

Public-private partnerships in public education: a study in two northeastern states

**Allan Solano Souza**ⁱ 

State University of Rio Grande do Norte, Mossoró, RN, Brazil

Hilcéia Aparecida Gomes Moreiraⁱⁱ 

Department of Education of Ceará, Caucaia, CE, Brazil

Maria Margarett da Silvaⁱⁱⁱ 

State Secretariat for Education, Culture, Sport and Leisure, Mossoró, RN, Brazil

Daniela Cunha Terto^{iv} 

Federal Institute of Education, Science and Technology of Rio Grande do Norte, Natal, RN, Brazil

Abstract

The processes of privatization in public education occur in different ways, primarily through agreements, contracts, or partnerships between institutes and education secretariats. This study aims to discuss this phenomenon in two northeastern states of Brazil: Ceará and Rio Grande do Norte, demonstrating how it interferes with the development of managerial tools in the educational context. The research method adopted was dialectical approach, and the procedures consisted of literature review, documentary analysis and excerpts from the research conducted with school administrators. The results indicate that managers end up redefining their roles to meet the interests of partner institutions, emphasizing the achievement of goals and results.

Keywords

privatization; partnerships; managerialism; school administrators.

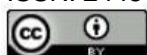
Alianças público-privadas na educação pública: um estudo em dois estados nordestinos

Resumo

Os processos de privatização da educação pública ocorrem de diferentes maneiras, principalmente por meio de acordos, contratos ou parcerias entre institutos e secretarias de educação. Este trabalho tem como objetivo discutir esse fenômeno em dois estados nordestinos do Brasil: Ceará e Rio Grande do Norte, demonstrando como ele interfere no desenvolvimento de ferramentas gerenciais no contexto educacional. O método de pesquisa adotado foi a abordagem dialética e os procedimentos consistiram em revisão de literatura, análise documental e recortes das pesquisas realizadas com os gestores escolares. Os resultados indicam que os gestores acabam redefinindo suas funções para atender aos interesses das instituições parceiras, enfatizando o cumprimento de metas e resultados.

Palavras-chave

privatização; parcerias; gerencialismo; gestores escolares.



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Resumen

Los procesos de privatización de la educación pública ocurren de diferentes formas, principalmente a través de convenios, contratos o asociaciones entre los institutos y las secretarías de educación. Este trabajo tiene como objetivo discutir este fenómeno en dos estados del Nordeste de la federación brasileña, Ceará y Rio Grande do Norte, demostrando cómo esto interfiere en el desarrollo de herramientas de gestión en el contexto educativo. El método de investigación fue el enfoque dialéctico y los procedimientos adoptados fueron la revisión bibliográfica, análisis documental y fragmentos de la investigación realizada con directores escolares. Los resultados indican que los gestores redefinen sus funciones para satisfacer los intereses de las instituciones asociadas, en relación con el logro de metas y resultados.

Palabras clave

privatización; asociaciones; gerencialismo; administradores escolares.

1 Introduction

This article aims to discuss the implications of public-private relations in education, considering the experience in the states of Ceará and Rio Grande do Norte. Among them, changes related to the autonomy of school managers stand out. Studies demonstrate that the achievement of public-private partnerships (PPP) occurs through agreements between institutes and state or municipal education departments (Adrião; Garcia, 2014; Peroni, 2006).

According to Peroni (2006), the changes that occurred during crises have reaffirmed conceptual, borderline, and legal transformations related to the public and private in Brazilian education. Specifically, the PPP has been influenced by the intervention of Brazilian businesspeople from different sectors of the economy within the scope of public education.

In this work, the expansion of these partnerships in the states of Ceará and Rio Grande do Norte is discussed, aiming to demonstrate how PPPs promote the development of management tools in the educational context and cause negative implications in school management, by implementing the principles of business management. The research method used was the dialectical approach according to Kosík (1976), which contributed to the interpretation, organization, and analysis of the data. Adopting as research procedures the literature review in the area, document

analysis based on the analysis of the laws that regulate partnerships between the public and private sectors of the respective states, consultation of the websites of private institutes, and carrying out semi-structured interviews with representatives from the education departments and school managers from both states.

