

https://doi.org/10.1590/1984-0411.94849-T

### **PAPER**

# The interests of capital in public education in Paraná

# Os interesses do capital presentes na educação pública paranaense

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#### **ABSTRACT**

The growing participation of private capital in the management and financing of Brazilian education, through public-private partnerships, is a relevant topic in the field of educational policies. This paper investigates influences and implications of this insertion in Brazilian youth education, problematizing implications for the process of building a fair, egalitarian and truly democratic society. The study analyzes the partnerships and/or agreements signed by the State Department of Education of Paraná (SEED-PR) and the private sector between years 2019 and 2023, through a documentary analysis of information available on the SEED-PR institutional website, mapping the relationships established during this period and their implications for the resulting educational policies. Findings reveal a marked influence of the private sector in public education in Paraná, in which the discourse of professional development and entrepreneurship is used to justify the insertion of capitalist and individualistic values within the educational system, with implications for reproduction of social inequalities. Education is shaped according to market interests and priorities, to the detriment of integral development of youth. The mapping of private agents and their forms of action contributes to the debate on direction of public education in Paraná, highlighting a tendency towards privatization and de-accountability of the State.

Keywords: Privatization. Public Education. Public-Private Partnership.

#### **RESUMO**

A crescente participação do capital privado na gestão e financiamento da educação brasileira, por meio de parcerias público-privadas, configura-se como um tema de relevância no campo das políticas educacionais. Este artigo investiga as influências e implicações dessa inserção na formação da juventude brasileira, problematizando as implicações no processo de construção de uma sociedade justa, igualitária

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e verdadeiramente democrática. O estudo analisa as parcerias e/ou convênios firmados pela Secretaria Estadual de Educação do Paraná (SEED-PR) e o setor privado, entre os anos de 2019 e 2023, através de uma análise documental das informações disponibilizadas no site institucional da SEED-PR, mapeando as relações estabelecidas nesse período e suas implicações nas políticas educacionais decorrentes. Os resultados revelam uma marcante influência do setor privado na educação pública paranaense, em que o discurso do desenvolvimento profissional e do empreendedorismo é utilizado para justificar a inserção de valores capitalistas e individualistas no sistema educacional, com implicações na reprodução das desigualdades sociais. A educação se molda de acordo com os interesses e prioridades do mercado, em detrimento do desenvolvimento integral da juventude. O mapeamento dos agentes privados e suas formas de atuação contribui para o debate sobre os rumos da educação pública no Paraná, evidenciando uma tendência à privatização e desresponsabilização do Estado.

Palavras-chave: Privatização. Educação Pública. Parceria Público-Privada.

### Introduction

This paper emerges from the current educational scenario marked by the presence of neoliberal and market logic in public educational policies, especially due to the increasingly accentuated participation of private agents in the management of State responsibilities, based on the relationship between public and private (Adrião, 2018; Carvalho, 2017; Peroni, 2018). In the Brazilian context, the growing participation of private capital in education has generated debates about its influences and implications on the formation of society and the withdrawal of social rights already achieved.

In that regard, an analysis of this reality is proposed, taking the public education of Paraná as a scenario, presenting elements that demonstrate the consolidation of private organizations participation in development of public policies. It is necessary to recognize the ways in which private agents act in the public sector, which when established as partnerships and agreements, found fertile ground to implement their neoliberal projects of transforming society under market logic, acting on education financing, providing teaching and educational policies.

According to Adrião (2018, p. 14), "understanding locally observed processes requires comparing them with similar situations identified in other contexts, but it also requires highlighting socially and historically constructed particularities". In this perspective, this work aims to collaborate with the need to expand discussions and analyses about the participation of private companies in the public education sector, their implications and representations for educational policies. To defend education, problematizing this scenario is opportune, demarcating the contexts in which they develop before the risks and challenges of different education privatization processes.

Thereby, the aim is at investigating the public-private partnerships established with the State Department of Education of the State of Paraná (SEED-PR in its Portuguese acronym), based on a documentary analysis with the secretariat, seeking to present a mapping of privatization relations and processes consolidated in this scenario. Time frame established was between the years 2019 and 2023, period in which Carlos Massa Ratinho Junior – *Ratinho* 

*Junior*<sup>1</sup>, Governor of the State of Paraná, recognized as a defender of the privatization processes of education. However, it is understood that Paraná is not alone in its trajectory, but is following a national movement of transformation of the State, which began in 1980 and has intensified in recent decades (Fonseca; Ruppel; Lima, 2023).

