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RESTORATIVE-MODERNIZATION AND TRANSFORMISM IN HIGH SCHOOL POLITICS IN PERNAMBUCO: PASSIVATION STRATEGIES OF BUSSINESS HEGEMONY¹

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ABSTRACT: The text examines the political-ideological dynamic and the contents of the business hegemony in high school politics in Pernambuco. The analysis deals with the intellectual organizers in politics, the private hegemony devices, the political-ideological orientations, and the behavior of sectors and subordinate representatives regarding Procentro and, later, the Programa de Educação Integral (Full Education Program). For such, official documents and private institutions were analyzed, making use of Gramscian categories, with passive revolution and transformism as standouts. The conclusion is that the business hegemony in politics is expressed in a movement of modernization-restoration of managing rationality, revising ideological aspects that are secondary to the business hegemony in order to incorporate, residually, demands from the subordinates. That results, in terms of appearances, in a more “social” and “inclusive” project of management which, in turn, translates into transformism phenomena as expressions of passivation of opposition to the management model. It also stands out that the movement of modernization-restoration analyzed in Pernambuco is part of a historical block headed by progressive sectors in politics and civil society that characterizes a Brazilian-style passive revolution and its social liberalism (CASTELO, 2011).

Keywords: high school – Pernambuco, hegemony, passive revolution, transformism, business reformers

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MODERNIZAÇÃO-RESTAURADORA E TRANSFORMISMO NA POLÍTICA DO ENSINO MÉDIO PERNAMBUCANO: ESTRATÉGIAS DE APASSIVAMENTO DA HEGEMONIA EMPRESARIAL

RESUMO: O texto examina a dinâmica político-ideológica e o conteúdo da hegemonia empresarial na política para o ensino médio em Pernambuco. A análise se debruça sobre os intelectuais organizadores da política, os aparelhos privados de hegemonia, as orientações político-ideológicas e o comportamento dos setores e representantes dos subalternos frente ao Procentro e, posteriormente, ao Programa de Educação Integral. Para tanto, foi realizada a análise de documentos oficiais e de instituições privadas à luz de categorias gramscianas, com destaque para revolução passiva e transformismo. Conclui-se que a hegemonia empresarial na política em tela expressa um movimento de modernização-restauradora da racionalidade gerencial, revisando aspectos ideológicos secundários à hegemonia empresarial para incorporar, residualmente, demandas dos subalternos. Isso resulta num projeto, no plano da aparência, mais “social” e “inclusivo” de gerencialismo que, por sua vez, ocasiona fenômenos de transformismos como expressões de apassivamento das oposições ao modelo gerencial. Destaca-se, também, que o movimento de modernização-restauradora analisada em Pernambuco é parte de um bloco histórico dirigido por setores progressivos da política e da sociedade civil que caracteriza uma revolução passiva *à brasileira* e seu *social-liberalismo* (CASTELO, 2011).

Palavras-chave: ensino médio – Pernambuco, hegemonia, revolução passiva, transformismo, reformadores empresariais.

MODERNIZACIÓN RESTAURADORA Y TRANSFORMISMO EN LA POLÍTICA DE LA ENSEÑANZA MEDIANA PERNAMBUCANA: ESTRATEGIAS PARA APASIVAR LA HEGEMONÍA EMPRESARIAL

RESUMEN: El texto examina la dinámica político-ideológica y el contenido de la hegemonía empresarial en la política para la enseñanza mediana (secundaria) en Pernambuco. El análisis se vuelve a los intelectuales organizadores de la política, los aparatos privados de hegemonía, las orientaciones político-ideológicas y el comportamiento de los sectores y representantes de los subalternos frente al Procentro y, posteriormente, al Programa de Educación Integral. Para tanto, fue realizado un análisis de documentos oficiales y de instituciones privadas a la luz de categorías gramscianas, con destaque para la revolución pasiva y transformismo. Se concluye que la hegemonía empresarial en la política expresa un movimiento de modernización restauradora de la racionalidad gerencial, revisando aspectos ideológicos secundarios a la hegemonía empresarial para incorporar, residualmente, demandas de los subalternos. Eso resulta en un proyecto, en el plan de apariencia, más “social” e “inclusivo” de gerencialismo que, enseguida, ocasiona en fenómenos de transformismos como expresiones para apasivar las oposiciones al modelo gerencial. Se destaca también que el movimiento de modernización restauradora analizada en Pernambuco es parte de un bloco histórico dirigido por sectores progresivos de la política y de la sociedad civil que caracteriza una revolución pasiva a la brasileña y su *social-liberalismo* (CASTELO, 2011).

Palabras clave: enseñanza mediana – Pernambuco, hegemonía, revolución pasiva, transformismo, reformadores empresariales.

INTRODUCTION

Over the last two decades, the high school education policy developed in the state of Pernambuco has gained notoriety, after reaching a prominent place in the Basic Education Development Index (IDEB-*Índice de Desenvolvimento da Educação Básica*) rankings. Led by a political party located in the broad progressive field, the Brazilian Socialist Party (PSB-*Partido Socialista Brasileiro*), the government of Pernambuco articulated political-ideological and management strategies for the state machine that reorder the relationship between the public and the private, established in the previous government, led by the Democratic Movement Party (PMDB-*Partido do Movimento Democrático*), so that, despite the limits imposed on the activities of the business sector, it continued to strongly influence the management model and the political-pedagogical conceptions of the policy under analysis.