This article is divided into three sections. The first presents the scenario in which PPPs were established, both at international and national levels, including their application in the area of education. The second specifically addresses partnerships in the states of Rio Grande do Norte and Ceará, discussing their characteristics and particularities; then, it explores the implications of these partnerships for school management. Finally, the third section presents the conclusions based on the analyses carried out.

2 Public and private in education: revisiting the debate

The debate about the role of the public and private sector in Brazilian education takes place in a broader context, in which market logic has been introduced into public sector reforms. The association in the form of partnership between these two sectors occurs through agreements, terms of commitment, and cooperation that follow market logic.

These initiatives are driven by management principles and arise as a response to the simplistic perception of supposed inefficiency and lack of quality in public services. The so-called New Public Management (NPM) presents itself as an alternative to the Weberian model of public administration, which is often perceived as rigid, excessively bureaucratic, and full of rules.

NPM is based on the principles of business management, using them as parameters of effectiveness and efficiency, and adoption of tools in the public sector used by companies, with the belief that the private sector presents the ideal management model (Abrucio, 1997). So, it has become a response of the bourgeois economy to the capital crisis at the end of the 20th century. Based on these premises, state and municipal governments have established partnerships with non-governmental organizations to carry out educational services.

From the perspective of Abrucio (1997), it was precisely due to this combination of market and bourgeois democracy that PPPs developed to fill the gaps left by the bureaucratic model, aiming to reduce public spending in the social area, associated with the principle of doing more with less, as a way to boost productivity in the public sector.

The partnership between the public and private sectors has been committed to Public Administration as a new way of managing public services. In other words, this new alliance between governments and market sectors interested in social issues aims to respond to the scarcity of resources, with the promise of increasing efficiency in building and providing services, taking advantage of capital and experience of the private sector in conducting projects and investments (Bertolin, 2011).

In this context, in the second half of the 20th century, PPPs gained space and strength, especially after the restructuring of capital resulting from the crisis of the 1970s. During this period, neoliberal principles¹ were adopted as a prescription and counter position to the Keynesian State. This model may not be the ideal solution to economic and social challenges and its implications need to be carefully considered to ensure that public interests are adequately protected and benefits are equitably distributed.

According to Adrião and Garcia (2014) and based on Peroni (2016), privatization reforms were designed in England, from the end of the 1970s until the 1980s, during the government of the Prime Minister of the United Kingdom Margaret Thatcher (1979-1990), and in the United States, by President Ronald Reagan (1981-1989). These governments implemented neoliberal principles in state policies, aiming to overcome the economic crisis and high inflation rates in the context of global productive restructuring. The following principles stand out among the main points defended by reformists: the expectation of improving public services; the belief that private companies can be more efficient and better managed compared to public companies; the search for improving “value for money” (efficiency) in the use of public resources, aiming to benefit society; and the possibility of transferring and sharing risks with the private sector, among other aspects (Peci; Sobral, 2007).

¹ Neoliberalism “[...] is first and foremost a theory of political-economic practices that proposes that human well-being can be best promoted by unleashing individual freedoms and entrepreneurial capabilities within the framework of an institutional structure characterized by solid rights to private property, free markets, and free trade” (Harvey, 2014, p. 42).

This opened space for the market to commercialize, through partnerships and privatizations, the provision of social services, such as health and education. In other words, there was an attempt to dismantle the Welfare State and a threat to the rights won by citizens through unions (Harvey, 2014).

The English public-private association is known as the Private Finance Initiative (PFI). The public sector is responsible for providing part of the services, while the private partner builds and maintains the infrastructure of the work (Peci; Sobral, 2007). These same authors mention that other countries such as France, Portugal, Italy, Spain, Australia, South Africa, Ireland, and Brazil, aspiring to greater economic efficiency, have also adopted the use of partnerships, adapting them to their particularities.

In Brazil, discussions about PPP strategies began during the government of Fernando Henrique Cardoso (1995-2002), based on NPM principles (Miranda; Azevedo, 2020). However, these partnerships became official on December 30, 2004, during Luiz Inácio Lula da Silva's government (2003-2010), with the sanction of Federal Law No. 11,079/2004, known as the Public-Private Partnership Law, establishing general rules for bidding and contracting at the federal, state, municipal and Federal District levels. In Brazil, these partnerships are established through sponsored or administrative concession contracts, to attract private investment to sectors lacking public investment.

