

**INTERGOVERNMENTAL RELATIONS ON THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THE
'BRASIL PROFISSIONALIZADO' PROGRAM: BAHIA'S CASE**

***RELAÇÕES INTERGOVERNAMENTAIS NA IMPLEMENTAÇÃO DO PROGRAMA
BRASIL PROFISSIONALIZADO: O CASO DA BAHIA***

***RELACIONES INTERGUBERNAMENTALES EN LA IMPLEMENTACIÓN DEL
PROGRAMA BRASIL PROFESIONALIZADO: EL CASO DE BAHÍA***

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ABSTRACT: This paper has per object analyze the implementation of the Brasil Profissionalizado (Professionalized Brazil, in loose translation) program and problematize the role of intergovernmental relations formed for its concretion, from a case study on the state of Bahia (2007-2020). Starting from a documental analysis, it is sought to comprehend how the cooperation between the federate entities, observed in the pact instruments documentation, influenced on the implementation of the said program. For such, the theoretical contributions from Leonardo Secchi, about the cycle of politics; Gabriela Lotta, about the implementation of politics; Sônia Draibe, about the subprocesses of implementation, and Marta Arretche, about the influence of intergovernmental relations on program implementations, were used. The results show the obstacles between formulators and implementers of the program, which practically made the initial proposal of the government of Bahia and the importance of the technical assistance function of the Union unfeasible. It is considered that the PBP implementation process in the State of Bahia had obstacles both at the federal and state levels, with marked traits of absence of cooperation mechanisms between the federated entities in the resolution of pending issues identified during the execution.

KEYWORDS: Federalism. Public policies implementation. Intergovernmental relations. Programa Brasil Profissionalizado.

RESUMO: *Objetiva analisar a implementação do Programa Brasil Profissionalizado e problematizar o papel das relações intergovernamentais para sua concretização a partir do estudo de caso no Estado da Bahia (2007-2020). Por meio de análise documental, buscou-se compreender de que modo a cooperação entre os entes federados, influenciou na implementação do referido programa. Para tanto, utilizou-se as contribuições teóricas de Leonardo Secchi sobre o ciclo de políticas, Gabriela Lotta sobre a implementação de políticas,*

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Sônia Draibe sobre os subprocessos de implementação e Marta Arretche acerca da influência das relações intergovernamentais na implementação de programas. Os resultados evidenciam os entraves entre formuladores e implementadores do programa, e a importância da função de assistência técnica da União. Considera-se que o processo de implementação do PBP no Estado da Bahia teve obstáculos tanto no nível federal quanto no nível estadual, com traços marcantes de ausência de mecanismos de cooperação entre os entes federados.

PALAVRAS-CHAVE: *Federalismo. Implementação de políticas públicas. Relações intergovernamentais. Programa Brasil Profissionalizado.*

RESUMEN: *El artículo tiene como objetivo analizar la implementación del Programa Brasil Profesionalizado y problematizar el papel de las relaciones intergubernamentales para su implementación a partir del estudio de caso en el estado de Bahía (2007-2020). Con base en el análisis de documentos, buscamos comprender cómo la cooperación entre las entidades federativas, observada en la documentación de los instrumentos de acuerdo, influyó en la implementación de ese programa. Para ello, se utilizaron los aportes teóricos de Leonardo Secchi sobre el ciclo de políticas, Gabriela Lotta sobre la implementación de políticas, Sônia Draibe sobre los subprocessos de implementación y Marta Arretche sobre la influencia de las relaciones intergubernamentales en la implementación de programas. Los resultados muestran los obstáculos entre los formuladores y los ejecutores del programa, que prácticamente hicieron inviable la propuesta inicial del gobierno de Bahía y la importancia de la función de asistencia técnica de la Unión. Se considera que el proceso de implementación del PBP en el Estado de Bahía tuvo obstáculos tanto a nivel federal como estatal, con marcados rasgos de ausencia de mecanismos de cooperación entre las entidades federativas en la resolución de los asuntos pendientes identificados durante la ejecución.*

PALABRAS CLAVE: *Federalismo. Implementación de políticas públicas. Relaciones Intergubernamentales. Programa Brasil Profesionalizado.*

Introduction

The Federal Constitution of 1988 (BRAZIL, 1988) defined that the Federative Republic of Brazil is formed by the indissoluble union of States and Municipalities and the Federal District (DF), as governed by Article 1 and opted for the model of cooperative federalism. This model implies the sharing of responsibilities among the federated entities in which they have autonomy and, at the same time, must act cooperatively through intergovernmental relations, aiming to ensure the exercise of the rights described in this Charter.

