

## EDUCATIONAL POLICY IN THE STATE OF SÃO PAULO UNDER THE NEW PUBLIC MANAGEMENT (1995–2018)<sup>1</sup>

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**ABSTRACT:** The article analyses the educational policy of São Paulo State between 1995–2018, period that comprises six mandates of Brazilian Social Democracy Party. The corpus of data was made up of the main programs and projects of each mandate. As a theoretical reference that supported the analysis, the concepts of Gramsci's integral state and hegemony of the dominant classes' ideology, and the theory of Punctuated Equilibrium were used. Academic studies on some of the programs and projects were also consulted. It was found that the management paradigm adopted by the Secretary of Education since the first term was that of the New Public Management, in line with the option made by the Fernando Henrique Cardoso government at the federal level, in turn aligned with the international order of capitalist system of production. Among the conclusions of the analysis, the following can be highlighted: the implementation of such a management model has been adjusted, expanded and deepened over the successive mandates; resistance, as this does not happens without tensions, dissidents and internal conflicts, such as difficulties and some defeats imposed by questioning movements; the opposition to the constitutional principle of democratic management of public education and the progressive autonomy of the school as determined by the Law of Directives and Bases of National Education. In summary, this management concept, based on business logic, on centralized formulation and decisions and the vertical delegation of tasks to the school, has not been able to fulfil the promise of improving the quality of education.

**Keywords:** School Education Management, Basic Education, Managerialism, Programs and Projects.

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<sup>1</sup> The translation of this article into English was funded by the Fundação de Amparo à Pesquisa do Estado de Minas Gerais - FAPEMIG, through the program of supporting the publication of institutional scientific journals.

## **POLÍTICA EDUCACIONAL NA REDE ESTADUAL PAULISTA SOB A NOVA GESTÃO PÚBLICA (1995–2018)**

**RESUMO:** Este texto analisa a política educacional na rede estadual de ensino de São Paulo de 1995 a 2018, que compreende seis mandatos comandados pelo Partido da Social Democracia Brasileira (PSDB). O corpus de dados analisados constituiu-se dos principais programas e projetos de cada uma das gestões. Como referencial teórico que embasou a análise, utilizou-se os conceitos de Estado integral e de hegemonia da ideologia das classes dominantes de Gramsci e a Teoria do Equilíbrio Pontuado (TEP). Recorreu-se, ainda, a estudos acadêmicos realizados sobre alguns dos programas e projetos. Verificou-se que o paradigma de gestão adotado pela pasta da educação desde o primeiro mandato foi o da Nova Gestão Pública (NGP), em consonância com a opção feita pelo governo de Fernando Henrique Cardoso no âmbito federal, por sua vez alinhada à vigente ordem internacional do sistema de produção capitalista. Dentre as conclusões da análise, destacam-se: a implantação de tal modelo de gestão ajustou-se, ampliou-se e aprofundou-se ao longo das sucessivas administrações; a resistência, pois isso não se dá sem tensões, dissidências e conflitos internos, como dificuldades e algumas derrotas impostas por movimentos questionadores; a contraposição ao princípio constitucional da gestão democrática da educação pública e da progressiva autonomia da escola preconizada pela Lei de Diretrizes e Bases da Educação Nacional (LDB). Em síntese, tal concepção de gestão, alicerçada na lógica empresarial, na centralização de formulação e decisões e na delegação verticalizada de tarefas à escola, não tem se mostrado capaz de cumprir a promessa de melhoria da qualidade do ensino.

**Palavras-chave:** Gestão da Educação Escolar, Educação Básica, Gerencialismo, Programas e Projetos.

## **POLÍTICA EDUCATIVA EN EL ESTADO DE SÃO PAULO BAJO LA NUEVA GESTIÓN PÚBLICA (1995–2018)**

**RESÚMEN:** Este texto analiza la política educativa en el sistema estatal de São Paulo de 1995 a 2018, que comprende seis mandatos del Partido de la Socialdemocracia Brasileña. El corpus de datos analizados estuvo conformado por los principales programas y proyectos. Como marco teórico que sustenta el análisis, se utilizaron los conceptos de estado integral y hegemonía de la ideología de las clases dominantes de Gramsci y la teoría del equilibrio puntuado. También se consultaron estudios académicos sobre algunos de los programas analizados. Se constató que el paradigma de gestión adoptado por la administración de la educación desde el primer mandato fue el de la Nueva Gestión Pública, como opción del gobierno de Fernando Henrique Cardoso a nivel federal, alineado a su vez con el orden actual y el sistema internacional de producción capitalista. Entre las conclusiones del análisis destacan: la implantación de dicho modelo de gestión se ha ajustado, ampliado y profundizado a lo largo de las sucesivas administraciones; resistencia, ya que esto no ocurre sin tensiones internas, disidentes y conflictos, como dificultades y algunas derrotas impuestas por movimientos cuestionadores; la oposición al principio constitucional de gestión democrática de la educación pública y la progresiva autonomía de la escuela que preconiza la Ley de Directrices y Bases de la Educación Nacional. En resumen, este concepto de gestión, basado en la lógica empresarial, la formulación y decisión centralizada y la delegación vertical de tareas a la escuela, no ha podido cumplir la promesa de mejorar la calidad de la enseñanza.

**Palabras clave:** Gestión de la Educación Escolar, Educación Básica, Gerencialismo, Programas y Proyectos.

## INTRODUCTION

Analysing public policies is not a trivial task. Besides the methodological difficulties of understanding reality in a scientifically rationalized manner, inherent to any subject in the social sciences, the direction of the gaze towards the observed phenomenon must be conditioned to a distinct set of relationships in different dimensions and perspectives.

The benchmark adopted to examine the educational policy of the São Paulo State from 1995 to 2018 is the analysis of public policies, focusing agenda setting, formulation and implementation of programmes and projects that incorporated the paradigm of New Public Management (NPM) in government action. The objective is to understand how the logic of managerialism manifests itself in the different mandates and how it sets the educational policy in the mentioned period. For this purpose, we conducted documentary research, whose main sources were the programmes and projects implemented in the period. The main sources of information on these programmes and projects were the websites of the State Education Department of São Paulo (SEE-SP<sup>2</sup>), the State Education Council (CEE) and the São Paulo Legislative House (Alesp) <as to state level>. In addition, we also consulted academic papers on the subject and articles published by Brazilian news media.

The paper consists of this introduction, followed by an initial session that attempts to situate the case of São Paulo's public management between 1995 and 2018 in the context of the Brazilian state reform initiated in the mid-1990s that reflected a new order of the international capitalist system. The second session presents the benchmarks of public policy analysis applied in this article. Throughout the third session, subdivided into two subitems for readability, we analyse the education policy by means of some of the main programmes and projects implemented in each of the six mandates of the period. The following are noteworthy: Escola de Cara Nova, Reorganização das Escolas da Rede Pública Estadual, Escola em Parceria, Escola de Tempo Integral, Sistema de Avaliação do Rendimento Escolar do Estado de São Paulo (Saresp), Escola da Família, Mais Qualidade na Escola, São Paulo Faz Escola, Educação Compromisso de São Paulo, Programa Ensino Integral. It is sought to indicate the continuities, discontinuities, similarities, and differences that the assumptions of the NPM acquire in the set of mandates. Therefore, we discuss in the final considerations, by means of an interpretative reflection, the policy implications of the political options by the analysed mandates on the organization of the education network and schools and in the academic education of students.