With the opening of the non-exclusive services sector, the State began to act together with other non-state public organizations in offering services such as education, health and security. This opening allowed the transfer of responsibility and the possibility of involvement of the third sector in the execution of public services (Brazil, 1995). Partnerships with the private sector, based on the principles of managerialism, brought a quasi-market perspective to education. According to Bertolin (2011, p. 241-242):

The term quasi-market has been used to designate contexts in which, despite the existence of government financing and regulations, some market mechanisms are also present. This means that the term can be used in those situations in which decisions regarding supply and demand are coordinated based on market mechanisms, but only a few fundamental market ingredients are introduced.

This term is polysemic and widely used to describe economic arrangements in which there is a combination of market elements and government action, but not a

complete adoption of the free market. Instead, only some essential aspects of the market are introduced, while others are regulated or financed by the government.

It's troubling when the private sector plays a central role in public services, as there may be a lack of transparency and difficulty in ensuring that the public interest is addressed. It is necessary to carefully consider the social implications and impacts on inequalities when adopting the "quasi-market" model, ensuring that the priority is equitable access and quality of services for the whole society, and not only profitable.

Returning to reflections on partnerships in Brazil, according to Peci and Sobral (2007), they are similar to the concept of PFI used in England, since both seek to improve public services and believe in the potential of private companies. However, it is important to point out that partnerships in Brazil are developed on a smaller scale compared to the concept adopted in England. This difference can be attributed to the stage of development between the two countries, considering that England consolidated its partnership program around a decade before Brazil. In economic terms, therefore, it is important not to equate them.

PPPs are offered in different ways by establishing a partnership with the private sector in which the political society and legal representative of the public articulates the public dimension with the structure of the state apparatus, aligning itself with private interests and deconcentrating certain tasks that historically were attributed to the responsibility of the State. In this sense, concepts present in the private sector were introduced, such as goals, quality, efficiency, and results-based management (Newman; Clarke, 2012).

In Brazil, this articulation was marked by the emergence of the Todos Pela Educação movement in 1990, a period in which neoliberal policies were on the rise in the country and new functions were being attributed to the State. The Todos Pela Educação movement aimed to raise community awareness regarding educational rights and the social responsibility of the group (Freitas, 2018; Shiroma; Campos; Garcia, 2011). The strategies adopted by this group followed an apparently democratic approach, such as organizing forums and drafting guiding documents. For the business class, the perspective was that education would become part of the market, functioning as such. In this sense, ensuring access to quality education has become the main objective of this group.

The assessment of this interference by the private sector in the public sector in the educational sphere is as follows:

[...] From the businessmen's point of view, it was, however, not only about reforming education and schools, seeking to make them more effective and adequate to the new demands of capital but also about training 'a new type of worker', with subjective and attitudes compatible with the 'so-called knowledge society' [...] (Shiroma; Campos; Garcia, 2011, p. 226).

Based on the quote above, it is inferred that, from the perspective of business education reformers, the proposal for the involvement of the private sector in education was not limited to just reforming the educational system to make it more efficient and adapted to the needs of capital. Beyond that, they sought to form a new type of worker compatible with market demands, emphasizing specific skills and dispositions valued in a knowledge-based society. This vision highlights the influence of business interests in defining educational policies, seeking to shape not only the structure and functioning of schools but also the characteristics and skills of students.

Robertson and Verger (2012) consider Educational Public-Private Partnerships (EPPPs) as an innovative approach to investing in education to a certain extent, but they highlight that there is a dispute between the public and private spheres, in which the latter predominates in this relationship. Even with contracts, agreements, and regulations, advancement in one sector can mean a setback for another. Thus, these authors warn us about the development of a true industry specialized in EPPPs that adapt according to the demands and needs of the market, following the structure of capitalism.

As highlighted by Peroni (2016), this system of alliances between the private and the public sectors represents a way to directly reach the school and the classroom, thus allowing the business sector to influence the content and method of teaching. This suggests that, despite presenting themselves as investments for the general benefit of education, partnerships often end up serving the particular interests of certain groups, to the detriment of collective well-being, behaving more like a privatization strategy of services and functioning of the public service.

