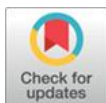


## Colorless Council: intersections of gender and race in CACS/Fundeb - south Bahia



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### Abstract

The study problematizes the omission of data on the participation of black women in the Monitoring and Social Control Councils of the Fund for the Maintenance and Development of Basic Education and the Appreciation of Professionals in Education, reflecting on structural racism in Brazil and the compromise in the lack of visibility of minority majorities and/or ethnic and racial minorities in decision-making spaces. The objective is to investigate the representation of black people and women in the Information System of the Monitoring and Social Control Council of the National Fund for the Development of Education in the municipalities of southern Bahia. Methodologically, documents such as minutes, regulations and municipal, state and federal laws were analyzed. In the theoretical debate, the analysis of data and policies was discussed in dialogue with Gohn (2006); structural racism based on Almeida (2019) and Gomes (2019); and intersectionality by Crenshaw (2004). Despite advances, such as greater female participation, including in presidencies, information on color/race and gender is practically nonexistent. This gap makes it difficult to analyze intersectionality and reinforces the need to encourage theoretical debate and denounce the racism implicit in the structure of the system.

### Keywords

education financing; CACS/Fundeb; gender; race.

### Conselho sem cor: intersecções de gênero e raça nos CACS/Fundeb – sul da Bahia

### Resumo

O estudo problematiza a omissão de dados sobre a participação de mulheres negras nos Conselhos de Acompanhamento e Controle Social do Fundo de Manutenção e Desenvolvimento da Educação Básica e de Valorização dos Profissionais da Educação, refletindo sobre o racismo estrutural no Brasil e o comprometimento na falta da visibilidade das maiorias minorizadas e/ou minorias étnicas e raciais em espaços de decisão. O objetivo é investigar a representatividade de pessoas negras e mulheres no Sistema de Informação do Conselho de Acompanhamento e Controle Social do Fundo Nacional de Desenvolvimento da Educação nos municípios do sul da Bahia.



Metodologicamente, analisaram-se documentos como atas, regimentos e leis municipais, estaduais e federais. No debate teórico, discutiram-se a análise dos dados e de políticas em diálogo com Gohn (2006); o racismo estrutural a partir de Almeida (2019) e Gomes (2019); e a interseccionalidade por Crenshaw (2004). Apesar de avanços, como a maior participação feminina, inclusive nas presidências, as informações sobre cor/raça e gênero são praticamente inexistentes. Essa lacuna dificulta a análise da interseccionalidade e reforça a necessidade de fomentar o debate teórico e a denunciar o racismo implícito na estrutura do sistema.

**Palavras-chave**

financiamento da educação; CACS/Fundeb; gênero; raça.

**Consejo sin color: intersecciones de género y raza en CACS/Fundeb - sur de Bahía****Resumen**

El estudio problematiza la omisión de datos sobre la participación de las mujeres negras en los Consejos de Seguimiento y Control Social del Fondo para el Mantenimiento y Desarrollo de la Educación Básica y para la Valorización de los Profesionales de la Educación, reflexionando sobre el racismo estructural en Brasil y el compromiso en el ausencia de visibilidad de mayorías minorizadas y/o minorías étnicas y raciales en los espacios de toma de decisiones. El objetivo es investigar la representación de personas negras y mujeres en el Sistema de Información del Consejo de Seguimiento y Control Social del Fondo Nacional de Desarrollo de la Educación en los municipios del sur de Bahía. Metodológicamente se analizaron documentos como actas, reglamentos y leyes municipales, estatales y federales. En el debate teórico se discutieron análisis de datos y políticas en diálogo con Gohn (2006); racismo estructural de Almeida (2019) y Gomes (2019); y la interseccionalidad de Crenshaw (2004). A pesar de los avances, como una mayor participación femenina, incluso en las presidencias, la información sobre color/raza y género es prácticamente inexistente. Esta brecha dificulta el análisis de la interseccionalidad y refuerza la necesidad de fomentar el debate teórico y denunciar el racismo implícito en la estructura del sistema.

**Palabras clave**

financiamiento de la educación; CACS/Fundeb; género; raza.

**1 Introduction**

This work discusses the absence of the color/race item in the Information System of the Monitoring and Social Control Council (SisCACS) of the Fundo Nacional de Desenvolvimento da Educação (FNDE). The purpose is to demonstrate that there is a structure characterized by the invisibility and lack of representation of majority minorities and/or ethnic and racial minorities in decision-making spaces. This underscores the need to promote discussion of race and gender issues in the boardroom.