The constitutional determinations (BRAZIL, 1988) have stimulated the creation of several social policies and programs with the aim of guaranteeing the universal rights of citizens. These policies and programs were shaped through the federative coordination of the

Federal Government, using several mechanisms for the implementation of the formulated guidelines. For Segatto (2012), some of these coordination mechanisms are the redistribution of resources, national regulation, and the establishment of national standards, which aim to ensure equity throughout the national territory through public policies and programs.

Public policies and programs, though interdependent, are different. They are interdependent to the extent that they both express guidelines to be adopted. Policies can be understood as an institutionalized proposal to solve a central problem and are implemented through programs (LASSANCE, 2021). Programs are the ways in which guidelines should be operationalized, that is, they are strategies to solve the problem, hence their close relationship with the analysis of policy implementation (BERNARDES; GUARESCHI, 2007; LASSANCE, 2021).

Public policies and programs in Brazil are created along the lines of cooperative federalism, which implies the distribution of responsibilities and constant dialogue among the entities. Nevertheless, conflicts, dilemmas, and challenges are inherent to federalism, since they are articulated to the intergovernmental relations structured in each federation (ANDERSON, 2009).

Thus, the analysis of public policies and programs must consider the federative dynamics. In this article, we start from the perspective that implementation is not a process determined by the design of a policy, but depends on intergovernmental relations established by the bureaucrats involved in this process, which encourage the commitment of the federated entities in the realization of public policies and programs.

In these terms, the purpose of this article is to "analyze the implementation of the *Brasil Profissionalizado* Program (PBP in the Portuguese acronym) and problematize the role of intergovernmental relations for its realization, based on the case study in the State of Bahia in the period between 2007 and 2020.

The PBP is a federal program created by the Ministry of Education (MEC), through Decree No. 6.302/2007 (BRAZIL, 2007a), aiming to stimulate the state offer of high school integrated to professional education. This program had a significant adherence of Brazilian states, because of the 27 units of the federation, only Amazonas and Rondônia were not included with the actions of this policy.³ Between 2007 and 2017, the PBP had a total value of

³ The data presented in the article on the PBP in Brazil and in Bahia correspond to the systematization (carried out by the authors) of information granted by the MEC, requested in the electronic site of the Integrated Ombudsman and Information Access Platform, through Manifestation No. 23480.013744/2020-96.

R\$2.1 billion, including about 736 educational institutions with renovation, expansion, and construction throughout the country.

However, its implementation presented problems in different locations. The Federal Audit Court (2015) identified delayed, stalled or cancelled construction works, inadequate projects, unused material and lack of accountability of the states with funds received from the federal government for the PBP. This situation was also found in case studies in the states of Espírito Santo (PAZOLINI, 2018), Alagoas (SILVA, 2014), and Rio Grande do Norte (SILVA, 2016).

This article analyzes the case of Bahia, with emphasis on the variables of intergovernmental relations between the Federal Government and the state government. The data presented were organized and systematized from documents granted by MEC, requested on the electronic site of the Integrated Ombudsman and Information Access Platform (e-SIC), through Manifestation No. 23480.013744/2020-96 (BRAZIL, 2020), in which were made available, among others, the scanned Process No. 23400.004954/2009 (BRAZIL, 2009b), which deals with the process of implementation of the PBP in the State of Bahia for reform and expansion of school units of the state network.