The contractual arrangement for the implementation of partnerships is expressed in some ways, among these “[...] there are partnerships in which private organizations support the area of education through philanthropic activities in which the State develops policies and provides financing while the private partner provides education services” (World Bank, 2006 *apud* Fernandez *et al.*, 2019, p. 392). Consequently, partnerships are formalized through different types of contracts. Depending on the type of service

provided, these contracts can range from construction, management, and maintenance, to the provision of services and operations. Next, we will address some aspects of the expansion of the alliance between the public and private sectors in the educational field, highlighting the implications for school management.

3 Privatization of public school management in state education systems

The states of Ceará and Rio Grande do Norte are located in the Northeast region of Brazil. Even though they are neighbors, they have very different social, political, and economic characteristics. Considering that education is a social area, we study data that provide an overview of the respective federated entities.

According to data from the Instituto Brasileiro de Geografia e Estatísticas (IBGE, 2022), in the last census, the state of Ceará had a population of 8,791,688 inhabitants, while the population of Rio Grande do Norte reached the mark of 3,302,406.

From an educational point of view, the data focus is on High School, as this is the stage of Basic Education chosen for this article as a way of studying the implications of EPPPs. For this reason, Rio Grande do Norte, in 2021, reported that it has 468 high schools. Ceará has 955 high schools, a little more than double compared to Rio Grande do Norte (IBGE, 2022).

Regarding enrollments, the state of Ceará reported that it had 367,574. In Rio Grande do Norte, 134,147 registrations. There is a significant difference in the number of enrollments between the states of Ceará and Rio Grande do Norte. This difference indicates that Ceará has more than double the number of enrollments compared to Rio Grande do Norte.

This disparity can be attributed to several factors, such as the difference in the population size of the states, the educational structure, the availability of educational institutions, educational policies implemented, among others. To better understand the reasons underlying this difference in the number of enrollments between the two states, more data and context are necessary.

Ceará has adopted management strategies since 2003, in line with ongoing educational reforms. This approach was adopted by representatives of different political parties, resulting in the redefinition of the boundaries between the public and private

sectors in education (Moreira, 2021). In Rio Grande do Norte, educational reforms to implement EPPPs began in 2005, gradually following some of the steps adopted in Ceará. Next, we will present the developments of these two states, which enabled the participation of the business sector in the management and design of public educational policies within the scope of the implementation of Full-Time High Schools.

3.1 Specificities of private sector interference in public education in the state of Rio Grande do Norte

The PPP strategy in Rio Grande do Norte was regulated by State Complementary Law No. 307, of October 11, 2005, in accordance with Federal Law No. 11,079, of December 30, 2004. On a legal level, the State PPP Program is institutionalized in the State Public Administration. It should be noted that it applies to Direct, Autonomous, and Foundational Public Administration Bodies, Special Funds, and other Entities directly or indirectly controlled (Rio Grande do Norte, 2005).

State Complementary Law No. 307/2005 recognizes, in its 2nd article, that PPPs “[...] are collaboration mechanisms [between the State of Rio Grande do Norte and private sector agents, to carrying out construction and large-scale projects and the provision of services]” (Rio Grande do Norte, 2005, p. 1). Next, in its third article, it is emphasized that this process occurs via contracts signed in the areas of education, health, social assistance, transport, water supplies and basic sanitation, research, science and technology, industry, agriculture, and tourism, as well as other areas of social or economic interest. Throughout the law, it is possible to define this policy, bodies, and councils responsible for achieving the objectives, as well as the system of guarantees, control, and transparency of results.

According to Colares, Jeffrey and Maciel (2018, p. 84), “[...] the argument of transforming education by serving the underprivileged population as a way of overcoming social inequalities has been a powerful argument for the inclusion of Civil Society Organization of Public Interest in schools public”. This argument reflects the search for alternative and complementary solutions to the role of the State in education, involving alliances with private and third-sector organizations (Montaño, 2010). However, it is important to consider the different aspects involved in this process, such as the need to

guarantee the quality of education, transparency in the management of partnerships, and respect for democratic and equity principles.