The research carried out in this study adopts an exploratory documentary approach to map public-private relations in Basic Education in Paraná. Data were collected from the analysis of documents available on the SEED-PR institutional website, specifically in the Partnerships, Agreements and Donations section, covering the period from 2019 to 2023. Emerging categories were identified to analyze indicators of privatization in public education in Paraná using a corpus with 36 documents. Categories included: I- Forms of partnerships established during the period; Il-Main private agents identified; and II- Capital interests in the state's public education.

Therefore, this study aims at discussing the educational panorama in the context of Paraná as a way of elucidating evidence that dimensions of privatization of education have already materialized in educational policies and require reflection and confrontation of their implications in the formation of society.

## Between neoliberal hegemony and resistance in defense of the commonweal

In the context of neoliberal reforms, public-private partnerships (PPPs) have been presented as a solution to the problems of public education. This perspective seeks to reduce the role of the State and strengthen the market under justification of greater efficiency and quality. Within educational field, this logic translates into privatization of services, commercialization of education and devaluation of social function of education.

According to Carvalho and Pires (2021), PPPs started in government by Fernando Henrique Cardoso (1994-2002), with continuity in subsequent governments, advancing regulation based on legislation on the Regulatory Framework for Civil Society Organizations (MROSC in Portuguese acronym) – Law 13.019/14 (Brasil, 2014) and other complementary devices (Carvalho; Pires, 2021). Such devices represent a state reform project, promoting search for efficiency and effectiveness in public management, under the market logic from a neoliberal perspective.

For Hypólito (2008), this managerialist conception of process control provides an opportunity for PPP expansion, in which the partnership is established through privatization.

The support point of management reform is the search for efficiency through reduction and control of public spending, through demand for better quality of public services, through administrative decentralization, granting greater autonomy to agencies and departments. Therefore, is concern with the product to the detriment of the processes (Cabral Neto; Castro, 2011, p. 748).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Carlos Massa Ratinho Junior (Brazilian Social Democracy Party – PSDB in Portuguese acronym), who had two terms (2019/2022 and 2023).

From this perspective, the educational field has become a space for development of PPPs with a privatization bias, whose representations defend commitment to improve education quality, blaming the State for educational crisis. In this way, they find strength to assert themselves in public spheres presenting "political solutions" (Ball, 2020) and strategies for overcoming problems through transferring responsibilities and management of educational processes. Farias (2023, p. 2) asserts:

Dominant classes have used different strategies to impose their societal project on subordinate classes through hegemonic actions produced by Foundations, Institutes and Business Social Organizations, understood, in this research, as Private Apparatuses of Business Hegemony (APHES [in its Portuguese acronym]).

In Fonseca, Ruppel and Lima (2023, p. 14) is noted that education is configured as a flag for national and international conglomerates, which "supported by the current State model, direct policies around education to maintain class ascension". According to Ball (2020), this reveals that education has become a scene of dispute for organizations, entities and foundations, associated with the interests of international capital represented, for instance, by the World Bank, Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD), United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO), and International Monetary Fund (Oliveira, 2015).

Hence, there is no end to the reasons that justify the constant debate and unveiling of such interests in educational relations and partnerships with public sector. From this perspective, organizations such as *Movimento Todos pela Educação*, Lemann Foundation, *Instituto Unibanco* and *Instituto Ayrton Senna*, among others, gain space, and develop projects and initiatives with public networks, applying their business logic to public policies (Oliveira, 2015; Peroni; Oliveira, 2020).

Peroni and Lima (2020, p. 3) highlight that this is achieved in the following logic: "the State pays the teacher, defines partnerships, the purchase of packages and the education content. The private sector now determines teacher training, monitoring, content covered in classes, and management". For Adrião (2018, p.13), the "way in which privatization of educational provision has materialized relates to validity of public subsidy mechanisms for private organizations through contracts, agreements, partnership and cooperation terms". These forms of privatization, "masked" as partnerships, are widely promoted as alternatives to solve education problems, transferring public sector responsibilities in development of curricula, programs and educational policies, as well as teacher education and management process to private institutions (Adrião, 2018; Carvalho, 2017; Carvalho; Pires, 2021; Peroni, 2018; Sakata; Lima, 2020).

