


EDUCATIONAL MANAGEMENT IN THE TOCANTINS STATE SYSTEM AS A ROUTE OF INFLUENCE FOR THE PRIVATE HEGEMONY APPARATUSES OF THE DOMINANT BOURGEOIS CLASS

A GESTÃO EDUCACIONAL NO SISTEMA ESTADUAL DO TOCANTINS COMO ROTA DE INFLUÊNCIA DOS APARELHOS PRIVADOS DE HEGEMONIA DA CLASSE DOMINANTE BURGUESA


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ABSTRACT:

The article presents research results on the topic of educational management, specifically focusing on the privatization of

educational management in the State Education System of Tocantins (SEE-TO). The objective is to analyze the phenomenon of privatization of educational management in SEE-TO, considering the increased influence of the insertion power of Private Hegemony Apparatuses (PHA) of the bourgeois ruling class in the formulation and implementation of educational policy/management during the validity period of the State Education Plan (PEE-TO/2015-2025). This phenomenon is analyzed from the perspective of neoliberal theses. Based on historical-dialectical materialism, the sources are bibliographical and empirical-documentary. The main results indicate that, up to the implementation of PEE-TO in 2024, the PHAs, such as Instituto Ayrton Senna, Fundação Lemann, Instituto Sonho Grande, Instituto Corresponsabilidade pela Educação, and Instituto Natura, intensified their influence through Cooperation Agreements with the State Department of Education, directing educational policy and management. These partnerships have reflected the privatization of educational management, sidelining the role of Seduc-TO and reinforcing bourgeois hegemony. On the other hand, there are collectives in Tocantins, such as the Rede Colaboração Tocantins (RCT), Anpae, Anped, and the Group for Study, Research, and Extension in Municipal Education (GepeEM), that have been working towards building counter-hegemony in education. These groups advocate for public educational management with social quality, opposing the privatist and market-oriented trend. This work focuses on the political-institutional counter-hegemonic actions of the RCT.

KEYWORDS: Bourgeois hegemony; Privatization of education; State Education Plan; State of Tocantins; RCT.

Introduction

This article presents research results on the topic of educational management, specifically focusing on the privatization of educational management within the State Education System of Tocantins (SEE-TO). The objective is to analyze the phenomenon of the privatization of educational management in SEE-TO, considering the increasing influence of the insertion power of Private Hegemony Apparatuses (PHA) of the bourgeois ruling class in the formulation and implementation of educational policy/management during the validity period of the State Education Plan (PEE-TO/2015-2025). This phenomenon is analyzed from the perspective of neoliberal theses, considering PHAs as entities that “[...] represent the interests and values of different social classes and segments” (Coutinho, 2006, p. 97).

The study is grounded in historical-dialectical materialism (Evangelista, 2012; Frigotto, 2000) and utilizes bibliographic sources, seeking to relate the universal - through neoliberal guidelines - to the singular case of the privatization of educational management in SEE-TO, from a perspective that apprehends totality. The documentary sources include Cooperation Agreements between the State Department of Education of Tocantins (Seduc-TO) and private institutes, obtained through physical surveys at the Department and virtual searches in State Official Gazettes, with the aim of “addressing, analyzing, contrasting, deconstructing, or constructing an interpretation of the documents” (Evangelista, 2012, p. 64).

This study provides an understanding of the dynamics shaping educational policy/management in SEE-TO, which involve the complex relationships established between the public sector, represented by the State Department of Education of Tocantins (Seduc-TO), and the private sector, represented by the PHAs of the bourgeois ruling class such as Instituto Ayrton Senna (IAS) (Tocantins, 2017; 2021); Fundação Lemann (Tocantins, 2018); Instituto Sonho Grande (ISG); Instituto Corresponsabilidade pela Educação (ICE); and Instituto Natura (IN) (Tocantins, 2017; 2021). These entities have influenced the planning, as well as the formulation, implementation, and evaluation of public policies/educational management in the state.