The proposal of this study follows the research path outlined from a qualitative, exploratory approach, using documentary analysis as a research procedure, involving a systematic review, a legislative corpus, and documentary sources, to evaluate data that allow the identification of the intersectionality of race and gender in the composition of the Conselhos de Acompanhamento e Controle Social (CACS) of Fundeb in Southern Bahia.

In the construction of the theoretical basis that serves to understand the facts that are studied about the Educational Councils, some contributions have been considered.

The word "council" comes from the Latin "concilium". In turn, this comes from the verb "consulo/consulere" and means to listen to someone, to submit something to someone's consideration. These civil society collectives are distinct from other historical processes. Their trajectory parallels that of participatory democracy itself (Cury, 2006).

We understand the Education Council as a proposer and supervisor of public policies related to the financing of basic education at the national, state and municipal levels. In a historical-institutional analysis, it is possible to state that the councils in Brazil are not new bodies, having existed before the constituent process that led to the Constitution of the Federative Republic of Brazil of 1988, and having appeared in the structure and organization of education since the Brazilian Empire (Cortês, 2005).

During the historical review of 1842, when analyzing other contexts that brought the debate on supervision and financing to organize public education, we identified the creation of the first council in Brazil by Law No. 172 in the Province of Bahia, called Council of Public Instruction, whose composition was made up of six members appointed directly by the president of the province. Very centralized in nature, the councilors were subordinate to the government's interests, without autonomy and with political interference in education. Thus, the first Councils were inspired by the model of the English boards, serving the government and, in its name, exercising their functions (Bordignon, 2020). In different historical processes, we have followed the creation and restructuring of different types of Councils, with similar functions, which allows us to think about transformations, ruptures, and permanence in the destiny and function given to them. However, we will analyze their particularities in the contemporaneity.

After the 1988 Constitution, with the reaffirmation of the policy of financial decentralization of resources by the Union to the states and municipalities, the CACS were created, regulated by Law No. 9,424/1996. This law provided for the Fundo de

Manutenção e Desenvolvimento do Ensino Fundamental e de Valorização do Magistério (Fundef), later revisited and replaced by Law No. 11,494/07, which established Fundeb, currently regulated by the new permanent Fundeb, Law No. 14,113, of December 25, 2020.

We have observed changes in the composition of the Councils, based on definitions that demonstrate the effective representation of the different segments, indications, often under the supervision and commitment of their peers, in accordance with Regulation No. 808, dated December 29, 2022, which provides guidance on the new composition. At the municipal level, they were defined as follows:

- a) 2 (two) representatives of the municipal Executive Branch, of which at least 1 (one) is from the Municipal Department of Education or equivalent educational body;
  - b) 1 (one) representative of public basic education teachers;
  - c) 1 (one) representative of the principals of public elementary schools;
  - d) 1 (one) representative of the technical-administrative staff of public elementary schools;
  - e) 2 (two) representatives of the parents of students in public elementary education;
  - f) 2 (two) representatives of students in public basic education, of which 1 (one) is appointed by the secondary school student association.
- § 1º The following will also be part of the municipal councils of the Funds, when applicable: I - 1 (one) representative of the respective Municipal Education Council (CME); II - 1 (one) representative of the Guardianship Council referred to in Law No. 8,069 of July 13, 1990, appointed by their peers; III - 2 (two) representatives of civil society organizations; IV - 1 (one) representative of indigenous schools; V - 1 (one) representative of rural schools; VI - 1 (one) representative of quilombola schools (Brazil, 2020).

Actions aimed at financing education are historic. Nevertheless, the subjectivities surrounding the implementation of the Fundeb law at the federal, state, and municipal levels - a document that aims to promote the creation of the Basic Education Fund's Supervisory Board, which is responsible for monitoring public education accounts, ensuring their transparency, and issuing the appropriate opinion before the municipal accounts are sent to the audit office - show that the issue of financing is still marked by constant cycles of progress and setbacks.