In the educational field, there are still few studies that seek to map the actions of private actors in Rio Grande do Norte, as evidenced by the works of Diniz and Garcia (2018), Moreira (2021), and Queiroz and Azevedo (2022).

The justification for implementing these initiatives was based on the diagnosis of the difficulties faced by the state in achieving the goals related to the Índice de Desenvolvimento da Educação Básica (IDEB), especially in High School. This is easy to see in the Governo Cidadão program, previously known as “RN Sustentável”, which was established as a loan obtained from the World Bank to finance infrastructure works and implement monitoring, control, and evaluation systems for public policies.

The Governo Cidadão program had the goal of improving public services and established Improving the Quality of Basic Education as one of its subcomponents. This subcomponent includes a series of actions to be developed throughout the duration of the program. Regarding High School, it is mentioned in the Operational Manual as a control variable for education targeting indicators, especially relating to age-grade distortion (Rio Grande do Norte, 2017). In an attempt to find other details regarding High School, the document that operationalizes this policy does not present many details about the challenges to be overcome for this stage of Basic Education in the state.

During an interview given for a master's degree in Education research, the representative of the Secretaria de Educação (SEEC) revealed that, at the end of 2016, the state joined the Program to Promote the Implementation of Escolas de Ensino Médio em Tempo Integral (EEMTI), launched by the Ministry of Education through Ordinance No. 1,145/2017-MEC. Following the logic of national policy, the objective of this program was to face challenges such as school dropout and the age-grade gap and improve the IDEB in secondary education. Furthermore, joining the program aimed to meet goals 2 and 6 of the Plano Nacional de Educação (PNE) and the Plano Estadual de Educação (PEE/RN-2015-2025), respectively (Silva, 2020).

According to the interviewee, a representative of SEEC, it was decided that the implementation of this program would rely on a partnership between SEEC and the Instituto de Corresponsabilidade pela Educação (ICE), together with its strategic and technical partners, such as Instituto Sonho Grande, Instituto Natura, STEM Brasil, and

Instituto de Qualidade Educacional (IQE). Another private institution mentioned is the Lemann Foundation. During the interview, it was mentioned that other institutes were also developing projects in the area of education in Rio Grande do Norte. But, due to the program's proposal, ICE was chosen due to its experience in other states, starting with Pernambuco (RSEEC, 2020).

After that, it is inferred that the discourse of PPPs was already incorporated into the vision of the SEEC representative. However, the Jovem de Futuro Program was also involved, designed by Instituto Unibanco (IU), aimed at strengthening secondary education through learning and management circuits. In High School and Full-Time Education, the SEEC representative identified the Escola da Escolha project, implemented by ICE, with funding from Instituto Sonho Grande and Instituto Natura. It was based on this recognition that SEEC promoted collaborations with these institutes and sought to make ICE's work viable in the state.

During the analysis, the strategy of private institutions to insert themselves into education in Rio Grande do Norte and introduce mercantilist logic into the local public educational system was observed. This activity covers various aspects of the school, starting with management. ICE played a central role in proposing the Escola da Escolha model, bringing business management standards to education. For this, instruments considered "new technologies" are used, such as the Plan-Do-Check-Act (PDCA), and action plans, among others, which must be managed by administrators and followed by the entire school community.

The school team receives guidance from ICE through instructional books developed by the institution. One of these books is the Tecnologia de Gestão Educacional (TGE), which aims to guide the actions of EEMTI administrators. In short, managers are encouraged to adapt to the methods used by the private sector, adopting subservient leadership and less questioning. This aims to consolidate the Escola da Escolha model, which is based on youth protagonism, the four pillars of education, the pedagogy of presence, and interdimensional education.

In Rio Grande do Norte, IQE, another private institute, offered training for Portuguese Language and Mathematics teachers, to support leveling activities in schools. At the same time, the Instituto STEM Brasil also participated in the educational scenario, providing training to Science teachers. This initiative aimed to train professionals to carry

out practical activities in laboratories and experiments. Meanwhile, Instituto Natura and Instituto Sonho Grande supported the process of implementing Full-Time High School, contributing to the expansion of this educational modality in the state.