The phenomenon of educational management privatization - from national to local

The population of the state of Tocantins was estimated at 1,511,460 people (IBGE, 2022), with a population density of 5.45 inhabitants per square kilometer, making it the 24th most populous state in the country. The federative unit has 139 municipalities, organized into two mesoregions: the Western Mesoregion, with eight microregions, and the Eastern Mesoregion, with three microregions. The Western Mesoregion consists of Araguaína, Bico do Papagaio, Gurupi, Miracema do Tocantins, and Rio Formoso, while the Eastern Mesoregion includes the microregions of Dianópolis, Jalapão, and Porto Nacional (IBGE, 2010).

Regarding State Education, based on analyses of the school catalog from the National Institute for Educational Studies and Research Anísio Teixeira (INEP) (2021) and the Technical Summary of Tocantins – Basic Education Census (2021), the SEE-TO is organized as follows: the State Department of Education (Seduc-TO), created in 1989; the State Education Council (CEE-TO), established in 1995 as an advisory, normative, and supervisory body of SEE-TO; the State Education Forum (FEE-TO), established in 2011; 13 Regional Education Superintendencies (SRE); and approximately 503 school units.

In this education system, cooperation agreements between the Department and the PHAs of the bourgeois ruling class have emerged as processes, mechanisms, and strategies for the privatization of education management, with implications for educational management. It is clear that educational management models prioritizing neoliberal principles, such as efficiency, individualism, competitiveness, measurable results, and the application of private sector managerial practices, are favored (Santos, 2019).

Santos (2019) highlights that the influence of the PHAs of the bourgeois ruling class on educational management can lead to the adoption of policies that cater more to market interests than to the educational needs of the population. This subordination of the public sector to private interests can result in lower-quality and more exclusionary education.

The relationship between the public and private sectors in Brazilian education is not a recent phenomenon; it is historically rooted, with records of this interconnection and power correlation since the First Republic, impacting the consolidation of genuinely public education for all people (Pires, 2015) as well as the institutionalization of the National Education System.

The influence of the PHAs of the bourgeois ruling class on educational management is evident, as seen in the establishment of Cooperation Agreements since the early years of the 21st century, particularly with Instituto Ayrton Senna and Fundação Lemann (Santos, 2019). These Agreements have intensified and consolidated with the implementation of PEE-TO (2015-2025), aiming to define, implement, and evaluate educational policies, often focusing on the training of professionals such as teachers, pedagogical coordinators, and principals, and encompassing various stages of basic education. The most extensive and influential agreements involve IAS (Tocantins, 2017; 2021); Instituto Lemann (Tocantins, 2018); ISG; ICE; and IN (Tocantins, 2017; 2021).

In 2017, Seduc-TO signed two Cooperation Agreements: Agreement No. 001/2017 (Tocantins, 2017) with IAS, aimed at achieving goals 1, 2, 5, and 7 of the National Education Plan (PNE/2014) (Brazil, 2014); and Agreement No. 02 (Tocantins, 2017) with ISN, IN, and ICE, valid for 36 months, aimed at achieving goals 3, 6, 7, and 19 of the PNE.

Seduc-TO and Instituto Lemann signed Cooperation Agreement No. 003/2018 (Tocantins, 2018) to promote training for school principals and pedagogical coordinators in 269 School Units of SEE-TO.

In 2021, new Agreements were signed with IAS – Programa Volta ao Novo, Agreement No. 13 (Tocantins, 2021), aimed at promoting the training of socio-emotional skills for Department technicians, managers, and teachers; and Agreement No. 06 (Tocantins, 2021) with ISN, IN, and ICE, valid for 36 months, aimed at achieving goals 3, 6, 7, and 19 of the PNE.

Analyzing the content of these Cooperation Agreements, specifically in the field of responsibilities, we understand that they are pathways for the privatization of education, as private institutes own the intellectual property of the programs and projects to be implemented and play a leading role in defining, implementing, and evaluating educational policy/management in various

dimensions, leaving the Department with a secondary role of support and provision of the necessary conditions for the development of activities.