Through documentary analysis of a primary source, that is, of a material that has not yet received analytical treatment and in order to interpret, synthesize information and make inferences (SÁ-SILVA; ALMEIDA; GUINDANI, 2009), the aforementioned process was analyzed emphasizing the variables of intergovernmental relations between the Federal Government and the state government of Bahia in the implementation of the PBP.

To this end, we used the theoretical contributions of Secchi (2010) on the policy cycle, Lotta (2019) on policy implementation, Draibe (2001) on implementation subprocesses, and Arretche (2001) on the influence of intergovernmental relations on program implementation.

The text is divided into four parts, in addition to this introduction and concluding remarks. The first section discusses the policy cycle, highlighting the stage of implementation of public policies; the second, the implementation of federal programs; the third, the relationship between the PBP and intergovernmental relations regarding the aspects related to the purposes of the Federal Government and adherence of the states and; the fourth section, analyzes the implementation of PBP in the state of Bahia, highlighting the difficulties of formulators and implementers at the federal level and at the state level, as well as the importance of technical assistance from the Union.

Implementation of public policies

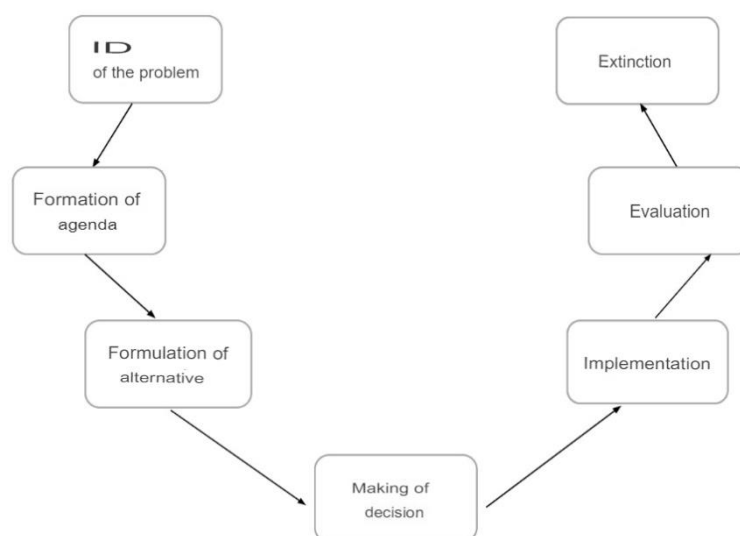
Public policies are designed to address certain problems that are relevant to the community. They are formulated by the state power and rely on the action of bureaucrats and the instruments of state action for their implementation (LOTTA, 2019).

The bibliography indicates several possibilities for policy analysis, such as John Kingdon's (1997) multiple flow model, Klaus' (2000) policy analysis model, and Paul Sabatier's (1988) advocacy coalition model. Despite the various models, we can consider common to all the phases of formulation, implementation, and evaluation of a policy.

Studies on policy implementation take as their starting point the idea that policies can be analyzed as a cycle composed of different phases (LOTTA, 2019). Thus, these studies resort to the classification instituted by the policy cycle and allow analyzing its dimensions in an isolated and/or articulated manner. In this research, we address the policy cycle proposed by Secchi (2010).

According to the systematization performed by the author, the policy cycle can be summarized in seven main phases: a) problem identification, b) agenda formation, c) formulation of alternatives, d) decision making, e) implementation, f) evaluation, and g) extinction.

Figure 1 – Policy Cycle



Source: Secchi (2010, p. 33). Adapted by the authors

The policy cycle refers to the life of a policy, which is composed of sequential and interdependent phases, but they do not always reflect the real dynamics of a policy, because the

phases may mix and change the sequence of Figure 1 (SECCHI, 2010). Nevertheless, the policy cycle allows the complexity of a policy to be simplified, contributing to its analysis.

The implementation of public policy is the phase after decision making and before evaluation efforts. It is in this phase that the concrete milestones of the public policy are operationalized (SECCHI, 2010). In general, studies on policy implementation seek to define variables that explain the success or failure of its execution (LIMA; D'ANCENZI, 2013).

