazndia (73.3%). In 2019, Guar and Ncleo Bandeirante had 71.4% women in school management. Regionals were observed with a greater vocation to elect female colleagues, but which did not keep the rates stable; in general, it was downward.

The lowest percentage of women in management in 2008 was in the CRE of Samambaia, with 38.9%. In 2012, the CRE of Gama had 51.1% occupation by women; in 2013, Recanto das Emas had 48%. In 2016, the lowest percentage on the ballot was CRE do Gama, with 52%. In 2019, there were 46.1% in Planaltina, 48.2% in Santa Maria, and 50% in Gama of women directors elected. These are rates lower than or close to 50%, which are indicative of low occupancy and low representation of women in leadership positions in schools.

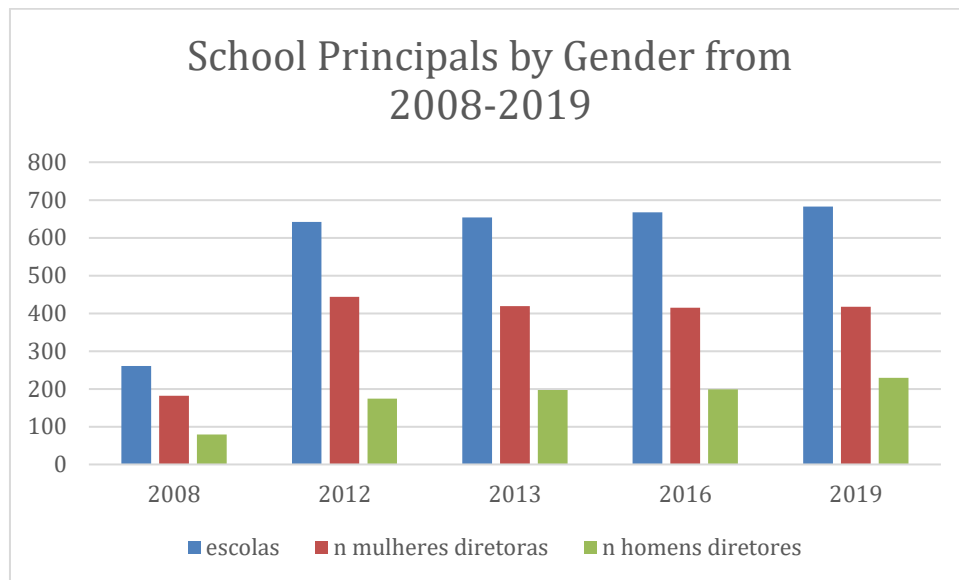
Comparing the percentage results of the elections of principals, proportionally to the number of schools, the number of women directors did not follow, in proportion, the increase in the number of school institutions in the period. In 2008, only 261 school units had candidates approved in the selection process. A total of 182 women candidates were identified as elected directors (69.7%); in the other elections, 69.2% (2012), 64.1% (2013), 62.2% (2016), and 61.1% (2019). Of the five electoral processes, even considering an increase of 67 (10.8%) school units (SEEDF, 2016a, 2016b, 2018, 2020), the decrease of women in school managements was evident.

From the first to the last election, the percentage of male directors increased from 30.3% to 33.5%, while the percentage of women decreased from 69.7% to 61.1%. The entry of male



principals was higher and increasing when comparing the results of the elections of school principals from 2008 to 2019, while the entry of female principals was lower and decreasing, as shown in Graph 2.

**Graph 2** – Number of female and male school principals by year of election from 2008 to 2019<sup>4</sup>



Source: Prepared by the authors, based on SEEDF (2016a, 2016b, 2018, 2020), CESPE (2008) and SINPRO-DF (2012, 2013, 2016, 2019)

It can be deduced that, with the increase in the teaching network and the decrease in the number of women, more male teachers have entered this area of the labor market, possibly due to sociocultural changes and the wage recompositing in recent periods. The way in which the work is organized, such as the conditions for exercising the function, may also not be a positive factor in attracting more women.

Gender equality or inequality can also be analyzed in the upper management positions in the upper administration, dimensions with conflicts of interest and power relations multiplied. Louro (1997, 2004), Souza (2006, 2007), Drabach and Freitas (2012) have pointed to the prevalence of men in decision-making positions in education. In the public education of the DF, the senior administration positions were mostly composed of men in leadership. In the institution, under analysis in the year 2019, a reduced presence of women in key positions was found. Of the six subsecretariats, two (33.3%) were occupied by women and four (66.7%) by men (SEEDF, 2020). The most evident picture can be seen in the regional coordinations

<sup>4</sup>Escolas = schools; n mulheres diretoras = number of female school principals; n homens diretores = number of male school principals

(positions of trust), in which, of the 14 secretaries, 12 were headed by men (85.7%) and only two (14.3%) by women (SEEDF, 2020). No correlation was observed of women managers located at the intermediate level of regional coordination on the percentage of women elected.