These Agreements highlight the neoliberal strategy of managing public responsibilities by transferring public sector duties to private entities, such as defining, planning, and implementing public educational policies for Basic Education in Tocantins, which involve: educational management model (system) and school; training of principals, coordinators, and teachers; work systematization, monitoring and evaluation model; curriculum and provision.

Peroni and Garcia (2020, p. 4) conclude this understanding by noting that the privatization of public education materializes in the following aspects:

when the private sector defines the content of education through teacher training, monitoring, school management, pre-prepared lessons, routine definition - in short, everything that matters in defining the role of education in society. This process also occurs through the setting of educational agendas, which we call policy direction, as exemplified by the actions of the Todos pela Educação movement.

The influence of private institutes on SEE-TO has led to serious implications for public education policy/management (Santos, 2019), compromising constitutional principles such as the social right to education (Art. 6º of the CF/1988; Art. 3º, Clause XIII of the LDB/1996); democratic management of public education (Art. 206, Clause VI of the CF/1988; Art. 3º - Clause VII and Art. 14, Clauses I and II of the LDB/1996; PNE 2014-2024, Art. 9º); the regime of collaboration (Art. 23, 211, and 214 of the CF/1988; LDB, 1996, Arts. 7º and 8º; PNE, 2014); pluralism of ideas and pedagogical conceptions (Art. 206 - Clause III of the CF/1988; Art. 3º, Clause III of the LDB/1996); and the quality of education (Brazil, 1988, Clause VII; LDB, Art. 3º, Clause IX and Art. 4º, Clause IX).

In the contested field between civil society aligned with capital, represented by the APH of the bourgeois ruling class, and civil society that defends public education, a clear contradiction emerges: while the former is based on managerial management, meritocracy, individualism, competitiveness, and result-based control, aimed at business and profitability, the latter, from a counter-hegemonic perspective, advocates for public education with public,

democratic, and participative management, that is secular, inclusive, emancipatory, republican, and based on collective and universal principles.

In this discussion, we follow Peroni's ideas (2015, p. 31):

We understand that the relationship between the public and private sectors in the direction and execution of education is a process of power correlation, which does not occur by chance and is increasingly guiding public policy. We fight for democratic processes and social justice in education, and the more we advance on this path, the more capital organizes itself to reclaim its role in education.

These ideas warn us about the risks of a growing trend of subordinating public interest to market interests, as these APH exert substantial influence over both pedagogical content and educational management.

As highlighted by Peroni (2015), despite the declared intentions to improve educational quality, the influence of these business groups and financial institutions on public education should be viewed with caution, ensuring that public interest prevails over private interests and that pedagogical autonomy and educational equity are not compromised.

It is within this context of public policy management in SEE-TO that we observe education as a space of dispute and correlation of forces (Peroni, 2015). Thus, on one hand, as mentioned, there are APH of the bourgeois ruling class working to consolidate their hegemony, aligned with the actions of collective actors like IAS, Instituto Lemann, ISG, ICE, and IN, emphasizing a policy that values managerial, meritocratic, and exclusionary management, result-based control, individualism, and competitiveness. On the other hand, from a counter-hegemonic perspective, in the territory of Tocantins, there are entities, associations, research groups, and organized collectives, recognized in this work, that advocate for public education with public, democratic, and participative management, that is secular, inclusive, emancipatory, republican, and based on collective and universal principles, such as the National Association of Graduate Studies and Research in Education (Anped); the National Association of Educational Policy and Administration (Anpae); the Study, Research, and Extension Group on Municipal Education (GepeEM), from the Federal University

of Tocantins (UFT); the Interinstitutional Program Rede Colaboração Tocantins (RCT) (Lagares; Santos, 2022).

