

Voices and spotlights on teleworking in brazilian education: What does it mean to be a public educational manager?

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1. INTRODUCTION

Due to the spread of the SARS-CoV-2 virus, on March 11, 2020, the World Health Organization (WHO) declared a pandemic (Fisher & Wilder-Smith, 2020) and officially named the disease COVID-19 (coronavirus disease), which was discovered in 2019 (Ferreira & Falcão, 2020). As a result, the global pandemic required confrontation and collective efforts, prompting a reevaluation of work dynamics within organizations. Consequently, teleworking shifted from being a mere alternative to becoming the only viable option, driven by the urgent need for flexibility to maintain work continuity amid social distancing measures and efforts to reduce COVID-19 transmission (Anthonysamy, 2022; Chaudhuri et al., 2022; Figueira et al., 2023; Torres & Orhan, 2023).

Although the demand for teleworking increased during the pandemic, flexible work programs existed before COVID-19 (Adekoya et al., 2022; Saurombe et al., 2022), since working from home is not a new idea. However, with the rise of the Industrial Revolution, workers began commuting from their homes to centralized workplaces such as offices and factories (Baruch, 2000). As a result, for most workers in industrial societies, the home space was redefined, becoming a refuge—a private environment for domestic work or unpaid activities (Ojala et al., 2014). Later, in the 21st century, work was once again transformed by technological advancements and social innovations, opening new possibilities for working in different locations, including returning home (Figueira et al., 2023; Vayre et al., 2022).

Within this context, the present study is based on Positive Organizational Studies (POS), a branch of Positive Psychology that highlights virtues and positive emotions as key drivers of individuals' and organizations' potential, contrasting with the traditional focus on reducing suffering and counterproductive behaviors in organizational dynamics (Zanon et al., 2020). From this perspective, positive emotions, well-being, and human agency in the workplace are prioritized (Carr et al., 2020), along with organizational development and professional growth (Thompson et al., 2020). These studies examine the quality of life in teleworking (QoLT), especially since it emerged from the global pandemic (Vilarinho et al., 2021), and how it has reshaped work relationships in the post-pandemic era (Melo et al., 2025).

This study will examine the teleworking environment in the public sector, focusing on leadership, Human Resources Management (HRM) practices, and the quality of life in teleworking (QoLT). The thematic justification is based on gaps in prior research related to contextual factors arising from the pandemic crisis (Barhate et al., 2022; Torres & Orhan, 2023), the effects of flexible arrangements (Vilarinho et al., 2021), leadership challenges, and the role of PMP (Adamovic et al., 2021; Barhate et al., 2022; Figueira et al., 2023; Günther et al., 2022; Torres & Orhan, 2023). It also explores testing more advanced models, such as mediation models including PMP (Boon et al., 2019; Melo & Demo, 2024), and promoting QoLT (Berry et al., 2022; Dervishaj & Neziraj, 2022; Figueira et al., 2023; Harkiolakis & Komodromos, 2023; Melo et al., 2025; Oliveira et al., 2022; Pereira et al., 2021; Sanhokwe, 2022; Vilarinho et al., 2021).

In recent scientific literature on teleworking, Figueira et al. (2023) examined management practices to help organizations and leaders improve their performance and enhance workers' QoL. Additionally, the quantitative study by Melo and Demo (2024) proposed a model that identified the relationships between leadership, PMP, and QoLT among

civil servants, using measurement and mediation tests, and recommended future qualitative studies to better understand the perceptions of those involved beyond what statistical models can reveal.

Overall, research on teleworking has produced diverse and sometimes conflicting results (Vayre et al., 2022), highlighting the need for more empirical evidence (Kim & Lee, 2020), especially within the public sector during and after the pandemic (Anthonysamy, 2022; Barhate et al., 2022; Chaudhuri et al., 2022; Dervishaj & Neziraj, 2022; Harkiolakis & Komodromos, 2023; Melo & Demo, 2024; Torres & Orhan, 2023), with a focus on public education (Paschoal et al., 2022). In this context, Vilarinho et al. (2021) pointed out that teleworking, being promising, timely, and feasible, has become a priority research area in administration, especially in HRM within the public sector, where national publications remain limited and underdeveloped.

Based on the above and the gaps identified in the literature, this study aims to address the following research question: What are the relationships between leadership, PMP, and QoLT from the perspective of managers at a public educational institution in the context of teleworking? Therefore, the goal of this article is to qualitatively analyze the relationships between leadership, PMP, and QoLT from the viewpoint of managers at a public educational institution in a teleworking environment.

This study's practical and managerial implications aim to develop empirical data, based on the collected results, that can assist public managers at the studied institution regarding leadership and PMP in teleworking, especially how they influence QoLT. This may generate insights for decision-making toward more strategic, effective, humanized, and evidence-based HRM. A social contribution is also envisioned, as promoting healthier and more productive work environments can lead to improved service and support for the academic community, as well as citizens and society at large, considering that outreach is one of the fundamental pillars of public educational institutions, alongside teaching and research.

2. TELEWORKING

Historically, research on teleworking began in the 1970s with contributions from American physicist Jack Nilles (Jentjens & Cherbib, 2023). This era was marked by the oil crisis and the global expansion of telecommunications (Ulate-Araya, 2020). During that time, teleworking was defined as work conducted outside the office, using information and communication technologies (De Vries et al., 2019). It was a period of uncertainty in the industrial sector, accompanied by environmental damage, high unemployment, insufficient energy infrastructure, rising fuel and transportation costs, and the first oil crisis experienced by many countries (Ulate-Araya, 2020).

In the 1980s, teleworking became increasingly important for various stakeholders, including the transportation and telecommunications sectors, employers, workers, and communities (De Vries et al., 2019; Ulate-Araya, 2020). Then, in the 1990s, teleworking played a central role in flexibility programs, offering opportunities for the (re)design of work management that linked to environmental, economic, organizational, social, and technological factors (De Vries et al., 2019).

Regarding the etymology of the term *teleworking*, the prefix "tele" (from Greek) means "at a distance" (Ulate-Araya, 2020). The term *telecommuting* was coined by Jack Nilles (Jentjens & Cherbib, 2023), emphasizing that, through information and communication technologies (ICTs), teleworking brings work to the workers, not the other way around (Nilles,

1997). In this regard, the International Labour Organization (ILO) defines teleworking as a way of working carried out away from the production center or central office, using ICTs (Oliveira et al., 2022), which, in the post-pandemic context (Adekoya et al., 2022), have been referred to as Digital Information and Communication Technologies (DICTs) (Oliveira & Barroco, 2023).

