

**SIGNALING OF SCHOOLS AND MUNICIPALITIES IN THE CONTEXT OF IDEB
2019: PRELIMINARY ATTEMPT TO READ IDEB-2019**

**SINALIZAÇÕES DAS ESCOLAS E MUNICÍPIOS NO CONTEXTO DO IDEB 2019:
TENTATIVA PRELIMINAR DE LEITURA DO IDEB-2019**

**SEÑALES DE ESCUELAS Y MUNICIPIOS EN EL CONTEXTO DE IDEB 2019:
INTENTO PRELIMINAR DE LEER IDEB-2019**

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ABSTRACT: A preliminary analysis of Ideb 2019 was carried out, taking advantage of its launch in the third week of September 2020 (INEP/MEC, 2020. Ideb, 2020). We will focus on the behavior of Mato Grosso do Sul, as far as possible and comparatively. Some indications have already been noted, such as an advance in high school from 2017 to 2019, perhaps because of the High School Reform, which, while maintaining the same instruction, has messed with the system. Some states stood out, with Ceará now having a great rival, Goiás, and advocating the importance of municipal and local movement. It should be noted, however, that the recent advance draws attention because the high school showed, in the historical series, the already known delay; in itself, the advance was small and is very far from the request of the BNCC to "recreate the school".

KEYWORDS: IDEB. Education. School. BNCC.

RESUMO: Elaboramos uma análise preliminar do Ideb 2019, aproveitando seu lançamento nessa terceira semana de setembro de 2020 (INEP/MEC, 2020. Ideb, 2020). Vamos focar o comportamento de MS, até onde possível e comparativamente. Algumas indicações já foram anotadas, como um avanço no EM de 2017 para 2019, talvez por conta da Reforma do EM que, mesmo mantendo o mesmo instrucionismo, mexeu com o sistema. Alguns estados se destacaram, tendo agora o Ceará um grande rival, Goiás, e preconizando a importância da movimentação municipal e local. Note-se, porém, que o avanço recente chama a atenção porque o EM mostrava, na série histórica, leseira já marcada; em si, o avanço foi pequeno e está muito longe da solicitação da BNCC de "recriação da escola".

PALAVRAS-CHAVE: IDEB. Educação. Escola. BNCC.

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RESUMEN: Preparamos un análisis preliminar de Ideb 2019, aprovechando su lanzamiento en la tercera semana de septiembre de 2020 (INEP/MEC, 2020. Ideb, 2020). Me centraré en el comportamiento de Mato Grosso do Sul, en la medida de lo posible y comparativamente. Ya se han observado algunos indicios, como el avance de la enseñanza secundaria de 2017 a 2019, tal vez debido a la reforma de la enseñanza secundaria, que, aunque mantiene la misma instrucción, ha alterado el sistema. Algunos estados se destacaron, siendo Ceará ahora un gran rival, Goiás, y defendiendo la importancia del movimiento municipal y local. Cabe señalar, sin embargo, que el reciente avance llama la atención porque la escuela secundaria mostró, en la serie histórica, una lesión ya marcada; en sí mismo, el avance fue pequeño y está muy lejos de la petición de la BNCC de "recrear la escuela".

PALABRAS CLAVE: IDEB. Educación. Colegio. BNCC.

Introduction

It is possible to read in Ideb-2019 a message from the school and municipal base, which had already been foreshadowed in previous periods, as in the results of Ceará municipalities, with a historical highlight for Sobral (DEMO, 2017): education is conducted better locally or municipally. Sobral, according to data from 2019, occupies the 11th place for the 5th year and the 10th for the 9th year of Elementary Education (EE)³. It was still the most populous municipality (more than 200 thousand inhabitants) in this group of municipalities.

Chart 1 – Ranking of the best municipalities in IDEB-2019, 5th and 9th year of EE

5 th year of EE					9 th year of EF				
Position	City	State	Population	Ideb-2019	Position	City	State	Population	Ideb-2019
1	Mucambo	CE	14.537	9,4	1	Pires Ferreira	CE	10.216	7,8
2	Independência	CE	26.178	9,1	2	Novo Oriente	CE	27.461	7,7
3	Coruripe	AL	56.933	8,9	3	Coruripe	AL	56.933	7,2
4	Janiópolis	PR	6.536	8,8	-	Jequié da Praia	AL	11.887	7,2
5	Milhã	CE	13.078	8,7	5	Jijoca de Jericoacoara	CE	19.587	7,0
6	Martinópolis	CE	10.220	8,6	-	Mucambo	CE	14.537	7,0
7	Pireis Ferreira	CE	10.216	8,5	7	Ararendá	CE	10.500	6,9
-	Serranópolis do Iguaçú	PR	4.513	8,5	-	Catunda	CE	10.342	6,9

³ Available: https://pt.wikipedia.org/wiki/Lista_de_munic%C3%ADpios_do_Brasil_por_IDEB. Access: 10 Sep. 2020.