Understanding the relevance of investing in the discussion, along with various public policies aimed at strengthening democratic education and articulating the debate on educational funding, the seminal public guarantees for the promotion of racial and gender identities, in different socio-educational spaces of management and institutional power, as a form of political and social visibility in confronting racism and guaranteeing equal rights of representation and belonging and, at the same time, considering the

variables of race and gender in the collection and dissemination of data in the councils. The omission of data on the participation of women, especially black women, in CACS/Fundeb, is intertwined with how racism is operationalized in Brazil.

## 2 Methodology

The proposal of this study delineates the research path traced from a qualitative approach, of the exploratory type, using the documentary research procedure. As a documentary study, it extends beyond academic works, articles, and documents that have already been systematized and published, utilizing documents that have not yet undergone "scientific treatment" (Oliveira, 2012, p. 59). According to André (2013, p. 97), documentary analysis "[...] enables the investigation of the phenomenon taking into account its 'multiple dimensions'", based on a "[...] situated and in-depth analysis".

Regarding the research locus, the southern part of Bahia is heterogeneous, which allows us to distinguish the municipalities into five identity territories. From this perspective, the ethnic-racial and gender representation of the CACS/Fundeb counselors will be examined.

The south of Bahia is the geographic mesoregion located in the state of Bahia, made up of 70 municipalities, grouped into microregions, which are: Ilhéus-Itabuna, Teixeira de Freitas, Ipiaú, Eunápolis-Porto Seguro and Valença.

The municipalities covered by the southern Bahia mesoregion are: Alcobaça, Almadina, Arataca, Aurelino Leal, Barra do Rocha, Barro Preto, Belmonte, Buerarema, Cairu, Camacan, Camamu, Canavieiras, Caravelas, Coaraci, Eunápolis, Firmino Alves, Floresta Azul, Gandu, Gongogi, Guaratinga, Ibicaraí, Ibirapitanga, Ibirapuã, Ibirataia, Igrapiúna, Ilhéus, Ipiaú, Itabela, Itabuna, Itacaré, Itagibá, Itagimirim, Itaju do Colônia, Itajuípe, Itamaraju, Itamari, Itanhém, Itapé, Itapebi, Itapitanga, Ituberá, Jucuruçu, Jussari, Lajedão, Maraú, Mascote, Medeiros Neto, Mucuri, Nilo Peçanha, Nova Ibiá, Nova Viçosa, Pau Brasil, Piraí do Norte, Porto Seguro, Prado, Presidente Tancredo Neves, Santa Cruz Cabralia, Santa Cruz da Vitória, Santa Luzia, São José da Vitória, Taperoá, Teixeira de Freitas, Teolândia, Ubaitaba, Ubatã, Una, Uruçuca, Valença, Vereda and Wenceslau Guimarães.

The information collected in the 70 Municipal Councils of southern Bahia was categorized into identification data and content subsidies and analyzed through documentary research. This data includes the number of full and substitute members, the number of representations by segment, the legal acts creating, restructuring, and appointing councilors, the records of the inauguration and election of the president and vice-president, the official letters of election or appointment of members, the term of office of the councils, the frequency of meetings, the form of the collegial body, the representation of quilombola, indigenous and rural schools, the number of full councilors, the gender identity of the president of the council and the gender identity of the vice-president, as well as the segments of origin of the president and vice-president.

At the same time, theoretical/bibliographical studies were carried out based on Almeida (2019) and Gomes (2019) on structural racism and Crenshaw (2004) to deepen reflections on intersectionality. Gonh (2006) will also be the basis for dialogue to deepen reflections on CACS/Fundeb.

### 3 Results and discussion

More recently, the FNDE developed a new version of the Computerized Management System for CACS-Fundeb (SisCACS), intended for the complete registration of Fundeb counselors at federal, district, state, and municipal levels through a valid profile on the federal government website. They must fill in the personal data by segments represented, government name, social name, individual taxpayer registration number (CPF), sex, gender identity, institutional email, telephone, postal code, federation unit, address, complement, number, neighborhood or district, municipality, the act of indication and act of appointment at the beginning of the term (Brazil, 2024).

Taking in consideration that the management of CACS/Fundeb will be exercised for a period of four years, as indicated in the laws, we verified that the councils were duly constituted and legalized from January 2023 to December 2026. We analyzed which of them contained information on the legal aspects of the composition of the Council members and other documents that had not yet been added to the SisCACS/FNDE system. We also search directly on the Portal da Transparência e no Diário Oficial of each municipal entity for the desired information. Through SisCACS, it

is possible to access various data and attached documents, such as the number of full and alternate members, the number of representations by segments, the legal acts of creation, restructuring, and appointment of councilors, the records of inauguration and election of the presidency and vice-presidency, the official letters of election or appointment of members, the term of office of the Councils, the frequency of meetings and the form of the collegiate body, as indicated in Table 1.