Transferring responsibilities from the State to the private sector through mechanisms such as PPPs deepens social inequalities and educational exclusion. Schools in poorer, less resourced areas are further disadvantaged, while elite schools benefit from private investment, creating a dual, elitist education system. In this context, by devaluing the social function of education and focusing on individual results measured by standardized tests, the importance of integral education of citizens and the role played by schools in building a fair and democratic society are ignored. This reductionist

view of education limits the transformative potential of schools and threatens the quality of public education.

According to research by Adrião (2018), There are three possible dimensions of PPPs with paths to privatization of education: a) offering "teaching systems" with acquisition of materials and subsidies to guide pedagogical practice; b) educational offer; and e) education management. As implications of this relationship, significant evidence of transfer of public responsibilities may already be characterized to the initiative which, for educators, is reflected in control, loss of autonomy, supervision of their work and private meritocracy (Adrião, 2018; Carvalho, 2017; Peroni, 2018).

Standardization of teaching with reduction of school autonomy and education professionals compromises the quality of public education and devalues teaching work. Measures that impose excessive control and precarious working conditions lead to demotivation and weaken pedagogical autonomy. Furthermore, commercialization of education through PPPs represents a serious threat to the universal right to quality education. Promoting critical knowledge about PPPs, mobilize academic community and civil society, and fight for public and counter-hegemonic education is essential.

In opposition to this scenario, there is a mobilization of academic community in defense of counter-capitalist teaching processes, aiming at resisting the corporate project desired by private agents when linking themselves to the public sector through different partnerships. As highlighted by Adrião (2018, p. 24):

[...] confronting the processes of privatization of education, which are occurring globally, requires counterpositions at a global level. However, these contrasts materialize in the production of locally empirical evidence and the production of responses to locally implemented policies and programs.

In that regard, a research and analysis path are proposed along with the documents of the SEED-PR, in which agreements and arrangements are established with private agents, seeking to map who they are and how they act in public education in Paraná, problematizing and discussing this relationship.

It is necessary to vehemently defend education as a public and inalienable good, accessible to everyone, without distinctions of social class, income or any other form of discrimination. Education cannot be treated as a commodity; it must be a fundamental right that guarantees the individual and collective development of society. It is essential to strengthen the mechanisms of social control of education and guarantee community participation in the management of educational policies, since the future of education depends on resistance to the commercialization of education and the fight for education as a public good (Freitas, 2014).

### Privatization processes of public Basic Education in Paraná

Carvalho and Pires (2021) claim that the opening for public-private relations occurred strongly in Fernando Henrique Cardoso (1994-2002) government, with continuity in the following ones.

It was strengthened and made greater progress with the Regulatory Framework for Civil Society Organizations – Law 13.019/14 (Brasil, 2014) and other devices. Furthermore, it is supported by the Law of Guidelines and Bases of Education (known as LDB) – Lei 9.394/96 (Brasil, 1996), giving the private sector broad decision-making power over the public education field.

[...] Private agents, taking advantage of this economic niche that has become the opening created by PPPs, sell their products identified as handouts, ongoing teacher training, manager training, management programs, etc. Its purpose goes beyond the financial, it is found in the propagation of bourgeois ideology (Sakata; Lima, 2020, p. 18).

However, this market logic runs counter to democratization of public education, as the "content of education is now dictated by the market, in a clear project for society in a context of class struggle" (Lumertz, 2021, p. 12). Analysis of these aspects in the panorama of public education in Paraná corroborates the study by Peroni, Caetano and Valim (2021, p. 3), indicating that

Partnerships that work in teacher training bring ready-made classes and standardized and replicable projects, which allow control of educational process, in an increasingly greater process of alienation of teaching work. The teacher receives the ready material, abstracting his or her condition as an intellectual who produces knowledge, in a process of control and censorship.

In this scope, Sakata and Lima (2020, p. 20) indicate that there is a "lack of accountability on the part of the public sector and homogenization of curricular content", allowing education to become a business counter, whose objectives are converted into "marketable goods and products".