## CONSERVATISM, LIBERALISM AND NPM IN SÃO PAULO

One cannot categorically state that SEE-SP inaugurated the NPM in Brazil in 1995, as the alluring campaign of modernization was the main platform for the presidential elections of Fernando Collor de Mello and Itamar Franco in 1989, accompanied by a rhetoric of progress and development in the second half of the 1980s. However, after the initial shock of the liberalizing actions of the first elected post-dictatorship government, it is unequivocal the abandonment of the developmentalist economic policy models and of the public bureaucracy based on the technical rationality of the second half of the 20th century in governmental actions and discourses.

Two important aspects of São Paulo society thought must be considered for a better understanding of the new configuration of forms of economic development and public management: conservatism and liberalism.

As regards conservatism, São Paulo stands out as the leading state of national development and of the projects of the elite with strong social transformations at the beginning of the 20th century. The conservative political project of the dominant classes centred on economic liberalism as a form of promoting and maintaining the bases of economic and cultural domination, by linking archaic interests to new forms of production and social organisation (FERNANDES, 1979; OLIVEIRA, 2013).

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<sup>2</sup> According to Resolution SE no. 18/2019, the acronym of the Secretariat of Education is now Seduc-SP. In this paper, we will keep SEE-SP because it is the acronym used in the consulted documents and legislations.

Thus, the economic element of construction of this São Paulo ideology, liberalism, advances in the transformation of the state that currently assumes a financier bias and is organised with the predominant objective of generating profitability, as the prevailing production in the capital market, demanding a permanent fiscal control and state indebtedness, but not social policies.

In the context of the late 1980s and the 1990s, when the Brazilian Social Democracy Party (PSDB<sup>3</sup>) was founded, it became, on the national political party scene, and especially in São Paulo, the state of its principal leaderships, the major representative of an elite from São Paulo linked to a vision of supposedly modernizing management of the State, and, curiously, in spite of the denomination expressed in its name, both from the ideological point of view and in terms of political action, the most organized and articulated group around a neo-liberal state project.

These political forces are sustained by a discourse of modernisation and transparency in the public spending, with São Paulo State as its greatest symbol, despite the social inequalities, and it keeps the population favourable to this conservative and liberal perspective.

This symbiotic liberal-conservative model did not remain stable and immutable historically in capitalist society. It also modernises and adapts itself, if necessary, making concessions, always with the aim of maintaining class positions, through the appropriation of the state and the public machine by the dominant groups.

As a result of the *new order* as an international trend in the productive system, the State and government agendas are being redirected towards a permanent search for management models geared towards efficacy, efficiency, and effectiveness, bearing in mind the public funds and expenditure reduction, especially in the social rights area.

This paradigm includes targeting models for public policies, monitoring systems for programmes and projects, regulatory schemes (accountability, regulatory agencies, and social organisations) and the permanent search for fiscal balance (an accounting/financial indicator of management success). Consolidating these changes at the level of the economy and the social and cultural organisation of society required the establishment of a new ideology of organisation and government action which, in Brazil, materialised in the State Reform from the mid-1990s onwards.

The Weberian model of public bureaucracy based on technical rationality, so appropriate to build the republican nation-states, had to be replaced by a new pattern that represented a different relationship between state and society.

According to the words of its main mentor, Bresser-Pereira (2011), Managerial Reform would replace the bureaucratic public administration and should occur in three dimensions in order to be successful: institutional-legal, cultural and management. The organizational change of the state, in the different spheres that comprise the state apparatus, was essential for the formal establishment of new legislation to have practical effects on management. This is the broader context in which São Paulo educational policies will be investigated in this article.

The Master Plan for State Reform, published in 1995 and implemented through Constitutional Amendment no. 19/1998 (BRASIL, 1998), was organized around the principles of privatization, outsourcing, and publicizing, and guided by the NPM assumptions (SGUISSARDI; SILVA JÚNIOR, 1997; ADRIÃO, 2006), introduced some private management mechanisms to replace what was characterized as a bureaucratic mode of public management (ABRUCIO, 2007) and delegated to the private sector (profitable or not) the task of providing public services, including compulsory education. From the perspective of Harvey (2008), it is important to highlight that the provision of public services by the private sector from a neo-liberal perspective is often carried out with public resources, i.e. the state pays the private sector to carry out services that were previously its direct responsibility.

The first generation of educational reforms in the last quarter of the twentieth century, within the framework of State Reform, fundamentally affected the public systems' administrative apparatus, by means of: 1) increasing the presence of the private sector in the form of *partners*; 2) decentralization of the supply of education through municipal schools (primary education) or covenants with the private sector (early childhood education); 3) changing the role of school headmasters, who in

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<sup>3</sup> The PSDB was founded on June 25, 1988, by former members of the then PMDB, and its ideals of social democracy, Christian democracy and economic and social liberalism were combined in its program. Among its founders are Mario Covas, Fernando Henrique Cardoso, José Serra, Franco Montoro, Sergio Mota. Cited by Benevides (1986).

many school networks are now called managers; 4) introduction of a productivist concept of quality of education, linked to accountability logics, i.e. quality verification mainly through standardized tests applied to students.

In the 21st century, the educational systems management starts to incorporate, albeit unevenly, due to the Brazilian federative model (ARAÚJO, 2010), elements such as: the curriculum standards based on skills, competencies and, more recently, on social and emotional skills; management aiming results, with incentive mechanisms for a supposed increase in productivity.

## **PUBLIC POLICY ANALYSIS: SOME CONSIDERATIONS**

The replacement of policies inspired by the Keynesian model after the First World War and after the Great Crash of 1929 by expenditure restraint policies produced more interest for the analysis of the design, implementation, and decision-making processes of public policies, because of the social relevance of this field (SOUZA, C., 2007). However, the meaning of public policy is still under development, although classical authors present meanings that complement each other, in a certain sense. As systematized by C. Souza (2007, p. 68),

There is neither a single, nor a better definition about what public policy is. Mead (1995) states that it is a field of the study on Politics that analyses the government in the light of major public issues, and Lynn (1980), as a set of actions of the government that will produce specific effects. Peters (1986) continues in the same spirit: public policy is the sum of the activities of governments, which act directly or by delegated action, and which influence the lives of citizens. Dye (1984) synthesizes the concept of public policy as "what the government chooses to do or not to do". The best known is Laswell's meaning, i.e., decisions and analysis about public policy involve answering the questions: Who gets what, why, and what difference does it make?

An element that characterizes these definitions is that the State, more precisely the government, has a central role in decisions on public policies, following a "state-centric" approach, i.e., the State actors/agents have primacy over the establishment of public policies. However, these authors do not disregard the participation of private organizations and institutions in public policy-making.

The difference with the multicentric or polycentric approach is that, in the latter, private, non-governmental, multilateral and policy networks organizations, along with state agents, play a leading role in the establishment of public policies (SECCHI, 2013). This approach is perceived as being more democratic and probably more liable to bring about broader adherence.