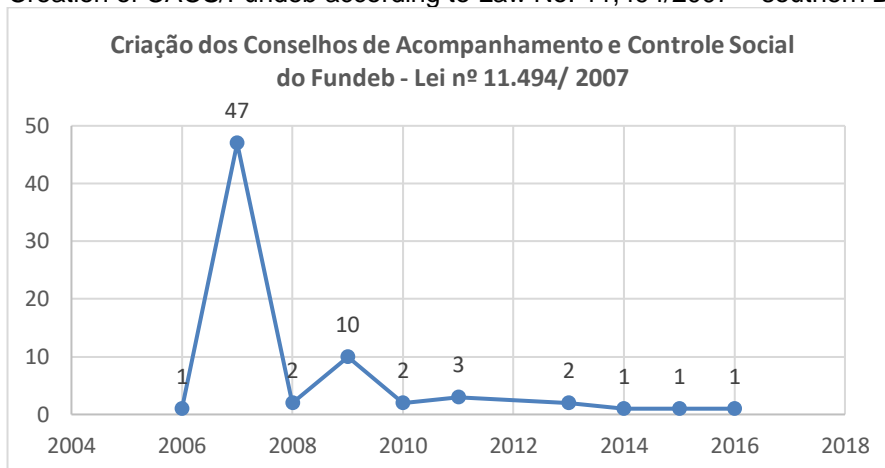
**Table 1** – Primary sources of documents from CACS/Fundeb in municipalities in southern Bahia – Brazil – 2024

Documents	Objectives
Creation of municipal law	Creates the Council according to Fundeb/2007
Municipal restructuring law	Restructures the Council in accordance with Fundeb/2020
Decree of appointment by the municipality	Appointed the elected members of CACS/Fundeb for the period 2023-2026
Record of the possession registration	Policies that address member participation
Internal regulations of the Fundeb CACS	Provisions for CACS operating rules
Reports issued by CACS	Identify the analysis performed by the consultants in the financial statements provided by the education expense managers.
Registers	Register the CACS's performance with the Executive, Legislative, external social control bodies, other bodies and entities.

**Source:** Authors' own (2024).

An analysis of the municipal laws for the creation and restructuring of the Fundeb Municipal Councils in the municipalities of Southern Bahia showed that 67.1% (47 councils) were created in 2007 and 14.3% in 2009. Only 1.4% (one) municipality created its council before 2007, showing an initiative before it was mandatory. However, 31.4% (22 municipalities) did not meet the deadline for creating the Councils. According to article 34 of Law No. 11,494/2007, Fundeb Councils must be created within 60 days of the fund's effective date. Graph 1 shows the distribution of Council creation data over the years.

**Graph 1** – Creation of CACS/Fundeb according to Law No. 11,494/2007 – southern Bahia – 2024



**Source:** Created by the authors from the SisCACS website (2024).

In December 2020, the National Congress approved Constitutional Amendment No. 108/2020, which made the fund permanent and set a deadline of up to 90 days for its creation. Thus, new municipal CACSs were created. In this scenario, most of the Councils (97.1%) were created or restructured in 2021, reaching their full potential in 2023, per Article 34 of Law No. 14,113/2020. All Fundeb councils in the municipalities analyzed in SisCACS are regularized regarding the legal frameworks for creation, restructuring, and appointment.

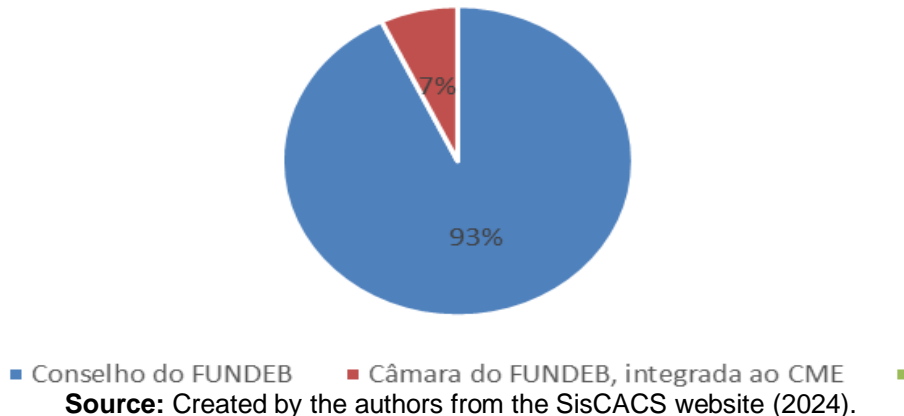
Cortês (2005) questions whether the Councils ensure that people can effectively participate in political decisions. According to the author, “[...] some may have intense participation from representatives of grassroots movements and unions” (Cortês, 2005, p. 170); others exist only formally, created to respond to legal requirements and, so, obtain financial resources.