9	Iporã do Oeste	SC	8.930	8,4	-	Cruz	CE	22.686	6,9
-	Picada Café	RS	5.564	8,4	-	Sobral	CE	210.711	6,9
-	Sobral	CE	210.711	8,4					
-	Teotônio Vilela	AL	44.667	8,4					

Source: Wikipédia⁴

And Ceará held 8 of the 10 first places for the 9th year of EE, with Alagoas the other two, both northeastern states. In the 5th year, in the 12 municipalities shown, half are from Ceará, including the first two places (Mucambo, with Ideb of 9.4; Independência, with Ideb of 9.1). This pioneering spirit in Ceará today found some rivals, as we will see in this analysis, especially Espírito Santo and Goiás, but with the same message: education is better managed at the base. The quite common thesis that it would be more effective to federalize basic education, because many municipalities would not have the minimum conditions to cope, is justified, because, in fact, there are many municipalities that are just political fiction, but cannot be seen linearly, considering that at the top there are municipalities in regions that are poorly developed, but extremely innovative. The comparison of municipalities always commits inconsistencies, because it reflects very different socio-historical and economic conditions, as it is to compare the municipality of São Paulo (capital of the most important state in the country) with some municipality in the interior of Amazonas. Size, however, may not be translated in quality and should not obscure the fact that, in a well-managed inland municipality, relevant educational results can be achieved, even though the most common rule by far is insufficient instructional-oriented performance (DEMO, 2020).

Chart 2 shows the historical series from 2005 to 2019 of some municipalities with high Ideb, where we see some performance standards, among them: i) the performance of the 9th year is always lower than that of the 5th year (which indicates a notable difference between performance pedagogue and teaching graduate); in Sobral, the difference for 2019 was 1.5 pp.; in Mucambo, 2.4 pp.; in Independência, of 3.2 pp.; ii) if Sobral serves as an example, there is a difficulty in remaining at the top, both in the 5th and 9th year of EE; iii) with such results occurring in less advanced regions (the best municipalities for the 9th year of EE were all northeastern, 8 from Ceará, 2 from Alagoas), the impression remains that the challenge is more of educational policy, than of adverse external conditions; iv) it seems possible, at first, to cause such performance in any state or municipality, even if it is not a matter of principle,

⁴ Available: https://pt.wikipedia.org/wiki/Lista_de_munic%C3%ADpios_do_Brasil_por_IDEB. Access: 10 set. 2020.

but of concrete viability, depending a lot on the educational policy implemented, even more than on the available infrastructure; v) although the precariousness of the original teacher formation is recognized (it appears, for example, in the very different performance between pedagogue and graduate) (DEMO, 2017a), the fact that there may be high performance in situations of precarious socioeconomic development could indicate that it is possible to deal with the precariousness of teacher formation on site or in service, with surprising results.

Chart 2 – Sobral (CE) – Ideb 2005 – 2019 – Municipal network

		2005	2007	2009	2011	2013	2015	2017	2019	Goal 2019
Sobral (CE)	5º EE	4,0	4,9	6,6	7,3	7,8	8,8	9,1	8,4	5,9
	9º EE	-	-	-	-	5,8	6,7	7,2	6,9	6,4
Mucambo (CE)	5º EE	3,5	4,5	4,9	7,5	6,2	6,1	6,8	9,4	5,4
	9º EE	3,3	3,6	4,3	5,0	4,4	4,9	5,2	7,0	5,1
Independência (CE)	5º EE	2,9	3,7	4,7	6,4	6,2	7,8	6,9	9,1	4,9
	9º EE	-	3,2	3,7	4,3	4,5	5,2	5,5	5,9	4,7
Coruripe (AL)	5º EE	3,1	4,1	4,5	4,8	5,1	6,5	8,5	8,9	5,1
	9º EE	2,7	3,1	3,8	3,3	3,8	4,4	6,3	7,2	4,5
Janiópolis (PR)	5º EE	4,1	4,2	5,3	5,4	5,5	5,7	6,5	8,8	6,0
	9º EE	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Iporã do Oeste (SC)	5º EE	4,7	6,5	5,7	7,4	7,2	8,0	7,9	8,4	6,5
	9º EE	4,7	5,4	5,5	5,9	5,7	6,5	6,4	6,3	6,3
Picada Café (RS)	5º EE	-	5,2	5,7	7,0	6,3	7,9	8,0	8,4	6,6
	9º EE	-	5,0	4,1	-	6,9	-	6,4	6,6	6,3

Source: INEP

It does not make sense to minimize infrastructural issues, appealing to occasional voluntarisms, because these do not last, while those last, but the example of federal education policy, easily seen as distant, intervening, slow, shortsighted, fickle, would indicate a blatant lack of a minimally effective educational policy, but that could occur in more easily manageable municipalities. Be warned, however, that the data can cover up marked instructive links, as is the case in the current discussion around PISA, especially after Asian countries (especially China) occupy the top global positions, leaving Europe behind. While leaders of the PISA methodology proclaim the results (SCHLEICHER, 2019), critics complain about repressive, deforming, authoritarian, unhealthy instruction (RIPLEY, 2013; SAHLBERG, 2017), as is the case with Zhao (Chinese native, famous education professor in the United States today) (2014, 2018), not to mention that the two current countries on the top