This article analyzes the political-ideological strategies that enabled the articulation of corporate hegemony in high school policy in Pernambuco, situating the class contradictions of this process, the organic intellectuals involved, and the public and private apparatuses of hegemony mobilized in the production of consensus around the content of this hegemony: business rationality as a model for managing and controlling the routine of teaching work.

The analysis situates two periods of implementation of high school education policy in Pernambuco, under strong moral and intellectual influence from business reformers: the first observed in the government of Jarbas Vasconcelos² (Brazilian Democratic Movement Party); and the second, in the government of Eduardo Campos³ (Brazilian Socialist Party). The analysis covers the continuities, ruptures, and innovations observed in the two governments located in opposing political camps.

This examination was carried out based on bibliographical analysis and official documents from the government of Pernambuco, as well as documents produced by private institutions that became theoretical-political references in the educational field. The analysis of the material was based on categories of Gramscian thought, in particular, the concepts of hegemony, transformism, and passive revolution.

PASSIVE REVOLUTION, TRANSFORMISM AND THE DIALECTICS OF APPASSIVATION: ELEMENTS FOR AN ANALYSIS OF RESTORATIVE MODERNIZATIONS

Antônio Gramsci's theoretical arsenal is extremely rich for the analysis of educational policy, especially when it focuses on the dynamics of the functioning of the state institution and its relations with civil society, the economy, and culture. The interpretative key of passive revolution is decisive in examining Brazilian reality, whether from capitalist modernizations of the national State or when focusing on the institutions that configure local powers, as in the case of the state of Pernambuco, which we examine in this article. This is because, as a federative state, the national institution materializes through the dialectical relationship between the general and the particular, influencing and being influenced by the latter. In this way, we propose to address aspects of contemporary passive revolutions, such as

² He governed the state of Pernambuco for two terms (1998-2002/2003-2004).

³ He governed the state of Pernambuco for two terms (2007-2010/ 2011-2014).

modernization processes triggered from above that branch out, albeit contradictorily, reaching scopes to be examined empirically.

In general terms, it is possible to say that the concept of passive revolution in the Gramscian formulation expresses an anti-Jacobin modality of transition to capitalism (in the case of the Risorgimento) and a path of change within capitalism (as in fascism and Fordism or the passage of the regime of competitive accumulation for a monopolist) (BRAGA 1995, p. 59). In the first case, Gramsci seeks to understand the transition to capitalism in those social formations in which this transition occurred from above, without popular initiative.

In the so-called Notebook 19 (1934-1935), which focuses on The Italian Risorgimento, Gramsci uses the concept of Passive Revolution⁴ to analyze two distinct cases of modernization of the bourgeois State in Italy, both driven by the impacts of the French Revolution. The first, Gramsci refers to the French transformations which, according to the Italian author, are initially permeated by a reactionary movement to the character of the revolution, which counted on the active political participation of workers. Then, by a movement to restore order, constituted by agreements between the progressive political forces of the bourgeoisie and remnants of the monarchical-absolutist order to repress any proletarian organizational advance, Gramsci synthesized this process with the *revolution-restoration* formula⁵.

In the second case, the Italian bourgeois hegemonic process comes into play, responsible for the unification and modernization of the State, in the period that became known as the *Risorgimento era*⁶. Gramsci concludes that the process of passive revolution that occurred in Italy, considering a set of particularities that condition the hegemonic dynamics in that country, is characterized by dispensing with ruptures or revolutionary shocks as in the classic formula of Jacobinism identified in the revolution-restoration formula. In this case, a long process of “changes from above” takes place, which accommodates part of the demands of the subordinate; however, without imposing more radical consequences on the social relations of production and politics in Italy, based on what happened in France.

In this sense, Gramsci tried to examine why there was not a Jacobin-style revolution in Italy, as in the French case. In effect, he concluded that this type of passive revolution was due to the weakness of the traditional ruling classes, “[...] weakness and organic inconsistency of the ruling class, [in addition to] the great misery and backwardness of the country” (GRAMSCI, 2002, p. 31), which reflect the level of development of productive forces in Italy and its “traditional” economic relations (linked to rural property and commerce) in this period. Hence the characterization of this form of bourgeois leadership in Italy as a revolution in the superstructures, more specifically in the State, devoid of economic hegemony. According to Braga (1995, p. 60), the Risorgimento, therefore, reflects the initial moment of the long and irregular, but successful, process of consolidation of Italian capitalism, in which it is the “[...] State that pushes the development and thus manufactures the manufacturer (Gramsci)”.

⁴ Gramsci borrows *Vicenzo Cuoco's* concept in his analysis of the process of the Neapolitan revolution of 1799 which, according to the author, was born from a fractional mobilization and without much consensus among the dominant classes around the bourgeois modernization of the State of Naples, once they were fostered by impulses from external events (French revolution and the Napoleonic wars), uncoupled from the participation and demands of popular sectors.

⁵ The concept of *revolution-restoration* is a direct influence of *Edgar Quinet*. See Notebook 8, § 25.

⁶ Historical phenomenon that has its milestones in the 18th century and ending in Italian fascism.