In both approaches, it is important to understand the paths of the state action, identify the agencies and actors who participate in the process, the mechanisms and criteria used by them, the interrelationships that exist, and the variables that interfere in the process of public policy implementation. As stated by Ham and Hill (1998, p. 22):

what governments do encompass the whole of social, economic, and political life, either practically or potentially. Of course, public policy is not a narrow field of enquiry, although policy analysts may well focus only on narrow areas of the whole field. Public policy affects economies and societies, so that ultimately any satisfactory explanatory theory of public policy must also explain the interrelations between state, politics, economy, and society.

When analyzing the educational policies that comprise the research scope that subsidized the writing of this text, it was considered that the State, through the SEE-SP, was the primarily responsible for coordinating the development and implementation of educational programmes and projects, with important leading role of the government staff. But this comprehension involves an understanding of the State in an integral sense, as formulated by Gramsci (2014b). This means that both the political society (executive, legislative, judicial, armed forces, what is commonly called the State in the strict sense) and the civil society (a set of organizations called *private*, press, school, church, union, non-governmental organizations, etc.) are participating in the policy cycle from the agenda setting to, in some cases, the implementation of programmes and projects.

Gramsci, by conceiving the State in an integral way, indicates that in the so-called Western<sup>4</sup> states there is a set of institutions and organizations that, not being State in a strict sense, are part of the State in an integrated manner and participate and influence state decisions.

By adopting the concept of integral State to analyse the educational policy in the school network of São Paulo, we seek to understand the articulations between the institutions of the political society, more precisely the SEE-SP, to build the educational agenda with civil society organisations and which institutions were privileged in this process.

Class domination, which is organized in the state, makes use of coercion, but also of persuasion for the construction of hegemony around the ideologies and policies of interest of the dominant classes. In countries classified as democratic regimes, but not only there, class domination requires that the ideology of the dominant class is a worldview, assumed by the subordinate classes as their own (GRAMSCI, 2014a).

Although elements of coercion and persuasion are present in both political and civil society, there is a prevalence of the first in political society and the second in civil society, and the latter is the privileged space for the struggle for ideological and political hegemony. In Gramsci's words (2014a, p. 762-763):

Guicciardini states that in the life of a State two things are absolutely necessary: arms and religion. Guicciardini's formula can be translated into several other less drastic formulas: strength and consensus; coercion and persuasion; Church and State; political society and civil society; political and moral (ethical-political history of Croce); law and freedom; order and discipline; or with a view implicit libertarian flavour, violence, and fraud.

According to Gramscian concepts, the hegemony construction implies the combination of force and consensus (BIANCHI, 2007). This interpretative key allows understanding how coercion and persuasion are articulated in the policy cycle, because the educational policy implementation in/by schools is not only a coercive practice by the political society or the State in a narrow sense, but also a persuasive practice that seeks the approval of the public opinion in a wider sense, and the agreement and adherence of the school community, in specific scope, to educational proposals formulated in the hierarchically higher instances of the educational system.

The public policy-making process, also known as public policy cycle, involves several phases, didactically separated, but intertwined in practice, which are presented with different terminologies in the literature, but that generally comprise: problem identification, agenda setting, formulation of alternatives, decision-making, implementation, evaluation and closure (SECCHI, 2013). This article will emphasize the documentary analysis of the agenda, formulation, implementation and the main content of the programmes and projects of São Paulo's education policy in the period from 1995 to 2018.

To achieve this objective, we resorted to the Punctuated Equilibrium Theory (PET) because it helps us to pay attention to factors that influence continuities and ruptures (punctuations) in public policy<sup>5</sup>.

The PET authors acknowledge the need to go beyond studies that focus only on macro-policy, considering multiple systems. In addition, they propose measures to analyse both periods of stability and periods of rapid change in the public policy-making process.<sup>6</sup> To capture both moments, True, Baumgartner and Jones (1993) present a long-term analysis perspective, considering that, for research in the policy field, it is necessary to uncover the fundamental dynamics of stability and

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<sup>4</sup> In Gramsci's perspective, the Western states are also characterised by the important participation of a set of private organisations, therefore civil society, which play a fundamental role in state policy-making. He uses this term in opposition to what would be the States in which solely political society acted in a decisive manner in the state policy-making process.

<sup>5</sup> Capella (2006) presents a comparative analysis of models which consider different influences on agenda setting by governments, such as the multiple streams model, developed by Kingdon (1984), and the Punctuated Equilibrium Theory (TEP), developed by True, Baumgartner and Jones (2007).

<sup>6</sup> Regarding institutions, also going beyond Kingdon's theory (1984), Baumgartner and Jones (1993) assume that there is a *system* (macropolitics) in which the government leaders deal with general issues and delegate authority to official agents in political *subsystems*, but that both operate in parallel, and some issues remain in the subsystems, composed of communities of experts, while others integrate macropolitics, changing the governmental agenda.

punctuation. In short-time analyses, they argue that it is not possible to identify all aspects that result (or not) in changes, reaching the commonly held conclusion that policies are incremental.

Thus, the PET model enables, in long periods of stability, to identify where policies are processed slowly, incrementally, and linearly; but also, to observe interruptions by moments of rapid change. We consider that such model contributes to analyse the educational policy management of the state government in the period from 1995 to 2018, an interval that comprises six mandates and 24 years in office in the state of São Paulo.

## NEW PUBLIC MANAGEMENT AND MANAGERIALISM IN SÃO PAULO STATE EDUCATIONAL POLICY (1995-2018)

The state of São Paulo has the largest public network of basic education in the country. In 2018, it served 3,262,087<sup>7</sup> students, including all education stages and modalities, enrolled in 5,374<sup>8</sup> schools, com 190.396<sup>9</sup> teachers, 44.398<sup>10</sup> school staff, 7.601<sup>11</sup> teacher-coordinators, 5.051<sup>12</sup> school headmasters and 1.604<sup>13</sup> teaching supervisors.

Since 1995, the state has been governed by the PSDB and, despite coalitions with other parties, the Education Department has been run for 24 years by PSDB appointees. Box 1 shows the governors, the education commissioners, and the main programmes of each administration.

**Box 1** - Administration, governors, the education commissioners, and programmes (1995-2018)

Administration	Governors	Education Commissioners	Programmes
1995–1998	Mario Covas (PSDB)	Teresa Roserley Neubauer da Silva (PSDB)	Escola de Cara Nova
1999–2001	Mario Covas (PSDB)	Teresa Roserley Neubauer da Silva (PSDB)	Escola de Cara Nova
	Geraldo Alckmin (PSDB – 2001–2002)		
2003–2006	Geraldo Alckmin (PSDB)	Gabriel Chalita (PSDB – 2003–2005)	Escola da Família
	Cláudio Lembo (DEM <sup>a</sup> – 2006)	Maria Lúcia Vasconcelos (2006)	
2007–2010	José Serra (PSDB)	Maria Helena Guimarães de Castro (PSDB – 2007–2009)	São Paulo faz Escola
	Alberto Goldman (PSDB – 2010)	Maria Lúcia Vasconcelos <sup>b</sup> (2009)	Mais Qualidade da Escola
		Paulo Renato de Souza (PSDB – 2009–2010)	
2011–2014	Geraldo Alckmin (PSDB)	Herman Voorwald	Educação Compromisso de São Paulo
2015–2018	Geraldo Alckmin (PSDB)	Herman Voorwald (2015)	Educação Compromisso de São Paulo
	Márcio França (PSB <sup>c</sup> – 2018)	José Renato Nalini (2016–2018)	

<sup>a</sup> Democratic Party.

