

**TEACHING ASSESSMENT AND WORK POLICY IN SECONDARY EDUCATION:
ENEM AND ITS IMPACT ON TEACHING ACTIVITY IN THE CITY OF SÃO LUÍS
– MA**

**POLÍTICA DE AVALIAÇÃO E TRABALHO DOCENTE NO ENSINO MÉDIO: O
ENEM E SEUS REFLEXOS SOBRE A ATIVIDADE DOCENTE NO MUNICÍPIO
DE SÃO LUÍS – MA**

**EVALUACIÓN DOCENTE Y POLÍTICA DE TRABAJO EN LA EDUCACIÓN
SECUNDARIA: ENEM Y SU IMPACTO EN LA ACTIVIDAD DOCENTE EN LA
CIUDAD DE SÃO LUÍS – MA**

 <https://doi.org/10.56238/sevened2025.030-088>

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ABSTRACT

This article is the result of research on assessment policies instituted especially since the 1990s in education, focusing specifically on the National High School Exam (ENEM). The aim is to understand its impact on high school teaching in the municipality of São Luís, Maranhão. This is a qualitative study involving bibliographical, documentary, and empirical research. Based on the analysis of the research data, it was possible to determine that, with the establishment of the "evaluating state" following the implementation of the Brazilian State Apparatus Reform in the 1990s, the state largely abandoned social policies in general, particularly in the education sector. Control mechanisms were established through external assessments to promote education regulation, focusing on results, excellence, performance, and achieving educational efficiency and effectiveness. Furthermore, the study revealed the broad repercussions of market-driven educational policies on secondary education, as it has undergone significant restructuring in recent years due to the centrality of external assessments within the "evaluating state." Finally, this study did not reveal any significant forms of organization or resistance among teachers to meet the demands arising from the intensification of teaching work, given the implementation of the ENEM (National High School Exam). This suggests the potential for further specific studies capable of analyzing and understanding this and other issues with greater precision and relevance.

Keywords: Assessment Policy. Teaching Work. National High School Exam (ENEM).

RESUMO

Este artigo é resultado de uma pesquisa desenvolvida no que tange às políticas de avaliação instituídas especialmente a partir dos anos 1990 na educação, tendo como foco específico o Exame Nacional de Ensino Médio – Enem, buscando-se compreender quais as suas

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repercussões sobre o trabalho docente no ensino médio no município de São Luís – MA. Trata-se de um estudo de natureza qualitativa, que envolveu pesquisa bibliográfica, documental e empírica. A partir da análise dos dados da pesquisa, foi possível aferir que, com a instituição do “Estado avaliador”, a partir da implementação da Reforma do Aparelho do Estado Brasileiro, na década de 1990, houve, em grande medida, a deserção do Estado para com as políticas sociais de uma forma geral, com destaque para o setor educacional, no qual foram instituídos mecanismos de controle, por meio das avaliações externas, para a promoção da regulação da educação, com foco nos resultados, na excelência, na performatividade e na obtenção da eficiência e eficácia educacional. Ademais, o estudo revelou que são amplas as repercussões das políticas educacionais de natureza mercadológica sobre o nível de ensino médio, posto que o mesmo vem passando por significativas reestruturações nos últimos anos, em consequência da centralidade das avaliações externas no âmbito do “Estado avaliador”. Por fim, não se evidenciou, a partir do presente estudo, que esteja havendo significativas formas de organização ou de resistência dos sujeitos docentes para fazer frente às exigências e demandas decorrentes da intensificação do trabalho docente, dada a implantação do Enem, comportando, assim, possibilidades de novos estudos específicos capazes de dar conta de analisar e compreender essa e outras questões com maior precisão e pertinência.

Palavras-chave: Política de Avaliação. Trabalho Docente. Exame Nacional de Ensino Médio -Enem.

RESUMEN

Este artículo es el resultado de una investigación sobre las políticas de evaluación implementadas especialmente desde la década de 1990 en el ámbito educativo, con especial atención al Examen Nacional de Enseñanza Media (ENEM). El objetivo es comprender su impacto en la enseñanza secundaria en el municipio de São Luís, Maranhão. Se trata de un estudio cualitativo que incluye investigación bibliográfica, documental y empírica. A partir del análisis de los datos de la investigación, se determinó que, con el establecimiento del "estado evaluador" tras la implementación de la Reforma del Aparato Estatal Brasileño en la década de 1990, el estado abandonó en gran medida las políticas sociales en general, particularmente en el sector educativo. Se establecieron mecanismos de control mediante evaluaciones externas para promover la regulación educativa, con énfasis en los resultados, la excelencia, el rendimiento y el logro de la eficiencia y la eficacia educativas. Además, el estudio reveló las amplias repercusiones de las políticas educativas impulsadas por el mercado en la educación secundaria, ya que esta ha experimentado una reestructuración significativa en los últimos años debido a la centralidad de las evaluaciones externas dentro del "estado evaluador". Finalmente, este estudio no reveló formas significativas de organización ni resistencia entre el profesorado para satisfacer las demandas derivadas de la intensificación de la labor docente, dada la implementación del ENEM (Examen Nacional de Enseñanza Media). Esto sugiere la posibilidad de realizar estudios específicos adicionales capaces de analizar y comprender esta y otras cuestiones con mayor precisión y relevancia.

Palabras clave: Política de Evaluación. Trabajo Docente. Examen Nacional de Enseñanza Media (ENEM).

1 INTRODUCTION

This article is the result of a research regarding the evaluation policies that have been instituted in education since the 1990s, with a specific focus on the National High School Exam - Enem and its repercussions on the teaching work in high school in the city of São Luís - MA.

The interest in the study arose from the observation, based on several studies and researches, about the poor quality of public education in Brazil, combined with the growing demand for better results in relation to the work of the teacher. In recent years, it has been possible to observe problems such as overcrowding of classrooms, poorly prepared, low-paid, unmotivated teachers, lack of resources and teaching materials, lack of maintenance of physical facilities and even, many times, total absence of basic infrastructure for the functioning of schools. Nevertheless, the teacher has been considered a fundamental part in the process of leveraging educational indicators, and is often held responsible for the results presented by students, schools and the educational system as a whole.

In this sense, the interest in analyzing the issue of evaluation policies in education and its relationship with the teaching work in high school was originated, focusing on Enem and its reflections on the teaching activity in the municipality of São Luís - MA, having, as main objectives: - to analyze the possible repercussions of external evaluations, notably Enem, on the teaching work at this level of education, The objective of this study is to understand the responsibilities that may supposedly be imputed to education professionals, from the institution of Enem; and, - to identify possible strategies of adaptation, organization and/or resistance of teachers to respond to demands derived from new attributions and the possible intensification of teaching work, from the implementation of Enem.

