

Right to education in the context of privatization in Full-Time High School: partnerships and the redefinition of the State's role¹

Direito à educação no contexto da privatização no Ensino Médio de Tempo Integral: as parcerias e a redefinição do papel do Estado

Derecho a la educación en el contexto de la privatización en la Educación Secundaria de Tiempo Completo: las alianzas y la redefinición del papel del Estado

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Abstract: The present article analyzes privatization processes associated with Full-Time High School (Ensino Médio de Tempo Integral – EMTI), using the core reference of the partnership established between the State of Rio Grande do Sul and the Institute of Co-responsibility for Education (ICE). This study is based on the understanding of the right to education as a disputed field and adopts the dimension of the state's role as its analytical axis. It further aims to promote reflections on privatization in EMTI in Brazil and the role played by the State in this process, highlighting the partnership signed between Rio Grande do Sul and ICE. The advancement of privatization is discussed, especially in its mixed form, highlighting the growing influence of private actors. The case of Rio Grande do Sul shows that the expansion of EMTI is linked to the incorporation of managerial models, reconfiguring educational policy and straining school autonomy and the public nature of the right to education.

Keywords: Right to Education; Full-time High School; Privatization; Brazilian high school.

Resumo: O artigo analisa processos de privatização associados ao Ensino Médio de Tempo Integral (EMTI), tomando como referência o caso da parceria estabelecida entre o Estado do Rio Grande do Sul e o Instituto de Corresponsabilidade pela Educação (ICE). Parte da compreensão do direito à educação como um campo em disputa e adota como eixo analítico a dimensão do papel estatal. Tem como objetivo promover reflexões sobre a privatização no Ensino Médio de Tempo Integral no Brasil e o papel desempenhado pelo Estado nesse processo, destacando o caso da parceria firmada entre o Rio Grande do Sul e o Instituto de Corresponsabilidade pela Educação. Discute-se o avanço da privatização, especialmente em sua forma mista, assinalando a crescente influência de atores privados. O caso do Rio Grande do Sul evidencia que a expansão do EMTI se articula à incorporação de modelos gerencialistas, reconfigurando a política educacional e tensionando a autonomia escolar e o caráter público do direito à educação.

Palavras-chave: Direito à Educação; Ensino Médio de Tempo Integral; Privatização; Ensino Médio brasileiro.

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Resumen: El artículo analiza los procesos de privatización asociados a la Educación Secundaria de Tiempo Completo (EMTI), tomando como referencia el caso de la alianza establecida entre el Estado de Río Grande del Sur y el Instituto de Corresponsabilidad por la Educación (ICE). Parte de la comprensión del derecho a la educación como un campo en disputa y adopta, como eje analítico, la dimensión del rol estatal. Tiene como objetivo promover reflexiones sobre la privatización en la Educación Secundaria de Tiempo Completo en Brasil y el papel desempeñado por el Estado en este proceso, destacando el caso de la alianza firmada entre Río Grande del Sur y el Instituto de Corresponsabilidad por la Educación. Se discute el avance de la privatización, especialmente en su forma mixta, evidenciando la creciente influencia de actores privados. El caso de Río Grande del Sur demuestra que la expansión de la EMTI se articula con la incorporación de modelos gerenciales, reconfigurando la política educativa y tensionando la autonomía escolar y el carácter público del derecho a la educación.

Palabras clave: Derecho a la Educación; Educación Secundaria de Tiempo Completo; Privatización; Educación secundaria em Brazil.

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Introduction

Education is a fundamental human right, recognized both in the Brazilian legal system and internationally. In the Brazilian context, in addition to being included in the list of rights guaranteed by the 1988 Federal Constitution, it so alrepresents, in the words of Gentili (2009, p. 1072), "the basis, the beginning, and, at the same time, the aspiration and endpoint of all struggles for social justice and equality, of all struggles against the humiliation and contempt to which millions of human beings are subjected for having been born poor." Internationally, this right was also enshrined in the 1948 Universal Declaration of Human Rights. However, although its legal recognition is widely consolidated, the ways of understanding, guaranteeing, and implementing human rights have been the subject of intense political and ideological disputes. In recent years, there has been a strengthening of different educational projects that challenge the meanings, scope and conditions necessary to achieve the right to education.