The term “Passive Revolution” is associated with what Gramsci calls the “innovation-conservation/revolution-restoration” dialectic, expressing a positive conception of the concept, “[...] a true political program and a restorationist moral opposed to any possibility of active intervention of the broad popular masses as a factor of historical progress” (BRAGA, 1995, p.61). Consequently, Gramsci rejected passive revolution as a political program, as defended by the Italian liberals of the Risorgimento, and denounced its counter-revolutionary character.

Based on this criticism, the Italian communist proposes the application of the concept as an interpretative criterion of “[...] molecular modifications that, actually, progressively modify the previous composition of forces and, therefore, become a matrix of new modifications” (GRAMSCI, 2002, p. 317). From this perspective, in the context of passive revolutions, the concrete historical contradictions of capitalism are reproduced through molecular modifications, due to the fragmentation of the antithesis, developing the thesis (capitalist domination) without overcoming it historically. Thus, “[...], from the dialectical opposition between thesis and antithesis, only the thesis develops its possibilities for struggle, to the point of attracting the so-called representatives of the antithesis” (BRAGA, 1995, p. 63). From this perspective, this mutilated dialectic “innovation-conservation/revolution-restoration” is understood by Gramsci as a method of political action of the ruling classes, which has its theoretical expression in Crocean, moderate and reformist historicism. Gramsci defines the notion of progress, according to this dialectic, as: “a process in which innovation preserves the past by modifying it and what will be preserved from the past will result in progress, sustaining a character of “historical necessity” (BRAGA, 1995, p. 64).

In this context, transformism is a concept developed by Gramsci to define one of the historical manifestations of the passive revolution, highlighting the phenomenon of co-option, decapitation of the leaders of the subaltern classes, and attraction of their cadres and intellectuals into the hegemonic bloc. At this point, Gramsci draws attention to the role of intellectuals in the direction of modern European states not born of the Jacobin-French type revolution, as is the case in Italy, where modernization impulses are not based on national economic development, but under the international influence that “sends its ideological currents, born based on the productive development of the most evolved countries, to the periphery – the group that carries the new ideas is not the economic group, but the layer of intellectuals” (GRAMSCI, 2002, p. 428.).

Regarding this historical-conceptual link between passive revolution and transformism, Gramsci (2002) states that it should not be understood as a simple act or tendency to change coats at the political level, but as the tendency, mobilized by the party of order (or “moderation”) of absorption/cooptation, at first, gradually; and then, with a greater degree of articulation and experience, leaders and groups representing popular forces, expanding their hegemonic sphere.

Passive revolution is also a concept mobilized by Gramsci to analyze, in Americanism and Fordism (2007), the process of economic modernization in the United States of America, based on the introduction of a generalized culture and methods of work. It is the third modality of passive revolution noted by the author. Born on the Ford factory floor⁷, it is a type of revolution distinct from the Italian one because it happens, fundamentally, at the level of production relations and not politics. The author states that his formula is that of Americanism-Fordism (GRAMSCI, 2007). Therefore, the theoretical-

⁷ Ford Motor Company is a company specializing in automobile manufacturing with multinational status. It is in the United States, in Dearborn, Michigan, a suburb of Detroit. Founded on June 16, 1903, by Henry Ford.

methodological clue provided here is that of rationalization as a process of hegemony that is born in the factory, from which comes the well-known finding of Gramsci (2007, p. 247-248): “Hegemony is born from the factory and only needs to be, of a minimum number of professional intermediaries of politics and ideology”.

We would like to highlight the importance of this link between hegemony, rationalization, and (psychophysical) passiveness, typical of this third type of passive revolution. In the current scenario of capital crisis, productive restructuring, and its model of flexible accumulation under the management of Toyotism, the subordination of public schools to the process of commodity production has been deepened. With it, the (re)organization of teaching work under the vilification of exploited work, leading teachers to a constant and gradual process of proletarianization on new bases, which involve, among other aspects: 1) numerous forms of deregulation and precariousness of the working day combined with its intensification; 2) expansion of tasks; 3) unprecedented growth in mechanisms for monitoring their work, especially through digital tools; 4) management and organization of work based on goals, school-wide assessments and bonus policies; 5) strengthening business and meritocratic ideas as ideological insignia of teaching, such as entrepreneurship (BARBOSA, 2020).

The analytical use of the concept of Passive Revolution in understanding the Brazilian reality, especially in the contemporary scenario, highlighted, among other things, the coming to power of governments with progressive characteristics, such as the administrations of Lula and Dilma, both from the Party of Workers (PT-*Partido dos Trabalhadores*), we highlight the interpretations observed in Bianchi and Braga (2005), Castelo (2011) and Bianchi (2016). For them, the dynamics of passive revolution and transformism in the new hegemony of the Brazilian ruling classes, which was established at the end of Fernando Henrique Cardoso's⁸ presidential term, can be understood as follows:

Coming to power, the PT completed the cycle of its transformism and assumed leadership of the Brazilian passive revolution. The changes in its political discourse attested to the gradual replacement of a logic of difference, in which the leading role would belong to social movements and the autonomous experience of the working classes, by a state logic, in which the leading role would belong to the State led by the PT. As an expression of a mutilated dialectic, in Gramsci's words, the Brazilian passive revolution allowed an update of the economic structure of capitalism through successive transitions commanded by the State, avoiding the active intervention of subaltern classes in the process. The novelty of this new passive revolution lay in the role played by new social subjects originating from the subaltern classes (BIANCHI; BRAGA, 2005, p.1753 and 1761).