Studies on the implementation of public policies advanced from the 1970s in the United States and Europe, pointing out the need for systematization and deepening of this phase of the policy cycle. Such studies began to highlight that, for various reasons, "the actions of public bureaucracies are not neutral" and that implementation involves "[...] choices and decisions made by non-elected agents, namely public bureaucracies" (FARIA, 2012, p. 08-09).

Among the published works, the work of Pressman; Wildavsky (1973), is considered one of the milestones for the advancement in the field of studies on implementation, given that they define it as an interactive process between the proposed objectives and the actions to achieve them. The authors highlighted the problematic nature of the implementation process of public policies, seeking to elucidate why and how implementation failures occur, which often result in their failure.

Over the decades, advances in studies on public policy implementation have indicated several models of analysis (Top-Down; Bottom-Up, alternative models and multiple models) (LOTTA, 2019). This research is situated in the frameworks of multiple models that include different approaches of analysis such as: governance, instruments of public action, relationship between state and non-state actors, new institutional arrangements, coordination systems, state capacities, and multinational processes (LOTTA, 2019).

Implementation of federal programs

Implementation is the moment that the formulated plans will become reality and depends heavily on the action of bureaucrats and the instruments of state action (LOTTA, 2019). This phase seeks to understand the differences between what was formulated, what was executed, and the role played by different agents in this process of transformation of public policies.

However, there are many examples of programs that are not implemented or are implemented partially and of policies that end up being distorted (SECCHI, 2010). The study on this phase of public policies is necessary because it seeks to visualize the obstacles and

failures that usually occur in the implementation process, considering the different actors and government levels, making this process even more complex. Arretche (2001, p. 47) points out that the creation of a program expresses the "result of a complex combination of decisions made by several agents. The existence of a program comes from a series of articulations that do not occur in isolation, but are the result of agreements between different formulators.

The author warns that the formulation of a program involves different interests that also interfere in its execution, and may compromise the achievement of its objectives. As for implementation, this can be understood as "a game in which the central authority seeks to induce agents (implementers) to put into practice objectives and strategies" (ARRETCHE, 2001, p. 47). Thus, to obtain adherence and "obedience" to program objectives, the central authority can develop a range of incentive strategies for subnational governments.

When dealing with the sub-processes of implementation, Draibe (2001) indicates that every policy or program is supported by an organizational structure and are subject to a management and decision-making system.

Thus, one must consider the hierarchical structure, the degree of centralization or decentralization, the autonomy or dependence between the parties, the time management characteristics, and the ability to implement decisions. Draibe (2001) highlights that it is important to understand the nature and attributes of the authorities that conduct the process for a better understanding of the implementation process.

In view of these points and considering that cooperative federalism presupposes a sharing of responsibilities and a democratic political order, with effective participation of the federative units, we will now analyze the PBP.

Intergovernmental Relations in the *Brasil Profissionalizado* Program

The *Brasil Profissionalizado* Program (PBP) was created in the list of federal programs, launched in 2007, and was established by Decree No. 6.302/2007 (BRAZIL, 2007a). According to this decree, the states, the Federal District and the municipalities interested in submitting proposals to join the program must formalize the signing of the All for Education Commitment Goal Plan (PMTPE)⁴ and assemble its work plan according to the Articulated Actions Plan (PAR in the Portuguese acronym).

The PBP was developed by the MEC and, according to Decree No. 6.302/2007 (BRAZIL, 2007a), aims to stimulate the supply of high school integrated to professional education in the state networks aiming at the articulation between general education and professional education considering the productive arrangements and the local and regional vocations, according to Article 1. To this end, the program provides for the construction, renovation, expansion, and modernization of state technical schools, laboratories, training and qualification of professionals, and the supply of teaching resources.