Considering the meaning attributed here to privatization of public educational management, which is not limited to frequent hiring of private consultants for specific activities nor to business pressure to adhere to their strategic interests. Refers to the presence of corporations and associated segments in definition of educational priorities and implementation of systems or procedures for management of these priorities, with profit interests directly realized, when operating with sale of products or services, or indirectly, when mediating the purchase or contracting inputs and products offered by their "partners" (Adrião, 2018, p. 19).

In this perspective, Peroni and Lima (2020) analyze the relationships between advancement of conservative policies, managerialism and dispute over societal and educational projects in Brazil. The authors argue that managerial logic, inspired by the market private logic, materializes in Brazilian public education under the guise of conservative and neoliberal policies, with the aim at restoring class power and controlling educational content.

Dehumanization of education, according to Peroni and Lima (2020), in turn, transforms knowledge into a product to be consumed, ignoring the human and social dimension of educational process. Education becomes a commodity, accessible only to those who can pay for it, distancing

from its fundamental role in the integral education of the individual and in construction of a more just and egalitarian society.

By privileging market logic, these projects deepen existing social inequalities. Access to quality education is becoming increasingly restricted to those with financial resources, while those who are already in a situation of social disadvantage are further marginalized.

In view of these perceptions, it is relevant to present the main private agents operating in public education in Paraná and their forms of intervention and interrelation with public authorities based on an analysis of SEED-PR documents.

### Types of partnerships established between 2019 and 2023

According to Adrião (2018), one of the main ways in which the actions of private agents in privatization of education have materialized is through mechanisms of public subsidy to private organizations established through contracts, agreements, partnership and cooperation terms.

Within the context of Paraná, this is achieved through relationships expressed in the following graph.

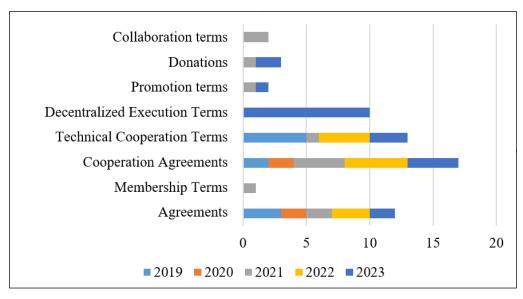


Figure 1: Partnerships established between 2019 and 2023

**Source:** Data retrieved from Secretaria da Educação (Paraná, s.d).

As it may be seen in the summary represented, there is a greater number of cooperation agreements to the detriment of other modalities. These agreements represent partnerships signed between public authorities and public and/or private institutions, governed by Federal Law 14.133, (Brasil, 2021) and State Decree 10.086, (Paraná, 2022), which provides for regulation of tenders, administrative contracts, as well as acquisition, incorporation of assets into the state public heritage and procedures for state intervention in private property. This growing private sector involvement

in education raises concerns about the loss of democratic and inclusive control in the education system.

Then, stood out partnerships with Federal University of Paraná, Associação Cactus, Serviço Nacional de Aprendizagem Industrial (SENAI), Khan Academy, Instituto GRPCOM, Sebrae, Fundação Itaú, among others whose list is presented in the Table 1. Other partnerships were also established on an ongoing basis for the period analyzed, such as Technical Cooperation, referring to the development of joint actions between the State and public and private institutions, as well as Agreements. This modality presented the greatest number in established relationships, with a certain linearity in its quantity throughout the period.

These agreements are defined as an instrument for transfer of financial resources to non-profit organizations, in addition to granting relative decision-making power over processes, aiming at implementation of work programs, projects, activities or events, as well as management of institutions.

Participation of business bourgeoisie in restricted State, in addition to suffrage, is done in other ways, using introduction of business representatives in direct administration of public power, in various jobs or positions (secretariats, directorates, coordination and leadership). In return, they implement the strategic educational business project that includes the "free" provision and/or sale of services and products, made possible by the web of influences formed around and from APHEs (Farias, 2023, p. 5).

In this path, it celebrates an agreement established between public administration entities or between them and private organizations, with the purpose of achieving common objectives, promoting the joint execution of work programs, projects/activities or events of mutual interest, through reciprocal collaboration.

In the observed time frame, agreements are established with Private Business Hegemony Apparatuses (APHEs), such as *Sincroniza Orientação e Assessoria em Educação Ltda.*, Lemann Institute and *Serviço Social do Comércio* (SESC), for example. Carvalho and Pires (2021, p. 20) understand that

[...] the economic-financial motivation that ultimately drives their actions towards the dispute for public funds. To increase their profitability, direct or indirect actions of these groups in the public education field have been transforming it into a commodity of a commercial nature.