<sup>b</sup> No information was found on the party affiliation of the former São Paulo state education commissioners, Maria Lúcia Vasconcelos, Herman Voorwald and José Renato Nalini.

<sup>c</sup> Partido Socialista Brasileiro (Brazilian Socialist Party).

**Source:** Elaborated by the authors.

The 1995-1998 administration inaugurated a new moment in São Paulo educational policy, breaching conceptions of the 1980s, which according to the PET indicates a rupture. According to Adrião's analysis (2006, p. 93) "justifications of a democratic nature that supported the previous speeches gave way to those of a 'managerial' nature. The binomial decentralisation and participation was replaced by decentralisation and productivity".

<sup>7</sup> Prepared on the basis of the 2018 School Census/Inep.

<sup>8</sup> Prepared on the basis of the 2018 School Census/Inep.

<sup>9</sup> Data collected by SEE-SP via SIC - SIC-SP protocol no. 444191922700.

<sup>10</sup> Data collected by Cadastro Funcional da Educação da SEE-SP.

<sup>11</sup> Data provided by SEE-SP via SIC – Protocol SIC-SP n° 546911911153.

<sup>12</sup> Data provided by SEE-SP via SIC Protocol SIC-SP n° 588911912020-1.

<sup>13</sup> Data provided by SEE-SP via SIC Protocol SIC-SP n° 588911912029.

When Rose Neubauer took over as Commissioner of Education, revealing her alignment with neoliberal policies and the Reform of the State, she considered it fundamental to rupture with the previously existing dynamics, as expressed in the SEE-SP Report of 22/03/1995.

[...] public education in São Paulo remained not only chaotic but also disorganized. Indeed, the Education Department never proposed to implement an efficient management system for school units that would allow it to know the real situation in which they find themselves. (SÃO PAULO, 1995a, p. 8).

The main axes of the announced changes were the organizational streamlining, the new management standards, and the quality improvement of education (NEUBAUER, 1999), guided by the assumptions of NPM in the educational field (VERGER; NORMAND, 2015). The purported triad organizational streamlining, change in management standards and quality of education was present in the five following administrations, despite variations and specificities of the programs and projects that were implemented.

The reorganization of the educational network based on streamlined organization involved the following measures: 1) a single registry of enrollments, which, according to the government, made it possible to know the exact number of students and avoid double enrollment; 2) intensification of the municipalization process that had timidly begun in 1989; 3) reorganization of the network based on separating elementary schools, in the early years, from those of the final years, and high school. This reorganization disregarded the experience of primary and secondary schools built up over the previous 30 years. One of the main arguments for adopting such a measure was that it would favour better school management and contribute to improving the quality of education.

These three measures started a process of decrease in the attendance of the state school network by 52.67% in 24 years. In 1995, considering all education levels, the state school system attended 6,192,843 students, a number that dropped to 3,262,087 in 2018. Just in the period from 1995 to 1998, 864 schools were deactivated and 2,031 ceased to provide evening school education (ADRIÃO, 2006), in a drastic reconfiguration of the school network.

The Programa Reorganização das Escolas da Rede Pública Estadual ('Reorganisation of the Schools of the State Public Network Programme') (SÃO PAULO, 1995b) was a milestone of the new model of education management, introducing a decentralisation process that, in practice, meant disengagement of responsibility from the SEE-SP in relation to a set of actions, and a specialised approach, through school attendance fragmentation, materialised in schools that attend only the initial years of primary education.

It is interesting to note how the State Education Council expressed itself:

When appreciating the Reorganization Project <sup>14</sup> for Schools in the State Network, we will be considering, above all, what it represents as a possibility to rationalize the use of material and human resources, causing impact on the quality of public schooling and on school flow and, also, observing in what and how conditions can be created so that the pupil has better conditions to go through the eight years of elementary school and finish it. (SÃO PAULO, 1995c, p. 13)

The counsellors seem to have assumed that the reorganization would bring benefits to the students, considering the alleged streamlining of material and human resources, even though they have presented considerations and recommendations towards the maintenance of the quality of service, especially as to be concerned with the integration between the stages of education and a possible overflow of displacement of families, whose children would start studying in different schools. Therefore, it is observed a certain hegemony, at least in the political society instances, or the restricted State in Gramscian perspective, around the idea of a streamlining organization as a necessary measure to improve the education quality and the educational service.

It is worth emphasising that, in the period in question, the manifestations of the Council were mostly in reinforcing the proposals of the SEE-SP. Survey by the Ação Educativa Education

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<sup>14</sup> In Decree No. 40,473 of November 21, 1995, which institutes the Programa de Reorganização das Escolas da Rede Pública, the term used is Program and not project, as stated in the opinion of CEE-SP.



Observatory,<sup>15</sup> in 2012 found that 59% of the Council members belonged to the private sector, only 3% were teaching supervisors and 30% had been in office for 9 years (one councillor for 27 years and five for over 15 years), i.e., considering that the choice/appointment to compose the referred Council is a prerogative of the SEE-SP, those who are in line with the conceptions and educational policies of the governments are chosen (OBSERVATÓRIO DA EDUCAÇÃO, 2012).

Although this reorganization had not advanced to the entire network, as designed by Rose Neubauer, around 70% was reorganized by 1998 (ADRIÃO, 2006). This substantially changed the profile of São Paulo State school network and there were no ruptures in relation to these changes in subsequent administrations. On the contrary, in 2015 there was a new proposal for network reorganization, as a continuation of what was started in the 1995-1998 management (GOULART; PINTO; CAMARGO, 2017), involving the closure of almost a hundred school units, frustrated by the students' movement of occupation of schools (CAMPOS, MEDEIROS, RIBEIRO, 2016).

Regarding the educational process itself, two measures deserve to be highlighted: the organisation of education in cycles combined with continuous progression and the implementation of Saresp (School Performance Assessment System of the State of São Paulo). Despite the importance of the adoption of policies that question the rigid serialization, both in terms of content approach and as an eventual obstacle to the advancement in schooling, causing the so-called repeating pedagogy, the authoritarian way in which the process was conducted by the SEE-SP, led to what became known as automatic promotion. In this way, it is very likely that a reduction in the number of students repeating grades provided by continuous progression was not necessarily accompanied by training and learning consistent with the years of schooling (JACOMINI, 2004). In summary, two measures with great potential to improve the education quality incur the risk of being disqualified, in whole or in part, because of the way they were implemented; in common parlance this is called 'burning of proposals that, intentionally or not, may result discredited.

It is interesting to observe that, in that context, although the organization of teaching in two cycles with continued progression was implemented, the SEE-SP did not manage to build hegemony around the proposal, which suffered strong resistance in school routine. The mechanisms of coercion typical of the political society (State in the strict sense) were mobilized to quickly implement the proposal, without the necessary dialogue with the school communities.

In line with the national assessment policy, the State government adopted the Saresp, which became the basis of the educational policy in several aspects since then: as a gauging of learning, which supported the adoption of Merit Bonus policies for teachers, based on student performance in the 1999-2002 administration (SÃO PAULO, 2000); Later, in the 2006-2007 administration, the Saresp results were used to build the São Paulo State Education Development Index (Idesp-Índice de Desenvolvimento da Educação do Estado de São Paulo) (SÃO PAULO, 2008a), also in line with its national counterpart, the Basic Education Development Index (Ideb-Índice de Desenvolvimento da Educação Básica), and reoriented the bonus payment (SÃO PAULO, 2008b), already in the perspective of tying the remuneration of education professionals to outcomes, since that period took shape the results management that will be accentuated in the two following mandates.