Created and coordinated by the Union, the PBP allocates financial resources (99%) and technical assistance to the states, but depends on the direct action of subnational governments for its operation, since they must bear a counterpart of resources (1%), as well as manage, supervise and ensure the implementation of agreed objects. According to the MEC's website, the states interested in joining the PBP must prepare action plans, according to the PAR, taking into account the project guidelines formulated by the coordination of the National Fund for Education Development (FNDE in the Portuguese acronym). To implement the program, the MEC, through the Secretariat of Vocational and Technological Education (SETEC), is the managing institution, while the FNDE, an agency of the MEC, assumes the role of grantor, representing the Union. The states, as grantors, are represented by the State Secretariats of Technological Education.

Thus, the implementation of this program is conditional on the full articulation of the entities and the fulfillment of the duties delegated to each through the conclusion of Agreements and Terms of Commitment between the states, Federal District and municipalities and the FNDE, as representative of the central government.

The PBP has had significant national adherence. Between 2007 and 2017, 135 agreements were signed across the country, 107 of which were by means of agreements and 28

⁴ Decree 6.094/2007 (BRAZIL, 2007b).

by Term of Commitment, contemplating about 736 educational institutions with agreements that covered reform, expansion and construction of schools.

These agreements amounted to a total value of R\$2.1 billion, which shows the considerable investment of resources for the implementation of this program in order to expand the supply of integrated high school education in Brazil.

Analyzing the investment per region, the Northeast region stands out, since, of the amount of R\$2.1 billion, R\$1 billion was in this region, which corresponded to 51.1%, that is, more than half of the total resources in the whole country. Moreover, this region also showed supremacy in relation to the number of agreements, both by Agreement and by Term of Commitment, which corresponded to 43.7% of the national total.

Based on these indicators, this article sought to analyze the implementation of the PBP in the state of Bahia, considering that it is the largest state in the region, with an area of 1,558,000 km², representing 18% of Brazilian territory. Moreover, Bahia has 15 million inhabitants, which places it as the 4th largest state in terms of population, behind São Paulo, Minas Gerais and Rio de Janeiro, and the demographic density is extremely uneven, with Salvador and Feira de Santana as the most populous municipalities among the 417 existing (G1 BA, 2021).

Furthermore, we consider the educational situation of the state to be relevant, particularly the high school situation, according to a study by the Bahia State Education Forum, released in 2020, with data from the years prior to the suspension of classes due to the Covid-19 Pandemic. According to this study, a large part of the population between 15 and 17 years old was not in school and the attendance rate was decreasing. (FÓRUM ESTADUAL DE EDUCAÇÃO DA BAHIA, 2020⁵).

In relation to high school integrated to professional education, the document states that it is a policy of the State of Bahia, but that the trend of implementation is still very insufficient, and that high school education focuses on propaedeutic training, demonstrating the impact that the PBP could have in the expansion of this stage of education in an integrated manner.

⁵ Available at: <http://www.feeba.uneb.br>. Access on: 03 Apr. 2022.

The implementation of the Professionalized Brazil Program in the State of Bahia (BA) (2007-2020)

In the analyzed period (2007 to 2020), the State of Bahia signed, through the PBP, four agreements: two in 2008 (No. 750011 and 750028), two in 2009 (No. 657621 and 658378) and a term of commitment (No. 201403302) in 2014, totaling five agreements in the state, with total investment of R\$ 57.6 million.

Table 1 – Pactuations in the State of Bahia through PBP

State	Number	Year	Type	Object
BA	750011	2008	Agreement	Infrastructure
BA	750028	2008	Agreement	Generic
BA	657621	2009	Agreement	Infrastructure
BA	658378	2009	Agreement	Generic
BA	201403302	2014	Term of Commitment	Generic

Source: Prepared by the authors based on data made available by MEC (Manifest nº 23480.013744/2020-96) (BRAZIL, 2020)).

The objects of agreement are defined as generic (teaching materials, training of professionals, furniture and equipment) and infrastructure objects (construction, expansion and renovation of teaching units).

With regard to the generic targets, MEC informed that there is no detailed consolidated data that could be made available. Regarding the infrastructure objects, a detailing was made available with the description of the total resources per state and the status of the works, according to the report of the last inspection, allowing the identification of completed works, cancelled works, unfinished works, stalled works and works in progress.