Embedded in the online environment and free from physical boundaries (Oliveira et al., 2022), teleworking replaces physical materials with the transfer of bits (Baruch, 2000), allowing for temporal and spatial flexibility in the modern reorganization and reinvention of the world of work (Figueira et al., 2023). Thus, teleworking can be defined as a decentralized, flexible work arrangement (Santiago Torner, 2023) that, through DICTs, enables the worker—who is physically separated from the employing organization—to perform their job activities (Chaudhuri et al., 2022; Günther et al., 2022).

In the academic literature, various terms are used to define teleworking (Boulet & Parent-Lamarche, 2022), such as coworking, e-working, flexplace, flexwork, home-based teleworking, home office, mobile teleworking, remote work, telecommuting, teleworking, teleworking, teleworking from remote offices, virtual working, and working from home (Adekoya et al., 2022; Oliveira et al., 2022; Pereira et al., 2021; Torres & Orhan, 2023). In this context, teleworking involves performing work remotely (using DICTs), with flexible hours, at a location different from the usual physical organizational space (Chaudhuri et al., 2022; Günther et al., 2022), under either part-time or full-time work arrangements (Pereira et al., 2021).

It is important to note that, although not a recent flexible work arrangement, the popularization and growth of teleworking were actually driven by the global pandemic (Adekoya et al., 2022). This has led to trends increasingly adopted in the post-pandemic work environment, such as hybrid work, which combines in-person and remote tasks (Melo et al., 2025). Table 1 outlines the main advantages and disadvantages of teleworking at the individual, organizational, and social levels, as reported in the literature (Adekoya et al., 2022; Anthonysamy, 2022; Boulet & Parent-Lamarche, 2022; Figueira et al., 2023; Günther et al., 2022; Oliveira et al., 2022; Pereira et al., 2021; Sanhokwe, 2022; Santiago Torner, 2023; Saurombe et al., 2022; Torres & Orhan, 2023; Yang et al., 2023).

Table 1
Main Advantages and Disadvantages of Teleworking

Level	Advantages
Individual	Increases: (1) Job satisfaction; (2) Well-being, autonomy, and flexibility (location and schedule), positively impacting performance; (3) Safety and convenience during the workday; (4) Work-life balance; (5) Opportunity to take on domestic or personal responsibilities: exercising, caring for children, elderly, or dependents.
	Reduces: (1) Commuting costs; (2) Work-family conflict; (3) Stress and emotional exhaustion.
Organizational	Increases: (1) Productivity, organizational commitment, job engagement, responsibility for goals, and performance; (2) Sense of belonging and affective organizational commitment.
	Reduces: (1) Costs with supplies, office space, and facilities; (2) Absenteeism and turnover intentions.
Social	Increases: (1) Employment opportunities and income generation for women with children, rural workers, and people with disabilities; (2) Ability to operate during crises, enhancing public service delivery.
	Reduces: (1) Traffic congestion and emissions; (2) Environmental impacts.

Level	Disadvantages
Individual	Increases: (1) Work overload due to ICT use during rest time; stress, burnout, psychological disorders; (2) Limited communication; (3) Job dissatisfaction; (4) Social isolation and weakened relationships with colleagues; (5) Personal costs to set up home office; (6) Distractions (noise, social media, TV); (7) Work-family conflict due to task overlap and interruptions; (8) Neglect of meals and breaks, difficulty disconnecting from work.
	Reduces: (1) Career visibility and promotion opportunities; (2) Access to technical support and adequate equipment.
Organizational	Increases: (1) Risk of damage or misuse of company equipment; (2) Loss of control over employees and possible data security issues; (3) Failures in digital communication; (4) Difficulty maintaining culture and managing time; (5) Delays in decision-making; (6) Coordination costs for teams.
	Reduces: (1) Engagement and commitment due to lack of personal interaction; (2) Organizational power; (3) Organizational integration.
Social	Increases: (1) Influence of national culture on managers' negative attitudes toward teleworking, hindering acceptance and program creation.
	Reduces: (1) Debate on labor regulations for flexible work arrangements

Source: the authors.

2.1 Teleworking the Context of the Brazilian Public Service

In the field of public service, the first adoption of teleworking took place at the Federal Data Processing Service (SERPRO) in 2005, marking a significant milestone for Brazilian public organizations (Oliveira et al., 2020). Meanwhile, teleworking activities in the private sector across the country have been supported since 2011 by the Consolidation of Labor Laws, Article 6 of Law No. 12.551, which equated teleworkers with in-office employees (Vilarinho et al., 2021). Later, Law No. 13.467 of 2017 officially regulated teleworking in Brazil (Brazil, 2017). Decree No. 39.368 of 2018 established regulations for teleworking among civil servants in the Federal District (Brazil, 2018), where the federal capital, Brasília, is located.

In public administration, teleworking relies on legal instruments and provisions such as: a) Administrative Rules No. 139/2009 and No. 99/2010 of the Federal Court of Accounts (TCU), which authorize remote activities outside the agency (Vilarinho et al., 2021); b) Bill No. 2723/2015, which approved and authorized the use of the remote work system for federal agencies through the creation of the Electronic Information System (SEI); c) Resolution No. 227/2015 of the National Council of Justice (CNJ), which organized teleworking for judiciary employees; and d) Normative Instruction (NI) No. 1/2018 from the former Ministry of Planning, Development, and Management, which enabled teleworking in public agencies. Public organizations must, first and foremost, consider the internal and specific regulations of each level of government. It is worth noting that Normative Instruction No. 1/2018 authorized three remote work modalities: (i) task-based, (ii) hybrid, and (iii) full teleworking (Oliveira et al., 2020; SEGEP/MP, 2018).

Specifically within the scope of the Federal Public Administration (FPA), normative frameworks were established to ensure the continuity of services provided to the population during the state of public emergency caused by COVID-19 and its variants. According to the Ministry of Management and Innovation in Public Services (MGI) (Brazil, 2024), these measures authorized the adoption of remote work (Provisional Measure No. 927 of March 22, 2020), implemented a Management Program (MP) (Normative Instruction No. 65 of July 30,

2020), innovated the MP, and created the Performance-Based Management Program (PGD) (Decree No. 11.072 of May 17, 2022), which was later enhanced by Normative Instruction No. 24/2023.