Linked to the introduction of managerial models in public management, two reorganizations of the organigram of the Education Department occurred during the period under analysis. In the 1995-1998 administration, to streamline resources, the 18 Regional Teaching Divisions and the Special Teaching Division of Registry were closed down. Consequently, the Bureaus of Education, which increased from 113 to 146, began to relate directly to the SEE-SP (SANTOS, 2019). Along the period under analysis, the Bureaus of Education, later called Teaching Boards, were getting increasingly importance in guiding schools towards the implementation of educational policies.

During the administration of Professor Maria Helena Guimarães de Castro at the head of SEE-SP, there was a new proposal to restructure the Department's organizational chart, but it was only put into effect during the following administration. Bearing in mind the alleged streamlining of processes and administrative modernisation of the SEE-SP, she commissioned a study from the Fundação do

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<sup>15</sup> This is a non-governmental organisation ("ONG") founded in 1994, which defines itself as "a non-profit civil association acting in the fields of education, culture and youth, from a human rights perspective." Available at: <https://acaoeducativa.org.br/>. Accessed on October 20, 2020.

Desenvolvimento Administrativo (Fundap), which guided the 2011 restructuring, through Decree No. 57.141/2011 (SÃO PAULO, 2011). This restructuring of the SEE-SP consolidated a demand and delivery logic in which the Teaching Boards must answer to each of the central coordinators as the schools' interlocutors with the Education Department. This new organigram also includes the Paulo Renato de Souza Education Professionals' Training and Improvement School (EFAPE-Escola de Formação e Aperfeiçoamento dos Profissionais da Educação Paulo Renato de Souza), created in 2009 as part of the Programa Mais Qualidade da Escola, whose main function is the continuous training of SEE-SP staff members, especially through the use of new technologies.

In this restructuring, the extinction of the Coordenadoria de Normas Pedagógicas (Cenp), which historically was responsible for guidelines and the production of pedagogical materials, stands out, as well as the creation of the Comitê de Políticas Educacionais (Educational Policies Committee - CPE), an instance responsible for the agenda setting and elaboration of educational policies, composed basically by coordinators of the SEE-SP and with the participation of civil society organisations or individuals, by invitation of the Committee, depending on the meeting agenda. In this way, the CPE becomes a space for institutionalising the participation of civil society, in the Gramscian perspective, in the elaboration of educational policies. It is worth noting that such institutionalization occurs in a vague and discretionary manner under the decision of the head of the SEE-SP (president of the CPE), since the decree does not define which sectors of civil society will be represented on the Committee. Under the framework of an integral State that mobilizes coercion and persuasion to build hegemony (GRAMSCI, 2014b), it would not be too much to assume that the CPE would not invite to its meetings people or entities (or members of civil society, in Gramscian meaning) that expressed disagreement about proposals considered controversial by the SEE-SP (representative of what Gramsci called political society).

The Cenp's extinction is very significant in this context, considering the role it played in terms of training and pedagogical guidance. It is salutary to remember that the Specific Center for Training and Improvement of the Teaching Profession (Cefam-Centro Específico de Formação e Aperfeiçoamento do Magistério), created in 1988 and considered an innovative proposal for the training of teachers for early childhood education and the elementary schools, full time, with a monthly scholarship in the value of a minimum wage for the students, was linked to the Cenp. In a perspective of integrated theoretical and practical training, the Cefam operated until 2005, when it was completely deactivated (PIMENTA, 1995). Shortly before that, it was frequent in the state school network the fear that people with high school education, including current professionals, would lose their positions because the Brazilian Law of Directives and Bases of National Education (LDB-Lei de Diretrizes e Bases da Educação Nacional) had recommended graduate education for teachers. Curiously, claiming that there was no longer demand for enrollment, the State Government closed Cefam<sup>16</sup>.

All these measures are in line with the movement to delegate to the private sector the coordination of the production of pedagogical material, as it happened with the Student Notebooks of the Programa Currículo de São Paulo<sup>17</sup>, and the institutionalization of a space of participation of certain sectors of civil society in the definition of educational policies. It is worth noting that such institutionalization did not respond to the constitutional principle, reiterated in the LDB, of democratic management of public education. The aforementioned Committee did not correspond to an instance of parity composition, with representatives of the various segments involved in educational policies, such as entities representing teachers and students, and their families elected by their peers. On the contrary, present until today in the structure of the SEE-SP, it is formed exclusively by representatives of the internal instances of the Secretariat and the participation of civil society is restricted, by invitation and without the right to vote.

The PET (TRUE, BAUMGARTNER, JONES, 2007) allows us to visualize how management took place in the period analysed, characterized by intervals of stability and only incremental changes, but marked at some point by the worsening of the reforms. Thus, it can be stated that in the three initial administrations analyzed in this study (1995-1998; 1999-2002; 2003-2006), there

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<sup>16</sup> It is important to note that "(...) the government staff contributed to the dissemination of the rumour that these people [with high school education], including those who had already applied for the post, could lose their positions. Thus, this official stance took the form of an anti-social omission of criminal content, unacceptable." (MINTO, 2018, p. 26).

<sup>17</sup> The elaboration of the Student Notebooks was carried out by the Fundação Vanzolini (SÃO PAULO, 2008c).

was no significant change in the pattern initiated in 1995, safeguarding the specificities of each one, depending on the managers who headed the SEE-SP, especially in the period in which Gabriel Chalita occupied the post of commissioner, an expression of the incremental approach and, at the same time, of the personal marks that certain commissioners wish to imprint on the management, generally driven by other interests, including electoral purposes.

At the beginning of the fourth administration, in 2007, an important change in relation to the previous period and a deepening of the managerialist perspective is identified, with the adoption of management for results and the idea of quality education linked to the establishment of a centralised curriculum, with materials directed to students, teacher(s) and managers, through the *Mais Qualidade da Escola e São Paulo faz Escola* programmes, which instituted the Curricular Proposal of the State of São Paulo for Elementary and High School (SÃO PAULO, 2008a).

It is interesting to note that in these two important moments, one that inaugurates and another that deepens this managerialist perspective in the São Paulo state school network, organic intellectuals of the PSDB were leading the SEE-SP: in the first, Professor Rose Neubauer and, in the 2007-2010 administration, Professor Maria Helena Guimarães de Castro and Professor Paulo Renato de Souza.

The centralized curriculum sought to respond, in the view of the SEE-SP, to the issue of low student performance in external assessment system. It was assumed that with the establishment of the centralized curriculum and of the guidelines, through the student, teachers and administrators' notebooks, there would be greater guidance on what and how to teach and, consequently, better learning and performance in the external assessment tests.

Despite having figured as a central aspect in educational policy (at least from the point of view of what was expressed in SEE-SP documents), the purpose of improving public education quality in São Paulo, verified in students' performance in external assessments, was not achieved. This was the conclusion at the beginning of the fourth consecutive PSDB administration, when the SEE-SP team considered that the management focused on results, with measures to control teachers' work through the centralized curriculum and bonus payments, had not produced the expected results in terms of the quality of education<sup>18</sup>.