Along the same line of interpretation, Bianchi (2016, p. 128) establishes the following interpretation regarding the formula of hegemony, observed in the Brazilian State and economy in the 2000s:

Braga's observations highlighted that the passive revolution was not a phenomenon that occurred only at the level of superstructures, that is, focused exclusively on the modalities of carrying out politics, as Coutinho increasingly sought to emphasize. Also, the processes that articulated the dialectic of conservation and innovation typical of passive revolutions at the level of productive forces and production relations were important in the Brazilian case.

⁸ He was President of the Republic of Brazil for two terms: 1995-1998 and 1999-2002.

With this reading, we will analyze the movement of rupture, continuity, and innovation of high school education policy in Pernambuco, seeking to identify how the dialectic of the passiveization of the subaltern classes is established, based on concessions and transformations to conform to the business hegemony of the political and ideological point of view, within the scope of management and control of the routine of teaching work.

THE GOVERNMENT OF JARBAS VASCONCELOS (PMDB) AND THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THE CHARTER MODEL IN HIGH SCHOOLS IN PERNAMBUCO

Relations between the business sectors and the government of Pernambuco gained a lot of strength in the early 2000s, during the first term of governor Jarbas Vasconcelos, influenced by strong determinations of the State Reform promoted by the government of Fernando Henrique Cardoso (Liberal Front Party-*Partido da Frente Liberal*)⁹ at the federal level. Neoliberal orientations and managerialism¹⁰, which despite tensions and divergences¹¹ were already manifested in the government of Miguel Arraes¹² (PSB), found conjunctural conditions more favorable to their deepening in the government of Arraes Jarbas's successor.

Due to national (state reform) and local (economic crisis of the late 1990s¹³), determinations, a political agenda based on the interests of business sectors (local and national) gains strength in the government of Jarbas Vasconcelos, pressuring privatization initiatives and privatization of several public sectors. In the document *Pernambuco JÁ. Programa de Governo para Mudar Pernambuco - Pernambuco NOW. Government Program to Change Pernambuco* (1998)¹⁴, the business-corporatist agenda is presented very clearly, as we can see below:

[...] the appropriate restructuring of the State consisted of changing the focus of its actions, becoming “less of an executor, less of a service provider, no longer being solely and directly responsible for economic and social development and maintaining its functions as coordinator, regulator, promoter and provider of public goods and services [...] for a managerial public administration” (PERNAMBUCO JÁ, 1998, p. 107 apud SIQUEIRA; MATOS, 2008, p. 44, authors' quotation marks).

⁹ Liberal Front Party (*Partido da Frente Liberal*). Afterwards, it changed its nomenclature to Democrats (DEM), as it is still called today.

¹⁰ For more information, consult the *PERNAMBUCO JÁ* document. Government Program to Change Pernambuco: summary for discussion. Recife, 1998. The movement that generated the document was made up of around 500 people who included technicians from different areas, artists, businesspeople, among others who proposed changes in the State and new actions for the government of Jarbas Vasconcelos (SIQUEIRA E MATOS, 2008).

¹¹ If we consider the privatizations of *Banco do Estado de Pernambuco* – BANDEPE, *Telecomunicações de Pernambuco S/A* – TELPE and the privatization attempts of *Companhia Energética de Pernambuco* (Celpe)

¹² He governed the state of Pernambuco between 1963-1964, 1990 and 1995-1999.

¹³ From an economic point of view, the state's gross domestic product (GDP) between 1996 and 1999 grew on average 1.8%, a rate well below the national (2.8%) and regional (2.4%) average (PERNAMBUCO, 2005 apud SIQUEIRA E MATOS, 2008). Added to this, in 1998, the state of Pernambuco had a deficit of 27.19% in its budget, which made it difficult to pay civil servants, finance and state investments in priority areas (SIQUEIRA E MATOS, 2008).

¹⁴ We did not find the document in full, but a relevant analysis can be found in Siqueira and Matos (2008). Available at: https://www.scielo.br/scielo.php?pid=S0034-76122008000100003&script=sci_abstract&tlng=pt. Access on: 02/16/2020.

In this sense, the State Privatization Program (*Programa Estadual de Desestatização*) was created, which sought to “[...] mitigate the presence of the State in the public services production sector and attract private investments for the development of essential services infrastructure” (PERNAMBUCO, 2000, cited by SIQUEIRA; MATOS, 2008).

From the point of view of the legal framework, the basic measure of Jarbas Vasconcelos' management to create the perennial normative and institutional conditions for partnerships with business sectors in education was the creation of laws¹⁵ that allowed the transfer of public management, through public-private partnerships and which regulated privatizations. Having as its guiding principle the motto “education is everyone's responsibility”, the beginning of the aforementioned government was marked by the signing of partnerships and agreements with private sector entities, culminating in the creation of the Permanent Forum for the Development of Education in Pernambuco (*Fórum Permanente de Desenvolvimento da Educação em Pernambuco*) and the Pro-Education Business Alliance (*Aliança Empresarial Pró-Educação*), initiatives by the government to promote consensus around the need for partnerships and agreements with business, as well as the creation of the Total Quality Institute - *Instituto de Qualidade Total* (resulting from an agreement with the American Chamber of Commerce).