2.2 Teleworking from the Perspective of Leadership, HRM Practices, and Teleworking Quality of Life Triad

The decision to analyze teleworking through leadership, HRM practices, and quality of life in the Brazilian public sector aligns with themes from recent research (Melo et al., 2025; Melo & Demo, 2024; Figueira et al., 2023). Regarding leadership, this study relies on the conceptual framework discussed by Bass (1990), supported by Yukl (2012), which refers to the transformational leadership style proposed by Bernard Bass (Bianchi et al., 2017). Leadership is therefore understood as a power dynamic centered on the leader's influence and persuasion, serving as a mechanism for interaction among team members to achieve common goals (Bass, 1990). In simple terms, leadership can be defined as the exercise of influence over individuals in organizations to ensure that collective efforts meet shared objectives (Yukl, 2012). Additionally, the term *manager* is also used in this study to refer to leaders in the public sector (Bianchi et al., 2017; Coura et al., 2022).

According to Aktar and Pangil (2018), the leader plays a key role in developing and implementing human resource management (HRM) practices. The conceptual foundation for the HRM practices construct in this study is based on Demo et al. (2024), who define HRM practices as initiatives aligned with organizational goals, strategies, and policies, forming a structured set of organizational actions related to human relations aimed at achieving desired results. Therefore, alignment between the leader's behavior and HRM practices enhances employees' motivation to improve organizational performance (Neves et al., 2018; Thompson et al., 2020). This study draws on both the Resource-Based View (Barney, 1991) and the theoretical framework of Strategic Human Resource Management (Legge, 2009), which support integrating strategies, policies, and practices based on the idea that employees are vital organizational capabilities, playing a central role in achieving results (Demo et al., 2022; Legge, 2009; Fatema, 2018).

It is also understood that HRM practices are vital for promoting Quality of Work Life (QWL) (Adamovic et al., 2021). Conceptually, QWL relates to how work impacts employees' lives, emphasizing the importance of the individual–work–organization triad (Pereira et al., 2021). From this perspective, Quality of Life in Teleworking (QLT) involves improving people's well-being so they can work effectively using Digital Information and Communication Technologies (DICTs), fostering personal and professional satisfaction and fulfillment (Andrade et al., 2020; Klein et al., 2019), and this is the definition adopted in the present study. Indeed, ensuring quality of life in the workplace by prioritizing people's well-being as part of a more human-centered management approach should be a priority for organizational leaders (Coura et al., 2022), regardless of work arrangements. One of the main reasons employees choose teleworking is the expectation of a better quality of life (Andrade et al., 2020), highlighting the critical role of leadership and integrated HRM practices in promoting health, well-being, and quality of life in teleworking settings.

It is important to emphasize that the constructs proposed in this study will be analyzed at the micro level, as they will be based on participants' perceptions of leadership, HRM practices, and QLT. Perception is the process by which sensory stimuli are interpreted and reality is constructed, shaping individuals' understanding of their environment (Hoffman &

Singh, 2024). Therefore, it is possible to examine social and organizational phenomena from the perspective of how they are perceived (Lupyan, 2017; Young & Bruce, 2011).

3. METHODOLOGICAL APPROACH

The qualitative approach used in this study relies on the interpretivist paradigm (Burrell & Morgan, 1979), which is founded on the idea that social reality is constructed through shared understanding and must be interpreted from the perspectives of the people involved (Geertz, 1989). In this way, knowledge is generated through social interactions and individuals' interpretations of the world around them (Guba & Lincoln, 1994), providing a broad view of phenomena and acknowledging the multiple meanings and complexities of human experiences (Bezerra & Silva, 2011).

This is a qualitative study with a descriptive goal that used semi-structured interviews (Tracy, 2020). The research sites were the campuses and the Rectory of a Federal Institution, referred to here as the Federal Educational Institution (FEI). Established under Law No. 11,892 of December 29, 2008, the FEI is an autonomous government agency that is part of the Federal Network for Professional, Scientific, and Technological Education and is affiliated with the Ministry of Education (Brazil, 2008).

The choice of this research site was justified by the implementation of telework at FEI through the launch of a Performance Management Program (PMP) during the pandemic (COVID-19 in March 2020). Since then, the PGD has evolved into a hybrid format with voluntary participation, either full-time or part-time, based on an internal public notice issued in June 2022 (Brazil, 2023). It is important to note that participation in the PMP at FEI is ongoing and is an exclusive option for technical-administrative education (TAE) staff, which justifies selecting managers as the target profile for this study.

During the data collection phase, 43 public managers of TAE staff working remotely participated in individual semi-structured interviews. The Free and Informed Consent Form, as recommended by Tracy (2020), was used. Participants were selected based on their interest, availability to contribute, and accessibility through the authors' professional network, provided they met the established criteria (managers of TAE staff involved in the PMP). The sample size was determined using the saturation or exhaustiveness criterion—that is, data collection was stopped when participants' responses began to repeat and no new information emerged, indicating that the sample was sufficient (Bardin, 2016).

The sample profile, consisting of 43 civil servants managing TAE staff working remotely, was analyzed for sociodemographic data. Results showed that 58% of participants identified as male, and 42% as female; among these, 65% were parents. Regarding job position, 84% were TAE employees, and 16% were faculty members (interviewed because they held management roles over TAEs in the PMP). Table 2 summarizes the main sociodemographic and functional data of the interviewees.

Table 2
Sociodemographic and Functional Profile of Participants

Sociodemographic Data					
Age Range	%	Marital Status	%	Educational Attainment	%
≥ 30 and < 40 years	49	Married	70	Specialization	56

≥ 40 and < 50 years	44	Single	23	Master's Degree	21
≥ 50 and ≤ 61 years	07	Divorced	05	Doctorate	16
-	-	Widowed	02	Bachelor's Degree	07
Functional Data					
Length of Service at FEI	%	Management Position*	%	Time in Management Position**	%
≥ 11 and ≤ 15 years	44	Director	49	≥ 04 and < 08 years	61
≥ 08 and ≤ 10 years	33	Coordinator	37	≥ 02 and < 04 years	21
≥ 05 and ≤ 07 years	21	Pro-rector	12	≥ 01 and < 02 years	09
> 01 and ≤ 04 years	02	Rector	02	≥ 08 and < 12 years	09

Source: the authors.

*Note: All participants are managers of teams engaged in the PMP (Performance Management Program), either in the part-time or full-time format.