It is a qualitative study, which involved bibliographical, documentary and empirical research, where: in the bibliographic research, we made use of the study of authors such as Dourado & Oliveira (2009), Sousa (2009; 2003), Oliveira (2012; 2010; 2004), Freitas (2012; 2011), Maués (2011), Araujo (2008), Afonso (2009; 2001), among others; in the documentary research, we analyzed the rules and regulations that substantiate the institution of a new regulation of education and the reforms implemented since the 1990s, especially after the implementation of LDBEN No. 9,394/96; and, in the empirical research, three state high schools located in São Luís – MA were selected, being: a) the school with the highest overall

score in the 2015 Enem exam⁴, with 530.69 points; b) the school with the lowest score in the 2015 Enem exam, with 435.19 points; and, c) one of the schools that presented average results in this exam, in 2015, with 463.00 points, for which questionnaires were applied and non-directive interviews were conducted with 12 teachers from these three selected schools, one for each of the 04 (four) areas of knowledge evaluated in Enem: 1) languages, codes and their technologies; 2) human sciences and their technologies; 3) natural sciences and their technologies; and, 4) mathematics and its technologies, whose identities were preserved, in order to obtain from the interviewees their ideas and arguments regarding the repercussions of Enem on the teaching work in high school.

For the analysis of the data and information obtained through data collection, we sought to understand the multiple dimensions and particularities that involve the object of study, with regard to aspects related to the repercussions of external evaluations, specifically Enem, on the teaching work in these institutions. Thus, in addition to the Introduction and the Final Considerations, this work is organized in three sections: 1. The new regulation of education and the implementation of the managing and evaluating State; 2. External Evaluations and Teaching Work in the Context of Current Educational Policies: focus on the National High School Exam - Enem; and, 3. Teaching Work in High School: Enem and its reflections on teaching activity in the municipality of São Luís – MA.

From the analysis of the research data, it was possible to ascertain that, with the institution of the "evaluating State", from the implementation of the Reform of the Brazilian State Apparatus, in the 1990s, there was, to a large extent, the desertion of the State towards social policies in general, with emphasis on the educational sector, in which control mechanisms were instituted, through external evaluations, to promote the regulation of education, focusing on results, excellence, performativity and the achievement of educational efficiency and effectiveness. In addition, the study revealed that the repercussions of educational policies of a market-oriented nature on the level of secondary education are wide, since it has been undergoing significant restructuring in recent years, as a result of the centrality of external evaluations within the scope of the "evaluating State".

Thus, large-scale evaluations, notably Enem, favor *accountability*, based on the growing lack of responsibility of the State and, consequently, the greater responsibility of the

⁴ 2015 was the last year in which the National Institute of Educational Studies and Research Anísio Teixeira – Inep published the *ranking* with the best and worst grades obtained by the schools that participated in the National High School Exam – Enem. After 2015, Inep has no longer released specific *rankings* of the worst schools, focusing on the dissemination of data by state or on more general evaluation indexes.

school and the teaching subjects, maintaining the practice of meritocracy and the promotion of the intensification of the teaching work. This large-scale evaluation model tends to emphasize the valorization of products or results to the detriment of the process, focusing predominantly on quantitative data, stimulating, to a large extent, ranking and competition between schools and among subjects, inevitably intensifying the work of the teacher, who is increasingly responsible for the success or failure of the students. despite the precarious objective working conditions that exist in most public schools.

The research revealed, finally, that, although new attributions and responsibilities are being imputed to the teacher, there is not, in opposition to the requirements placed by Enem, a State policy aimed at valuing teaching professionals in Maranhão; nor was it evidenced, from the present study, that there are significant forms of organization or resistance of the teaching subjects to face the demands and demands arising from the intensification of the teaching work, given the implementation of the Enem, thus encompassing possibilities of new specific studies capable of being able to analyze and understand this and other issues with greater precision and pertinence.

2 THE NEW REGULATION OF EDUCATION AND THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THE MANAGING AND EVALUATING STATE

From the 1990s onwards, with the Reform of the Brazilian State, with regard to public policies in general and educational policies in particular, there was a reorientation of the role of the State, which from its function as a "provider" or "educator" State, increasingly assumed the function of a "regulator" and "evaluator" State, with regard to social policies such as education. health, safety, social security, among others. For Afonso (2001), the reform took place with the perspective of making it less bureaucratized and more managerial and flexible, in view of the adoption of methods, techniques and resources traditionally used by the business community, to meet its demands.

Thus, the reflection on the Regulatory State highlights the fact that it deserts the role of "producer of goods and services to transform itself, above all, into a regulator of the market process" (Afonso, 2001, p. 25), bringing, underlying, the ideology of the "evaluating State", maintaining, as a result, demands consonant with regulation and evaluation, among others, of educational institutions, so that, according to Oliveira (2010), in the context of the management of public education, planning began to be guided by objectives and goals, valuing the decentralization and deconcentration of resources, the involvement and

participation of parents, the establishment of partnerships with civil society entities, the maintenance of educational evaluation systems, among others.

Carnoy and Castro (1997) observe that decentralization is one of the privileged tools of educational reforms in Latin America and the Caribbean, aimed at guaranteeing three central objectives, mainly, which are: I - reduction of the central government's costs for education; II - induction of an educational policy aimed at the organization of more effective modes of school performance, incurring, as a result, a process of orientation towards competition; and, 3) an attempt to reduce discrepancies regarding the quality of education offered in diversified contexts, with a discourse focused on education focused on equity.

The educational reforms, imbued with a logic of financial rationality guided by multilateral organizations such as the World Bank, implemented by the FHC government and continued by the governments that succeeded it, with the prevalence of the strategy of funds policy, encouraging, as alternative forms of financing, the entry of resources from local and private sources, brought great losses to the financing of education. Almost three decades after the beginning of these educational reforms, it is verified that only the first of the three objectives mentioned above has been achieved. In fact, the national costs of education were significantly reduced, with the entry of local and private funding being greatly valued (Carnoy & Castro, 1997). However, despite the achievement of the first objective, in general the educational reforms reduced the quality of teaching and widened the inequalities that existed at the time.

In relation to the quality of education, for Dourado & Oliveira (2009), it is a historically constructed concept, which continues to change "in time and space", so that the achievement of such a concept depends on the "social demands and requirements of a given historical process". Thus, "such a perspective implies understanding what clashes and worldviews are presented in the current scenario of State reform, of rediscussion of the frameworks of education – as a social right and as a commodity – among others". Therefore, the authors question, in the context of international policies, "what are the commitments assumed by different countries in the area of education, how such commitments are configured in educational policies, programs and actions and how they materialize in the school daily life", highlighting the need to "problematize the emphasis given to the *theory of human* capital, especially by the World Bank, identifying the role reserved for education, as well as the different features assumed by it with regard to quality school" (p. 203-204).