In the case of high school education policy during this period, the actions of business groups in the field of education in Pernambuco had the model of concession of educational administration to the private sector as a reference, inspired by American charter schools. This process was articulated by the Institute of Co-responsibility for Education (*ICE-Instituto de Corresponsabilidade pela Educação*)¹⁶, a private entity that had financial support from the companies Phillips, Chesf, Bandepe, Odebrecht and other business groups. ICE was created in 2003 as a Civil Society Organization of Public Interest (*OSCIP-Organização da Sociedade Civil de Interesse Público*) and, since then, it has operated as a private apparatus of business hegemony and disseminator of the American model in Brazilian territory¹⁷.

Under the motto of “social” responsibility for education and the foreign influence of the charter model, the main intention of the ICE was to bring about changes within the normative-institutional and administrative-pedagogical apparatus of the public educational sector. This occurred with the creation of the Development Program for Experimental Teaching Centers (*Procentro-Programa de Desenvolvimento dos Centros de Ensino Experimental*), through Decree 26,307/2004 and the Technical Unit for Coordination of the CEE Development Program - *Unidade Técnica de Coordenação do Programa de Desenvolvimento* (Law 12,558/2004), the management nucleus of the Procentro, run mainly by employees linked to ICE, despite the presence of employees from the Pernambuco State Department of Education (SEDUC). Businessman Marcos Antônio Magalhães, at the time president of Philips for Latin America¹⁸,

¹⁵ This is the case of Law 9,637/1998, which recognizes Social Organizations (*OS- Organizações Sociais*), private law entities, which can sign agreements to carry out activities typical of the State; and Law 9,790, of 1999, which deals with Civil Society Organizations of Public Interest (*OSCIP's- Organizações da Sociedade Civil de Interesse Público*), and regulates the State/Society relationship in the performance of actions in the field of public policies, and the access of non-profit organizations to resources public, via transfers of public resources.

¹⁶ To find out more, see: <http://icebrasil.org.br/> Access on: 04/19/2020.

¹⁷ Currently, ICE operates in 21 Brazilian states and, in some of them, in addition to secondary education, in elementary education [initial and final years]. There are 747,600 students, 40,050 educators and 1,335 public schools, according to the institute's website. Available at: <https://icebrasil.org.br/> Accessed on: 05/28/2021.

¹⁸ Marcos Antônio Magalhães, Electrical Engineer graduated from the Federal University of Pernambuco, with a Postgraduate degree in Telecommunications in Eindhoven (Netherlands). In 2003, he founded ICE – Institute of Co-responsibility for Education – where he remains President. He also serves as President of IQE – Institute for Quality in Education. Founding member of the “All for Education” Movement.

was one of the main organic intellectuals involved in the creation of Procentro, having also created and presided over ICE. As president of this institution, the businessman also played a central role in articulating institutional changes in the sphere of political society, which allowed the materialization of shared management with the sector.

The creation of Procentro was possible through the Technical and Financial Cooperation Agreement 021/2003¹⁹, signed between the Secretary of Education and Culture and the Institute of Co-responsibility for Education. In the document, specifically in the attributions section, it is stated that the “second party”, that is, the ICE, is responsible for, among others: “providing resources”; “participating in the planning, management, and evaluation of public education”; “establishing control and supervision instrument and mechanisms”; “mobilize people and companies to act in the program” (PERNAMBUCO, 2003 apud LEITE, 2009, p 150-151).

This process of creating Procentro and ICE, however, occurred under strong tensions and controversies. This is because, despite the favorable situation for privatizations in the early 2000s, the government of the state of Pernambuco still faced strong resistance to the relationships established with the so-called third sector²⁰, as provided for in Complementary Law 049/2003 and the subsequent laws that regulated the format of permitted initiatives. One of them concerned the limits of partnerships that could not overlap with public responsibilities and management.

Despite this, the creation of the ICE already intended, a priori, to tighten and make the current legal framework more flexible to intervene in educational management. Despite constant allegations that ICE's interest did not go beyond the physical renovation of the Ginásio Pernambucano (known as “GP”), guaranteed through partnerships with the private sector that became known as Associations of Friends of Ginásio Pernambucano and which had Chesf, Odebrecht, and Banco ABN Amro, the embryo of ICE and the interventions of the business sector in public education in Pernambuco, the local press already announced that the nature of the reforms went beyond physical restructuring. It included “the education model”, “the format for valuing teachers”, the “expansion of activities offered” and “school management” based on partnerships with the private sector (JC Online, 19/08/2000 apud LEITE, 2021). It was also already reported by the media that the Department of Education intended to adopt the model as a reference for other units in the state education network (idem). In this same edition of the newspaper, businessman Marco Magalhães stated in an interview: “Our objective is to make Ginásio Pernambucano elitist, but not in a pejorative sense. We want to elitize the less favored classes, making them reach other social levels through education” (idem).

As a result, the absence of legal support in the territory of Pernambuco, which would allow the administrative and pedagogical restructuring of schools under the management of ICE, did not prevent the insertion of businesspeople in the management of public schools for this task. In fact, for the creation of Procentro, support was sought in the legislation on public-private partnerships (PPP), regulated by law 11,079/2004, created by the government of President Luiz Ignácio Lula da Silva²¹. It is important to note that the sequence of events resulting from the creation of Procentro (reform of the GP, creation of the Association of Friends of the GP, business partnerships, PPP law, among others)

¹⁹To access the document that celebrates the agreement, consult the annexes of the LEITE work (2009), available at: <https://repositorio.ufpe.br/handle/123456789/3999>. Access on: 05/05/2020.