This multiplicity of disputes demonstrates that the right to education is not a unequivocal or consensual category. As Saforcada (2021) argues, policies are formulated in its name, discourses are mobilized, and educational projects are defended, which are often contradictory to each other and which calls attention to the different concepts of education, the State, and social justice that guide its formulation in public policies. From this perspective, the author proposes that the analysis of the right to education must consider different

dimensions, including the legal-normative dimension, the coverage and efficiency of educational systems, the conditions of teaching work, management processes, and the relationship between the State and non-state actors. The present article, considering the objectives of this study, gives priority to the analysis of two interrelated dimensions of the right to education: 1) the role of the State in the formulation and implementation of educational policies and 2) the management processes that organize the functioning of public schools. From this perspective, we seek to understand how the increased participation of private organizations in the policy of Full-Time Secondary Education (Ensino Médio de Tempo Integral – EMTI) reconfigures both the forms of state action and the mechanisms of school management, impacting the organization of pedagogical work, the participation of school subjects, and the construction of educational projects.

In this regard, we observe that the growing participation of private actors in educational policies has significantly expanded the mechanisms through which these agents influence the formulation, implementation, and evaluation of State actions. As Silva, Fávero, and Silveira (2023, p. 4) point out, “regarding the relations between public and private sectors in the formulation of curricular policies in Brazil, what we see is that, over the last 20 years, this relationship has been solidifying, with an ever-increasing presence of institutes and foundations linked to the business field.” This movement does not imply the withdrawal of the State from education, nor the formal transfer of its constitutional responsibility in order to guarantee the right to education. What is observed is a reconfiguration of the forms of governance of educational policies, marked by the growing role of private organizations in the production of diagnoses, curricular frameworks, management models, guiding materials, and implementation strategies. Consequently, decisions related to the meanings of public education, forms of school management, and curricular priorities are increasingly influenced by actors external to public education systems, straining state autonomy, democratic management, and the very meanings attributed to the right to education.

Thus, this work aims to promote reflections on the privatization processes associated with EMTI, using the reference of the partnership established between the state of Rio Grande do Sul and the Institute of Co-responsibility for Education (ICE). To this end, in addition to bibliographic research, a documentary analysis of regulations and guiding documents produced by the State Department of Education of Rio Grande do Sul and the ICE was conducted. The analysis focused on identifying the concepts of management, curriculum, participation, and school organization present in the documents, seeking to understand how such elements express the processes of privatization and redefinition of the State's role.

Legalizing the involvement of the private sector in Brazilian public education

The redefinition of the role of the State has caused oscillations in the interpretation of the right to education. A clear example is the educational reforms of the 1990s, marked by processes of decentralization and privatization that represented a setback in the concept of the right to education as a social right (Feldfeber, 2021). However, as Acosta (2021) points out, educational reforms, which promote substantial changes in educational systems, are sometimes traversed by the emergence of new actors.

Thus, we have long been faced with a situation marked by the advance of privatization which, far from being a neutral or merely administrative phenomenon, contributes to the deepening of historical inequalities in Latin America and the Caribbean. As Gentili (2007) argues, this process intensifies the segmentation and institutional differentiation of educational systems, making them more exclusionary and socially discriminatory. In the same vein, Feldfeber and Gluz (2020) point out that contemporary educational policies reveal a permanent tension between democratizing initiatives and privatizing and commodifying trends that have been expanding for decades. Thus, privatization not only reorganizes the educational offer, but also reconfigures the very public meaning of education, shifting it from a social right to a market logic.

When discussing privatization in the educational field, it is necessary to understand that it materializes in different ways. To illustrate, we have a classification presented by Peroni and Oliveira (2019), who state that privatization can occur: a) through supply, when the private sector takes on the role of executor of public policies, for example, in cases where places are offered in private daycare centers paid for by the State; b) through management, which takes place when the institution remains public, but a social organization of a private nature exerts influence in defining the educational agenda, and may even have marketed products to the public sector; or c) through a mixed approach, in which private institutions act directly in management, curriculum, and teacher training in partnership with systems and schools.

In the current context, the private sector, at the expense of the public sector, has gained value, which has led to the emergence of an environment conducive to the consolidation of public-private relations, which normally fall under the third form of privatization, the mixed one. This is accompanied by a reduction in the role of the State, which begins to act mainly as a regulator and supervisor. Concomitantly, private institutions and proponents of neoliberal ideas begin to play a preponderant role in the formulation, management, and execution of public policies (Pires, 2013).

The intervention of the business class in Brazilian public education is not new. This participation has made use of the discourse formulated by social movements in favor of free and quality public education. However, it is important to note that, until the beginning of the 1990s, this activity was relatively limited. As highlighted by Krawczyk (2018, p. 63), this period “was a time of strong pressure – from international organizations and the federal government – and persuasive mechanisms, for Brazilian businesses to assume part of the responsibility for the social wellbeing of the population in order to reduce the responsibility of the State”.