For Carnoy and Castro (1997), from the educational reforms engendered in Latin America, there was a significant increase in the number of enrollments, given that one of the premises of the established decentralization policy defined the receipt of financial resources by the school and/or municipality based on the number of students enrolled. However, in view of the increase in the number of enrollments and the reduction in the availability of resources at the federal level, the municipalities were forced to look for alternative sources of funds, guaranteeing them from the community and the local private initiative, which, according to the authors, when citing the Chilean case as an example, worked only in the short term, because there was a retraction, in the medium term, regarding this alternative source of funds.

In the case of the Brazilian reality, where there is collaboration between the Union, the states and the municipalities for the provision of schooling, Dourado & Oliveira (2009) emphasize that the situation is more complex with regard to the "establishment of quality parameters in an unequal and combined scenario that characterizes Brazilian education", because each federated entity has "its own educational systems" and the national State acts through "the binomial decentralization and deconcentration of educational actions", which corroborated a context "strongly marked by regional, state, municipal and local inequalities and by a large number of networks and norms that are not always articulated" (p. 204).

Regarding the policy of decentralization and the rhetoric of autonomy that accompanies it, Carnoy and Castro (1997) analyze that both, by themselves, do not introduce improvements in the quality of education and in the performance and learning of students. After all, for Popkewitz (1997), what "occurs is a decentralization of direction, while, at the same time, there is a centralization of strategies and epistemology". So:

On the one hand, decentralization aims to make the school more responsive to the demands of the nation; it must create a more efficient mechanism for the implementation of a mandate determined by the State. At the same time, flexibility, individuality, and critical thinking are emphasized, but positioned within the ecology of instrumental reasoning and possessive individualism. The discussion of universal patterns juxtaposed against the local determination of strategies presupposes centralized definitions (POPKIEWITZ, 1997, p. 176).

Educational evaluation, especially external evaluation, thus emerges, especially from the 1990s onwards, as a primary factor for the reorganization, rationalization and support for the reforms implemented by the State, with regard to the institution of mechanisms of control

and accountability of the subjects of the process, favoring the restructuring of public educational policies in the neoliberal perspective. under the discourse of valuing better equity and quality of education.

The Federal Government, then, guided a process of reorientation of the national education evaluation systems, widely advertised as tools for the promotion of diagnoses on the educational reality in Brazil, and the Government's focus "fell on large-scale evaluation, aimed at verifying the performance of students, through tests, and their results are interpreted as evidence of the quality of teaching of a given system, of a given network or school" (Sousa, 2009, p. 31).

Thus, in the context of educational policies carried out since the 1990s, evaluation initiatives emerge or are vastly potentialized, pointed out as responsible for favoring quality education. Nevertheless, what is verified in the scope of the process is that, erroneously, evaluation processes are considered by government spheres as management mechanisms for the implementation of educational policies considered to be more effective and efficient in view of the requirements posed by the current configuration of the Brazilian State, strongly marked by the desertion or reduction of its role as an entity that executes public policies. in the interests of the market.

3 EXTERNAL EVALUATIONS AND TEACHING WORK IN THE CONTEXT OF CURRENT EDUCATIONAL POLICIES: FOCUS ON THE NATIONAL HIGH SCHOOL EXAM - ENEM

From the 1990s onwards, in the midst of the implementation of the reform of the Brazilian State, as previously highlighted, the issue related to educational evaluation assumed centrality in the agenda of debates and discussions regarding public educational policies, at different levels and modalities of education. For a better understanding of the context in which evaluative policies assumed this centrality, it is necessary to refer to the scenario in which they were gestated, in the context of the process of redefining the role of the State, to which we referred earlier. This is important in order to understand the principles and guidelines that guide the educational evaluation proposals instituted and focused, above all, on the public education systems.

Notwithstanding the breadth and the numerous possibilities of debates on this theme, we highlight that, in this text, our focus is on the study of large-scale external evaluations - notably Enem, with emphasis on the aspects of accountability, the growing valorization of meritocracy and the privatization of education - considered as an important mechanism for

improving efficiency and effectiveness in education. along the lines outlined in the different government plans and proposals , in the most diverse education systems, aiming at greater optimization of the "school flow (completion rates, dropout, repetition, stimulating, for example, the implementation of continuous progression, acceleration classes, curricular organization in cycles)" and the implementation of "performance evaluation programs, administrative decentralization" (Sousa, 2003, p. 177).

When analyzing the nature of the evaluation policy instituted in recent decades, it is observed that they were given rise to the ideals of state regulation resulting from the redefinition of the role of the State, substantially changing the management of educational policies and corroborating so that external and large-scale evaluations increasingly constitute a management and control tool. in line with the growing market strengthening in education. From a neoliberal perspective, in a scenario outlined by the redefinition of the role of the State, the evaluation promotes the reorientation of the functions of the State with regard to the management of public education. Like this:

The ideology of privatization, by praising free-market capitalism, has led to fundamental alterations and changes in the role of the state, both at the local and national levels. In this sense, for example, reducing public spending required not only the adoption of a *managerial* (or *managerialist*) culture in the public sector, but also induced the creation of more sophisticated control and accountability mechanisms. Evaluation thus appears as a prerequisite for the implementation of these mechanisms. In fact, without clear and previously defined objectives, it is not possible to create *indicators* and measure the *performance* of systems in an era that is characterized by the demand to monitor national education levels and by the need to maintain and create high standards of scientific and technological innovation to face international competitiveness (Afonso, 2009, p. 49).

According to Sousa & Oliveira (2003), evaluation systems ended up assuming a fundamental role in the process, since they constitute a "central piece" in the control tools, alternating their focus "from processes to products", through systemic tests, in addition to what "legitimizes [m]o 'valuations' useful for inducing competitive procedures between schools and systems to improve rankings , basically defined by performance in large-scale evaluation instruments" (p. 875). This is worrying because, according to Casassus (2009, p. 74), these models of evidence do not measure:

[...] what the students know, nor what they know how to do. To evaluate what students know or know how to do, it is necessary to resort to other types of assessments, such

as *portfolios*, performance tests or constructivist tests [...], the only competence measured by these tests referred to in the standard is the ability to remember procedures (for mathematics) or recognize a result when multiple choices are made. It is a conceptual error to say that this type of tests measures what school students know and/or know how to do. It is an even more serious mistake to equate the score that is obtained with the aim of achieving quality education. Punctuation is not quality. Quality is not a score. A quality education is what can be called a good education. Quality education has to do, essentially, with the ability of the school institution to make it easier for people to become better people, for society to become a better society. Quality education is not an activity focused on getting high scores. They are different spheres and it is a mistake to confuse them, as it has negative consequences (p. 74).