²⁰ To learn more about the resistance and voices against the Procentro model, consult Barbosa (2020) and Leite (2021).

²¹ Main leader of the Workers' Party and president of Brazil for two terms: 2003-2006 and 2007-2010. Elected President of the Republic in the 2022 election.

signal that the movement to privatize education in the state of Pernambuco has already had a certain national influence, becoming definitively consolidated with the creation of the Todos pela Educação Movement, in 2006, with the participation, as a founding member, of the Minister of Education Fernando Haddad²² and, also, with the direct support of the president at the time, Lula da Silva.

During this entire period, which includes the reform of the GP in the early 2000s, culminating with the creation of Procentro in 2004, and extending until the end of the Jarbas government in 2006, when twenty (20) Teaching Centers had already been created Experimental, the Pernambuco government had four state education secretaries. In the first administration (1999-2002), the secretaries were: Efraim Maranhã²³ (01.01.99/23.01.01), Raul Henry²⁴ (24.01.01/08.04.02), and Francisco de Assis²⁵ (09.04.02/03.02.03). Throughout the entire second term (2003-2006) of Jarbas Vasconcelos, the position was occupied by Mozart Neves²⁶ (03.02.03/01.01.07). Of the four secretaries, Francisco de Assis and Mozart Neves Ramos were those who had the most direct involvement in the creation of Procentro and the implementation of the centers.

THE GOVERNMENT OF EDUARDO CAMPOS (PSB) AND THE INTEGRAL EDUCATION POLICY - PEI: THE (NEW) PUBLIC MANAGEMENT UNDER THE OLD LEGACY

As we mentioned in the previous section, the corporate management concession model (inspired by the North American charter model) that created Procentro faced numerous reactions against its explicitly private nature. Among those who constituted the opposition bloc to the charter model, we highlight Teresa Leitão, deputy of the Legislative Assembly of the State of Pernambuco in the period²⁷, representing the Workers' Party (PT) and the Education Workers' Union of Pernambuco (SINTEPE).

With the arrival of the arc of alliances led by Eduardo Campos - Brazilian Socialist Party (PSB-*Partido Socialista Brasileiro*) in the government of Pernambuco, which included the participation of parties and sectors critical of the model implemented in the government of Jarbas Vasconcelos, there was a rupture with the agreement that celebrated the partnership with ICE. However, analyzing the document entitled *Frente Popular de Pernambuco* (PERNAMBUCO, 2006) - PSB government program for the four years 2007-2010 - we found the maintenance of the management guidelines that guided the Procentro, as we can see below:

A new management model for the state government's public structures needs to be built. Three axes give the focus to this democratic task: *managerial organization*, the democratization of the relationship with public servants, and *the system of control of state functions* (PERNAMBUCO, 2006, p. 66, our highlights).

²² One of the main leaders of the Workers' Party, former mayor of São Paulo for one term (2013-2016) and candidate for president of the country in 2018.

²³ Former rector of UFPE.

²⁴ Raul Henry was also a state deputy and deputy governor of the state of Pernambuco. He currently serves as federal deputy since 2019.

²⁵ We did not find any further information.

²⁶ Former rector of UFPE. Former executive president of the *Todos Pela Educação* Movement. Director of Articulation and Innovation at the Ayrton Senna Foundation.

²⁷ Term: 2003-2006. In the 2022 electoral election, she was elected senator for the state of Pernambuco.

As can be seen, the “new” conception of public management seeks to reconcile, on the one hand, business rationality as a model to be adopted in the “managerial organization” and the “control system of state functions” and on the other, the democratization of the relationship with public agents, a demand from progressive and popular sectors of society. This implies a reconfiguration of relations with the private sector on new moral and intellectual bases.

Another evidence, in this sense, present in the government program is the promise to abolish the “[...] liberal model of State management, which advocates a downsizing of state institutions to reduce their strategic importance in meeting social demands [...]” (ibidem, p. 67). However, combined with the creation of the Secretariat of Planning, Budget and Public Management (SEPLAG-*Secretaria de Planejamento, Orçamento e Gestão Pública*) which, like the federal sphere, works based on the central guidelines of managerialism in the public sector: accountability for goals/indicators, large-scale evaluation and performance bonuses.

In the field of education, the government of Eduardo Campos incorporates the management guidelines that underlie educational policies at the national level, with emphasis on large-scale assessment and the standardized school curriculum, which began under the governments of President Fernando Henrique Cardoso (FHC), in the 1990s, and were consolidated during the administration of President Luís Inácio Lula da Silva, especially with the creation of the Education Development Program (PDE-*Programa de Desenvolvimento da Educação*), in 2007. In this way, aiming to adapt management mechanisms that simultaneously articulate “performance improvement”, “cost reduction” and “more direct control over the curriculum and assessment”, with a relative and limited “participation of the local community”, the Public Management Modernization Program - Goals for Education (*Programa de Modernização da Gestão Pública - Metas para a Educação*) was created in 2008, in the state of Pernambuco, to align the state education system with the managerial rationality adopted in the government program, as well as respond to the creation of the Basic Education Development Index – IDEB (*Índice de Desenvolvimento da Educação Básica*), in 2007, and to the management agenda of *Todos pela Educação* (Everybody for the Education), which provides a set of goals to be achieved by schools.