- China and Singapore - maintain dictatorial regimes. Although PISA is concerned with the well-being of students (it applies questionnaires on the topic in all data collection), Asian education systems (in this case, mainly Chinese and Singaporean) do not emphasize this commitment; student suicide rose, especially with pressure on performance in mathematics (ZHAO, 2018), in addition to having a very negative impact on student creativity and initiative. Results can be obtained less through pedagogical than through disciplinary pressure. There are, among us, schools that obsessively “train” for Ideb, centering all school efforts in Portuguese and mathematics, turning students' attention to the two subjects, as if they were the only ones worthwhile, leaving the others in gloom. As Zhao (2018) questions, confusing learning with memorizing content, or with tricks to find the right answer, or with forced disciplinary procedures, can have a disastrous effect on student training, such as the docilization of bodies and minds (FOUCAULT, 1977), while side of restraining the authorial formative side, fundamental to the quality of life, and almost nothing remains important for the later life, besides the school (DEMO, 2020a).

The data I handle here contains preliminary indications in favor of the hypothesis that education is best done at the base, in the municipality, at the school, a view that has a long tradition (for example, American - until today education is conducted by local councils; or the use in the welfare state of leaving education to the state and municipal levels), although perhaps we can speak of a certain centralizing tone, coming from the federal level, which inverts the relevance of flows: instead of coming from below, from the bottom, they are manipulated from above. Strong American programs like *A Nation at Risk* (Reagan) or *No Child Left Behind* (W. Bush), that are typically autocratic and claim to be a way to save the education, undermine the more classic stance that basic education is resolved at the bottom. National programs proposed by the MEC can harbor this centralizing link, especially when they are linked to transfers of resources, whose access is conditioned by adherence to policies. The question always remains whether, instead of imposing policies via tax financing, it would not be more productive to invest in the **local capacity to conduct itself**.

Lights that come from below

When Ideb results are focused on municipal schools (Chart 3), by range of results, there is the suggestion that municipal capacity may be far beyond what is imagined: while there are, in fact, schools that do not react, others may react very positively and even surprisingly, depending, in part, on their initiative and concert of local efforts. In the national

average (Brazil), there were 6.9% of schools with Ideb of up to 3.7; 24.2% from 3.8 to 4.9; 31.1% from 5.0 to 5.9; and 37.8% above 6.0. This profile already contains an interesting message: while in the smallest range there were 6.9% of schools, in the largest, there were 37.8%, a figure almost 6 times higher. As the country is very unbalanced regionally, the average is opaque, which demands observing the regions and their states. In the North, there were 21.4% of schools with Ideb up to 3.7; 40.8% with 3.8 to 4.9; 26.5% with 5.0 to 5.9; and 11.3% above 6.0. It is a profile of a region affected by many socioeconomic problems, in addition to its geographical distances and other access difficulties, but even there, some states offer encouraging figures, with emphasis on Acre: 35.5% of schools had Ideb above 6.0 (close to the national average of 37.8%). There is also the other side of the coin: Pará, the most sociocultural prominent state in the region, had only 5.4% of schools with Ideb above 6.0. Amapá, with 116 schools mapped by Ideb 2019, only 1 had a performance above 6.0. The possible message from Acre is that local educational policies that are better constructed, cared for, managed, committed, can have favorable results.

Chart 3 – Ideb EE Initial Years - Municipal Network - Municipal Schools and Ideb 2019 (Ideb ranges)

Region/State	Schools in Ideb 2019	Ideb ranges							
		Up to 3,7	%	from 3,8 to 4,9	%	from 5,0 to 5,9	%	6,0 and above	%
Brazil	35.071	2.433	6,9	8.472	24,2	10.918	31,1	13.248	37,8
North	3.737	801	21,4	1.523	40,8	989	26,5	424	11,3
Rondônia	328	6	1,8	104	31,7	137	50,9	51	15,5
Acre	121	8	6,6	29	24,0	41	33,9	43	35,5
Amazonas	669	149	22,3	213	31,8	177	26,5	130	19,4
Roraima	76	6	7,9	36	47,4	17	22,4	17	22,4
Pará	2.080	596	28,7	934	44,9	437	21,0	113	5,4
Amapá	116	18	15,5	67	57,8	30	25,9	1	0,9
Tocantins	347	18	5,2	140	40,3	120	34,6	69	19,9
Northeast	14.089	1.570	11,1	5.455	38,7	4.350	30,9	2.714	19,3
Maranhão	2.250	412	18,3	1.186	52,7	511	22,7	141	6,3
Piauí	1.035	122	11,8	413	39,9	248	24,0	252	24,3
Ceará	2.347	6	0,3	162	6,9	786	33,5	1.393	59,4
Rio Gr. Norte	648	129	19,9	329	50,8	156	24,1	34	5,2
Paraíba	954	100	10,5	393	41,2	342	35,8	119	12,5
Pernambuco	1.912	70	3,7	750	39,2	811	42,4	281	14,7
Alagoas	846	30	3,5	327	38,7	335	39,6	154	18,2
Sergipe	496	133	26,8	263	53,0	82	16,5	18	3,6
Bahia	3.601	568	15,8	1.632	45,3	1.079	30,0	322	8,9
Southeast	10.154	36	0,4	899	8,9	3.261	32,1	5.958	58,7
Minas Gerais	2.839	3	0,1	164	5,8	982	34,6	1.690	59,6