It is noted that there are many ways in which space is opened for action of private market agents in Paraná education, with different forms of relationship with public authorities.

The thesis defended by business education reformers, regarding the State responsibility, presents a fundamental inconsistency, because while they defend autonomy of schools and decentralization of educational management, they exempt themselves from responsibility when it

comes to maximizing financial results. Therefore, education becomes merely an instrument to meet market demands, leaving aside the critical and integral education of citizens (Freitas, 2014).

As said by Carvalho (2017, p. 537), this is configured as a "market specialized in advisory and consultancy services, and on the other hand, favors the leading role of entrepreneurs in formulation and implementation of policies, as well as in management of Brazilian public education". Private interests end up taking effect on a large scale to reaffirm the poor quality of Brazilian education, and thus justify their participation in the process of developing educational policies, questioning, before society, the State inefficiency in guaranteeing quality education for everyone, and reaffirming their capitalist ideologies as educational salvationism. Therefore, continuing this analysis, we present agents and business conglomerates present in public education in Paraná.

### Main private agents identified (SEED-PR)

From a study by Peroni, Caetano and Valim (2021, p. 3), it is understood that "the private cannot be treated as an abstraction, but as a process materialized by the action of subjects". Wherefore, in this category, we attempt to name and present who are the private agents present in the education of youth in Paraná.

State Secretariat of Education of Paraná (SEED-PR) has been engaged in establishing PPPs as a strategy to expand and strengthen educational offering in the state. Foundations created by private companies are also partners of SEED-PR, mainly in financing educational projects and programs. The role played by corporate foundations in PPPs may strengthen the logic of philanthropy and mask social inequalities to the detriment of promoting quality public education for everyone.

During the period observed, given the different types of PPPs signed with the state, the presence of several private institutions in agreements and conventions signed was observed. The chart below shows the main private agents linked to education in Paraná.

Instituto Êxito de Sincroniza Orientação e Assessoria em Instituto de Corresponsabilidade Vetor Brasil Empreendedorismo Educação Ltda. pela Educação Khan Academy Brasil Instituto GRPCOM Instituto Sonho Grande Instituto Natura Banco Central do Brasil\* Instituto Lemann Sebrae Instituto Compartilhar **SESC** Fundação Itaú para Educação e Cultura Fundação Assis Gurgacz Klabin S. A. Associação Cactus Associação Instituto lungo Associação Nova Escola **SENAC** Associação Inter-religiosa de Educação Sistema FAEP/SENAR-PR

Chart 1: Private agents in partnership with SEED-PR (2019-2023)

Source: Data retrieved from Secretaria da Educação (Paraná, s.d).

These agents participate in financing and provision of programs, subsidies and materials for public education. It is clear that the context of PPPs in Paraná is similar to other Brazilian realities, because according to Adrião and Domiciano (2018), there are different foundations configured as private non-profit organizations receiving public resources from education financing, and in some

cases, without requirement of bidding and with legal support for this, such as in contracts and terms presented by the platform of SEED-PR.

Consonant Adrião (2018), many of these corporations operating within public systems operate on a global scale, aiming at defining the educational project of public schools, and consequently, the formation of a society. This puts us on alert, given the intentions that permeate their forms of private organization and their corporate projects. For Adrião (2018, p. 22), they are

[...] private actors who, in Brazil, are now competing for the content of educational policies [...]. Among these actors, philocapitalists stand out, private segments that do not hide their interest in profiting directly from their activities in social areas, and for this reason, differ from the traditional "social arms" of business groups, segments that operate on the fringes of "corporate responsibility" with strategic function of enhancing the brand/product of the group to which they are associated.

In other words, there are many interests that permeate these relationships, which when intensified, give rise to bias of privatization of Brazilian public education, and according to Rossi, Lumertz and Pires (2018), requires attention and resistance given the interests of capital and distancing from democratic processes of building a society for everyone. "This is our role as educators: not to let them take from us what we fought so hard to achieve." (Rossi; Lumertz; Pires, 2018, p. 568).