A strong control tends to permeate these evaluation processes, which aim to evaluate the school's product, and not the teaching-learning process, quantitatively certifying a supposed quality through statistics and educational indexes. But:

[...] a system of student evaluation that aims, directly or indirectly, to allocate resources (or sanctions) to schools and teachers on the basis of academic performance and results can contribute to the worsening of school inequalities and social discrimination. In all likelihood, the concern with the *needs* of students will be replaced by an emphasis on *performances*, and cooperation between schools will give way to competition, transforming the educational market into a 'disciplinary mechanism that will tend to promote certain cultural forms and certain socio-psychological dispositions and marginalize others' (Afonso, 2009, p. 90-91).

Thus, great caution should be exercised when using the results of these evaluations as guidelines for the process of elaboration and/or improvement of public educational policies, as well as regarding the possible conditioning of curricula and contents required by standardized evaluation models, in view of the tendency for "teachers to spend time exercising students to choose an answer among those presented", aiming to "teach for the exam" (Casassus, 2009, p. 75).

The centrality of external evaluations in education is so great that more and more institutions such as the World Bank have been getting involved, encouraging all countries to invest more resources in improving their large-scale evaluation systems. In recent years, there has been a growing appreciation of external evaluations, with the aim of inducing the quality of public education, in a clear association between the quantity of performance and the quality of education. However, this exacerbated valuation of standardized evaluations is in line with the growing implementation of accountability policies in education in Brazil, demanded by a world economic scenario that has Brazil as the fifth country in international

preference for direct productive investment, thus requiring advances and improvements in the educational field, in order to "leverage innovation processes, as well as to improve Brazil's competitiveness in international disputes for the market" (Freitas, 2012, p. 345).

Therefore, more than ever, education assumes a highly strategic character, whether for the market or for the alleviation of poverty. From this perspective, "organized movements financed by entrepreneurs, private foundations, institutes, non-governmental organizations (NGOs) and even a nascent educational industry seek to establish themselves in the midst of this scenario", claiming to have "more direct and objective solutions to educational issues than professional educators, and this has led to a dispute of agendas between them and business education reformers" (Freitas, 2012, p. 345).

Increasingly valued in the educational field, external tests and examinations are based, above all, on economic approaches, focusing on the delimitation of a concept of quality and the accountability of education professionals, neglecting the right to an education founded on the basis of "collective, egalitarian and procedural dimensions", promoting the "idea of the right to learning, with a strongly individualistic and result-centered bias, capable of creating oppositions between the student and the system, understood as client and company", where "the public right to education becomes the private right of the consumer of educational products" (Ximenes, 2012, p. 360).

Therefore, according to Freitas (2011), these are two projects in dispute, where the first refers to the unfinished project of a state and republican public school, and the second is in line with the interests of the defenders of the commodification of education. Considering that the second has been increasingly overlapping in relation to the second, the question arises: what impacts can this model have on education professionals? Why does the proposal for the accountability of business reformers focus on managerialism and competition, instead of a democratic and collaborative model of accountability? The analysis of these and other issues is extremely relevant to understand the repercussions of an external evaluation model, in this case Enem, on the teaching work in high school.

Enem is one of the exams that has been assuming great importance and centrality in the context of the school community and society as a whole, given that it has become one of the central ways to enter higher education, both in public and private institutions – in the latter

case through ProUni⁵. Established by the Ministry of Education in 1998, through MEC Ordinance No. 438, of May 28, 1998, therefore, in the context of the current educational policies that have been implemented as part of a set of reforms in the educational field and, more broadly, of reforms of the Brazilian State, the Enem, then composed of 63 (sixty-three) multiple-choice questions and an essay, its main objective was "to evaluate the student's performance at the end of basic schooling, to assess the development of fundamental competencies for the full exercise of citizenship" (Brasil, Mec/Inep, 1998), and was also aimed at evaluating the quality of secondary education, providing the student, in a confidential way, with information about his results in the test, which intended to evaluate the following competencies:

I – master the cultured norm of the Portuguese language and make use of mathematical, artistic and scientific languages; II – to build and apply concepts from the various areas of knowledge [...]; III – selecting, organizing, relating, interpreting data and information represented in different ways [...]; IV – to relate information, represented in different forms, and knowledge available in concrete situations, to build consistent argumentation; V – to use the knowledge developed in the school to elaborate proposals for solidarity intervention in reality, respecting human values (Brasil, Mec/Inep, 1998).

However, in the first editions of Enem, despite all the investment made in publicity and propaganda by the Government, the participation of students in the exam was relatively small, not achieving the expected success, since, in addition to being of an optional nature, the fact of participating in the test did not bring concrete benefits to the student.

Based on this poor result - in the first edition of the exam there was a participation of less than 10% (ten percent) of the total high school students in the contest - the MEC began to mobilize Brazilian universities to adopt Enem in the selection process for access to higher education. From then on, Enem became popular with the adhesion of higher education institutions, which provided the credibility and strengthening of the Exam, decisively favoring its transformation into a new reference as alternatives to traditional selection processes,

⁵ The MEC linked the guarantee to full or partial ProUni scholarships to good performance in Enem. Therefore, only the student who has taken the Enem test of the previous year, and has obtained a grade considered satisfactory, in addition to also meeting at least one of the following criteria, can participate in ProUni: • have completed high school in a public school; • have completed high school in a private school with a full scholarship; • have attended all of high school partially in a public school and partially in a private institution, as a full scholarship holder; • be disabled; • Be a teacher in the public basic education network, in office, integrating the permanent staff of the institution and competing for vacancies in undergraduate courses. In this case, the family income per person is not considered.

significantly expanding the number of people enrolled in this exam, because, over the years, there was a growing adhesion of Universities to Enem.

From 2009 onwards, there were significant changes in the Enem⁶, which began to be held in 02 (two) days of tests, consisting of 180 (one hundred and eighty) multiple-choice questions and an essay. The new exam model started from a matrix of skills and contents associated with these skills and started to work with the Reference Matrix, presenting five cognitive axes, which are: - DL – mastering languages – Languages, Codes and their Technologies, with nine competencies and thirty skills; - CF – understanding phenomena – Mathematics and its Technologies, with seven competencies and thirty skills; - SP – face problem situations – Natural Sciences and their Technologies, with eight competencies and thirty skills; - CA – build argumentation – Human Sciences and their Technologies, with six competencies and 30 skills; and, - EP – prepare a proposal.

The exam began to be structured based on a matrix of skills and a set of contents associated with them, based on the definition of four areas of knowledge: Languages and codes and their technologies; Natural sciences and their technologies; Human sciences and their technologies; Mathematics and its technologies. According to the MEC, a national high school exam, focused on the most important contents and on a set of skills and competencies considered essential for students who complete this level of education, would constitute a fundamental instrument for educational policy, favoring, concretely, high school, making it better adapted to the current demands of the labor market (Brasil/Mec, 2010).