Based on this diagnosis and on the understanding that SEE-SP should intensify its approach to civil society in order to improve the education quality in the state school network, the then education commissioner, Professor Herman Voorwald, presented the Programa Educação Compromisso de São Paulo (São Paulo Education Commitment Programme-PECSP)<sup>19</sup> as "the result of integrated efforts between government, civil society and associations/NGOs, partners in the search for quality in basic education"<sup>20</sup> (VOORWALD, 2017, p. 4)<sup>20</sup>.

The PECSP was implemented in late 2011, by Decree No. 57.571/2011 (SÃO PAULO, 2011a), with the promise of making the teaching career one of the most attractive in the country and to place the São Paulo education among the best in the world. To this end, two objectives were presented as fundamental: first, to create an ambitious action plan for the state with clear short (4 years) and long-term (20 years) objectives and actions; second, to institutionalize a program and a governance model for monitoring the results of the program (VOORWALD, 2017, p. 4)<sup>21</sup>.

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<sup>18</sup> Article published in the newspaper *O Estado de S. Paulo* on March 19, 2011, with data from the Education Department, reported that 1,474 schools, 29.1% of the network, had not achieved the targets in 2010. Available at: <https://www.estadao.com.br/noticias/geral,triplica-n-de-escolas-do-estado-que-nao-batem-meta-do-governo-no-saresp-imp-,694032> Accessed on: 30 October 2019.

<sup>19</sup> Private institutions that participated in the discussions to formulate the PECSP, especially the Associação Parceiros da Educação: Amil, Banco Santander, BTG Pactual, Fundação Arymax, Fundação Bradesco, Fundação Iochpe, Fundação Itaú Social, Fundação Roberto Marinho, Fundação Telefônica, Iguatemi Empresa de Shopping Centers SA, Instituto ABCD, Instituto CSHG, Instituto de Co-Responsabilidade pela Educação (ICE), Instituto Inspirare, Instituto Natura, Instituto Península, Instituto Unibanco, Itaú BBA, McKinsey & Company Consulting, Mineração Santa Elina. (Administrative Process SEE-SP n. 2.737/2014)

<sup>20</sup> Electronic publication whose pages are indicated by chapters, in this case, page 4 of chapter 3, topic 3.2 - Education Program: São Paulo's Commitment. Pillars, Macrostrategies and Interventions.

<sup>21</sup> It is page 4 of chapter 3 - Reestruturação da Secretaria de Educação do Estado e o Programa Educação: Compromisso de São Paulo.

In order to achieve such purposes, the PECSP was structured on five bases involving several aspects of educational policy: 1) valuation of human capital; 2) pedagogical management focused on the student; 3) full time education; 4) organizational and financial management; 5- mobilization and engagement of the schools' network and society around the teaching-learning process.

Some PECSP actions implemented in the last two terms of office of Governor Geraldo Alckmin show differences with regard to management for results. In the period 2011-2014, there was an attempt to organise school management through the Plano de Ação Participativo ('Participative Action Plan' - PAP), put into practice in a set of schools considered a priority due to low performance in Saesp in 2012.

The PAP was developed in a partnership between the Department of Public Management and SEE-SP with the stated aim of guiding schools to diagnose problems within their governance and draw up action plans to solve or at least mitigate them. Despite the guidance on the participation of the school community in the implementation of the PAP, what really characterised it were the records, kept mainly by the management team, so that SEE-SP could monitor and control its implementation. Without extending to the whole network, the PAP was losing importance in the actions of the Department and was no longer carried out by schools.

Since 2016, SEE-SP began implementing the Results Improvement Method (MMR), based on the Plan-Do-Check-Act (PDCA) cycle, with the advice of Falconi Consultoria. Also aiming to guide schools to identify the intra-school factors related to low school performance and propose solutions within the scope of their governance, the MMR differs from the PAP in two main aspects, which indicate greater adherence of SEE-SP to managerialism and partnerships with the private sector for the implementation of educational policies: it became mandatory for all schools from 2019 and was thought and proposed by private organisations within the framework of the partnership of SEE-SP with the Association Parceiros da Educação (SÃO PAULO, 2018).

Supported by the idea that the causes of school problems such as dropout (in general, expulsion) and low performance, for example, are internal to the school, but never assumed as eventually arising from adopted policies, both proposals induce schools to propose solutions that are not always consistent with the real reasons, since only what is of the school's governability is admitted as cause and solution of the problems, according to the MMR. Faced with the impossibility of examining the multiplicity of causes that involve educational and school issues and the need for diverse interventions, many that go beyond the school walls, these management procedures are emptied of pedagogical meaning and become another bureaucratic record to be kept by the school to meet the requirements of the SEE-SP.

As part of the control of teaching work that has guided educational policies, based on the slogan "Knowing the results of the classroom", SEE-SP implemented in 2011 the Avaliações de Aprendizagem em Processo (AAPs- Assessment of Learning in Process), which consist of bimonthly application of tests prepared by the Department of Education to assess skills in Portuguese Language and Mathematics and provide quick information to schools about the learning of the students to reorganize the teaching and learning process.

In the matrix of results management, it becomes yet another monitoring and control of the pedagogical work. Thus, the SEE-SP creates a closed circuit around school activities, leaving little room for creativity and autonomy of the school, at least from the point of view of educational policy expressed in the documents. To the centralised curriculum of the Programa São Paulo faz Escola, the MMR and the AAPs of the PECSP are integrated in an effort to manage for results that is not always successful, since between what is prescribed and what is done there is the unpredictable, as well as everything that does not fit into an abstract planning, in a school that vibrates and differently resists and circumvents part of the educational policy in favour of autonomy, creativity and the possibility of making himself subject amid a "growing submission of school education to the instrumental logic that reduces the ideal of an *educational preparation* to a functionality in terms of *social conformation*" (CARVALHO, 2017, p. 110, emphasis in the original).

## Public-private partnerships

Regarding public-private partnerships in public education in São Paulo, which is a form of privatisation of education, there are three main moments of guidance on the alleged fundraising for maintenance and management of schools and participation of private organisations in setting the agenda and educational policy. Resolution SE 234/1995 (SÃO PAULO, 1995d), which establishes the Programa Escola em Parceria (School in Partnership Programme), continues the process of encouraging schools to seek resources from civil society, especially businesses, as a way of helping to maintain school buildings and build quality schools.<sup>22</sup>

Later, this Resolution was revoked by Resolution SE 24/2005 (SÃO PAULO, 2005), which updated the Programa Escola em Parceria, highlighting the importance of the participation of civil society in the recovery and improvement of the quality of public schools in São Paulo and the guarantee of greater management autonomy for schools. But it is important to note that this alleged autonomy in the discourse of the São Paulo State governments since 1995 does not refer to the construction of the political-pedagogical project and the organisation of the educational process based on participation and collective decisions on the curriculum and school management. From our point of view, it would not be adequate that companies took part in these activities, however, but not even the so-called school community can participate satisfactorily in this construction and organization, as there is excessive centralization and control by the SEE-SP.