Municipalities can choose between two options: create a new Fundeb Council or create a chamber to monitor fund issues in the Municipal Councils. In both cases, the same criteria and obstacles established for developing the Fundeb Council must be followed.

Graph 2 illustrates the distribution of the 70 municipalities concerning the type of the CACS/Fundeb collegiate body. It was found that 93% chose to structure the CACS as an independent body and 7% adopted the form a Fundeb chamber within the scope of the Conselho Municipal de Educação (CME).



**Graph 2** – Type of CACS/Fundeb collegiate body – southern Bahia – 2024  
 Forma de colegiado do CACS/Fundeb nos municípios



Regarding the frequency of meetings, while the recommendation is to hold them monthly, the legislation stipulates a minimum requirement of quarterly meetings. Additionally, the Chairman of the Board is authorized to call for extraordinary meetings as deemed necessary and convenient.

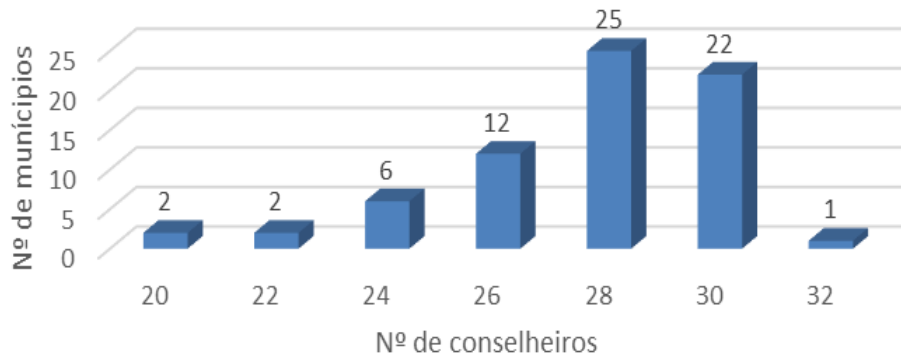
According to the data documented in SisCACS, 39 councils (55.7%) hold monthly meetings, while 13 councils (18.6%) opt for bimonthly meetings, suggesting an increased need for monitoring and control effort. On the other hand, 17 Councils (24.3%) only comply with the minimum legal requirement by holding quarterly meetings; 69 Municipal Councils keep track of relevant actions (98.6%). The most serious situation is when a municipality (1.4%) holds biannual meetings. This goes against the legal requirement for quarterly meetings. This can harm social control and transparency. So, it is important to follow rules such as being legal and efficient.

Regarding the composition of the Council, according to the new Fundeb legislation, the Municipal CACSs must have 9 to 16 councilors, always maintaining the same number established in federal law for each segment with representation on the Council. As for substitutes, the legislation (article 34, § 8) of the current Fundeb states that, “[...] for each full member, a substitute must be appointed, representing the same category or social segment with a seat on the board” (Brazil, 2020).

Graph 3 shows the total number of full and alternate members that make up the CACS in the municipalities of southern Bahia. It's important to remember that the number of members in the councils changes from one municipality to another. Each value in the

statistical illustration shows the exact number of members on the councils of each municipality.

**Graph 3** – Number of municipalities with CACS/Fundeb by number of full and alternate members – southern Bahia – 2024



**Source:** Created by the authors from the SisCACS website (2024).

We can identify some trends and variations. Most municipalities have between 20 and 32 members. One example is the Councils of Amaldina, Coaraci, Itacaré, and Itajuípe, which have 20 and 22 members. This is a smaller representation compared to others. The size of Councils may be related to the population of the municipality, the local administrative structure and the perceived need for representation.