In the name of a "commitment" to the right to education, corporations, foundations and institutes linked to business interests, in an articulated manner, acted in definition of federal government educational policies and gradually transformed the right to education into a business field (Adrião; Domiciano, 2018, p. 12).

Regarding the analysis of presence of private agents and their relations with SEED-PR, public institutions associated with observed relations were disregarded, since they represent the state in its different instances of participation in Basic Education, although *Banco do Brasil* was maintained, given the focus through which it establishes a partnership with secretariat of Education, whose actions are aimed at financial education and entrepreneurship for young students.

### Interests of capital present in public basic education in Paraná

Peroni (2018) clarifies that relationship between public and private sectors in education is related not only to ownership and financing, but to a societal project, increasingly guided by strengthening of capitalism from the perspective of efficiency, effectiveness and productivity. This managerial logic applied to relationships established in public-private partnerships transforms the "right to education into a business field" (Adrião; Domiciano, 2018, p. 12).

Shiroma and Evangelista (2014) also claim that capital has an interest in transforming the meaning of education and school under market logic. This certainly implies the loss of rights already won by the education working class, representing setbacks in education processes. Masked in

speeches of more "quality for education", these private agents impose, through their "help", their principles and ideologies, encouraging and guiding the education processes of public education.

From this perspective, the elements that stand out in description of documents published by SEED-PR and objectives of agreements and conventions signed in established PPPs were analyzed based on the proposed cut. The concepts most present in documents found were summarized in a word cloud presented below.



Figure 2: Word cloud summarizing proposals and objectives of PPPs in Paraná

Source: research data.

In the cloud, the terms with highest incidence in documents found on the SEED-PR page about its agreements and terms are highlighted. The word **Platform** stands out, referring to the offer and development of technical-pedagogical subsidies for students and teachers, representing what the literature says about the "educational solutions" introduced by the third sector as an element of salvation and improvement of educational quality.

In line with García and Adrião (2023), this process consists of increasing use of digital platforms as teaching and learning tools. Platformization may bring several dangers that threaten the quality of education and teacher autonomy. Standardization of teaching imposed by platforms with content that is not always appropriate limits teachers' creativity and ability to adapt to specific needs of their students.

This standardization fragments pedagogical relationship, reducing interaction and dialogue between teacher and student, essential elements for meaningful learning. Furthermore, platformization puts teaching autonomy at risk, as it transfers responsibility for selecting content and teaching methods to companies, leading to incorporation of capital interests in education, prioritizing profitability over teaching quality.

It seems that the presence of platforms as a service provided by private agents to education in Paraná is the main contribution through which privatization of education is established. It is worth

highlighting here, as mentioned by García and Adrião (2023), that excessive use of platforms may result in passivity and alienation by students, reducing development of critical and creative skills.

[...] From this perspective, a false disclosure of private sector, which increasingly appropriates public space regarding the transport of resources and exploitation of services, at the same time as it deepens its market characteristics, aligned with the process of modernization and reform of the State, configured as its minimization in the touch of public policies (Dourado; Bueno, 2001, p. 55).

Peroni (2018) highlights that this partnership may occur in different ways: through transfer of resources for execution of educational programs by private sector, through sale of teaching materials, or with execution of public policies, in which private institution "ends up interfering in the content of public education, both in curriculum and in school management and organization" (Peroni, 2018, p. 214).

This curriculum hegemony based on standardized pedagogical practices may limit cultural diversity and critical education of students. Implications of this perspective applied to education of young Brazilians are noted by Peroni and Lima (2020) as precariousness of teaching work, scrapping of public schools, and a focus on technical and uncritical teaching, based on standardization.

In turn, Adrião (2018) reiterates that adoption of these resources aimed at teaching is configured as a way of monitoring pedagogical work and school activities, which through a school database, intends to be managed by private sector. It is observed that "management of Paraná educational policy is outsourced in accordance with market interests" (Mendes; Horn; Rezende, 2020, p. 21).

Another very evident element in the PPPs signed is training, here understood as the continued education of education professionals and training of Basic Education students. The terms **Entrepreneurship**, **Career** and **Professional** also draw attention, which refer to the large number of partnerships aimed at qualifying young people for the job market, aiming at developing entrepreneurial attitudes through Technical Education.