Espírito Santo	691	1	0,1	56	8,1	311	45,0	323	76,7
Rio de Janeiro	2.289	32	1,4	633	27,7	1.057	46,2	567	24,8
S. Paulo	4.335	0	0,0	46	1,1	911	21,0	3.378	77,9
South	5.128	3	,01	323	6,3	1.432	27,9	3.370	65,7
Paraná	2.422	0	0,0	87	3,6	554	22,9	1.781	73,5
Santa Catarina	1.191	1	0,1	34	2,9	308	25,9	848	71,2
Rio Gr. Sul	1.515	2	0,1	202	13,3	570	37,6	741	48,9
Midwest	1.963	23	1,2	272	13,9	886	45,1	782	39,8
Mato Gr. Sul	387	16	4,1	99	25,6	180	46,5	92	23,8
Mato Grosso	448	5	1,1	69	15,4	241	53,8	133	29,7
Goiás	1.128	2	0,3	104	9,2	465	41,2	557	49,4
Distrito Federal	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-

Source: INEP

In the Northeast, there were 11.1% of schools with Ideb up to 3.7; 38.7% from 3.8 to 4.9; 30.9% from 5.0 to 5.9; and 19.3% with more than 6.0. It is a few points above the North, but it is known to be a region with many socioeconomic difficulties. However, Ceará had 59.4% of its municipal schools with Ideb above 6.0, even though it was a relatively lonely glow (the next figure was from Piauí, with 24.3%). Some states had a better figure, such as São Paulo (77.9%, the best in the chart), but there is no way to compare the socioeconomic status of the two states. Espírito Santo was right behind, with 76.7%; then, Paraná, with 73.5% and Santa Catarina, with 71.2%. Naturally, there is the other side: some northeastern states do not seem to react: Maranhão had 6.3% of schools with Ideb above 6.0; Rio Grande de Norte, with 5.2%; Sergipe, with 3.6; Bahia, with 8.9%.

In the Southeast and South there are also less edifying examples: Rio de Janeiro had only 24.8% of municipal schools with Ideb above 6.0; Rio Grande do Sul, with 48.9%, did not reach half. And in the Midwest, Goiás had the best relative figure: 49.4%.

Focusing now, not on municipal schools, but on municipalities (Chart 4), the profile is confirmed, with a few more nuances. In the national average (Brazil), there were only 2.1% of municipalities with Ideb of up to 3.7; 23.8% from 3.8 to 4.9; 29.7% from 5.0 to 5.9; 44.4% of 6.0 or more. It is an even more inviting profile than the previous one of the municipal schools. While schools are somewhat less sensitive to regional imbalances, municipalities reflect them more clearly. In the North, only 4.9% of the municipalities had Ideb above 6.0. Acre only had 14.3%, even though it was the best regional figure (Rondônia had a similar figure, 14%). The other states had practically no municipalities in this range (Tocantins reached 6.9%). In the Northeast, 14% of the municipalities had Ideb above 6.0, but Ceará emerged with 71.2%, shining almost alone. It was far surpassed by São Paulo, with 91.3%; but it rivaled well with

Paraná and Santa Catarina (77.8%, and 74.8%, respectively). Naturally, it draws even more attention that most municipalities had incredibly low figures: Sergipe, with no municipality.

Chart 4 – Ideb EE Initial Years - Municipal Network - Municipalities with Ideb calculated for 2019 and result for 2019 by Ideb ranges.

Region/State	Cities in Ideb 2019	Ideb Range							
		Up to 3,7	%	from 3,8 to 4,9	%	from 5,0 to 5,9	%	6,0 and above	%
Brasil	5.139	107	2,1	1.221	23,8	1.527	29,7	2.287	44,4
North	425	37	8,7	234	55,1	133	31,3	21	4,9
Rondônia	50	0	0,0	12	24,0	31	62,0	7	14,0
Acre	21	1	4,8	7	33,3	10	47,6	3	14,3
Amazonas	59	13	22,0	37	62,7	9	15,3	0	0,0
Roraima	9	0	0,0	8	88,9	1	11,1	0	0,0
Pará	141	17	12,1	97	63,8	25	17,7	2	1,4
Amapá	15	2	13,3	12	80,0	1	6,7	0	0,0
Tocantins	130	4	3,1	61	46,9	56	43,1	9	6,9
Northeast	1.741	70	4,0	869	49,9	559	32,1	243	14,0
Maranhão	212	2	0,9	156	73,6	51	24,1	3	1,4
Piauí	217	13	6,0	100	46,1	75	34,6	29	13,4
Ceará	184	0	0,0	3	1,6	50	27,2	131	71,2
Rio Gr. Norte	149	22	14,8	89	59,7	33	22,1	5	3,4
Paraíba	211	6	2,8	108	51,2	75	35,3	22	10,4
Pernambuco	183	0	0,0	72	39,3	92	50,3	19	10,4
Alagoas	101	0	0,0	40	39,6	52	51,5	9	8,9
Sergipe	73	17	23,3	50	68,5	6	8,2	0	0,0
Bahia	411	10	2,4	251	61,1	125	30,4	25	6,1
Southeast	1.549	0	0,0	40	2,6	365	23,6	1.144	73,9
Mias. Gerais	776	0	0,0	21	2,7	229	29,5	526	67,8
Esp. Santo	74	0	0,0	2	2,7	29	39,2	43	58,1
Rio de Janeiro	90	0	0,0	16	17,8	55	61,1	19	21,1
S. Paulo	609	0	0,0	1	0,2	52	8,5	556	91,3
South	995	0	0,0	33	3,3	276	27,7	686	68,9
Paraná	397	0	0,0	1	0,3	87	21,9	309	77,8
Santa Catarina	262	0	0,0	1	0,4	65	24,8	196	74,8
Rio Gr. Sul	336	0	0,0	31	9,2	124	36,9	181	53,9
Midwest	429	0	0,0	45	10,5	194	45,2	190	44,3
Mato Gr. Sul	73	0	0,0	21	28,8	41	56,2	11	15,1
Mato Grosso	119	0	0,0	13	10,9	67	56,3	39	32,8
Goiás	237	0	0,0	11	4,6	86	36,3	140	59,1
Distrito Federal	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-