This study will analyze the Process No. 23400.004954/2009 (BRAZIL, 2009b), which details the procedures for the implementation of the PBP in the state of Bahia and, specifically, the Agreement No. 657621 that corresponds to the infrastructure works, with its developments until the year 2020. This was based on the documentation made available by the MEC, because, although we requested access to all agreements, only this process (Bahia) was granted electronically.

As described in this process, during 2009, the Secretary of Education of Bahia submitted to the General Coordination of Special Projects of FNDE, 28 architectural proposals for the implementation of laboratories, renovation and expansion, 14 proposals through the Official Letter No. 213/09; 2 proposals through the Official Letter No. 215/09 and 12 proposals through the Official Letter No. 431/2009.

The sending Offices (Nos. 213/09, 215/09 and 431/09) sent by the Education Secretary of the State of Bahia to the FNDE indicated that the projects were in accordance with the recommendations of the MEC and presented the following elements: Forwarding Letter, Dominiality Document, Photographic Report, Location Plan, Situation Plan, Descriptive Table of Courses/Laboratories, Floor Plan, Descriptive Memorial, Budget and Physical-Financial Schedule (Process No. 23400.004954/2009, p. 14) (BRASIL, 2009b).

The total value of these initial requests to the FNDE was R\$11.6 million. After analysis by FNDE's technical team, it was found that 11 units did not present the requirements and the land documentation required by this autarchy for the execution of the agreement, and, therefore, were not included in the process. In addition, another 5 units were transferred to another agreement and we did not find, in the process, the justification for this.

Thus, the FNDE's team was favorable to the State of Bahia's proposal of 12 units, with an amount corresponding to R\$2 million for renovation and R\$3.3 million for expansion of the school units. Therefore, the total amount agreed upon was R\$5.3 million, with the Union being responsible for funding 99% of the resources and the State of Bahia, a counterpart of 1%, as described in the Agreement.

On December 29, 2009, Agreement no. 657621/2009 was signed between the FNDE and the State of Bahia for the renovation and expansion of 12 school units, with a term of 540 days from the date the agreement was signed, with a probable conclusion date by June 21, 2010.

The approval of the resources took place in December 2009, but their release depended on legal analysis, exceptionally after the signing of the agreement, which was only done in December 2010, by the Federal Attorney General's Office (PGU in the Portuguese acronym), through the Opinion No. 1.660/2010, attached to the Process No. 23400.004954/2009, (BRAZIL, 2009b), and until then, the works had not been started..

The Opinion pointed out several inconsistencies in the documentation provided by the State of Bahia regarding the school units to be funded, such as a) work plan in which there were no stages or phases of execution of the application of financial resources, as well as indication of the conclusion of the programmed stages or phases; b) absence of the basic project, elementary piece for the release of the first installment of the resources; c) proof of regularity regarding the proof of the full exercise of the property ownership by the FNDE's Attorney's Office; d) technical analysis with opinions that did not meet the requirements of Annex I of Resolution CD/FNDE No. 19/2009 (FNDE, 2009); d) lack of formalization of the term of adherence to the "Everyone for Education Commitment" and the commitment to take *the Prova*

Brasil (Brazil Exams), required for entering into agreements under the PDE under art. 10, §1, of Decree No. 6.094/2007 (BRAZIL, 2007b) and; e) lack of proof, by the FNDE, that it had the structure to monitor and supervise the implementation of the object, lacking in the records, the designation of the representative to monitor the implementation of the agreement.

Based on this opinion, issued by the Federal Attorney General's Office, the FNDE communicated the PGU's findings to the Bahia State Department of Education, requesting a statement and the resolution of the pending issues within its competence. Since then, the Education Department of the State of Bahia had been trying to solve the pending issues indicated, but without success.

These technical obstacles should have been observed even before the signing of the Agreement, since the findings of the PGU indicated that several minimum requirements for the covenant and the release of financial resources had not been met, demonstrating an administrative and technical weakness of the FNDE itself, as the formulator and implementer of this program (NOVATO; NAJBERG; LOTTA, 2020).