This autonomy refers especially to the school seeking partnerships to meet needs that are the responsibility of the State. Indicative of this is that the justification for the new resolution is the "need to decentralize and deconcentrate actions in order to provide management autonomy at the local level" (SÃO PAULO, 2005, preamble). In other words, actions are decentralised and deconcentrated, not conceptions; what is provided at local level is autonomy for management, but not formulation by the school community in terms of decisions. The conception and the spirit of the project were created by central bodies and the school would only have to perform tasks, especially through the initiative of seeking "decentralized partnership projects" (SÃO PAULO, 2005, art. 3, clause I, item c), being up to the partner entities, among other responsibilities, to "apply financial resources and, eventually, human resources for the implementation of the proposed projects" (SÃO PAULO, 2005, art. 4, item c).

This policy of partnerships with the private sector, either to raise funds or to develop different projects at school under the coordination of private institutions, acquired a new format in the 2011-2014 administration, with the PECSP (SÃO PAULO, 2011), when civil society, notably organizations linked to capital, is invited to build the agenda and formulate educational policies through the aforementioned Educational Policies Committee - CPE. Thus, with regard to the public-private relationship, it can be said that there was a rupture in the terms of the PET during this period. As an example of the participation of the private sector in the definition and, in some cases, in the implementation of educational policies, it is curious to observe who their representatives were in the Consultative Council and in the Technical Monitoring Chamber of the PECSP: Denise Aguiar (Fundação Bradesco/Parceiros da Educação); Ana Maria Diniz (Instituto Península/Parceiros da Educação); Wanda Engel (então superintendente-executiva do Instituto Unibanco); Jair Ribeiro (Sertrading/Banco Indusval & Partner/Parceiros da Educação); Guilherme Leal (Instituto Natura); Fábio Barbosa (Abril Educação/Todos pela Educação); Carlos Jereissati (Iguatemi Empresas de Shopping Centers/Parceiros da Educação); Bernardo Grandin (Inspirare); Antonio Matias (Fundação Itaú Social); Fernão Bracher (Itaú BBA/Parceiros da Educação).

Thus, in view of a process of privatization of public education, understood as the participation of the private sector in the formulation and management of educational policies, public-private relations have deepened and expanded from the institutionalization of private support for schools, based on the initiative of the schools themselves, to a more systemic organization with the creation of Parceiros da Educação (Partners of Education)<sup>23</sup> and the reformulation of the Programa Escola em Parceria (School in Partnership Program) in 2005 and the incorporation of corporate management under the SEE-SP in the PECSP (ADRIÃO, 2008; ADRIÃO; GARCIA, 2014).

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<sup>22</sup> Initiatives of this nature began in the government of Orestes Quéricia (1987-1991), as can be seen in Sousa (2000).

<sup>23</sup> A non-profit Civil Society Organisation of Public Interest (Oscip) created in 2004.

## Persistence and inconsistencies

Finally, two programmes of limited scope, but important in the framework of educational policies in the period, stand out: the first, the "Escola da Família" programme ((School of Family - PEF), for its continuity to the present day and the concept of school-community relations; and the second, the "Programa Ensino Integral" (Full-time Education - PEI), for representing the construction of a management model and curriculum organisation that is being expanded to the whole network and for representing a differentiated educational offer.

The PEF was implemented during the 2003-2006 administration, with Gabriel Chalita at the head of the Education Department. Although the then-secretary did not break with the managerialist orientation of the two administrations in which Rose Neubauer directed the SEE-SP, he sought to imprint his own characteristics on the administration. We understand that the PEF was the program that most expressed this mark of the new secretary, since it gave its name to the education program of his mandate.

Based on the mottos of the "Pedagogia do Afeto" (Pedagogy of Affection) and the "Escola Acolhedora" (Welcoming School), the then secretary produced a less austere discourse than his predecessor, seeking rapprochement with the education professionals, a relationship badly shaken by the authoritarian way Rose Neubauer had led the Secretariat of Education in the previous eight years (GOMIDE, 2019; SANTOS, 2019).

According to decree 48.781 of 7 July 2004 (SÃO PAULO, 2004), the PEF consisted of opening the school on weekends to offer cultural, sports and leisure activities to the community. According to the decree and the news published on the SEE website, the activities would be coordinated by the school management team and carried out by undergraduate students of any course, enrolled in private higher education institutions and who had attended high school in the São Paulo state system. The private institutions participating in the Program would receive subsidies from the state government to offer students full exemption from paying tuition fees.

The PEF replaced the 1999 *Parceiros do Futuro* (Partners for the Future) Programme, which covered around 400 schools located in areas of greater vulnerability, with the ambitious proposal of involving all state schools, an objective that was not achieved.<sup>24</sup> The analysis of expenditure on the PEF made by the State government in the period between 2004 and 2018 reveals sharp negative variations. For example, considering the years of highest and lowest expenditure on the programme, in 2017 only 20% of what was spent on the *Escola da Família* (Family School - PEF) in 2006 was spent.<sup>25</sup> Such variations demonstrate the inconsistency or even disagreement in the line of programmatic priorities between the different managers in charge of education in São Paulo in the governments of the PSDB. It seems that over the 16 years of its existence, the management of the PEF was progressively adhering to the principles of managerialism of the NPM and to the vicissitudes of the political-electoral logic. It was losing its strength and was questioned by mandates subsequent to that of its creation until it came under suspension at the beginning of 2019. In practice, the discourse of rationality, quality and efficiency does not seem to be confirmed (FONSECA, 2018, p. 24).

The analysis of official documents and speeches about the PEF and some academic studies on this Programme allows us to highlight three central aspects related to its design and management: 1) dependence on partnerships, both signed by the SEE with business organizations and those sought by schools, the latter which effectively made the actions possible (SOUZA, A., 2) precarious work of undergraduate students from private institutions, called monitors who, by replacing teachers, constituted

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<sup>24</sup> According to information available on the SEE-SP website, in 2018, of the 5,374 schools 2,200 were participating in the Family School Programme. <http://www.saopaulo.sp.gov.br/spnoticias/ultimas-noticias/escola-da-familia-ganha-59-novas-unidades-no-estado/>. Accessed on 12/07/2019.

<sup>25</sup> These data refer to the executed values of the SEE-SP budget from 2004 to 2018. To the values corresponding to the total expenses with the activity Family School Program was applied monetary correction percentage of IPCA-E (Broad Consumer Price Index), referring to the month of September 2019. Available at: [https://www.sigeo.fazenda.sp.gov.br/analytics/saw.dll?Dashboard&PortalPath=/shared/SIGEO/\\_portal/Prestando%20Contas&page=Funcional%20Program%C3%A1tica&NQuser=transparencia&NQpassword=sigeo001](https://www.sigeo.fazenda.sp.gov.br/analytics/saw.dll?Dashboard&PortalPath=/shared/SIGEO/_portal/Prestando%20Contas&page=Funcional%20Program%C3%A1tica&NQuser=transparencia&NQpassword=sigeo001). Accessed on 20 nov. 2019.

fundamental labour for the existence of the PEF; 3) subsidy of the State government for private institutions of higher education, which guaranteed scholarships to undergraduate monitors.

The first experience of full-time schools in the state system in São Paulo occurred in 2005 with the Projeto Escola de Tempo Integral (ETI) (SÃO PAULO, 2005) and aimed to extend the time of primary school students for a deepening of the curriculum and greater social, personal and cultural development.

Thus, with the implementation of the PEI in 2012 (SÃO PAULO, 2012a), the network was left with two different models for extending school time. The PEI, part of the PECSP and prioritised by the SEE-SP, meant beyond the expansion of time in school, especially in those of the final years of basic education and high school, a reorganisation of the institutions that joined the project in terms of curriculum, management and working conditions of the education professionals, creating a kind of parallel network with different standards of educational care.