Entrepreneurship and career issues have been gaining space in school curricula through proposals driven by the third sector, such as, for instance, the High School Reform and the National Common Curricular Base (known as BNCC by its Portuguese acronym), highlighting the need to prepare young people for new forms of organizing productive work. Peroni, Caetano and Valim (2021, p. 5) understand that young people are "one of the main targets proposed by the logic of capital", transformed into cheap labor and having their opportunities for integral development limited.

According to Carvalho (2017, p. 530), this is directly related to the Third Way program, whose objectives are renewal of civil society, developing "an entrepreneurial civic culture, in which social groups produce strategies to solve their own problems, becoming independent of the State". Still in this context, civic-military school project can be mentioned as forms of control and hegemonic imposition by capital. Although they are not mentioned in documents analyzed in the sample, they are part of the neo and ultra-liberal corporate project in force in the State.

[...] the process of militarization of schools, in which civil public institutions now have military personnel through partnerships between the Education Departments and the Security Departments. It is a practice that has a milestone of strengthening in 2019, following the creation of the National Program of Civic-Military Schools by the government of Jair Bolsonaro, foreseeing the participation of military personnel in the educational, didactic-pedagogical and administrative areas in more than 200 educational institutions until the year 2023 (BRASIL, 2021). The initiative inspired actions such as that of the state of Paraná, which in 2020 approved a Law that instituted a local version of the program, entitled "Civic-Military Schools Program in the State of Paraná" (PARANÁ, 2020). In addition to controlling educational content and teaching work, the process of militarizing schools operates from a broader perspective of social control, especially of young people (Peroni; Caetano; Valim, 2021, p. 13).

The discourse surrounding training for employability and professional development, in a way, may mask dissemination of capitalist values of individualism and meritocracy.

[...] the end result is to transform students and teachers into entrepreneurial subjects: the entrepreneur of himself, as he will have to adapt to the world of individualism, competition and accountability, not only with regard to the production process, but in the sense of accountability for his employability condition, to the detriment of loss of recently acquired social and labor rights (Peroni; Caetano; Valim, 2021, p. 17).

In other words, it is understood that it is an articulation for development of an education focused on the interests of capital. In the conception by Adrião (2018), this is another form of privatization, called by the author as curriculum privatization:

Privatization of curriculum does not only refer to traditional processes of purchasing inputs and materials necessary for teaching (books, games, educational toys, etc.). More broadly, it involves transferring to the private sector the definition of what to teach, how to teach and when to teach, in addition to the processes of verifying learning, that is, the definition of curricular designs (Adrião, 2018, p. 20).

For Mendes, Horn and Rezende (2020, p. 11), "the current educational policy, under direction of Ratinho Júnior Government, is marked by this school-business logic". This reveals that PPPs redefine the relations of democratization and social formation, as well as universal social policies, implementing an individual logic of entrepreneurship and the citizen as a client of services (Peroni; Mendes; Caetano, 2021). Therefore, it is at this point we see an increasingly significant participation of private companies in management of the State responsibilities, especially in educational projects for the formation of society (Adrião, 2018).

[...] it is necessary, in a collective and proactive way, to resume and continue fighting for a democratic and inclusive agenda in education field, aiming at confronting the

loss of rights and the conservative ideology of current politics and actions; the different forms of outsourcing and privatization; managerialism and logic of the private sector (Dourado; Oliveira, 2018, p. 42).

For the business groups present in most of PPPs signed with public education in Paraná, values such as entrepreneurship, youth leadership, education, technology and technical training prevail. It uses the discourse of enabling training for employability and professional development, consolidating a capitalist logic of individualism and meritocracy, seeking to introduce and deepen the forms of organization of productive work in educational institutions (Peroni; Mendes; Caetano, 2021). From this perspective, capitalist values are reaffirmed that, "in a class society, where jobs are not for everyone" (Peroni; Caetano; Valim, 2021, p. 8), lead to acceptance of relationships without a critical eye.

The prominent presence of the word **Courses** in Figure 2 may also be characterized as signs of the privatization of education. Adrião (2018) argues that this is the "third way in which Basic Education curricula have been privatized", through sale of curricular inputs, products and services aimed at structuring pedagogical work in which books, digital content, access to platforms and information systems are offered. For Peroni and Lima (2020), in this process, education is transformed into a product to be consumed, ignoring the human and social dimension of educational process.