In June 2011, the General Coordination of Programs for the Development of Education questioned the Directorate of Educational Programs (DIRPE), through a letter, the role of the FNDE against the large volume of agreements signed by this autarchy. It highlighted the losses to the execution of the agreements considering, among others, the insufficiency of FNDE's technicians in the responsible areas and the technical capacity of the contractors and other sectors, which were also part of the execution process and interfered in the realization of its stages, as shown in the following excerpts:

The FNDE, in order to enable the implementation of educational policies defined by the Ministry of Education, each year, has been taking on the implementation of new educational programs and projects, using the modality of voluntary transfer of financial resources via agreements, **without, however, increasing the technical staff of the areas responsible for the stages of the implementation process** in the same proportion, causing an overload of work.

Due to the **mismatch between factors such as volume and diversity of demands, technical-operational capacity and the obligation to enforce the legal provisions, other sectors that are also part of the execution process, interfere in the stages of the process, making it dense and less rapid, impacting even the unfeasibility of the conclusion of the object agreed upon.**

Furthermore, **the process of execution of voluntary transfers is recurrently hindered by factors motivated by the grantor. Many of the municipalities do not have qualified personnel to manage the agreements, which results in the non-observance of legal procedures to be adopted for the extension of the term, especially in relation to compliance with deadlines.**

In all signed agreements there is a specific clause about the validity and the conditions for the request of its extension, on the part of the covenants. However, **part of the signed agreements have their deadlines expired, without there being enough time to formalize the necessary legal procedures.**

[...] Although these preventive mechanisms are in full operation, **a significant number of agreements**, especially those involving construction works, expansion or renovation of public buildings, **have their deadlines expired due to inertia of the covenanting party or lack of sufficient time for analysis of the extension instrument**, as explained above (Case No.: 23034.000712/2010-17, sheet 824, 2011, p. 53, Volume V - our emphasis).

The excerpts highlighted above show that the implementation of the PBP in the state of Bahia has been hampered by both federal entities responsible for its implementation. As for the grantor (FNDE), the large volume of agreements signed and the absence of technicians responsible for monitoring each stage were highlighted, among others. In relation to the grantor (State of Bahia), the insufficient number of qualified personnel to manage the agreements was also highlighted, which caused the non-compliance with legal procedures and the compliance with deadlines.

Furthermore, it is worth mentioning that the technical capacity of the municipalities was questioned. However, this federative entity was not included as a direct participant in the Agreement No. 657621/2009 (signed between the FNDE and the State of Bahia) (BRAZIL, 2009a), which indicates the necessary articulation of subnational governments through intergovernmental relations for the implementation of federal programs, since the implementation goes through all instances directly or indirectly.

The implementation process of the PBP in Bahia faced several obstacles at both the federal and state levels, which resulted in numerous requests for extension of the term of Agreement No. 657621/2009 (BRAZIL, 2009a).

In May 2011, the State Department of Education requested the first Term Amendment to extend the deadline (Official Letter No. 136/2011) for another 365 days, on the grounds that the funds from the first installment of the agreement were only released in February 2011. Thus, the new deadline became June 2012.

In March 2012, the second Additional Term was requested (Official Letter no. 69/2012) and extended the deadline for another 365 days. The justification for this was that the procedures for the execution of the amount were in progress. Therefore, after the bidding process, the new deadline is now June 2013.

The third Additional Term, requested (Official Letter No. 82/2013) in March 2013, extended the deadline for another 500 days, with a new date until November 2014, in which the

state secretariat presented as justification to the FNDE the argument that two units had already completed the bidding process, four units were in the preparation phase of technical documents, and two others were in the process of regularizing their respective ownerships (Official Letter No. 82/2013).

After requesting three Additive Terms for the extension of the term and due to the impossibility of resolving certain pending issues, in July 2013, the covenantor opted to exclude 6 units that had already been covered by the agreement and in November 2013, requested the exclusion of one more unit. Among the justifications cited is the lack of space for laboratory implementation, schools that did not offer professional education, pending ownership and implementation of expansion and reform modules (BRAZIL, 2009a).