To understand how women are involved in the listed councils, we need to look at the gender distribution in each municipality. This helps us make a more accurate assessment and compare different municipalities regarding the inclusion of women in educational decision-making positions.

At this point, social movements were demanding that women be included in social control this was a demand of the social movements that mobilized in favor of the construction of a Plano Nacional de Políticas para as Mulheres (PNPM). The objective of the PNPM was twofold: first, to promote gender equality, and second, to facilitate the participation of women in different government bodies and civil society organizations.

Encourage the participation of women in political parties and in leadership and decision-making positions within entities representing social movements, unions, councils of various natures and in all types of associations, considering ethnic, racial, sexual orientation, gender identity, generational dimensions and women with disabilities (Brazil, 2013, p. 54).

To improve the observations, Table 2 shows that men and women are acting as full board members. This is a favorable development, as it suggests the presence of both genders in decision-making and social control processes. It is observed that, in certain

municipalities, the number of female councilors on the councils exceeds the number of male councilors. For instance, the number of female officeholders varies considerably among municipalities. The range extends from a minimum of three female officeholders, as observed in Guaratinga, to a maximum of 14 female officeholders, as recorded in Taperoá.

**Table 2** – Number of women and men who are full representatives in CACS/Fundeb in the southern coast of Bahia – Brazil – 2024

Nº	Municipality	Women	Men	Nº	Municipality	Women	Men
1	Alcobaça	9	2	39	Itapebi	8	5
2	Almadina	7	3	40	Itapitanga	6	8
3	Arataca	8	6	41	Ituberá	11	4
4	Aurelino Leal	8	6	42	Jucuruçu	7	6
5	Barra do Rocha	8	6	43	Jussari	10	4
6	Barro Preto	11	1	44	Lajedão	10	2
7	Belmonte	7	8	45	Maraú	11	4
8	Buerarema	10	2	46	Mascote	10	4
9	Cairu	10	5	47	Medeiros Neto	10	4
10	Camacan	13	2	48	Mucuri	10	6
11	Camamu	9	3	49	Nilo Peçanha	12	2
12	Canavieiras	13	2	50	Nova Ibiá	12	3
13	Caravelas	10	5	51	Nova Viçosa	10	5
14	Coaraci	7	3	52	Pau Brasil	5	9
15	Eunápolis	7	6	53	Piraí do Norte	10	3
16	Firmino Alves	11	3	54	Porto Seguro	9	6
17	Floresta Azul	8	5	55	Prado	12	3
18	Gandu	10	4	56	Presidente Tancredo Neves	10	5
19	Gongogi	10	3	57	Santa Cruz Cabralia	10	5
20	Guaratinga	3	11	58	Santa Cruz da Vitória	8	6
21	Ibicaraí	11	3	59	Santa Luzia	10	4
22	Ibirapitanga	10	4	60	São José da Vitória	9	5
23	Ibirapua	12	2	61	Taperoá	14	1
24	Ibirataia	13	1	62	Teixeira de Freitas	11	3
25	Igrapiúna	11	4	63	Teolândia	9	6
26	Ilhéus	9	6	64	Ubaitaba	10	4
27	Ipiaú	10	3	65	Ubatã	11	3
28	Itabela	9	3	66	Una	8	6
29	Itabuna	10	4	67	Uruçuca	12	2
30	Itacaré	5	6	68	Valença	10	5
31	Itagibá	11	2	69	Vereda	9	4
32	Itagimirim	10	3	70	Wenceslau Guimarães	9	6
33	Itaju do Colônia	9	6				
34	Itajuípe	10	2				
35	Itamaraju	9	6				
36	Itamari	13	1				
37	Itanhém	8	7				
38	Itapé	11	2				

**Source:** Created by the authors from the SisCACS website (2024).

Fundeb's SisCACS do not include self-declaration, so members can't identify themselves as black, brown, yellow, white, or indigenous. This shows that there is no information about the color of the councils. The SisCACS registration system doesn't have enough data on black people, which shows that there's a problem, because the system doesn't recognize the diversity of its registered members. This is also a failure to comply with laws that guarantee the right to accurate and complete information.

This place of absence dialogues with the concepts of institutional racism and the narcissistic pact of whiteness, as indicated by Bento (2022). The author posits that the verification of an institution's racism is not solely contingent upon the presence of discriminatory acts. Rather, the significance lies in the examination of concrete data, which is evidenced by statistics that reveal inequalities.