For Freitas (2012), however, one of the central negative aspects of the type of evaluation of Enem is that, by making use of the methodology of standardized exams, it adopts the perspective of accountability and meritocracy as central categories, which are strongly related to a third category, which is privatization . "It can be said that, in fact, the first two aim to create an environment to expand the privatization of the public education system" (Freitas, 2012, p. 386). This is because there is a well-articulated ideological fabric aimed at exposing the poor results of public schools, embarrassing teachers and managers and

⁶ Conducted annually by Inep, Enem is the largest evaluation in this modality in Latin America, being considered a privileged evaluation instrument and "a basis for the establishment of priorities and the creation of new educational policies", serving to "alert parents, students, teachers, students, principals and managers of the education networks to the challenges and difficulties of each region. Based on its individual performance, each school can evaluate its work and plan the improvement of the teaching process", in addition to "serving as a reference for the teacher to implement the reform of secondary education in the classroom, developing the contents in a contextualized and interdisciplinary way" (Brasil/Inep, 2009, n.p.).

promoting the obscuring of the State's responsibility regarding its obligation to offer a quality social education for all.

The school, and especially the teacher, is responsible for modifying the possible negative results of their students in a nationally centralized exam that ignores the reality of each school, comparing them objectively, despite the fact that they are located in different contexts and regions of the country. For Freitas (2012), this is a proposal from the perspective of "liberal policy", based on "equality of opportunities and not of results", which considers that, once "given the opportunities, what makes the difference between people is the personal effort, the merit of each one. Nothing is said about the level playing field at the starting point." Therefore, "social differences are transmuted into performance differences [...] and this discussion takes away from the issue of social inequality itself, the basis for the construction of inequality of results" (p. 383).

With the convenient release of responsibility from the State with regard to the poor conditions of public education in Brazil, on the one hand, and, on the other, the vigorous institution of a policy of individual accountability of the subjects, from the perspective of meritocracy, present through awards and/or punishments, the path to the "hypocrisy that preaches that it is possible to be 'all together for education', when the hegemonic interests of businessmen reduce education to producing the worker who is being expected at the door of the companies". This is in parallel with the ideological media effort undertaken to make people believe that the private is better than the public, advertising the products – not the process – of these exams "when it is convenient – that is, when the revenue of educational corporations is at stake, on the one hand, and, on the other, the ideological control of the educational system by business corporations" (Freitas, 2012, p. 387).

Well-structured public schools - such as institutions linked to universities, technical schools and military institutes - have been showing good educational results, proving that, if the necessary conditions exist, public schools can indeed present excellent results to society. However, what is lacking is investment and political will to implement an effectively quality public school project in Brazil. In the case of Maranhão, it was also verified, from the present study, that the demand for investments in teacher training and valorization at the secondary level of education is high.

Therefore, it is urgent to invest, in fact, in factors that corroborate a socially referenced quality public education, such as: initial and continuing training of education professionals, better curricular adequacy, encouragement of teacher interaction with the student, family and

community, improvements in teacher remuneration, definition of position, career and remuneration plans, democratic management, effective inclusion process, favoring school access for all, among others. In addition, according to Araujo (2008), the following are also **necessary central measures:**

1) invest in the valorization of the school, giving it material conditions to offer more educational experiences (science, culture, sports, arts, work); 2) to value the teacher, permanently qualifying him and remunerating him adequately; 3) to promote a pedagogical project that values the development of the ability to think and do articulately; and 4) favoring social control over schools and education systems.

Therefore, it is a mistake to adopt the results of an exam along the lines of Enem as parameters for establishing the quality level of high school, since its objective is to individually evaluate students and graduates of this level of education as to their personal competencies and abilities, by means of a standardized test, guided by a matrix of competencies defined *a priori*. In addition, adherence to the exam occurs voluntarily, and it is solely up to the student to decide whether or not to participate in the exam, so that neither the school nor the State has effective control over the adherence of students to the exam, making it dangerous to adopt its results as a way to evaluate the level of quality of high school.

4 TEACHING WORK IN HIGH SCHOOL: ENEM AND ITS REFLECTIONS ON TEACHING ACTIVITY IN THE MUNICIPALITY OF SÃO LUÍS – MA

The focus of the present study had as its central axis of investigation and analysis the educational policies instituted from the 1990s onwards, with a specific focus on Enem and its repercussions on the teaching work in high schools in the urban region of São Luís - MA, from the perspective of analyzing and understanding possible demands and requirements placed on this professional, in the context of the implementation of external evaluation policies, which are in line with the regulatory frameworks instituted by the educational reforms. We have chosen, therefore, to develop a study subsidized by the discussions inherent to the reform of the State, which, in turn, are linked to the demands of the current global capitalist system.

As we enter the scope of the discussion regarding Enem in the municipality of São Luís - MA and its repercussions on the teaching work, we present the results of the analysis of the data collected throughout the research, focusing on the way in which Enem, supposedly, has been promoting transformations in the work of teachers in high school. In

this sense, considering that the current Enem evaluation model was instituted as a tool to promote the restructuring of secondary education and to "stimulate" teachers to act in search of results, we investigate, in the present study, the way in which this process has been developing in practice and what consequences it has given rise to in the scope of the teaching activity, aiming to understand how educational and evaluation policies, notably Enem, have been implemented in high school, in the municipality of São Luís - MA, as well as the new configurations that, supposedly, the teaching work assumed in this stage of teaching, from the implementation of the exam.

Educational reforms in recent decades have been focused on the issue of management, which includes school organization, evaluation, aiming at results and financing. As a result, a set of norms focused on the standardization of fundamental processes, such as the textbook, centralized curricular proposals and technical control over the curriculum in schools, external evaluations, etc. In this context, for Contreras (2002), teachers have been suffering a growing loss of autonomy, in a clear process of precariousness of the teaching work, with repercussions especially with regard to the strengthening of the culture of performance, where, among others, the teaching work is urged to be exercised according to performance indicators, guided by the logic of efficiency, effectiveness, excellence, competence and employability, so that the structure and management of public education networks have to act, increasingly, as a function of productivity, excellence and supposed efficiency, translating, according to Oliveira (2004), guidelines from the area of administration to the pedagogical field.

It was possible to verify, in the process of conducting the research, based on the statements of the interviewed subjects, when we inquired about the changes in terms of contents, methodological strategies and evaluation instituted in high school after the Enem came into force, that there were many changes made in the scope of teaching, with a view to its adequacy to the demands and requirements posed by the exam. One of the teachers interviewed, who teaches History at the state school that obtained the highest score in the 2015 Enem in São Luís - MA, for example, states that, in the face of Enem, one of the biggest problems that arise is the absence of the habit of reading by students, requiring the teacher to redouble his effort in the search for ways and strategies to stimulate this.