**Note: 95% of the interviewed managers worked remotely for approximately two years (during the mandatory telework period that began in March 2020). After the implementation of the PMP, 53% of the participants voluntarily joined the program.

The research instrument—the interview guide—was validated following the Vali-Quali guidelines from the protocol proposed by Torlig et al. (2022), which supports self-correction, verification, and bias reduction in interview scripts. The steps in this protocol include initial guide design, validation by judges, review of results, pre-testing, the validated guide, and the theoretical-empirical guide. Accordingly, six judges participated in validating the interview guide: two subject-matter experts for each profile (practical, theoretical, and methodological), using a digital form adapted from Torlig et al. (2022). Following the recommendations of Tracy (2020) and Torlig et al. (2022), a pre-test was also conducted with a female manager at the FEI, who was not part of the final interview sample. This ensured sample independence and greater rigor in the analysis (Daniel, 2018).

With authorization from the FEI, an invitation letter was sent to the public managers, including general information and an invitation to participate in the interviews. These interviews were offered either online (via Microsoft Teams) or in person (at the Rectory or campus offices), depending on the participant's preference. Once the participation details, such as date, time, and location, were confirmed, scheduling was coordinated through email and WhatsApp messages. The interviews took place between July and August 2023, resulting in 19 in-person interviews (audio recorded) and 24 online interviews (audio and video recorded).

It is important to note that at the beginning of each interview, the guide was used after presenting the quantitative results from a previous study that provided a diagnosis of TAE employees' perceptions of leadership, HRM practices, and quality of life in telework. Therefore, the interview script was based on the following questions: 1. From your perspective as a leader, what is your overall impression of the collected results? 2. What suggestions would you offer to address the critical issues identified? 3. In your opinion, how has telework impacted the variables studied—that is, leadership, HRM practices, and employees' quality of life? 4. Would you like to add anything that may not have been covered during the interview?

For data analysis, the technique of denaturalized transcription (Oliver et al., 2005) was applied to approximately 53 hours of recorded interviews, with grammatical corrections made

according to official Portuguese language standards. The semi-structured interview data were then processed following Bardin's (2016) guidelines, using thematic categorical content analysis (*a posteriori*), which included the stages of pre-analysis, material exploration, and results interpretation, followed by possible inferences and insights.

Regarding ethical considerations, the data in this study come from a research project approved by the Research Ethics Committees (CEP) and the National Research Ethics Commission (CONEP), registered under no. 5.460.124, CAAE: 57487722.4.0000.5540. Additionally, fictional codes from E01 to E43 were used to represent participants, ensuring their confidentiality.

4. RESULTS

Based on the material exploration stage (Bardin, 2016), data from the 43 interviews allowed the identification of eight thematic axes, which were grouped into four thematic categories defined post hoc and are shown in Table 3.

Table 3

Thematic Axes and Respective Analytical Categories of the Research Constructs

Constructs	Thematic Axes	Nº	Categories
Leadership and HRM Practices	I. (Dis)trust, work execution, teleworkers' responsibility, rigid work arrangements, controlled autonomy, time tracking.	1	(Dis)trust in the product vibe: clocking in for rigid autonomy?
Leadership and HRM Practices	II. Instrumentalization of the PGD, focus on outcomes, product vibe, production autonomy, accountability to oversight bodies.		
Leadership, HRM, and QLT	III. Being a manager and a civil servant, public administration, legality, rules, regulations, oversight bodies, public service delivery.	2	The leader's challenge: What does it mean to be an educational civil servant?
Leadership and HRM Practices	IV. Agreement and measurement of activities, workflows, deadlines, work plans, and evaluation.		
Leadership, HRM, and QLT	V. Big Brother lens, spotlight, and surveillance.	3	Now it's on you and only you: PMP in the spotlight
Leadership, HRM, and QLT	VI. Making fewer mistakes, (self-)pressure, radical change, being human-not a machine.		
Leadership and HRM Practices	VII. Use of technology, reports, parameters, and standardization.	4	We are more than just processes in this machinery: The educational civil servants we have and the ones we want
Leadership, HRM, and QLT	VIII. We are not just processes, voices in our heads, permanence, reconstruction of the civil servant identity.		

Source: the authors.

Based on Table 3, the sections on Leadership, HRM Practices, and Quality of Life in Teleworking (QLT) will be presented in the upcoming subsections using verbatim excerpts from the interview transcripts. This approach enables analysis within the theoretical framework. It is important to note that interviewees are labeled with the letter “E” followed by a number (E01 to E43).

4.1 (Dis)trust in the product vibe: clocking in for rigid autonomy?

Teleworking shifts responsibilities to teleworkers while also requiring a redefinition of managers’ roles, especially regarding supervisory processes, institutional expectations, and relational dynamics (Figueira et al., 2023). In this context, “this remote work experience made many managers suspicious about the actual execution of the work. Which in my view is a mistake, assuming that the civil servant who wants to take part in the PGD will have a certain level of autonomy to organize their work” [E29], because “the issue is the worker’s own responsibility, the trust from management — I believe management must trust that the worker will complete the task” [E17]. Therefore, organizations are encouraged to clearly and systematically define the essential competencies for effectively leading remote teams (Adekoya et al., 2022; Chaudhuri et al., 2022; Figueira et al., 2023).

In this scenario, one could argue that “is there autonomy? There is! But to what extent? If I have to clock in to have autonomy, then it’s not autonomy, it’s controlled autonomy, right?” [E38], emphasizing that “what I consider an outdated view of work — someone having to go in and clock in! Clocking in is the most outdated thing on the face of the earth, you know?” [E43], reinforcing strict time control (Souza et al., 2023). Therefore, “here at the Institution, there’s this thing — it’s like tracking hours is deeply ingrained, very strange. Even before the PGD, I was already obsessed with that” [E19]. Similarly, Jentjens and Cherbib (2023) found that excessive monitoring by managers, along with expectations of constant availability from remote workers, tends to weaken the balance between work and personal life. This situation not only heightens occupational stress but also increases the risk of burnout among employees (Jentjens & Cherbib, 2023).