In this context, it is understood that provision of services marked by the presence of foundations and organizations is based on provision of their "qualified" technical support (Adrião; Domiciano, 2018) as a way of incorporating their market logic into educational policies. Privatization of education may lead to precarious teaching work, with reduced salaries, increased workload and loss of labor rights. This professional devaluation of teachers, marked by low salaries, precarious working conditions and lack of autonomy, compromises the quality of education and prevents development of critical and reflective teaching.

Furthermore, precariousness of teaching work, dismantling of public schools and imposition of technical and uncritical teaching create a worrying panorama, which limits opportunities and prospects for young people from less favored social classes. The emphasis on technical and uncritical teaching, focused on mere reproduction of knowledge and skills for the job market, devalues critical and civic education of students.

This is how private hegemonic apparatuses fulfill their ideological projects in the formation of youth, influencing "their ways of thinking, acting and feeling, so that young people act as protagonists in production and reproduction of market values for construction of this new society" (Peroni; Caetano; Valim, 2021, p. 11). By imposing standardized and decontextualized curricula, the PPP perspective ignores the different sociocultural realities and prevents the construction of an educational project that responds to the needs of Brazilian society, weakening the construction of a fair, egalitarian and democratic society.

Neoliberal policies implemented in recent decades, with a focus on privatization, deregulation and reduction of the role played by the State, contribute to this intensification of educational

inequalities. The commodification of education and the logic of individual competitiveness put at risk the right to quality education for all and deepen disparities between social classes.

Entrepreneurship began to be encouraged by international organizations as a solution to unemployment, especially in Latin America, based on new formulations on State reform based on mercantile logic, managerialism and partnerships with the third sector, redefining the content of policies and the role of public sector in addressing social issues (Peroni; Caetano; Valim, 2021, p. 8).

In Paraná, this dimension is strongly evident, with provision of educational technologies, another word that is quite recurrent in the cloud of terms extracted from objectives of PPPs signed with SEED-PR. Mendes, Horn and Rezende (2020) emphasize that current educational policies in Paraná and the High School Reform demonstrate the consolidation of this scenario, referring to the urgency of maintaining the fight against technical-scientific and mercantile conception of education to the detriment of the "conquest of a society/education beyond capital" (Mendes; Horn; Rezende, 2020, p. 21).

### **Conclusions**

The analysis of this research highlights the growing influence of private capital in public education in Paraná, revealing a capitalist society project that commercializes knowledge and imposes technical curricula. Private capital shapes education according to its interests, harming the integral development of youth and the construction of a fair society. This market logic manifests from teacher training to definition of teaching proposals, deepening social inequalities and limiting opportunities for young people, turning them into cheap labor.

Data points to a complex intersection between public and private sectors in education, with the private one influencing curriculum definition, school management and provision of educational services. Private institutions play a significant role in development and implementation of educational policies, placing private interests above the role of the State. Terms such as "Platform", "Entrepreneurship", "Career", "Professional" and "Courses" highlight the emphasis on partnerships aimed at qualifying students for job market, contradicting democratic processes and teacher autonomy.

It is urgent to defend education as a fundamental right and a public good, combating commercialization of education and its harmful effects. Valuing the role played by teachers is essential for building a quality, humanized and transformative education. Educators must debate and reveal these relationships to find ways to resist neoliberal advances in education, strengthening the role played by teachers, and ensuring critical and comprehensive education for young people.

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**Contribution:** Author 1 – construction and processing of data; analysis and interpretation of data; preparation of the final text; Author 2 – research supervision and final text review; Author 3 – research supervision and final text review.

**Support or financing:** Support from Coordenação de Aperfeiçoamento de Pessoal de Nível Superior – Brazil (CAPES) – Financing Code 001.

Availability of research data: The entire dataset supporting the findings of this study was published in the article itself.

Responsible editors - Associate Editor: Elisângela Alves da Silva Scaff; Editor in chief: Angela Scalabrin Coutinho.

Translator: Elita de Medeiros

#### How to cite this article

SOUZA, Graziela Ferreira de; LIMA, Michelle Fernandes de; SCHNEKENBERG, Marisa. The interests of capital present in public education in Paraná. *Educar em Revista*, Curitiba, v. 41, e94849, 2025. https://doi.org/10.1590/1984-0411.94849

**Received:** 03/11/2024 **Approved:** 07/23/2024

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