Another teacher interviewed from the same school, in the area of Physics, pointed out that one of the difficulties of Enem that strongly impacts the teaching practice refers to the fact that it is a standardized assessment, disregarding the regional particularities that are

almost always not taken into account in the evaluation process, but need to be worked on in the classroom, given the coexistence of Enem with the traditional entrance exams in public and private educational institutions, which require regional knowledge.

Therefore, these teachers affirm that, with the institution of Enem, greater demand and work overload tends to be imputed to teachers, who even need to work on weekends, for example, thus explaining a process of intensification of teaching work after Enem is in force.

In view of this situation, and analyzing the way teachers position themselves in the face of it, it was possible to verify that a significant part of the teaching staff of the schools surveyed is young and has less than 10 years of teaching experience. In addition, the number of teachers who did not pass a public examination and had a temporary employment relationship with the State is significant, which can be analyzed as a strategy to ensure greater adherence to the productivist educational model adopted by the schools of the Maranhão state network, in the race for greater efficiency and effectiveness, translated into the achievement of quantitative results and the concrete possibility of achieving the educational indices and goals imposed by the Government (Dale, 2004), inhibiting criticism of the evaluative model posed, corroborating Oliveira's position, when he states that, in this context:

[...] there is such a great inequality among the teachers themselves, due to the forms of hiring and remuneration. I see this as a big problem. And this means that Brazil has a situation that, from my point of view, is more urgent to be resolved than most of our (countries) neighbors (2012, p. 01).

The research revealed that Enem exposes many schools and teachers to embarrassment due to the dissemination and wide publicity of its unsatisfactory results, disregarding that, many times, there are no minimum conditions of competitiveness. The Biology teacher of the researched school whose Enem result in the 2015 edition was considered average highlighted this problem, emphasizing that:

It is a disparity in my point of view. Because, although we try to work high school focused on Enem, which is to reach higher education, we see that the student's gap is very large, due to a number of factors. We have here some examples in the morning, the fact that they don't have, for example, teachers. There are classes there that didn't have a Geography teacher all year, didn't have an English teacher, etc. [...] So he goes to Enem with a very large deficit, in my point of view.

There is, therefore, a lag between some schools and others, but, nevertheless, the emphasis on competition and *school ranking*, puts teachers in a situation of tension due to the pressure for results in working conditions that are often quite precarious. Thus, the immense legitimacy that has been attributed to this evaluation model is worrying, since it is from the results – and not from the process – of the evidence that the State thinks and executes the "policies of *accountability*, incentives and punishments, allocation of resources, orientation of competences, use of information for decision-making, etc." (Casassus, 2009, p. 74), favoring competition between schools and between subjects, even giving rise to the payment of variable remuneration.

In this context, it is clear that this evaluation model is not useful or favorable to teachers, nor is there evidence that it allows teachers to teach better classes, since "using them as management instruments only serves to identify positions and *rankings*, or in other words: segregate and disintegrate; generating, as a consequence and at all levels of the system, a lot of useless and unfair suffering" (Casassus, 2009, p. 76). The author confirms that he is not against evaluation, "since it is convenient to have some kind of evaluation", but he is against an

[...] evaluation that has as its consequence not the improvement of quality, but the increase in pressure on teachers, through a paraphernalia of rewards and punishments. It is very difficult to understand the logic underlying theories that lead to thinking that teachers will teach better if punished (or rewarded). It is well known in the management literature and in the management practices of ministries and departments of education that this system does not work. It sometimes has some effect in the very short term, but it quickly disappears (Casassus, 2009, p. 76).

The Sociology Teacher, interviewed at the same school, pointed out that, from the arrival of Enem in schools, it was imperative to change its work methodology, aiming at the adoption of supposedly more innovative and current practices, with a view to carrying out more dynamic classes. This would have been, according to the aforementioned Professor, especially difficult for those "older at home", who had to redouble efforts to update themselves in the face of the demands and requirements posed by this standardized exam model.

According to Ximenes (2012), the Proposal for a Constitutional Amendment of Meritocracy (PEC n. 82/11) is being processed in the National Congress, aiming to amend article 206 of the Federal Constitution to include the principle of meritocracy in public education in Brazil and, in line, the creation of the "Educational Development Arrangements

(ADE)" was approved in 2011 by the National Council of Education. favoring the articulation of public and private investments, to be applied at the federal, state and municipal levels with a focus on accountability, rewarding, punishment and privatization (Máximo, 2011).

For Freitas (2012), however, these policies falsify the idea that a good education is directly proportional to high grades in standardized exams, as well as omitting the fact that the objective conditions of infrastructure and functioning of schools and the socioeconomic reality of students interfere with their results, so that "the right to learn is skillfully used to hide children's own misery and the lack of conditions for learning, and to make believe that schools and teachers are solely responsible for the failure of the poorest children" (2012, p. 346).

According to Freitas (2011), the idea of making managers and teachers responsible for the quality of education is old, however, in Brazil, this has gained strength in the last decade, stimulated by "corporate educational reforms", which increase market force on educational issues, under the argument of improving education, guided by the so-called "theory of accountability", of a managerialist and verticalized nature (Afonso, 2009; Freitas, 2012) and by the "concepts of accountability, meritocracy and privatization", in view of the "belief that, if the public school is managed by the logic of private initiative, then it will improve" (Freitas, 2012, p. 346), which is a fallacy.

However, as has been happening in most private schools, which prioritize almost exclusively the preparation of their students for external evaluations, many public schools have also begun to mobilize themselves according to this type of evaluation, including developing preparatory courses in extra hours and weekends, in a clear intensification of teaching work due to the valorization of large-scale external evaluations. On the subject, for Lenoir (2004):

The issue of the obligation of results in education, arising from this new commercial culture, is fully inscribed [...] in the neoliberal logic. In fact, in order to respond to the demands of this global phenomenon of globalization, the ideologically hegemonic neoliberal discourse puts the principle of excellence at the forefront, and it is accompanied by other master words: performance, effectiveness, efficiency, skills, flexibility, accountability, accountability, accountability, performance, quality management, accountability, etc. (p. 258).

Analyzing this context, it is worrisome to see that the ideals of a liberating, democratic, emancipatory education, focused on the autonomy and protagonism of the subjects, along the lines defended by Freire (1974; 1983; 2002), among others, tend to be subjugated, as

verified in the testimony of the Mathematics Teacher, who teaches at the state school that obtained the worst score in the Enem in 2015, in the urban region of São Luís - MA, which reveals that, currently, all the school's attention is basically focused on Enem and its demands and requirements, because, since the beginning of the school year, in its annual planning, the school "already places Enem as the main focus. [...] We put the Enem to awaken the student to this issue, so that he worries about it from the 1st year, and also in the 2nd and 3rd. When it comes to the 3rd year, that's when the demand is higher in relation to Enem".