The Construction of Counter-Hegemonic Actions

In this space of dispute and correlation of forces in Tocantins, in the field of education, the RCT was established in 2020, within the context of the Coronavirus pandemic, by researchers and experts in education policy/management from UFT, members of GepeEM/Observatório de Sistemas e Planos de Educação no Tocantins (ObSPE); representatives from the Public Ministry of the State of Tocantins, with the support of the National Union of Municipal Education Directors (Undime) – Tocantins section, the Tocantins Association of Municipalities (ATM), and municipal education secretaries, with the objective of supporting municipal education systems and networks in Tocantins in organizing educational policy/management and improving management, teaching, and learning processes (RCT, 2020; Lagares; Santos, 2022). Since 2021, the Ministry of Education (MEC), through the National Fund for Education Development (FNDE), has been financing the activities of the RCT Program, and since 2022, Seduc-TO has been acting as a collaborating institution for the development of programs and projects.

The RCT is an Interinstitutional Program of training, monitoring, and evaluation, composed of representatives from institutions present in the state of Tocantins, who have assumed, in a regime of collaboration, the legal and social responsibility to promote and ensure public education with public, secular, democratic, inclusive, and socially referenced quality management for all Basic Education students.

In summary, its main objective is to support the management processes and effective institutionalization of Municipal Education Systems/Management and pedagogical practice, aiming at improving teaching and learning processes through the implementation of the following programs: a) Program for the Institutionalization and Management of Municipal Education Systems: training, monitoring, evaluation, and management in educational policy/management (PRISME) and EducaTO.

According to the PRISME Partial Report (PRISME/RCT, 2024, p. 8), covering the period from December 2023 to June 2024, its central objective is to:

Ensure continuous training, monitoring, and evaluation in educational policy/management, focusing on democratic management; municipal education planning; and the institutionalization of the municipal education system, aiming to expand the institutional capacity of municipal education systems, build autonomy, and fulfill educational responsibilities, integrating with the Union and State policies and plans.

Regarding the EducaTO Program, its Actions and Results Report from July/2024 (EducaTO/RCT, 2024, p. 24) states that its main objective is to:

Provide support to school units of municipal education systems in the State of Tocantins, through continuous training, monitoring, and evaluation of management and pedagogical practice, focusing on strengthening literacy-related learning, aiming to improve management, teaching, and learning processes in municipal education systems in the State of Tocantins that adhere to the Rede ColaborAção Tocantins.

Together, these Programs, understanding education as a space of dispute and correlation of forces, and experiencing the intensification of contradictions and the political struggle for the constitution of alternative forms of SEE-TO organization and education in the municipalities of Tocantins, fight for the construction of counter-hegemonic actions in light of Gramsci's perspective of an expanded State, in opposition to neoliberal orientations with their privatizing and market agendas for public education.

Conclusions

By analyzing the phenomenon of the privatization of educational management in SEE-TO, from the perspective of the expanded influence of the power of insertion of the APH of the bourgeois ruling class in the formulation and implementation of educational policy/management during the period of validity of PEE-TO/2015-2025, materialized in the Cooperation Agreements signed between Seduc-TO and private Institutes, we reaffirm that this privatizing movement is configured as state public policy in line with national and international neoliberal policy.

In the Cooperation Agreements, the PEE-TO is used as justification for the expanded insertion of the APH of the bourgeois ruling class in educational policy/management, defining processes, mechanisms, and strategies for the privatization of education.

In the contested field of distinct educational projects, these APH have more effectively influenced the definition of SEE-TO educational policy/management, evidencing the subordination of Seduc-TO to private entities for the formulation and implementation of educational policies, which has led to the weakening of the state's autonomy in managing its educational system.

The privatization of educational management in Tocantins encompasses complex dynamics of power and influence that shape the state's educational system. However, it is necessary to mention that, even with the recurrence of these privatist organizations, representing the interests of the bourgeois ruling class, there are other collectives contesting these partnerships, such as organized collectives that have occupied prominent spaces on the educational agenda in the state of Tocantins and in the country.