The state secretariat pointed out that the work plan had been formalized in 2009, seeking to meet the reality of that time. Therefore, due to the time lapse (2009 to 2013), there was a need for change and alteration in the plan, with significant reduction of the initial objectives outlined.

It is worth noting that Agreement No. 657621 was signed on December 29, 2009 (BRASIL, 2009a) and had an initial duration of 540 days for the completion of the works. By analyzing Process 23400.004954/2009 (BRAZIL, 2009b), we found that, by 2020, 11 Term Additive Terms had been formalized in an attempt to resolve outstanding issues and ensure the execution of the objects⁶.

However, the various requests for an extension of the deadline for the execution of the works were insufficient, since the irregularities were not completely solved. More than 10 years after the initial date of the agreement, we found that most of the works were not concluded, indicating a complex process of implementation, with several obstacles and without success.

Of the 12 units that had been included in the agreement for renovation and expansion, 7 were cancelled and excluded from the pact; 1 was paralyzed with 47.2% of execution (C.E. EP do Paraguaçu); 2 were in the contracting phase (C. E Presidente Costa e Silva and C.E Luís Viana) and only 2 had been completed (C.E Constantino Catarino de Souza and C.E Joaquim da Rocha Medeiros), demonstrating a very distant execution from the initial design signed in the pact between the FNDE and the State of Bahia.

⁶ In relation to the values of the referred works, they had already been paid by the covenantor, so the Infrastructure Coordination Office oriented that these resources should be returned and corrected, on the occasion of the rendering of accounts of the referred Agreement, as well as the financial application, referring to the amount of all cancelled actions, should also be returned to the treasury as an update of the value (Case No. 23400.004954/2009, BRAZIL, 2009b, p. 113).

Final remarks

The objective of this article was to analyze the implementation of the Professionalized Brazil Program and problematize the role of intergovernmental relations for its realization based on the case study in the State of Bahia.

In general, the article showed that the implementation process of the PBP in the State of Bahia had obstacles both at the federal and state levels, with marked traces of absence of cooperation mechanisms between the federated entities in the resolution of pending issues identified during implementation.

Specifically, the research showed that the state government bureaucrats did not observe or had technical difficulties to insert relevant documents from the process, such as the complete work plan, proof of ownership of the land, besides the lack of formalization of terms of commitment. At the federal level, we highlight the lack of technicians responsible for monitoring and supervising programs in the FNDE, as well as the expiration of deadlines for agreements, especially those involving works in public buildings, without the federated entities being warned, which caused them to be halted or cancelled, as found in the document analysis of Process No. 23400.004954/2009 (BRAZIL, 2009b).

Thus, technical and bureaucratic factors at the level of intergovernmental relations distanced the PBP's formulators and implementers at the federal level from the implementers in the state of Bahia, indicating fragility in cooperation and collaboration between the entities in the implementation of this program. Although the State of Bahia showed initial common interest with the MEC regarding the implementation of the PBP, in view of its adherence to the program as a public policy, the technical difficulties stood out and the FNDE did not know or could not guarantee the technical assistance function of the Union, as established in Article 211 of the FC of 1988 (BRAZIL, 1988).

Regarding the adherence of the PBP by the State of Bahia, between 2008 and 2014, five agreements were signed, four agreements and one term of commitment, with an allocation of R\$ 57.1 million by the federal government. Given the vast territory and the immense challenges of expanding the supply of high school education in the state of Bahia (integrated or not with professional education), it seems to us that this would be a public policy that would at least have an impact on expanding the supply and reducing the precariousness of this stage of education.

However, what we can see in the implementation phase, as in the example of the agreement nº 657621/2009 (BRAZIL, 2009a), is a trend of non-effectiveness of this program, caused, among other factors, by technical and bureaucratic obstacles at the state and federal levels and by the fragility of intergovernmental relations, which drastically reduced the final potential of the PBP.

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