Source: INEP

Again, Rio de Janeiro had only 21.1% of municipalities with Ideb above 6.0; Rio Grande do Sul, 53.9%. And in the Midwest, Goiás appeared with 59.1%, indicating, like

Espírito Santo (58.1%), to be able to advance. Many states no longer have municipalities with Ideb up to 3.7 in the Southeast, South and Midwest. We recognize that the heterogeneity of performance sets the scene, especially in the Northeast, but even so, the data suggest that it is possible to discern much more effective municipal educational policies. The case of Rio de Janeiro could be emblematic, where only 21.1% of the municipalities had an Ideb above 6.0, while São Paulo had 91.3%. It is implied that educational policies in Rio are extremely less effective than those in São Paulo, having part in this, certainly, the socioeconomic backwardness of Rio, but also the atavistic mess of the state in terms of public policies. It is not the case to draw bold conclusions, as São Paulo does nothing more than its constitutional obligation. But performances like Ceará, Espírito Santo, Goiás would indicate that more current, consistent and sustained local educational policies can be a great differentiator. This depends **on the municipal capacity to conduct itself**.

A more complex gaze

The data in the previous chapter is from the Early Years. Now let's look at the Final Years, within the same angle of analysis. As we noted above, even in the municipalities at the top of Ideb, there is a marked difference between the results of the Initial and Final Years. This drop is significant and of complex explanation, suggesting a marked difference between the performance of the pedagogue and the teaching graduate. Part of the complication is to see pedagogy as a less demanding course than the teaching degree, expecting this better performance. At school it is the other way around, ostensibly. A recent IDB study (2018) on the teaching profession illustrates some facets of this imbroglio, starting with the finding that, analyzing university enrollments, there are about 20% in education courses, although when asked to the PISA student (15 years old) if they would like to be a teacher, only 5% confirm. The IDB uses the pejorative term “refuge” for education courses, as they are a visibly facilitated modality - an easy diploma is sought. Although undergraduate teaching degrees boast a better course than pedagogy and, formally, perhaps it could even be, but in practice the performance of the pedagogue is much superior. The teaching graduate, in turn, complains about the performance of the pedagogue, when the student reaches the 6th year and is seen as unprepared for the Final Years, especially in mathematics. The pedagogue's mathematics is considered insufficient, or even amateurish.

The possible advantage of the pedagogue is that, offering all subjects, he can create a dialogue and relationship of relative trust and care with the student, something that is now

required at BNCC (DEMO, 2019), under the rubric of socio-emotional formation. Pedagogy seems to be closer to this challenge, while undergraduate teaching degrees, as it is often just a course tinted of pedagogy, can be refractory to “taking care of the student”. As a rule, the teaching graduate enters the classroom, teaches and leaves. Asked to take care of the student, he may be surprised, because it seems to him to be something beyond his technical competence. However, it is the pedagogical role of every teacher to try to guarantee the student the right to learn. This discussion, in order not to become Byzantine and of little use, needs to focus on the issues that matter without any qualms, especially the need to rebuild courses at the university (pedagogy and degree), aimed, no longer at a teaching specialist, but at *learning* (DEMO, 2018). BNCC itself declares, perhaps in a flawed act, the imperative to “**recreate the school**”, because it recognizes that the current school is not up to the students.