In fact, “many managers [...] have already figured out how the wheel turns, right? But some are still stuck on the idea that what matters most is hours worked, not the service provided” [E19]. What’s being recorded is “just a guarantee for oversight agencies. So, oh, he clocked in, he’s working. We know that’s not how it works, okay? No one is productive for nine uninterrupted hours” [E43]. In this way, “the hours become more important than what the worker can actually deliver. That greatly limits creativity [...] they become completely fixated on that” [E19]. Given this, in the context of teleworking—where opportunities for direct oversight by leaders are significantly reduced—trust becomes a fundamental pillar for effectively managing teleworkers (Günther et al., 2022).

In the teleworking environment, organizations tend to increase demands on teleworkers to meet targets, leading to a reshaping of leadership practices aimed at boosting productivity (Adekoya et al., 2022; Figueira et al., 2023). “I’m really into the product vibe [...], I assign the work, we have deadlines, and we stay in touch, handling tasks as needed, without stressing whether the person is sitting at the computer from 8 to 6” [E19]. There is a clear shift from individual leadership responsibilities toward a shared leadership approach that supports the new management standards needed by modern organizations (Adekoya et al., 2022; Chaudhuri et al., 2022). Moreover, “seeing profiles that show this production autonomy is a huge plus — the person gives you feedback, so management doesn’t need to be constantly checking in [...], I

think that's great" [E39], highlighting decentralized leadership styles as crucial for enhancing organizational performance and teleworking efficiency (Adekoya et al., 2022).

However, "often there's no trust, and the manager wants things done a specific, predetermined way. But sometimes that way is too rigid and might not even be the best [...] without trust, I think it's impossible — and that's what's missing" [E32], because "there was no effort to listen" [E32]. Therefore, a lack of trust between leaders and team members can indeed hinder teleworking outcomes, leading to negative effects on the behavior of both parties involved (Figueira et al., 2023; Günther et al., 2022).

4.2 The leader's challenge: What does it mean to be an educational civil servant?

In the scientific literature, Barhate et al. (2022) suggest that, in response to the challenges posed by the Covid-19 pandemic and its variants, leaders had to quickly improve their leadership skills to meet the new demands and dynamics of their organizations and remote teams (Barhate et al., 2022). Notably, the implementation of telework through the Performance Management Program (PMP) was a direct response to the pandemic, as confirmed by E28: "Being a manager is not easy, it's quite complicated; being a manager in public service makes it even harder, and when you're a public service manager with a remote team, then it gets even more difficult," since, regardless of their official duties, leadership took on multifunctional roles to ensure organizational continuity (Adekoya et al., 2022; Barhate et al., 2022; Dervishaj & Neziraj, 2022; Figueira et al., 2023; Torres & Orhan, 2023).

It is also noted that, "in public administration, we're surrounded by rules; we can't just do whatever we want, whenever we want, however we want" [E27], especially because "there's a 'when' that isn't a matter of autonomy but of administrative service and public service, you know? [...] there's a 'how' that's regulated, so we don't have much flexibility to define it" [E43]. Furthermore, Brazilian Federal Educational Institutions have undergone significant administrative and educational restructuring processes since the 1990s (Souza et al., 2023), to the extent that "in public administration here at the institution, we are constantly working with legal matters, with regulations, right? So there's a strong concern with complying with what's established, whether it's a law, instruction, or resolution" [E25], because "it is institutionally regulated [...] as there is a macro-level legal need determined by oversight bodies regarding how this must be done" [E43].

On the other hand, despite the changes made, the organizational structure remains largely bureaucratic and resistant to more significant transformations (Souza et al., 2023). Therefore, "you have workflows, deadlines, procedures, and sometimes even a pre-established way of executing tasks that must be followed" [E25]. This situation adds to the discussion about adopting managerial practices, which come from a management-oriented organizational model, often seen in business administration and increasingly spread into educational systems in Brazil (Morais & Silva, 2018; Souza et al., 2023), as reflected in E43's statement: "the concern is often about how I'm going to present it to the oversight bodies, you know?" [E43].

Additionally, "if I told you that telework was all good for the manager, it wouldn't be true. Why? Because it creates a lot of extra work for those who have to supervise and evaluate a colleague's work, and many things are simply not measurable" [E34], since "the PMP brings more work for the supervisor. That's a fact" [E37]. In this regard, Adekoya et al. (2022) highlight the vital role that leaders play in the context of flexible work arrangements, especially in decision-making and implementing remote work. For this model to succeed, mutual understanding between organizations and employees—whether leaders or team members—is

essential. However, it's important to recognize that the pandemic context prompted an abrupt shift to remote work across many organizations, significantly affecting workflow processes (Adekoya et al., 2022; Melo et al., 2025; Melo & Demo, 2024; Melo et al., 2023; Torres & Orhan, 2023).

Consequently, “even though I have experience, [...] accurately measuring how long it would take an employee to complete a task—like a reference document or internal memo—is very relative, you know?” [E34], especially when “I don't even know if I was born to be a leader. I'm more of a doer, but oftentimes we put ourselves out there, take the hit, and go for it” [E30]. In this context, Figueira et al. (2023) emphasize that managing teleworking involves integrating technology, innovation, and knowledge areas, and its adoption in organizations depends on strategic factors like implementing worker training programs. Nevertheless, “the PMP gives us a chance to pause and reflect on what it means to be a civil servant: it means working for results that benefit the public we serve” [E43]. After all, the rapid response needed during the pandemic not only intensified labor challenges but also introduced new work dynamics (Torres & Orhan, 2023), significantly impacting both leaders and teams and positioning them as key players in organizational development (Dervishaj & Neziraj, 2022).

4.3 Now It's Up to You and Only You: PMP in the Spotlight

Figueira et al. (2023) suggest that effective HRM practices lead to positive experiences for teleworkers, especially in terms of satisfaction and trust-based relationships. However, when HRM practices have negative effects, teleworkers may be directly impacted, resulting in perceptions of distrust in leadership within teleworking programs and the organization itself (Figueira et al., 2023; Günther et al., 2022). In this context, E16 perceived that “when a civil servant goes into telework, it's like the Big Brother lens zooms in more — you know, like the camera — it zoomed in a lot more, turned into 4K resolution, even though there's no actual camera at their house, right? There isn't!”, which highlights the need for HRM practices that address such perceptions.

In fact, within telework, “there's this issue of the spotlight turning more onto you — you can afford to make far fewer mistakes” [E16], which may raise concerns about performance management (Saurombe et al., 2022), especially considering the civil servant's perception that “I have to do it, fulfill my duties. Because otherwise they'll say I'm not working, they'll cut the PMP, they'll exclude me from the program” [E16], and “there will be pressure for results — there's no way to avoid that” [E33].