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RESUMO:

O artigo apresenta resultados de pesquisa tratando do tema gestão educacional e do objeto privatização da gestão educacional no Sistema Estadual de Ensino do Tocantins (SEE-TO). Tem por objetivo analisar o fenômeno da privatização da gestão educacional no SEE-TO, a partir da ampliação da influência do poder de inserção dos Aparelhos Privados de Hegemonia (APH) da classe dominante burguesa na formulação e implementação da política/gestão educacional, no período de vigência do Plano Estadual de Educação (PEE-TO/2015-2025). Este fenômeno é analisado sob a perspectiva das teses neoliberais. Assentados no materialismo histórico dialético, as fontes são bibliográficas e empírico-documentais. Os principais resultados indicam que até o momento da implementação do PEE-TO, em 2024, os APH, como Instituto Ayrton Senna, Fundação Lemann, Instituto Sonho Grande, Instituto Corresponsabilidade pela Educação e Instituto

Natura, intensificaram sua influência por intermédio de Acordos de Cooperação com a Secretaria Estadual de Educação, direcionando a política e a gestão educacional. Essas parcerias têm refletido a privatização da gestão educacional, colocando em segundo plano o papel da Seduc-TO e reforçando a hegemonia burguesa. Por outro lado, podem ser citados coletivos no Tocantins que vêm atuando para a construção da contra hegemonia na educação, como a Rede Colaboração Tocantins (RCT), a Anpae, a Anped e o Grupo de Estudo, Pesquisa e Extensão em Educação Municipal (GepeEM), que defendem uma gestão educacional pública, com gestão pública e de qualidade social, em contraposição a tendência privatista e mercadológica. Neste trabalho, foca-se na atuação político-institucional contra hegemônica da RCT.

PALAVRAS-CHAVE: Hegemonia burguesa; Privatização da educação; Plano Estadual de Educação; Estado do Tocantins; RCT.

RESUMEN:

El artículo presenta resultados de investigación sobre el tema de la gestión educativa y el objeto de la privatización de la gestión educativa en el Sistema Estatal de Enseñanza de Tocantins (SEE-TO). Su objetivo es analizar el fenómeno de la privatización de la gestión educativa en el SEE-TO, a partir de la ampliación de la influencia del poder de inserción de los Aparatos Privados de Hegemonía (APH) de la clase dominante burguesa en la formulación e implementación de la política/gestión educativa, durante el período de vigencia del Plan Estatal de Educación (PEE-TO/2015-2025). Este fenómeno se analiza desde la perspectiva de las tesis neoliberales. Basado en el materialismo histórico dialéctico, las fuentes son bibliográficas y empírico-documentales. Los principales resultados indican que hasta el momento de la implementación del PEE-TO, en 2024, los APH, como el Instituto Ayrton Senna, Fundación Lemann, Instituto Sonho Grande, Instituto Corresponsabilidad por la Educación e Instituto Natura, intensificaron su

influencia a través de Acuerdos de Cooperación con la Secretaría Estatal de Educación, orientando la política y la gestión educativa. Estas asociaciones han reflejado la privatización de la gestión educativa, relegando a un segundo plano el papel de la Seduc-TO y reforzando la hegemonía burguesa. Por otro lado, se pueden citar colectivos en Tocantins que han estado trabajando para la construcción de la contra hegemonía en la educación, como la Red Colaboração Tocantins (RCT), la Anpae, la Anped y el Grupo de Estudio, Investigación y Extensión en Educación Municipal (GepeEM), que defienden una gestión educativa pública, con gestión pública y de calidad social, en contraposición a la tendencia privatista y mercantilista. En este trabajo, se enfoca en la actuación político-institucional contra hegemónica de la RCT.

PALABRAS CLAVE: Hegemonía burguesa; Privatización de la educación; Plan Estatal de Educación; Estado de Tocantins; RCT.