From this period onwards, several legal provisions emerged that simplified the process for private organizations to receive public funds, while gradually expanding the power of the business class. We have observed the emergence of several normative instruments that support the transfer of actions aimed at gaining social rights for the private sector, exemplified by the Volunteer Law (Law No. 9,608/1998), the Law on Social Organizations (Organizações Sociais – OS) (Law No. 9,637/1998), and the Law on Civil Society Organizations of Public Interest (Law No. 9,790/1999) (Bezerra, 2019; Pires; Peroni, 2019). We include the Federal Constitution in this context, as Constitutional Amendment No. 19, of June 1998, by modifying the principles and norms of public administration, authorized various forms of partnerships, allowing for the allocation of public resources to the private sector (Carvalho, 2017, p. 533), reflecting the neoliberal orientation adopted by the government of President Fernando Henrique Cardoso. This orientation is characterized by the reduction of the public sector, decreased social spending, emphasis on administrative rationality, pursuit of results, and the creation of the figure of the citizen-client (Pires, 2013).

Another legal milestone that deserves to be highlighted was the publication of Law No. 11,079/2004, which established general rules for bidding and contracting public-private partnerships (PPPs) within the scope of the Federal Government, the states, the Federal District, and the municipalities. Although the relationships established between educational systems and private institutions do not always legally qualify as PPPs in the strict sense, this legislation constitutes an important milestone in the process of expanding the participation of private agents in the formulation and execution of public policies. In this context, it contributed to consolidating an institutional environment favorable to the rapprochement between the State and private initiatives, expanding the possibilities for action by Third Sector organizations in different social areas, including public education (Sandri; Silva, 2019; Carvalho, 2019).

In this context, the capacity for influence of business organizations and private foundations on the formulation, implementation, and evaluation of educational policies has expanded. This action appears through the dissemination of managerial models of school administration, the expansion of large-scale evaluation systems, the production of standardized educational materials and technologies, the definition of curricular frameworks, and the incorporation of accountability and meritocracy mechanisms. Such initiatives are usually justified by the discourse of modernizing public management, administrative efficiency, and improvements in the quality of education. As Bernardi, Uczak, and Rossi (2018) observe, this process contributes to the naturalization of relations between the State and the private sector in the educational field. In this direction, Sandri and Silva (2019, p. 35) identify the constitution of a veritable “specialized industry” in Public-Private Partnerships in Education (PPPEs), highlighting the increasing professionalization and institutionalization of these arrangements. More than representing complementary forms of action, these processes reveal the strengthening of networks of influence that begin to compete in the definition of educational problems, the strategies considered legitimate to address them, and the very meanings attributed to the right to education, producing impacts on the management of public schools, pedagogical autonomy, and democratic mechanisms of participation and decision-making.

Public-private relations and full-time secondary education

The expansion of public-private relations in Brazilian education has found a privileged space for its consolidation in EMTI. By articulating curricular changes, new management models, and the growing participation of private organizations in the implementation of educational policies, this modality has become a relevant field for observing contemporary processes of the privatization of public education.

In the case of High School, the presence of the private sector became more evident after the High School reform instituted by Provisional Measure No. 746/2016, later converted into Law No. 13,415/2017 and partially revoked by Law No. 14,945/2024. According to Silva, Chrispino, and Melo (2025, p. 2), “the aforementioned reform causes considerable changes in the forms of offer and pedagogical and curricular organization of the last stage of Basic Education”. The authors indicate that the implementation of EMTI has intensified disputes surrounding high school policy and expanded the scope of action for foundations, institutes, and organizations linked to the business sector.

Among these organizations, ICE stands out, a private association created in the early 2000s which established relationships with various Brazilian states and municipalities (Silveira; Souza; Vianna; Almeida, 2022). Through the School of Choice curriculum model, ICE began to disseminate a specific proposal for EMTI in different Brazilian public education networks. By incorporating curricular guidelines, pedagogical principles, and school management mechanisms, this proposal became an important vector for the circulation of educational concepts produced outside public education systems. From this perspective, its analysis allows us to understand how broader privatization processes affect the formulation of educational policies, school management, and the realization of the right to education.

ICE presents itself as an entity that seeks to share responsibility for public education with the State, establishing relationships with State and Municipal Departments of Education. The institute's main proposal is the development of a full-time school curriculum model called the School of Choice, which, according to ICE itself, is "developed as a new school for Brazilian youth" (ICE, 20--). The School of Choice model constitutes the main educational proposal developed by ICE. Its operationalization occurs through a set of disciplines and planning, monitoring, and evaluation instruments that guide school management and its implementation.