In short, “my friend, now it's up to you and only you, huh!” [E16], and “now you notice the person completely changed — like from water to wine” [E14], because “you're more watched than if you were working in person, right?” [E16], which indicates a warning for leadership to support teleworkers (Memon et al., 2022) by implementing HRM practices that enhance Quality of Life in Teleworking (QLT). Additionally, for civil servants, “the perception that I'm being watched all the time increases” [E13], since “I see the PMP as a beacon, a spotlight you shine on your activities” [E28]. Therefore, the implementation of the PMP must address the ongoing challenges of aligning teleworkers' activities with institutional expectations (Saurombe et al., 2022). After all, “I'm not a machine — I'm a person, right?” [E35].

4.4 We Are More Than Just Processes in This Machinery: The Educational Civil Servants We Have and the Ones We Want

In the institutional context studied, managers reported that “preparing the work report has sometimes taken more time than actually performing the task, [...] it had an absurd level of detail” [E21], and that having to “fill out many reports ends up piling up” [E32], even though it is necessary to meet the format required by “public administration is beginning to require” [E21]. These findings align with Silva et al. (2014), who discuss implementing more strategic management practices that foster a renewal of HRM practices within the public service. Additionally, HRM practices should include educational materials designed to support work in virtual environments (Barhate et al., 2022), and “perhaps information technology itself could identify what we accomplished that week instead of having to describe everything we did. That becomes very tedious” [E32]. Therefore, capacity-building actions in response to digital transformations (Memon et al., 2022) are essential and should be developed through technological investments, leadership support, and effective HRM practices (Melo & Demo, 2024; Melo et al., 2023).

It is also argued that “joining the PMP shouldn't be considered something that leads to overload, right? So I think this is a big challenge—to bring it into the daily routine of civil servants and make it something smooth” [E25], with policies and organizational practices aimed at higher performance levels and increased satisfaction for teleworkers (Figueira et al., 2023). Additionally, in the PGD, “no parameters were set [...]; each manager decided based on their own judgment. Some managers were a bit stricter, some were very flexible, and a few were in between. The ones who were very flexible became the standard” [E09]. Therefore, “the model we have is not standardized [...] and this generates some discrepancies” [E36]. It appears that Federal Institutes of Education, like many other organizations, as noted by Dervishaj & Neziraj (2022), failed to provide training for remote work, especially during the pandemic.

Similarly, “when writing a memo in a process, for example, someone might say it took them X hours, and another might say Y hours” [E36], which means “it's really hard to quantify this kind of thing” [E30]. This scenario highlights the need for organizations to provide professional training and retraining for teleworkers, as these are key requirements for the future of telework (Dervishaj & Neziraj, 2022; Melo & Demo, 2024; Melo et al., 2023). Furthermore, “some tasks involve a lot of analysis, a mental effort, so you can't really calculate the time spent [...] it would be almost impossible” [E32], especially since “there was no study to try to standardize or quantify it” [E36]. Therefore, it is essential that both leaders and teleworkers receive proper guidance and instruction on using new technologies (Memon et al., 2022; Paschoal et al., 2022), which requires institutional initiatives to support managers.

Additionally, “there should have been the same rules for everyone. What's happening a lot is that something is set, and each person follows the voice in their own head, right? And when that happens, it creates a lot of noise” [E09]. Similarly, Saurombe et al. (2022) suggest that HRM practices must ensure that organizational goals are met and that teleworkers clearly understand what the institution expects from them—an idea supported by E09's statement on the importance of prioritizing the development and implementation of institutional rules through HRM practices. In fact, “there could be some standardization of these reports [...], because sometimes management, being on the front line, is accused. ‘Oh, but in the other department, the person can work remotely for four days and one day on-site,’ without considering what is done in that department” [E39]. HRM practices can foster communication between managers and teams, keeping them informed about current regulations and changes,

helping reduce uncertainty in the organizational environment (Günther et al., 2022; Saurombe et al., 2022).

In this context, “I can’t help but mention the need to understand what PMP means in a school setting, okay? We are not a direct administration [...] We need to understand the unique nature of being a civil servant in an educational institution” [E43], because “this is not a government office; this is a high school, a college, part of the Federal Education Network” [E13]. As a result, educational teleworkers are concerned with maintaining social relationships, aiming to reduce communication failures in the workplace, which are often linked to a lack of effective collaboration between supervisors and colleagues, poor coordination of activities, and limited feedback exchanges (Memon et al., 2022). “We are not a separate world—we are one institution working together to serve our main clients: the students” [E39], “and your work will impact the students’ daily lives [...] those who are in the classroom” [E13]. Therefore, although the educational system remains heavily influenced by outdated bureaucratic administrative practices, civil servants are willing to develop strategies and face unforeseen situations across different levels of organizational management (Souza et al., 2023).

It is worth noting that “the rules made at the top didn’t really connect with the work being done at the grassroots level—they had no understanding of what was actually happening there” [E09]. Therefore, implementing organizational policies focused on teleworkers’ activities is essential (Saurombe et al., 2022), as is developing HRM practices that translate these policies into action, aligning strategic goals with the operational realities of educational work (Demo et al., 2024; Melo & Demo, 2024; Melo et al., 2023). As one manager pointed out, “we all have a day to enter and a day to leave. We don’t know when that day will come, but it will. The institution is permanent, but the civil servant is not” [E36]. Additionally, “you also have to think about the students” [E13] and “today we have to think about rebuilding the civil servant—who we have and who we want” [E08], because “we are not just processes. We are not just processes” [E39]. This emphasizes the historic shift caused by the pandemic and the necessary reorganization of social life for the modern era, where teleworkers feel motivated, valued (Saurombe et al., 2022), humanized, and supported in their quality of life in teleworking (Melo et al., 2025; Melo & Demo, 2024).

5. HOW DOES THE PMP WHEEL TURN? DISCUSSION OF RESULTS, IMPLICATIONS, LIMITATIONS, AND FUTURE AGENDA

The evidence in this study sparked important discussions, specifically:

(Dis)trust in the product vibe: clocking in on rigid autonomy? This category revolves around the paradox of trust and distrust from managers toward employees working remotely, as well as the control mechanisms for biometric timekeeping. On one hand, leadership positions that prioritize the product vibe and production autonomy; on the other hand, leaders who do not listen to the team performing the daily tasks, leading to undervaluing the knowledge of the person who executes and delivers the activities outlined in the work plan. In this scenario, it becomes necessary for leadership to express confidence in teleworkers’ ability to perform their functions autonomously and responsibly in the home environment (Günther et al., 2022). Moreover, effective management of teleworkers fundamentally requires maintaining regular and structured communication between leaders and subordinates, a central element to ensure quality management in the context of remote work (Figueira et al., 2023; Günther et al., 2022).