According to the administrator who participated in the research carried out by Silva in 2020, PPPs have a significant impact on the entire dynamics of the institution, directly affecting their actions. This occurs because the administrators' duties are defined by their respective “partners”, and these duties are detailed in the books of the Escola da Escolha model, specifically in the TGE of the Instituto de Corresponsabilidade Educacional (ICE). As a result, there is strict monitoring of administrators' work, which can reduce their autonomy, since they need to be accountable for the management processes implemented to achieve the results planned by the institutes. Therefore, administrators must carry out the PDCA cycle, and develop action plans and segmented action programs, thus exercising subservient leadership, as advised (Silva, 2020).

The presence of private institutes in public education in Rio Grande do Norte raises concerns about the commodification of education and dependence on schools. The introduction of business management standards can result in the prioritization of economic interests to the detriment of the well-being and integral development of students. Furthermore, the activities of these institutes may be conditioned by specific interests or be interrupted without prior notice, leaving schools without adequate support to maintain projects and improve the quality of education. Another concern is the possible loss of autonomy and management of public education, as it may become less questioning and more susceptible to following strategies that are not always the most appropriate for the local reality.

3.2 Specificities of public-private relations in education in the state of Ceará

The PPP regime in the state of Ceará is regulated by State Law No. 14,391, of July 7, 2009. As a mechanism to control these processes, the state determined the creation of the Conselho Gestor of this alliance system between the public and private sectors, as provided for in Decree No. 29,801, of July 10, 2009. Following the legal framework that institutionalizes this process via projects, Governor Cid Gomes sanctioned Decree nº 30,328, of September 27, 2010, which defines “[...] the procedure

for expressing interest in public-private partnership projects, in sponsored and administrative modalities, and common concession and permission projects” (Ceará, 2010).

Based on this legal apparatus, the alliance between IU and the Secretaria da Educação do Estado do Ceará (Seduc) provided training for professional staff in the state school system. This happened in 2012, through institutional agreements to facilitate educational projects such as Aprender para Valer, the Projeto Jovem do Futuro (PJF), which is currently present in most state high schools, and its developments through the program Gestão para Resultados (Gepira) and Circuito de Gestão.

According to information on the IU website, it was created in 1982, to improve Brazilian public education, mainly by bringing changes in educational management. The premise of this private organization's work in education is to support and develop management solutions to increase the efficiency of teaching in public schools.

Another focus of IU's action is achieving sustainable learning results, working towards equity in teaching, both between schools and within each one of them, based on four fundamental values: connecting ideas, accelerating transformations, valuing diversity, and decisions based on evidence. In this sense, it reproduces four fronts of action: conceiving, developing, implementing, and evaluating solutions for educational management; producing and disseminating knowledge about these solutions, based on empirical evidence and scientific research; supporting initiatives to overcome the challenges of high school; and occupy strategic positions and intensify coordination with the main actors and decision-makers of public policies in the area of education (Moreira, 2021).

The IU is a body financed by a fund that provides free services and products to education departments, schools, education professionals, and students who participate in its projects. In an interview with two school managers from EEMTIs in Ceará, it was discovered that the influence of this institute is possible due to the work of the management team, which bases its activities on the training offered through webinars, books, and multimedia material available on its website. School managers, considered highly qualified organic intellectuals, are responsible for disseminating the culture of performativity in schools.

The IU plays a determining role in public education in Ceará, notably through the Programa Jovem de Futuro, which focuses on the training of managers and teachers. The “management circuit” model implemented by the IU stands out, aimed at improving educational performance through the proposal of flexibility in teaching and curricular adaptation.

According to Barros et al. (2021), the management circuit has four phases: participatory planning; execution; monitoring and evaluation; and adjustments. Additionally, it provides goals, protocols, and management practices to support performance across the circuit phases. The program includes school supervisors external to the school to monitor and advise at each stage of management. Although it is adaptable to different levels of education, the program was implemented only in state public high schools and has IU support for at least six years after adoption by the state educational system.

However, it is important to note that this approach raises questions about its alignment with the need for strategies to achieve results. In the current context, this way of conducting school education can, to a certain extent, contribute to the maintenance of a capitalist society that tends to be exclusionary.