Therefore, under the direction of the PSB, Pernambuco became a state laboratory of “management prototypes” to meet the goals of the PDE and IDEB. Many of the management innovations implemented by the state of Pernambuco, under Eduardo Campos' government, are expressions of this rationality, among them, the implementation of High School Reference Schools (EREM- *Escolas de Referências em Ensino Médio*) and State Technical Schools (ETE- *Escolas Técnicas do Estado*), based on the Integral Education – PEI (*Programa de Educação Integral*), which resume the administrative and pedagogical project of the Experimental Teaching Centers.

Examining the conservation, rupture, and innovation movements of the Eduardo Campos government in the education sector, the data evidenced so far allows us to affirm that the PEI expresses a type of modernization-restoration (BARBOSA, 2020), in that it accepts part of the popular demands (public financing, termination of the management contract, democratization of full-time schools), but not only maintains, but also deepens and improves the process of managerial modernization of the State demanded by business forces, represented in the previous government by the Institute of Co-responsibility for Education – ICE.

This movement is constituted through molecular changes, that is, modifications that are not characterized by total ruptures, but by the conservation of managerialism (business rationality) that is

combined with concepts and emblems of democratic management as a way of renewing and revising its postulates, aiming to strengthen its power to command the character and direction of “modernizations” and future changes. Therefore, it is a “multiple” synthesis, since the antithesis (subaltern forces) cannot go beyond the renewal of the thesis (updating domination under new terms). It is important to highlight that in this conservation and renewal movement, which involves high school education policy, the attempt to reconcile the antagonisms between democratic management and managerial management cannot be resolved without harming one of the two poles.

It is also a question of modernization directed “from above”, with the State and the layer of intellectuals linked to it (political parties, specialists in the field of administration, academic intellectuals, teachers, union leaders, and social movement) playing a preponderant role that replaces a structurally weak bourgeois class in the transition from the economic-corporate to the ethical-political moment.

Transformisms and consent to corporate hegemony: “inclusive” managerialism.

To analyze the issue of transformism in the process that we are calling the modernization-restoration of high school education policy in Pernambuco, we will focus on two significant oppositions presented in the context of the Integral Education Program, sponsored by the government of Eduardo Campos. The first corresponds to the positions of Representative Teresa Leitão (PT), the opposition representative of the Procentro model within the scope of ALEPE, as we already mentioned in the previous section.

Consulting the procedure for approval of Complementary Law 125/2008, which creates the Integral Education Program, proposed in ALEPE as Complementary Law Project 616/2008²⁸ by the PSB government, we found that the PT deputy was the rapporteur of opinion 1.939²⁹ (25/06/2008), recommending its approval by the Education and Culture Committee of the legislative assembly. Among the reasons given for its approval is the defense of:

[...] improvement of High School Reference Schools with previous models, since, in addition to the possibility of a full education, there will be the *possibility of using equipment through the network, as well as sharing the experiences obtained by Reference Schools* and the use of spaces to offer education to young people and adults, where possible [...] The program recomposes in the management of each school the effective staff of the Department of Education for all teaching functions, thus *preventing people outside the network from holding positions in commissions specific to the state teaching sector* (PERNAMBUCO, 2008c, our highlights).

The excerpt above makes two important signals: 1) that the deputy did not oppose the political-pedagogical project of the policy in vogue, inherited from Procentro; 2) that its adherence is conditioned on corrections made at the administrative level (break with the charter model), which reconfigured the public-private relationship. In other words, its position is based on the universalist character of the policy and the exclusive duty of the State in contrast to the elitist and corporatist version of the charter model, as well as the interference of the private sector in allowing “people outside the

²⁸ Available at: <http://www.alepe.pe.gov.br/proposicao-texto-completo/?docid=94B020D7BB4B4B1A0325746B000FF0F1&tipoprop=> Access on: 02/20/2021

²⁹ Available at: <http://www.alepe.pe.gov.br/proposicao-texto-completo/?docid=932DF8DFFFF6D1290325747300566858&tipoprop=> Access on: 02/20/2021

network to hold positions in their teaching committee state” (idem), as in the case of Procentro. We recovered a speech from the deputy from 2009, in which she stated: “*The State needed to be tougher in its relationship with the private sector. We are not going to say that it should not exist [...] but the State cannot lose its sovereignty in conducting the Political-Pedagogical Project (PPP) for the network*” (LEITE, 2021, p. 62, our highlights).

Teresa Leitão's new position due to the review of policy aspects combined with the adherence of deputies from other parties, including those opposing the PSB government, as is the case of deputy Doutora Nadegi (PSDB) and deputy Coronel José Alves - Party of Retirees of the Nation (PAN-*Partido dos Aposentados da Nação*³⁰), concerning the implementation of the integral education policy of the Eduardo Campos government (PL 616/2008), signal the expanded reach of corporate hegemony at the political-party level, appeasing and silencing the criticism in what is strategic to the business model: managerialism in the organization of pedagogical work and, more specifically, in the control of the routine of teaching work.