Carvalho (2018) analyzed results from the Brazilian school censuses of 2009, 2013, and 2017 and identified a predominance of women in all stages of basic education, but this proportion has been changing. With the progression of the educational stages, the scenario is of a decrease in the number of women and an increase in the number of male teachers. In 2017, the participation of women in early childhood education was 96.6% on average, and in the early years 88.9%, unlike the final years of elementary school and high school, around 68.9% and 59.6%. In early childhood education, the participation of men is below 4%, and in high school, 40%. A higher percentage of men in the teaching profession was also noted in the North region than in the South region. Still, Carvalho (2018) noticed a decrease of Brazilian women teachers in the period 2009-2017 in basic education, from 82.7% to 81%, and in the initial years of elementary education, from 90.9% to 88.9%; specifically in the Midwest, it was from 82.2% to 81.5%.

In DF, the analysis of the 2013 and 2016 election conducted by Freitas (2015, 2017) on the distribution of men and women school managers by teaching modality confirmed the preponderance of women principals in the stages of early childhood education and the early years of elementary school, to the detriment of the final years of elementary school, high school, or special modalities. Souza (2006, 2007) and Vianna (2013) identified that when there are men in the school environment, they tend to occupy the leadership positions. Many men were observed in the role of school manager, even in this segment traditionally associated with care and women.

## **Final remarks**

Although the policies of gender, race and democratic school management as public policies are legally provided, they have not been implemented equally in Brazil, because they are still in the process of construction (SERPA; PETRY, 2017). The inclusion of gender issues, as well as race and ethnicity, and the production of data for analysis aims to give visibility and seek ways to change social and educational practices, knowledge production, formal education, culture, and discriminatory communication (OLIVEIRA; BARROS; SOUZA, 2010).

The definition of the election by sex, this one identified by the social name, and the research in official documents, in social networks and on the internet in general restricted the scope of the identification of the sex/gender dynamic, since the field defined was that of the dominant male norm and heterosexuality, without taking into account specificities, experiences and particularities. The analysis focused on the statistics by sex in the current hegemonic social attribution of men and women, but allowed us to provide important indicators to portray the state of occupation and representation in educational spaces.

Despite their numerical majority in the public network, a decrease of elected women principals in school administrations was noted, comparing the number of schools and the percentage of the five elections, from 69.7% (2008) to 61.1% (2019). Moreover, although they are the majority of professionals in educational spaces, corresponding to 76.3% (SEPLAG, 2016), educational management positions among the highest hierarchies of the institution were not mostly occupied by women. In much of the official documents, racial or ethnic data of education professionals are absent, but it was found the increase in the amount of principals declared to be brown, unlike the national average (INEP, 2018; QEDU, 2018). For Biroli (2018), gender is an acute political issue, and the analysis of the sexual division of labor matters to analyze power relations, gender relations, inequalities and asymmetries in the exercise of influence and, above all, to analyze democracy.

The teaching profession has a tradition of female occupation since the 20th century, especially in early childhood education, where there is a higher concentration of women in management. However, there is a prevalence of men in the occupation of these decision-making spaces, even in groups with a female majority, according to Souza (2006, 2007), Vianna (2013), and Carvalho (2018). For the authors, the change in sociocultural stereotypes influenced the entry of more men in basic education, which, added to changes in the labor market, which made it more restricted, and the improvement of the teaching profession, has resulted in more of them in the teaching profession and, consequently, more occupation of more prestigious positions.

Biroli (2018) showed the relative position of women in Western societies and the low effectiveness of their rights, even the most fundamental ones, compromised by the hierarchies of private life, such as the responsibilities assigned to them, for example domestic work, and the consequences on the public sphere. The data gathered point out that the political participation of women has still been restricted, even in a category of a female majority (constituting almost 80%), because traditionally the occupation of decision-making positions has been given priority to men, preferentially white, followed by black men, white women, and

ultimately black women, which compromises the exercise of democracy by the unequal position of the political subjects.

It was confirmed that there is insufficient disposition for occupation of relational functions and technical-administrative-political-economic-pedagogical complexity, due to the number of absent or unique candidates, which calls for a rethinking of the school management models. In order to modify the social representations of gender and race/ethnicity, diversify the framework of the sexual and racial division of institutional work, and promote the occupation of decision-making positions by more female employees, new ways of organizing the work must be sought.

More recently, census data have surveyed racial and ethnic data to portray population profiles. The absence of the survey of race data in the managerial profile compromises the analysis of specificities and encourages inclusion in the identification. However, in Brazil, historically non-white social groups have had increasing political participation, however, they are not yet constituted as hegemonic, and with this their needs and demands do not equally dispute the political decision-making (BIROLI, 2018).

This perspective coheres the plans and policies for women, meeting its guidelines for a policy of equality in decision-making processes and effective participation in public, civic and political life among people (OLIVEIRA; BARROS; SOUZA, 2010), besides being aligned with the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) of Agenda 2030 (IBGE, 2018b; UN, 2015). The reduction of gender and race/ethnicity inequalities and the consequent underrepresentation in the spheres of public life in the country begin in schools and call on society to redouble the efforts of policies for change.

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