In local, municipal terms, the most burning issue is the permanent formation of teachers, so that, overcoming the instructive gesture (just passing on content), they face the commitment to ensure, in the best possible way, that students learn effectively, as authors (DEMO, 2015). Pedagogues have the challenge, not always well thought out, of “literacy” in up to three years (in the national average, after three years, not even half are literate) (BRASILEIRO DA EDUCAÇÃO BÁSICA, 2019). The teaching graduates, to overcome the instrumentalism of the mere transfer of curricular contents, always making clear whether students advance as authors. This leads to a complete change in the uses and customs of pedagogical journeys or something like that, because in general they do not add anything useful for the students' learning, a large part of which disappears in inconsequential motivational theaters. Teachers need to study, read, research, elaborate, argue, renew themselves permanently, during work, because it is a constitutive part of their work. The deficiency of the teaching degree may be in the lowest performance of the Final Years, although it is never, never, the case to find guilty. Even if the teacher does not perform sufficiently, it is an irreplaceable reference to change the school, since, to change the school is to change the teacher. Any questioning of the original formation of teachers can only have the meaning of counterproposing alternatives that value learning professionals, in all senses.

Chart 5 shows data for schools in the Final Years and performance ranges in Ideb, and it should be noted that the figures are much lower than those in the Early Years (Chart 3): only 14.6% of municipal schools had Ideb above 5.5 (in the other table, the figure was 37.8%). In the North, it was only 3.2%, with the best figure in Tocantins, with 19.3%; then came Rondônia, with 8%. Acre, highlighted in the Early Years, disappeared in the Final Years: no school was in the highest range. It may be surprising that the good performance in

the Early Years does not follow that of the Final Years: the fall is expected, because it is a national standard; but the fall in Acre was absolute! It means, perhaps, that the state deals better with pedagogues, having not yet found a way to deal with the teaching graduate. In the Northeast, 10.5% of municipal schools had Ideb above 5.5, and Ceará was the main highlight, but with 41.4% it also occurred in practically half the figure of the Early Years.

Chart 5 – IDEB EE Final Years - Municipal Network - Schools with IDEB scheduled for 2019 and IDEB 2019

Region/State	Cities in IDEB 2019	Ideb ranges							
		Up to 3,4	%	from 3,5 to 4,4	%	from 4,5 to 5,4	%	5,5 and above	%
Brazil	16.279	2.388	13,7	5.558	34,1	5.959	36,6	2.374	14,6
North	1.752	543	31,0	768	43,8	385	22,0	56	3,2
Rondônia	87	6	6,9	35	40,2	39	44,8	7	8,0
Acre	23	6	26,1	16	56,5	4	47,4	0	0,0
Amazonas	349	99	28,4	143	41,0	95	27,2	12	3,4
Roraima	6	2	33,3	3	50,0	1	16,7	0	0,0
Pará	1.173	407	34,7	532	45,4	218	18,6	16	1,4
Amapá	5	2	40,0	3	60,0	0	0,0	0	0,0
Tocantins	109	21	19,3	39	35,8	28	25,7	21	19,3
Northeast	8.641	1.668	19,3	3.429	39,7	2.639	30,5	905	10,5
Maranhão	1.676	527	31,4	855	51,0	269	16,1	25	1,5
Piauí	683	87	12,7	270	39,5	223	32,7	103	15,1
Ceará	1.940	18	0,9	260	13,4	1.052	54,2	610	31,4
Rio Gr. Norte	323	122	37,8	153	47,3	43	13,3	5	1,5
Paraíba	478	101	21,1	235	49,2	132	27,6	10	2,1
Pernambuco	935	67	7,2	408	43,6	376	40,2	84	9,0
Alagoas	391	19	4,9	192	49,1	137	35,0	43	11,0
Sergipe	234	96	41,0	113	48,3	23	9,8	2	0,9
Bahia	1.981	631	31,9	943	47,6	384	19,4	23	1,2
Southeast	3.768	112	3,0	880	23,4	1.933	51,3	843	22,4
Minas Gerais	1.072	31	2,9	325	30,3	530	49,4	186	17,4
Espírito Santo	368	11	3,0	112	30,4	182	49,5	63	17,1
Rio de Janeiro	939	65	6,9	333	35,5	443	47,2	98	10,4
S. Paulo	1.389	5	0,4	110	7,9	778	56,0	496	35,7
South	1.578	50	3,2	328	20,8	724	45,9	476	30,2
Paraná	20	0	0,0	1	5,0	11	55,0	8	40,0
Santa Catarina	583	5	0,9	61	10,5	252	43,2	265	45,5
Rio Gr. Sul	975	45	4,6	266	27,3	461	47,3	203	20,8
Midwest	540	15	2,8	153	28,3	278	51,5	94	17,4
Mato Gr. Sul	165	7	4,2	41	24,8	90	54,5	27	16,4
Mato Grosso	154	3	1,9	61	39,6	72	46,8	18	11,7
Goiás	221	5	2,3	51	23,1	116	52,5	49	22,2
Distrito Federal	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-

Source: INEP

The state that performed best was Santa Catarina, with 45.5% of municipal schools with Ideb above 5.5; São Paulo was with 35.7%, just slightly above Ceará. In the Midwest Goiás stands out, with 22.2%. At the other end, Pará still had 34.7% of municipal schools in the Final Years with Ideb of up to 3.4, surpassed only by Sergipe, with 41.0% and Amapá, with 40.0%. Paraná alone did not have municipal schools with an Ideb of up to 3.4 and Santa Catarina still had 5%. In a comparison between Pará and Ceará, the former had 34.7% of schools with an Ideb of up to 3.4, and Ceará, 0.9%; but this had 31.4% of schools with Ideb above 5.5, while Pará only 1.4%. This comparison illustrates the two sides of the coin: it is a great challenge to resolve the issue locally, but some examples indicate that it is possibly the best idea.