Since Brazil is a country with a majority of black people, the absence, invisibility, and silence regarding color/race/ethnicity of representatives of the Councils that keep track and oversee the use of public resources become preponderant factors when thinking about preserving a society marked by exclusionary political-educational processes, especially when it comes to the dissemination of consultative spaces, decision-making, and consolidation of a power structure.

Despite the increase in the representation of various social actors on the councils, primarily attributable to the heightened participation of women in positions of authority, other factors constrain the capacity to comprehensively and systematically analyze the reality of female councilors in terms of their racial and ethnic backgrounds, particularly within the context of the council presidency.

The late implementation of these racial markers or their absence are policies that reflect the State's position in this historical and political process to preserve the current situation. It is characterized as “[...] indirect discrimination in minority groups when ignored” (Almeida, 2019, p. 23). According to Bento (2022), the absence of demographic data is an indication of the pact to maintain inequalities. Furthermore, the exclusion of the racial issue in the debate favors the perpetuation of inequalities. An example of this is the criticism by certain groups of the application of quotas in universities, whose objective is to maintain the status quo and ensure that inequalities remain in the academic sphere

(Zuin; Bastos, 2019). Thus, the decision not to include the racial issue in the debate is advantageous for the existing structure.

Gomes (2019, p. 21) argues that by bringing the discussion to the racial issue, confrontation, clashes, and critical reflection will occur, giving it an emancipatory side and not inferiorizing it:

By redefining race, the black movement questions the Brazilian history and the black population in our country, constructing new statements and theoretical, ideological, political, and analytical instruments to explain how racism in Brazil operates [...]. Furthermore, it gives new visibility to the ethnic-racial issue [...] for building of a more democratic society, where everyone is recognized for their differences and treated equally as subjects of rights. By politicizing race, this social movement reveals its construction in the context of power relations [...]; it removes the black population from the place of supposed racial inferiority preached by racism and affirmatively interprets race as a social construct; calls into question the myth of racial democracy.

The absence of data and the consideration of a discussion within an existing structure may remain advantageous only for those who benefit from these consolidated structures, crystallized in a culture of exclusivity and exclusion. These structures prove to be excessively harmful for racially marginalized communities.

### **3.1 A gender issue in the presidency of CACS/Fundeb**

Data collected on the presidency of the 70 municipalities of the CACS/Fundeb reveal that the majority of municipal positions are occupied by women, with a total of 46 female management positions. On the other hand, a mere 24 municipalities have a male president. The number obtained indicates a substantial trend of female leadership in the presidency of councils in the south of Bahia, suggesting a movement towards gender equality in these decision-making bodies or, at the very least, a historical reparation taking up this space of power.

In light of the notable representation of women on the councils, it is imperative to know the sector from which these women were elected as presidents of the CACS/Fundeb (Table 3). It is worth noting that representatives of the government managing Fundeb resources within the Union, states, Federal District, and municipalities are prevented from holding the position of president and vice-president, per § 6 of article 34 of Law No. 14,113/2020.

**Table 3** – Distribution of counselors in the presidency of CACS/Fundeb by gender according to sector of representation – southern coast of Bahia – Brazil – 2024

<b>Representative segments of CACS</b>	<b>Women</b>	<b>Men</b>
Representative of technical-administrative staff	6	5
Teachers' representative	6	4
Parents' representative	5	1
Representative of students in basic and secondary education	-	1
Principals' Representative	9	7
Representative of the Child Protective Services	1	-
Representative of the Municipal Educational Council	11	3
Representative of Civil Society Organizations	3	2
Representative of quilombola schools	-	-
Representative of indigenous schools	-	-
Representative of rural schools	4	1
Representative of Associação dos/as Professores/as Licenciados/as do Brasil/Seção Bahia (APLB)	1	-
Total	46	24

**Source:** Created by the authors from the SisCACS website (2024).

As indicated in Table 3, it is evident that during the 2023-2026 term of the CACS/Fundeb presidency, a significant proportion of the female presidents originate from the group of representatives of the Municipal Education Council, school principals, technical-administrative staff, and teachers, comprising the majority of the seats. There is significant evidence in the data analysis that reveals that, of the 46 female presidents elected, the largest number have direct links with public administration, acting as public servants.