The Portuguese Language Teacher at the same school, in turn, points out that the objective is "to work mainly on writing, meeting the (required) skills of Enem. We observe competence by competence and then preparatory work is done for this, because we see that the writing of Enem is also worrying".

These reflections point to the fact that Enem has been reorienting the pedagogical activity, increasing evaluation practices that overestimate standardized tests, with impacts on the objectives of evaluation, which no longer aim to ensure that the objectives of the teaching work are aimed at ensuring the learning of all students, as is the case of formative evaluation. On the contrary, being linked to a standardized curriculum, such as the one fostered by Enem, external and large-scale evaluation promotes traditional evaluation practices, based on the requirement of teaching a set of contents at a predetermined time, harming one of the basic premises of individualized quality pedagogical work, which is that "students can present different learning rhythms. In this way, the curricular flexibility necessary to meet the needs and differentiated rhythms of students is compromised" (Sousa; Arcas, 2010, p. 195), with repercussions on the teaching work, as their autonomy is gradually being withdrawn.

Therefore, it is complicated to hold teachers responsible for not achieving the stipulated goals, most of the time without their knowledge, because, as a rule, the concrete working conditions of teachers and educational managers and their impact on learning and the ways in which schools function are disregarded, being, therefore, It is essential to establish the inseparability between accountability and the existing objective material conditions, under penalty of incurring the injustice of focusing attention only on the results of standardized tests, disregarding the process. For Maués (2011), there is:

[...] There is a consensus that the quality of the teacher is the main variable that influences the students' results. This supposed correlation is studied based on the students' grades and some indicators such as diplomas, pedagogical experience, theoretical skills, knowledge in a discipline (p. 05).

For Ximenes (2012, p. 358), the impacts of educational accountability proposals are usually underestimated with regard to the legal regime of the "right to education and the quality standard and, specifically, on the role that national evaluation policies will play in the management of education systems [...] with serious risks to the idea of universality and equality in education". But, with the "responsibility linked to performance goals, [...]the trend is to increase the productivist pressure on teachers and schools, stimulating resistance strategies and the adoption of differentiation mechanisms in the public network".

With the realization of this research in the state high school network of the urban region of São Luís - MA, it was found, despite the above, almost unrestricted adherence to this model that gives extreme value to external evaluations, in the context of educational institutions at different levels and modalities of education. It was observed that, of the 12 teachers interviewed, the majority said they were in favor of Enem as a fair and democratic mechanism for access to higher education. This is worrisome, as it is verified that socioeconomic factors, for example, are neglected in the process of choosing students to enter higher education, and research reveals that there are three main determinant aspects of the results in terms of educational evaluation, which are: 1) socioeconomic origin of the student, 2) conditions of education provision and 3) indicators of school result/performance (Alves, Passador & Noronha, 2007).

It is possible to infer that this situation is aggravated when, when disregarding the low quality of a large part of the education offered, young people from public high schools are required to take an exam such as the Enem - standardized and which disregards the particularities of the education networks and systems - as a condition to access a place in higher education. For Valente (2010), among the variables that most impact the definition of those entering higher education, the socioeconomic level stands out, so that it is important to "demystify pretentious goals such as democratizing access to vacancies and enabling academic mobility", because there are effectively no foundations that "allow us to consider the changes in Enem efficient to change the profile of those entering highly attractive courses (p. 01). Valente (2010) also reiterates that:

Studies on the profile of university freshmen indicate that the socioeconomic level of students greatly influences the classification process. It is understood that those students who have access to a better quality school obtain more advanced levels than those who had access to lower quality schools. The "new" Enem does not take this into account and, while enabling a national dispute for access to universities, does not enable a greater chance of

admission for students from more popular classes. In this way, the possibility of national choice gives more chance to those who already have it (p. 01).

According to the author, it is "a type of social selectivity disguised as technical selectivity, strengthening the entry into federal public universities of students with higher purchasing power and from richer regions of the country". Therefore, improving Enem "which continues to be classificatory, seems to us to be of no use. Effective would be to apply compatible funds [...] to universalize high school education with quality and significantly expand access to public and quality higher education" (Valente, 2010, p. 01).

In view of this scenario related to the implementation of Enem, it is verified that external evaluations, prepared in a standardized way, focused on results, currently constitute one of the main tools that have been serving the State in the exercise of its control role, imposing *accountability* on educational systems, guiding and valuing performance performances. In view of this growing demand for accountability through the results achieved by each school, management and teaching work tend to be considered strategic for achieving results, which become the guiding axis of all pedagogical action, as one of the central functions of the Evaluating State, and as a result of the commercial culture inherent to the neoliberal logic (Lenoir, 2004). It should be noted that the importance of educational evaluation is a consensus among scholars, regardless of their political or ideological position. Disagreements occur in relation to the definition of their role, their functions and, above all, the use to be made of the results obtained.

For Sousa (2003), it is not possible to compare all schools in the various regions of the country through a quantitative evaluation, however, in practice, it is verified that a clear "comparison and classification of the federated units" has been established, stimulating competition between them with the objective of reaching better positions in the ranking of school units" (p. 180).

Discussing the repercussions of external evaluations on the teaching work in the researched context requires contextualization, especially with regard to the socio-political-economic conjuncture in which the problem is situated. This context has a direct impact on the teaching practice, restructuring it through the intensification of its precariousness, inducing profound changes in the forms of management and organization of pedagogical work in the school. For Mancebo, Maués & Chaves (2006), these changes generate drastic results for the teaching work, including the proliferation of temporary hiring of teachers, which

tends to impact on the mobilization of the community and to deepen competitiveness and individualism. In addition:

[...] The teaching work is fully affected by these changes, which force the pace of production, increase the tasks to be performed, institute atypical schedules, with the acceleration in the performance of activities and the deepening of a "productivist-consumerist" dynamic, including practices such as the hasty reading of the latest release, the lightening of courses, the training of more students in less time, reducing a time of coexistence, a collective field of creation - with the text, the theme, colleagues and teachers - necessary for the "circuit of resonances of thought to be established" (Mancebo, Maués & Chaves, 2006, p. 49).

Regarding the evaluation strategies and techniques maintained by the teacher in the classroom after the implementation of the Enem, it was possible to understand, from the statements of the interviewed subjects, that there is a pressure for changes to be implemented. As highlighted by the English Language Teacher who teaches at the researched school that obtained the highest score in the Enem: "[...] we work in three ways: they are home activities, research and exercises, both direct exercises with content, and more contextualized exercises, focused on what falls in the Enem". The Mathematics Teacher of the same school, in turn, states that "[...] in the third year we include the mock exam more [...] because that traditional way of evaluating no longer fits". Therefore, from these statements, it is evident a reorientation of the school's evaluative activity, to meet the demands posed by the exams, to the detriment of a greater concern, for the critical formation of students, aiming at the formation of citizens, for a conscious action with society.