Now focusing on municipalities in the Public Network, in the Ideb ranges (Chart 6), we observed that only 11.9% of the municipalities had Ideb above 5.5, with 55.6% being concentrated in the 3.5 to 4.4 range. In the North there were practically no cases in this higher range, with Acre standing out again, with 5.0%. In the Northeast, only 5.1% of the municipalities in the Final Years of the Public System had an Ideb of 5.5 or more, with the ostensible emphasis of Ceará: 26.6%. São Paulo had the best figure, with 33.4%, with the superlative highlight of Goiás, with 27.2%, above the figure of Ceará. In both cases, there were no more municipalities with an Ideb of up to 3.4.

Chart 6 – EE Final Years - Public Network - Municipalities with Ideb scheduled for 2019 and Ideb 2019

Regions/States	Cities in 2019	Ideb ranges							
		Up to 3,4	%	from 3,5 to 4,4	%	from 4,5 to 5,4	%	5,5 and above	%
Brazil	5.287	373	7,1	1.717	32,5	2.566	48,5	631	11,9
North	412	59	14,3	229	55,6	121	29,4	3	0,7
Rondônia	51	0	0,0	12	23,5	38	74,5	1	2,0
Acre	20	0	0,0	6	30,0	13	65,0	1	5,0
Amazonas	61	8	13,1	42	68,9	11	18,0	0	0,0
Roraima	11	2	18,2	9	81,8	0	0,0	0	0,0
Pará	137	37	27,0	86	62,8	14	10,2	0	0,0
Amapá	14	6	42,9	8	57,1	0	0,0	0	0,0
Tocantins	118	6	5,1	66	55,9	45	38,1	1	0,8
Northeast	1.731	296	17,1	872	50,4	475	27,4	88	5,1
Maranhão	210	30	14,3	138	65,7	42	20,0	0	0,0
Piauí	218	16	7,3	108	49,5	81	37,2	13	6,0
Ceará	184	0	0,0	12	6,5	123	66,8	49	26,6
Rio Gr. Norte	157	60	38,2	80	51,0	16	10,2	1	0,6
Paraíba	214	50	23,4	124	57,9	38	17,8	2	0,9

Pernambuco	182	4	2,2	82	45,1	84	46,2	12	6,6
Alagoas	100	2	2,0	55	55,0	35	35,0	8	8,0
Sergipe	74	27	36,5	44	59,5	3	4,1	0	0,0
Bahia	392	107	27,3	229	5834	53	13,5	3	0,8
Southeast	1.621	7	0,4	342	21,1	992	61,2	280	17,3
Minas Gerais	829	6	0,7	270	32,6	492	59,3	61	7,4
Espírito Santo	78	0	0,0	10	12,8	59	75,6	9	11,5
Rio de Janeiro	91	1	1,1	41	45,1	47	51,6	2	2,2
S. Paulo	623	0	0,0	21	3,4	394	63,2	208	33,4
South	1.055	1	0,6	190	17,5	701	64,4	190	17,5
Paraná	389	0	0,0	22	5,7	286	73,5	81	20,8
Santa Catarina	271	2	0,7	63	23,2	173	63,8	33	12,2
Rio Gr. Sul	428	5	1,2	105	24,5	242	56,5	76	17,8
Midwest	435	4	0,9	84	19,3	277	63,7	70	16,1
Mato Gr. Sul	70	1	104	26	37,1	40	57,1	3	4,3
Mato Grosso	125	3	2,4	44	35,2	76	60,8	2	1,6
Goiás	239	0	0,0	14	5,9	160	66,9	65	27,2
Distrito Federal	1	0	0,0	0	0,0	1	100	0	0,0

Source: INEP

The performance in the highest range shows the weight of the heterogeneity of educational policies: while some municipalities, apparently, advance on their own, the vast majority slips. Leaving São Paulo aside, the two most exemplary states are Ceará, with 26.6% of municipalities with Ideb of 5.5 or more and Goiás, with 27.2%. However, Goiás does not have the same performance relative to schools, which suggests that it is more successful in municipal movement as such.

Municipal/local bet

To anchor a little more the municipal/local wager, I use data from High School, with the intention of opposing state management with municipal. Thus, the Ideb for 2019 in the three most outstanding states for this approach - Ceará, Espírito Santo and Goiás - was: 4.5; 4.7; 4.4, respectively. These figures are relatively interesting in the national mediocrity, but without major prominence. There were three cases with an Ideb of 5 or more: Santa Catarina, with 5.1 (the largest of all); and Minas Gerais and Rio Grande do Sul, both with 5.0.

When, however, the state high school system is focused on municipalities, by performance level at Ideb, Espírito Santo stands out, with 20% of municipalities with an Ideb of 5.2 or more; the next highest figure is from Goiás, with 8.8%; Ceará appears only with 1.6%. It seems, then, that Espírito Santo mobilizes its municipalities better, followed by

Goiás. Following this route, and focusing on high schools in the state network, Espírito Santo has the best figure in the highest range, 23.7%; follows Ceará, with 19.6%; and Goiás, with 18%.