The frequency and consistency of these communications thus become key factors for successful remote team management (Figueira et al., 2023).

Furthermore, many teleworkers see control through timekeeping on in-person workdays as outdated, rigid, and limiting autonomy, supporting Souza et al.'s (2023) findings. It is important to note that the institution uses a flexible, hybrid telework model with schedules that can be fully remote (five days at home) or alternating between remote and in-person work (4x1, 3x2, 2x3, and 1x4). Additionally, people management practices are necessary in two ways: (1) teleworkers need guidance to trust the organizational structure, which is the leadership's responsibility to provide (Melo & Demo, 2024); and (2) leaders at various organizational levels must participate in developing and implementing people management practices that meet institutional demands (Chaudhuri et al., 2022; Günther et al., 2022). Therefore, leadership and people management practices can reevaluate rules such as biometric timekeeping on in-person workdays and involve employees in truly participative management (Demo et al., 2022; Melo & Demo, 2024; Melo et al., 2023).

The leader's challenge: What does it mean to be an educational civil servant? This category highlights the challenges and roles of managers in public administration. Barhate et al. (2022) emphasize the importance of providing professional development opportunities aimed at strengthening leaders' resilience, agility, and self-efficacy, enabling them to respond proactively, especially in uncertain and unprecedented situations. Notably, civil servants are surrounded by rules, laws, regulations, instructions, resolutions, procedures, deadlines, workflows, and similar elements, following directives and preparing reports for oversight bodies, which is not discussed here as a problem. However, considering the constraints of managerial models imported and implemented in public educational institutions (Souza et al., 2023), public managers cannot do what is not supported or guided by normative prescriptions and/or managerial instructions, even if such autonomy could lead to better organizational results.

Here lies a provocation, engaging with Souza et al. (2023), who demonstrate that although there is an ongoing pursuit of organizational efficiency, the bureaucratic rigidity of managerial public administration models used in federal educational institutions (IFEs) remains, which may lead to increased precarization of labor relations and contribute to lower quality of life levels (Souza, 2023). Furthermore, managers' perceptions also indicate that the implementation of the Performance Management Program (PMP) was not advantageous for managers, as the workload grew and many new demands (such as measuring more qualitative and subjective remote activities) were introduced without technical guidance on how to carry them out; at the same time, public service work cannot be performed whenever and however the individual wishes. According to Saurombe et al. (2022), when teleworkers do not perceive alignment between organizational management policies and telework programs, additional challenges arise for HRM practices, since "putting your face on the line" is not always an effective strategy, leading to questions about what it means to be a civil servant and how to address the needs and particularities of the public served. Indeed, it was observed that normative instruments, although establishing formal guidelines, may not always translate into practice and can even become disconnected from social reality, revealing limitations in their ability to effect change (Morais & Silva, 2018).

Now it's up to you and only you: PMP in the spotlight is a category that reveals surveillance through the perspective of Big Brother, sometimes inspired by biometric time tracking (for in-person work), and other times by the imaginary camera lens (for remote work) that monitors all activities. It creates a sense of being watched based on demands and deliveries,

work plans and results, report preparation and submission, and other tasks. After all, if you chose PMP, “now it’s up to you and only you.” Therefore, employees try to prove they are working by using email, system logs, WhatsApp, chat, and phone calls.

Conversely, Big Brother emphasizes everything done, including what was not accomplished. In this scenario, employees feel pressure about their performance, balancing self-imposed pressure for results and fear of losing PMP rights (Melo & Demo, 2024). It also causes the feeling that being observed, controlled, and watched makes some employees change their behavior. Before PMP, many did not take on many activities, but now, having joined the program, they must commit to and complete activities to justify their participation. It was observed that employees shifted “from water to wine,” becoming more dedicated to work, raising concerns about how PMP affects motivation and job satisfaction. In other words, it must be acknowledged that teleworkers are not machines but people who need visionary leadership that genuinely focuses on developing and implementing HRM practices centered on flexible work arrangements, valuing and promoting quality of work life in teleworking in public service.

We are not just processes in this machinery: the educational civil servants we have and the ones we want are a category emerging from the organizational context, initially highlighting excessive workload (Melo et al., 2025; Melo & Demo, 2024) for managers and teams caused by PMP-required reports. This can negatively impact QVTe but also exposes the lack of guidelines for balancing time (hours) and activities in teleworking. Managers should not feel insecure about report completion and evaluation procedures. Institutionally, it's not enough to just join PMP; it must be practical for everyone (Melo & Demo, 2024). Therefore, teleworking management must go beyond merely setting deadlines and goals (Figueira et al., 2023), emphasizing that the purpose of PMP is not limited to filling out detailed reports for accountability to oversight bodies. It is also desirable that the adoption of ICTs helps optimize report production and other routine and tedious activities, with institutions prioritizing investment in training, software acquisition, machines, and equipment. Therefore, it is essential that people be properly guided and instructed on new technologies (Memon et al., 2022; Paschoal et al., 2022) and procedures, without being hostage to the voices echoing in their heads. Consequently, managers can spend less time preparing reports and more time performing the strategic functions of their roles. In this sense, HRM practices (Saurombe et al., 2022) can help understand employees’ expectations, improve communication, and avoid feelings of organizational injustice (Günther et al., 2022), aiming to reduce rumors about PGD and implement more organizational policies focused on QVTe (Figueira et al., 2023).

The uniqueness of PMP in the education sector is questioned, sparking debate about what it means to be a civil servant. This includes: (i) the creation of norms and regulations that do not reflect the reality of work, as they are developed at the strategic level without understanding operational practices; (ii) being a civil servant connected to PMP in IFEs cannot be equated with being a civil servant under PMP in other federal direct public administration institutions; (iii) civil servants are human beings serving the public, citizens, and people, and should not be viewed or defined solely as processes; (iv) the institution’s longevity prompts reflection on (re)building civil servants, considering the current profile and future aspirations, confirming findings by Saurombe et al. (2022) on the inevitable and urgent social and labor transformations driven by the pandemic.