Throughout the study, it was possible to verify that, especially after the creation of Enem, this perspective of critical and citizen education of students tends to be impaired and the teaching activity plastered, because, in order to meet the goal of leveraging the results of Enem, classes are aimed almost exclusively at favoring technical knowledge. In the 03 (three) schools surveyed, the interviewed subjects confirmed that, in view of the demands and requirements of Enem, there were many changes implemented in the contents, teaching strategies and evaluation in their respective schools, aiming at their greater effectiveness in the face of the exam, saying, in their majority, that they were in favor of the changes instituted.

In view of this, we highlight the perspective of Valente (2010, p. 01), when he questioned the supposed salvationism of Enem, to which many of the teachers interviewed adhered. The author states that there are "structural problems" and "technical and political deficiencies" in the exam, denouncing its "meritocratic, classificatory and ranking character

of the institutions", also stating that it does not contribute to "effective improvement of the standards of social quality of Brazilian education" and has even become an instrument that induces a "type of education management that bets on competition between students and schools, minimizes the role of the State in promoting quality education and maximizes the individualistic and competitive character in education", with impacts in terms of new attributions and responsibilities attributed to the teacher, in a constant search for quantitative results, even if this does not mean improvements in educational quality.

Finally, we emphasize that the present study revealed that, despite the implementation of large-scale evaluations, notably Enem, favoring *accountability*, the growing lack of responsibility of the State and accountability of the school and the teaching subjects, meritocracy and the intensification of teaching work, stimulating ranking and competition among educational institutions and among education professionals, these, increasingly imputed as to the success or failure of the students, there is not, in opposition to these new demands, a State policy effectively aimed at valuing education professionals in Maranhão, as well as there was no evidence of significant forms of organization and/or resistance of the teaching subjects in the face of the demands arising from the intensification of the teaching work, thus providing opportunities for new studies that can better understand this and other issues related to the theme in question.

5 FINAL CONSIDERATIONS

The present study allowed us to understand that there were many changes **implemented in secondary education**, from the introduction of **Enem as** a large-scale external evaluation that has been assuming centrality in the context of public educational policies since the 1990s, with **significant and worrying repercussions** on the teaching work, due to the growing demands and demands placed on workers at this level of education.

Thus, when we understand the consequences that this evaluation model has been producing on **the teaching work** in basic education and in high school in particular, **in the context of the evaluating State**, from the analysis of the data collected during the data collection of the research, it was verified the existence of a confrontation between the current context of educational policies, with a focus on Enem, as a standardized external assessment, on the one hand, and, on the other, the teaching work in high school, whose subjects have been urged to develop a set of new knowledge and skills to respond to the demands presented by the economic scenario and the expanding capitalist market.

Throughout the investigation carried out, **this research, developed in 03 (three)** state public schools located in the urban region of the municipality of São Luís – MA, **ratified that**, from the implementation of this exam, there was greater pressure for quantitative results, changing the practice and teaching practice, which were urged to adapt to the exam. Among the main repercussions of large-scale evaluation initiatives in the school scenario are: the centrality of the products or results, to the detriment of the process; the accountability and the growing use of meritocracy with regard to the individual treatment of institutions or students, corroborating the competitiveness among educational institutions and also among the teaching subjects who work in them; the measurement of staggered and predominantly quantitative, from the perspective of mere classification; overvaluation of external evaluation and the promotion of *ranking*, in a way that is disconnected from self-evaluation.

Founded within the scope of such characteristics, this evaluation model tends to impose a dynamic in the education systems that strongly stimulates the establishment of mechanisms aimed at accountability and meritocracy as privileged management instruments, in addition to the conformity of the curriculum to standardized tests of student performance, which are even understood as useful and relevant knowledge parameters to guide the contents worked on in the classroom. class, to be, later, the object of testing.

It is worrying to attribute to an exam along the lines of Enem the capacity to reorient the curriculum of high school, as we verified in the research carried out. This unified test model has led, among others, to the focus on content of a national nature, to the detriment of content of a regional scope, with negative implications for the education of students, given the neglect of school knowledge concerning regional differences. Another issue to be reflected on, given that it has repercussions on the teaching work, is the fact that this exam is applied before the end of the school year, favoring the success of private schools in the *ranking* of institutions widely publicized in the media, harming, on the other hand, public schools that, as a rule, are unable to anticipate the contents required in the exam, as private schools seem to do.

However, from the present study, it was found that, despite the changes imposed on the practice of teaching work in high school from Enem, with new attributions and responsibilities being imputed to the teacher, in view of the repercussions of the Enem results on the school and the teaching work in high school, including the attempt to make teachers and school managers individually responsible for the results achieved in the contest, without a more in-depth analysis of the objective working conditions, which are often extremely

precarious in most public schools, a significant portion of the teachers interviewed were in favor of Enem in its current format, demonstrating that they do not understand the relationship between their situation of exploitation, with the growing demands of work, and the meritocratic educational policy that has been imposed in Latin America. in Brazil and in the State of Maranhão.

We found that this occurs, among others, because most of the teachers interviewed, even when they affirm that they are having to work on weekends, at home or at home, preparing simulations referring to the Enem to be applied in the classroom and preparing/training students for standardized tests, do not realize that they are suffering an intensification in their work process or that they are being imputed in terms of greater attributions and responsibilities due to the Enem requirements. There are, however, those who do perceive that their autonomy is being compromised and that they feel expropriated in relation to their free time, but these, in general, are professionals with a temporary work contract, hired only for a predefined period, without stability, so that, thus, they do not feel comfortable to question or criticize these changes instituted in their teaching practice.

Regarding the training and valorization of the teaching work after the implementation of the Enem, it was not possible to verify that, in contrast to the demands posed by this exam, there is an effective State policy aimed at valuing its teaching professionals in the State of Maranhão, whether from the perspective of career, remuneration and/or continuing education. In addition, in a scenario of exacerbated appreciation of meritocracy and the individual accountability of the subjects, there are great difficulties to enforce this right, while the search for personal achievements prevails, to the detriment of the collectivity.

In view of the above, although we do not intend to have all the answers to the many questions that remain open regarding the uses and repercussions of standardized evaluations on the teaching work in Brazil, we intend, with this work, to contribute to the debate around the theme in question, given the lack of discussion on the subject in the specific context of high school in the municipality of São Luís and in the State of Maranhão. Finally, we do not understand having concluded, in this space, the debate on the broad opportunities for studies related to the theme addressed. Therefore, several questions remain open and include the possibility of specific studies capable of exploring them with greater propriety and pertinence.

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