The argument would be that, in terms of state policy, the three states do not stand out - they are, so to speak, in the national mass grave in high school. But in terms of the school's reaction - to a certain extent despite state policy - there are cases of visible success, especially in the three states mentioned. Pernambuco is insinuating itself, with 15.5%. São Paulo too, with 15.5%, but this is a separate case.

It is part of the argument that mobilizing bureaucratic energies is much more difficult than mobilizing local energies, especially for teachers. High ideology always implies strong teaching participation in a collective school project, of which they are confessed and crucial protagonists. State policies are not very different from federal policies, because they are not anchored on the school floor. But this is where everything is decided. The example of Ceará was emblematic: a northeastern state that caused, due to some complex motivation, the energy of municipalities and schools to turn the tables and achieve results not known before. Sobral's current relative retreat indicates that it is, to a large extent, a “political” issue, since such initiatives naturally cool, tire, become routine. It is hard to get up there; it is even harder to stay there.

The data thus suggest a collusion between the municipality and the school, which, in a way, despite the policies from “above” (state and federal), can bear fruit in local school projects capable of a different history. In practice, the key issue is “local”, that is, the **school**. Municipal management is important, also because it is closer, but the school works if the teachers want to.

This position does not disdain the “higher” levels of policy, it only considers them, strictly speaking, “lower”, that is, they are supportive. Specifically, it is not the case that the MEC or the state decides how literacy is carried out up to the age of three. It is very inappropriate to impose direct instruction, phonic method, holistic approach or Paulo Freire. It is the teacher who needs to have sufficient technical conditions to, diagnosing the situation and each student, **decide** what to do best for him. Support instances are responsible for collaborating, investing, but not deciding. Higher agencies must demand results, not determine the procedures. The literacy teacher who is unable to set up his planning, diagnose the students, elaborate his theoretical and practical literacy proposal, must, strictly speaking, still be “literate”. Furthermore, it is necessary to offer suitable working conditions to the literacy teacher. In the end, the local bet is a bet on the teacher, not on guidelines that come

from above, stamped money, prophecies of the old woman's bow, celestial rhetoric. And if the student does not learn, nothing was worthwhile.

This position can be misunderstood, if it is seen as local voluntarism, since many municipalities do not have the minimum conditions to run the school. But, as it is the municipality that will touch it, it is necessary to qualify the municipality, technically and financially, so that results can be demanded. So, the idea only reveals a concrete context of consequent federalism, not inside out as it is used among us. The MEC is not understood as supporting the municipality, because, politically, it tends to value the supremacist position more than the result for the students. For example, it seems clear that the formation of basic teachers at universities would need to be completely redone, reinvented. This would be an urgent work by MEC, but it does not happen because universities are too strong to be easily charged. Universities, yes, understand MEC as support! The municipality of the end of the interior asks for passage...

Final considerations

It is, in a way, a relief to see that some more modest states in the national concert can excel in education, when they manage to locally organize (municipally). Sobral was the first warning that a municipality, if it wants to, can conduct itself in education, not least because self-conduct is best suited to the education that it imagines itself to be emancipatory. Sobral acknowledged that, even the availability of more favorable resources and conditions, this can help, would not determine local decision. The municipality took over, in collaboration with the teachers who make up, at the end, the guarantee of the school. It showed that a quality school is possible, even if we always discuss what this quality is, as I mentioned above, when questioning the Chinese results of PISA. It also shows that it is not easy to stay on top. Sobral has already slipped to 11th position, although remaining as a fundamental example. Meanwhile, other states are insinuating themselves, with an emphasis on Espírito Santo and Goiás, which indicates that every state can get up, if it wants to. The example of good results in Acre also reinforces the hypothesis.

After all, learning well cannot be an enigma. As authorial learning is a natural evolutionary condition, life is learning. It is the school that easily runs into procedures that are more in line with the transfer of curriculum content than the student's right to learn with quality. Learning activities are neglected (DEMO, 2018), because at school we see classes, exam and transfer as enough. This we learned in college, but this is what makes us totally

unsatisfactory teaching professionals. Municipalities need to open their eyes and understand that they are, to some extent and not linearly, the biggest reference in education. We always see with a certain irony when the federation claims that everything starts in the municipality, because, in practice, everything starts in Brasília and often does not even leave. But in education it seems clearer that solutions are, by vocation, **local**.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS: To the National Council for Scientific and Technological Development - CNPQ.

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How to reference this article

DEMO, P.; SILVA, R. A. Signaling of schools and municipalities in the context of Ideb 2019: preliminary attempt to read Ideb-2019. **Temas em Educ. e Saúde**, Araraquara, v. 16, n. 2, p. 630-647, July/Dec. 2020. e-ISSN 2526-3471. ISSN 1517-7947. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.26673/tes.v16i2.14210>

Submitted: 03/04/2020

Required revisions: 28/06/2020

Approved: 31/07/2020

Published: 27/08/2020