Regarding the curriculum, the central aspects concern the introduction of elective subjects, technology and the Projeto de Vida (Life Project), whose focus is on socio-emotional skills. Although in terms of the guidelines present in the documents there is an intention to develop a curriculum that prioritizes youth protagonism, research with students from PEI schools conducted by Quirino et al. (2018) found that the classes remain focused on the notebooks of the Programa São Paulo faz Escola, with little critical and creative involvement by the students.

In terms of management, there is greater control of pedagogical work by the school board, which has the prerogative of dismissing teachers from the Programme upon negative evaluation of performance. Supported by a hierarchical management structure, the development of the curriculum and the pedagogical work are rigorously monitored by the area teacher coordinators and by the general coordinator, who report to the headmaster, the main responsible for guaranteeing the improvement of the students' performance in the Saresp and the increase in the school's Idesp.

Working in schools that participate in the PEI is a teacher's option, approved by the school board and by school supervision, which carry out the selection of teachers, and requires adherence to the proposal. In return, teachers work in the Full and Integral Dedication Regime (RDPI), with a 40-hour workweek, and receive the Full and Integral Dedication Bonus (GDPI), which corresponds to 75% of the base salary (SÃO PAULO, 2012a, b).

In terms of coverage, in 2006 the ETI involved 508 schools, falling to 217 in 2018; while the IEP started in 2012 with 16 schools, reaching 368 in 2018<sup>26</sup>, i.e., considering the two programmes, in 2018 about 10% of schools in the state education network operated full-time.

In addition to the programme's restricted coverage, some studies have shown that the PEI is producing a type of exclusionary school, to the extent that they are in regions of lower social vulnerability and serve students with better socioeconomic conditions and school performance, deliberately directing the others to neighbouring schools, which operate on a part-time basis. This explains, in part, the better performance of students from PEI schools in Saresp (GIROTTI; CÁSSIO, 2018; QUIRINO et al., 2018)

## FINAL CONSIDERATIONS

Aligned with the FHC government at federal level <sup>27</sup>, which in turn was profiled alongside international actors in line with the advance of capitalism and had been advocating a broad political-administrative reform of the State, the first period of the PSDB government in the state of São Paulo (1995-1998) adopted the NPM as a management paradigm in São Paulo public education. This change was formally announced in the first quarter of Mário Covas's mandate by Commissioner Rose Neubauer, in a press release published in the *Diário Oficial*.

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<sup>26</sup> Data from the SEE-SP Schools Register, supplied by SIC, protocol n. 553741718550.

<sup>27</sup> At the national level, a centralising position of decisions and distributing determinations stands out: Fundef and its new resource distribution rules; decentralisation and municipalisation of enrolment; centralisation of assessments, with the creation of Saeb and Brazil's participation in Pisa, of the OECD.

In presenting its diagnosis of São Paulo's education, the text accused previous administrations of the state education secretariat of operating with ineffectiveness and inefficiency, with the consequences of evasion, repetition, inadequate school flow and incorrect inversion of priorities in educational spending. Given this situation, it promised to increase the quality of education through an alleged process of organizational rationalization and change in the management pattern of school education in the state.

The analysis undertaken so far shows that this initiative in the form of a mosaic has been expanded and adjusted over subsequent terms, implementing structural changes in the public management of education, which was certainly facilitated by the consecutive electoral victories of the PSDB for the São Paulo state government. The research also reveals that such implementation does not occur without tensions and difficulties and even some government defeats, arising both from internal conflicts between dissonant visions of managers, as for resistance and confrontations of opponents organized in collectives, groups, associations, unions and movements of teachers, students, researchers in the area of education etc., or even resulting from inadequacies of its formulations.

Regarding internal dissidences, the disagreements between Rose Neubauer and Gabriel Chalita, widely reported by the press when, by political composition, the latter succeeded the former at the SEE-SP in 2002, stand out. As an example of partially inconclusive measures, one can cite the municipalisation and reorganisation of the network, which were not completed according to their original purposes, due to obstacles such as: the lack of capacity of many municipalities to take on greater responsibilities for school education, the resistance of school managers, union struggles and, especially since 2015, student action in the school occupations, with great support from their families and society.

According to the management model adopted, the call for improvement in the quality of education rings false, among other reasons because it is not compatible with the constitutional principle of democratic management of the school and the public network, and it empties the public sense of the school. While the centralized curriculum, bonuses and management for results do not produce the redemptive results promised by the government.

The authoritarian character of the alleged innovations of the results management policy is revealed through the imposition of broad-spectrum actions that involve narratives, quantitative targets, actions, programs, projects, all in a very clear sense, in the centralization of the curriculum, evaluation, training and control of pedagogical work. A strong mark of this managerialist model is the centralization of the formulation of concepts by select groups - the government staff itself and, increasingly, private consultancies - and the decentralization of the execution of tasks to local bodies and schools.

With the deliberate participation of private institutions linked to capital, the SEE-SP outlined a set of measures adapted from business management, which were configuring forms of management of the system, its other bodies, and the school, contrary to the constitutional principle of democratic management. Instead of educational training and the call for managers within the SEE-SP and schools to act to stimulate the participation of school communities, these professionals are increasingly called upon to act as managers in defence of centralising policies that restrict pedagogical autonomy, both at the level of intermediate bodies and schools in the face of the unique demands imposed by daily reality.

Considering the theoretical framework mobilized, it can be said that the policies and programs detailed throughout this text and resumed in this item materialize at least five of the seven principles of NPM applied to education policies, as systematized by Verger and Normand (2015). They are: professional management of public services (especially by hiring consultants and the participation of organizations linked to the business sector, which usually show professionalism); more explicit standards and performance measures, emphasis on results control (these two materialized by external evaluation systems designed to measure the performance of students and, by derivation, of teachers); greater competitiveness (exemplified by bonus policies); and emulation of the private managerial style (with reinforcement of the role of headmasters as managers).

If it cannot be said that there was a linearity in the educational policy adopted by the São Paulo government over the 24 years, since the different administrations of the SEE-SP followed their own paths for its implementation and the resistance of the school community, with nuances of greater or lesser level of organisation, through the union and student movement, gave different outlines to some proposals, it is possible to state that the assumptions and principles of NPM and managerialism guided



the different educational programmes and projects of the period. Even considering that this process took place in line with this conception of public management, there were no ruptures that implied changes in the direction of educational policy in the São Paulo state school system during the period under analysis.

It is hoped that the present study will contribute to a better understanding of the policies adopted by successive governments in São Paulo State and that, as such, it will constitute another subsidy for social sectors defending the right to quality public education for all to act so that what is considered fair is maintained and that what goes in the opposite direction is banned.

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**Submetido:** 07/11/2020

**Aprovado:** 08/03/2021

#### **AUTHORS' CONTRIBUTION**

All authors contributed equally in the survey and analysis of the data and in the writing of the text.

#### **DECLARATION OF CONFLICT OF INTEREST**

The authors declare that there is no conflict of interest.

#### **FINANCING**

The research that provided the basis for writing this article was funded by the Fundação de Amparo à Pesquisa do Estado de São Paulo (Fapesp), No 2018/09983-0.