Additionally, it is important to note that Brazilian public educational institutions such as universities (Cândido & Alencar, 2024; Guimarães et al., 2022) and federal institutes (Melo & Demo, 2024) face challenges in implementing teleworking for technical-administrative education staff (TAEs) (Melo & Demo, 2024). Furthermore, Paschoal et al. (2022) examined

the impacts of QVTe perceptions and work redesign on the occupational well-being of public school teachers in the Federal District, Brazil. Results showed that self-management, organizational support, and clarity of expectations significantly influence work well-being. A lack of institutional guidelines and technological support hindered employee adaptation, limiting autonomy and increasing work overload, which supports this study.

Additionally, Guimarães et al. (2022) assessed musculoskeletal symptoms and ergonomic risks in the teleworking environments of TAEs at the Federal Institute of Santa Catarina (IFC), which is part of the Federal Network of Professional, Scientific, and Technological Education of the studied IFE. The authors discussed key ergonomic risks and concluded that IFC must provide proper equipment and furniture for TAEs, along with training on ergonomic risks in teleworking. In this context, studies by Cândido & Alencar (2024) also support Guimarães et al. (2022) by addressing ergonomic issues, musculoskeletal symptoms, individual prevention strategies, and prevention needs for teleworking public university employees in Brazil. Therefore, ergonomic risks and physical illnesses increased due to the lack of training or specific guidance on how to adapt the home workspace for remote work (Cândido & Alencar, 2024; Guimarães et al., 2022), affecting quality of life during teleworking.

There is also a need to reconsider HRM practices in light of teleworking-driven changes, requiring an institutional redesign that considers the subjective, relational, and technological aspects of remote work (Melo & Demo, 2024; Melo et al., 2023). Additionally, Melo et al. (2025) examined the limits of (dis)connection in remote work, highlighting challenges in balancing work and personal demands and tensions caused by the expansion of the digital space as an extension of the work environment. These findings emphasize the urgency to rethink the role of people management and the institutional structure of teleworking for TAEs in Brazilian public educational institutions, especially universities and federal institutes.

Concluding the results discussion and highlighting the importance of understanding how the “PMP wheel spins and can keep spinning,” Table 4 provides a summary of the main contributions, implications, and limitations of the study, along with a suggested agenda for future research.

Table 4
Contributions, implications, limitations, and agenda

Contributions and Implications	
Contributions	- Advancement in the fields of organizational studies, people management, and positive organizational behavior, especially in the joint investigation and analysis of leadership, HRM practices, and quality of work life (QVTe) in the context of teleworking in the public service, which helps fill gaps in the scientific literature on the subject.
Practical and Managerial Implications	- The qualitative diagnosis may generate insights for organizational decision-making, based on scientific evidence, by public managers at the studied Federal Educational Institution (IFE), regarding leadership variables, HRM practices, and QVTe.
Social Implications	- The empirical material produced may inspire more effective, strategic, and humanized organizational management aimed at better workplaces for the IFE’s employees.
Limitations and Agenda	
Limitations	- Exclusively qualitative nature - The volume of collected and processed data makes it impossible to include all possible findings produced during the interviews.

Agenda	- Conducting multimethod, quantitative, longitudinal, comparative investigations and triangulation strategies.- Research in the context of teleworking in different organizations considering other themes, namely: self-leadership, engagement, mental health, psychological capital, ergonomics, resilience, commitment, satisfaction, psychosocial risks, workplace justice, hybrid work models, well-being, culture, professional isolation, organizational virtues, identity, managerial skills, leader-member exchange quality, performance, innovation, work-life-family balance, diversity, and inequalities.
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Source: the authors.

6. CONCLUSIONS

The main objective of this research was achieved, as the results and discussions qualitatively analyzed the relationships between leadership, HRM practices, and quality of work life in teleworking (QVTe) from the perspective of managers at a public educational institution. Overall, the reflections, perspectives, and challenges of public managers in the education sector highlight the need to implement HRM practices and leadership support to enhance teleworkers' autonomy, fostering trust in their deliveries and promoting a work environment that is not rigidly tied to the obligation to clock in when working on-site. Furthermore, public managers require the support of HRM practices to lead their teams effectively and to ensure that these HRM practices are also designed to focus on the well-being and QVTe of the leaders themselves.

It is important to highlight that the studied constructs are also interconnected when leadership questions the importance of the Performance Management Program (PMP) for employees, suggesting that the institution should consider the heightened sense of surveillance amplified by teleworking. Acting as a reference point for activities (whether delivered or not), the PMP can foster a constant perception of being watched, both among teleworkers carrying out tasks and leaders managing the agreed outcomes. Undoubtedly, this increases concerns about errors, performance, pressure, and fear of losing PMP rights, complicating the human experience of teleworking. Here lies an opportunity for HRM practices to develop initiatives that promote health and safety in program adherence, supporting QVTe. Consequently, the leadership-HRM practices-QVTe triad must be reevaluated to better address the workings of the Brazilian public educational system, as well as the unique dynamics of flexible work arrangements.

These points and evidence support the reflection that inspired the title of this paper: "Voices and Spotlights of Teleworking in Brazilian Education: What Does It Mean to Be a Public Educational Manager?" The reflection sheds light on "being a public educational manager," for example, by emphasizing: (i) the outdated perspective of biometric timekeeping; (ii) understanding the PMP wheel that must keep turning to serve students and the academic community; (iii) strengthening production autonomy; (iv) valuing the voices of teleworkers and the knowledge they generate through activities, which include redesigns and revisions; (v) the particularities of indirect public administration and the increased workload resulting from PMP adoption.

Indeed, the voices and spotlight of teleworking, here called the Performance Management Program, shifted the meaning of work within the public educational service at the researched institution. This means that unexpectedly and without asking permission, the PMP raised challenges regarding "being a public educational manager," beyond managing and/or

serving students, citizens, the community, and clients (internal and external), as it creates an opportunity to rethink the work that can be done with the results delivered to the public.

Finally, amid the ripple effects of teleworking on daily life in the classroom—affecting students, families, teachers, and other educational staff—institutional continuity requires the reconstruction and redefinition of the public educational servant. Certainly, listening to the voices of teleworkers and managers, as well as understanding the highlights brought by the PMP, is opening both home and school doors to the (re)construction of “what it means to be a public educational manager.” After all, since they are not just processes and machines, there is a need to (re)consider the civil servants we currently have and the ones we want to have.

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