It is important to note that quilombolas and indigenous individuals are not represented in the Municipal CACS/Fundeb, suggesting a potential gap in the analysis concerning diversity and inclusivity within the local governance structures. Due to the limited data available regarding the racial or ethnic background of the councilors, a more comprehensive analysis of the representation of black women in the council presidency was not feasible. Racial data for the study of intersectionality are studied through the interconnection that is established on the complex relations of race, sex, sexual orientation, and class, in the form of oppressions and privileges, as highlighted by Crenshaw (2004, p. 8):

My goal is to present a provisional framework that allows us to identify racial discrimination and gender discrimination, to better understand how these

discriminations operate together, limiting the chances of success for black women. The second goal is to emphasize the need for comprehensive efforts to eliminate these barriers. The point is to recognize that the experiences of black women cannot be classified separately under the categories of racial discrimination or gender discrimination.

But we shouldn't think that just having that presence will automatically change the power dynamics. Just because a group of people join together doesn't mean they will be properly represented or that society will make real changes to meet their needs.

The challenge is to understand that the significant number of women elected as advisors to the Fundeb Council and their presence as presidents of such councils do not represent power for them. In this sense, Almeida (2019) argues that female participation, especially black, indigenous, quilombola and women from rural communities, is essential in occupying spaces of power and decision-making. However, their presence does not imply that they will have the necessary power to “[...] change the political and economic structures that use racism and sexism to reproduce inequalities” (Almeida, 2019, p. 70). Gohn (2006) proposes reflections that go beyond participation and representation, highlighting the need for political will for this democratic space to become effective. Without policies and decisions that are sensitive to these issues, there is a risk of perpetuating inequalities.

We understand that, even if these spaces of power are accessed by men, women, black people or people of other ethnicities, poor people, with diverse sexual orientations, if they are not modified and transformed, they will serve “[...] only as a discourse to legitimize the continuation of discrimination and will serve to continue being discriminated against in these spaces” (Barbosa, 2023, p. 100).

It is important to note that this is not just a lack of data on female counselors, but also the invisibility of male counselors, who belong to ethnic-racial groups that often suffer discrimination, being excluded from social roles or from leadership or management positions. Author hooks (2019) highlights that “[...] black men are below white women in the social pyramid of many countries [...]”. The analysis demonstrates that, in contexts where racism is deeply rooted, skin color is often more important than gender in determining social privileges. So, even though white women have less power than white men because of sexism, they still have more racial advantages over black men, who deal with a lot of racial discrimination.

Racist and sexist discrimination in the Councils is reflected in the structural, legal, and economic precariousness, lack of autonomy, political subordination, and influence of the Executive Branch over the presidency of the CACS/Fundeb, which is mostly composed of women. As observed in this work, several obstacles hinder “qualified participation” (Gohn, 2006) for male and female councilors. It is very important that women and men have more influence in decision-making. Their participation is key to making sure that everyone has the right to speak, to be heard, and to belong in the spaces they occupy.

#### 4 Final considerations

The main goal of the research was to examine the lack of data in the registration system about the counselors. This included information about the representation of black women in the groups of full and alternate members, as well as in the leadership of the CACS/Fundeb councils.

Despite the existence of other variables, which were not considered in the investigation, the elements raised lead us to understand that the absence of racial diversity is characterized as indirect discrimination against minority groups, since the identification of members is limited, demonstrating that the color of the population continues to be ignored by data systems.

The lack of data quality hinders the examination of intersectionalities, distorting the view of information from the analysis of qualitative and quantitative data on the participation and representation of black counselors in CACS/Fundeb. We couldn't identify which councils have more or fewer ethnic-racial representation. We also couldn't identify the barriers and challenges that lead to discrimination in these governance bodies. This makes it hard to create public policies that include everyone in these areas. It also makes racism and black people invisible in the councils.

It is imperative to acknowledge the term "racism" as a means of effectively confronting this issue and promoting substantial changes within society. This entails not only recognizing the existence of racism but also taking action against its manifestations and structures that perpetuate racial inequalities. This is an anti-racist struggle, and it is also justified by the fact that data and statistics that should promote direct information are not easily found.



Finally, we reiterate that the lack of data on color/race limited the complete understanding of local dynamics. Due to the limitations of the research presented, as well as the various gaps and entrances it opens for our discussions, we consider a more complex and in-depth design necessary as a suggestion for future studies.

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