IU's partnership with Seduc affects several areas of education, including relationships between managers, teachers, and superintendents. These changes reflect a neoliberal approach that seeks to transfer responsibilities from the State to the non-state public sector, especially through PPPs in education (Moreira, 2021).

In research carried out in two schools located in the first Coordenadoria Regional de Desenvolvimento da Educação (Crede 01-CE), Moreira (2021) points out that school managers stated democratic management worked well before IU's interference but was interrupted in favor of the managerial model, adopting private management as a more effective model than public management. The IU continues to play a central role as a partner in the formulation and execution of educational policies in Ceará but also reflects the desire of the private sector to influence educational policies and establish a connection between the public and private sector (Moreira, 2021).

Moreover, IU expands its presence in public schools by promoting ideas related to entrepreneurship, the search for equity and flexibility. This demonstrates an effort to

modernize and adapt education to contemporary demands, but it also raises questions about how these ideas can affect the nature and objectives of public education.

4 Final considerations

This work sought to demonstrate the staggering process of public-private alliances in the educational context of the states of Rio Grande do Norte and Ceará, at the same time explaining its implications for the management of the EEMTI school.

It was observed that the management guidelines of the private sphere, expressed in the implementation of NPM, are introduced subtly. From this perspective, the State plays the role of financier of results, subjecting school institutions to performance assessments and accountability for control of results and competition administered among them.

One of the convergence points between the two experiences analyzed is that the role of EEMTI managers involved the imposition of business approaches in the administrative and pedagogical management of schools. These changes were significant for the implementation of partnerships with ICE in Rio Grande do Norte and IU in Ceará.

In conclusion, the objective of improving the quality of education, propagated by these institutes, hides their real intentions, which are centered on obtaining profit from the sale of packages and solutions for educational systems. Gradually, autonomy is taken away, due to an instrumental and technical vision (Lima, 2011). In this context of alliances, autonomy becomes misshapen and turns into an operational approach and a form of accountability for specific tasks and responsibilities for public schools.

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Allan Solano Souza, Postgraduate Program in Education at the State University of Rio Grande do Norte (UERN)

 <https://orcid.org/0000-0002-4963-0922>


PhD in Education from the Postgraduate Program in Education at Federal University of Rio Grande do Norte (UFRN). Coordination of the Postgraduate Program in Education (Poseduc) of UERN. Member of the Study and Research Group on State, Education and Society, linked to the National Council for Scientific and Technological Development (CNPq).

Authorship contribution: Writing – proofreading and editing.

Lattes: <http://lattes.cnpq.br/3065102801690294>

E-mail: allansouza@uern.br

Hilcélia Aparecida Gomes Moreira, Department of Education of Ceará (Seduc)

 <https://orcid.org/0000-0001-6837-666X>

Masters in Education from the Postgraduate Program in Education at State University of Rio Grande do Norte (UERN). Works in the State System of Full-Time High Schools in Ceará.

Authorship contribution: Writing of the original manuscript.

Lattes: <http://lattes.cnpq.br/7282052825714519>

E-mail: hilcelia39@gmail.com

Maria Margaret da Silva, State Secretariat for Education, Culture, Sports and Leisure of Rio Grande do Norte (SEEC)

 <https://orcid.org/0000-0002-4794-0177>

Masters in Education from the Postgraduate Program in Education at State University of Rio Grande do Norte (UERN). Educational support in the State Education System of the State of Rio Grande do Norte.

Authorship contribution: Writing of the original manuscript.

Lattes: <http://lattes.cnpq.br/9995607735826862>

E-mail: margarett.margarett@gmail.com

Daniela Cunha Terto, Federal Institute of Education, Science and Technology of Rio Grande do Norte (IFRN)

 <https://orcid.org/0000-0003-0307-6572>

PhD and Master in Education and graduated in Pedagogy from Federal University of Rio Grande do Norte (UFRN). Professor of School Policies and Management at IFRN, *campus* Natal Central. Professor of the Postgraduate Program in Professional Education at IFRN.

Authorship contribution: Proofreading and writing of the original manuscript.

Lattes: <http://lattes.cnpq.br/5995982936289626>

E-mail: daniela.terto@ifrn.edu.br

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