This deepens with Teresa Leitão's favorable position for the approval of the bonus policy created by the PSB in the state, the Educational Performance Bonus (BDE-*Bônus de Desempenho Educacional*)³¹, presented on the proposition of Ordinary Bill 611/2008³², a measure that openly expresses the scope management of the policy and which was harshly criticized as a corporatist, unequal strategy that goes against the principles of teaching, according to Opinion 03/2004-CLN presented by the State Education Council of Pernambuco CEE/PE³³. In one of the justifications for approval of the bonus law present in opinion 1,937/2008 (24/06/2008)³⁴, which had Teresa Leitão as rapporteur, it is mentioned that

[...] this proposal is of fundamental importance for the implementation of educational policies aimed at *increasing the quality and efficiency of teaching and learning, encouraging employees in the performance evaluation process, and strengthening the policy of appreciation and remuneration of professionals in the State Public Teaching* (PERNAMBUCO, 2008e, our highlights).

The defense of a managerial state, which involves reviewing liberal rationality to reconfigure the boundaries between public-private, using symbols such as: (co)participation, (co)responsibility, decentralization, among others, highlights the abandonment of the construction of a popular and democratic state by the main parties with a broad front of progressive sectors, as in the case of the PT. In this sense, the transformism identified here in the deputy's position, at the state level, has deep links with a rationality that is also structured as a federative pact.

The second situation we analyze here presents SINTEPE's position about Pernambuco's comprehensive education policy. To this end, we took as a source of analysis the publications produced by the entity. In one of these, entitled *The Inversion of Merit (A Inversão do Mérito)*³⁵, the union criticizes

³⁰ Extinct in 2007.

³¹ Available at: Alepe - Assembleia Legislativa do Estado de Pernambuco Access on: 02/20/2021.

³² Available at: Alepe Legis - Portal da Legislação Estadual de Pernambuco. Access on: 20/02/2021.

³³ To find out more, see Leite (2021)>

³⁴ Available at: Alepe - Assembleia Legislativa do Estado de Pernambuco. Accessed on: 02/20/2021.

³⁵ Published on Jamildo's Blog. Available at: < Em nota oficial, Sintepe reclama de inversão do mérito (uol.com.br)> Access on: 11/11/2019.

the state government's bonus policy, mainly the bonus that is intended exclusively for managers³⁶. The entity states that “government policy creates bonuses that value school managers *while teachers, who are mainly responsible for educational advancement in schools, have their merits denied*” (JC ONLINE, 08/23/2017, our highlights). In another section they denounce: “For the government, teachers, who work hard every day, do not need appreciation, the professionals who deserve to be valued monthly are school managers” (idem).

As can be seen in these two excerpts, the entity's dissatisfaction is linked to the format of the bonus policy and its “inverted meritocracy”, stated in the title of the text. Therefore, the bonus strategy, which points to the continuity of business orientation, harshly criticized by SINTEPE in the administrative and pedagogical model of Procentro, is now not exactly questioned, but rather its format is considered unfair within a meritocratic atmosphere.

The bonus strategy, when legitimized as a “State policy”, has its links with corporate hegemony erased. Therefore, it is not perceived as an expression of the contradictions of salaried work and places school managers as a “privileged class” instead of a constituent part of the work explored in education.

Both in Teresa Leitão's position and in SINTEPE's position, despite the criticisms made to the policy under analysis, there is no confrontation with the managerial rationality that guides secondary education policy in Pernambuco, and which legitimizes meritocracy, accountability of education professionals, and privatization, elements contrary to the principles of democratic management, which inspire and are regulated by the Federal Constitution of 1988. Ultimately, those who benefit from managerialism are denounced. It is not a question of opposing the managerial state model, but of seeking to improve it, mobilizing a notion of social justice within the framework of business rationality and meritocracy to make it more “social” and “inclusive”. These were notable components in the political agenda of the Lula and Dilma governments, which led to the characterization of social liberalism (CASTELO, 2011).

FINAL CONSIDERATIONS

The prisms of restorative modernization, the analytical key that guided the analysis of this text and inspired by the concepts of passive revolution and transformism, revealed fundamental aspects that can be observed not only in Pernambuco but also in national politics.

Firstly, it was shown that, despite the movement to review their rationality by fractions of the bourgeois class, using strategies to “modernize” in political and ideological terms in the face of crises and criticism, what is essential to the corporate interests of business hegemony is not negotiated or ceded. In this case, the relationship between public and private is reconfigured precisely to maintain and deepen control of the routine of teaching work, based on control of management and the political-pedagogical project. Thus, old and new rationalization mechanisms are combined.

From the point of view of political-ideological strategies, we observe two important movements: a) the creation of intellectuals and private apparatuses of hegemony that are being institutionalized as partners of the State, even before its legal prediction and standardization; b) the dissemination of these intellectuals, devices and their experiences/projects, gradually and molecularly, in

³⁶ Adicional de Eficiência da Gestão – AEG.

a dialectic that combines particular and universal (or local and national), aiming to expand the consensus around business rationality in education, which is part of the managerial state.

From the point of view of subordinate groups, we observe the existence of reformist political conceptions and practices, in which the aim of the struggle is content with extracting the maximum possible benefits within managerial modernization, which ends up naturalizing this rationality as socially necessary. In addition to the tactics of concessions and ideological hybridisms that arise in this dynamic, we also highlight the changes in position, whether individual or collective, that characterize phenomena of transformism, especially in the adherence to management reforms by progressive sectors, within a broader and longer-lasting historical cycle from the passive revolution to the Brazilian one.

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Author 2 – Guidance on the research project, participation in the construction of the methodology, data analysis, and review of the final writing.

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