The implementation of this model follows a structured roadmap in a three-year cycle, articulating efforts between the public sector, other members of the private sector, and the institute itself. The process generally begins with institutional recognition, by governments, of the supposed positive results of the program. From there, ICE is invited to implement it, and private partners are mobilized to fully finance its operation. The cycle includes the signing of agreements between the parties involved (government, ICE, investors, and supporters), the development of legal frameworks, the carrying out of diagnoses of the education network infrastructure, the calculation of the Initial Student-Quality Cost (Custo Aluno-Qualidade Inicial – CAQi), and intense communication with the school community. Pilot schools are selected, teachers undergo face-to-face and distance training processes, and continuous monitoring and follow-up are carried out. In the end, ICE "passes the baton" to the Department of Education, which assumes the continuity of the program and may expand it to other school units (ICE, 20--).

In several studies (Santos, 2019; Souza, 2021; Garcia, 2021; Silva, 2023; Souza, 2024; Stamm, 2024), it has been observed that ICE plays an active role in the execution of educational policies and in the school routine, but it is not restricted to carrying out an auxiliary or consultative activity. Thus, in different Brazilian states (e.g., Paraíba, Maranhão,

Rio de Janeiro, Mato Grosso do Sul, Tocantins, and Amapá), school management, under the influence of ICE, began to adopt typically business-oriented managerial characteristics in its daily practices. As a result, school management is transformed into managerial management, shaped by business principles.

The management approach implemented by ICE is based on Educational Management Technology (EMT), presented as a management model that supports the operationalization of the School of Choice model. According to an institutional document from ICE, EMT constitutes the basis responsible for transforming "pedagogical intention" into "action," producing "verifiable and sustainable results to be delivered to society" (ICE, 2015, p. 7). From this perspective, management and pedagogy are conceived as inseparable dimensions, with management being responsible for ensuring the achievement of the objectives previously defined for the school.

To this end, EMT mobilizes a set of management instruments and procedures aimed at the planning, monitoring, and ongoing evaluation of school activities. The document establishes that management must ensure that "mission, objectives, goals, indicators, strategies, and actions are aligned and clearly defined" for all members of the school in such a way that the results can be "measured, evaluated, and recognized" (ICE, 2015, p. 9). Among the main mechanisms foreseen are the School Action Plan, Action Programs, monitoring reports, the construction of performance indicators, the definition of institutional goals, and the use of the PDCA (Plan, Do, Check, Act) cycle, defined as a continuous improvement instrument designed to plan, execute, evaluate, and permanently adjust school processes (ICE, 2015, p. 17-18).

What can therefore be observed is the incorporation of instruments traditionally linked to the universe of business administration. The TGE material itself states that its purpose is to provide the manager with "a set of management tools" capable of directing the school in a structured and results-oriented manner (ICE, 2015, p. 9). Similarly, the document argues that the model seeks to create a public school based on a "management model absolutely committed to results" (ICE, 2015, p. 12), while also advocating for the construction of an institutional culture of "continuous improvement" aimed at achieving increasing levels of school efficiency (ICE, 2015, p. 18).

In this context, it is crucial to highlight that the incorporation of these instruments is not a neutral or merely technical process, but rather part of a broader reconfiguration of power relations and decision-making processes within the school. As Afonso (2019, p. 11) points out, this movement "necessarily implies a profound retreat from emancipation, which will certainly induce forms of creative resistance aimed at

restoring the balance between the pillar of regulation and the pillar of emancipation.” The centrality attributed to strategic planning, systematic monitoring of indicators, results-based evaluation, and institutional accountability demonstrates the adoption of a managerial rationale that shifts the focus of school management towards achieving pre-defined performance levels.

Among the central elements of this rationality, what can be called participatory managerialism stands out. Unlike democratic management, in which participation is linked to the expansion of collective autonomy, shared deliberation, and the construction of the aims of educational action, participatory managerialism seeks to involve the different school subjects in the execution, monitoring, and improvement of previously established objectives. In this vein, participation is valued not necessarily as a political principle of democratization of the school, but as a strategy to mobilize and commit actors to institutional goals and agreed-upon results.

This distinction becomes particularly relevant when considering that the management model proposed by TGE is not an isolated or exclusive phenomenon of the EMTI linked to ICE. On the contrary, it is part of a broader movement of diffusion of managerial rationalities in public administration and, specifically, in education. When analyzing the effects of managerial reform on public schools, Silva and Alves (2012) observed that the dissemination of these principles tends to produce the perception of increased participation and democratization of management, but simultaneously reinforces mechanisms of control, accountability, and monitoring of school work. According to the authors, managerial reform tends to transfer the image of greater participation and democracy in the school to the teaching staff, but in practice, it produces an intensification of individual accountability, control, and the work of teachers and managers (Silva; Alves, 2012, p. 678). From this perspective, TGE can be understood less as a singular experience and more as a specific expression of broader trends that have been reconfiguring the management of public education in recent decades.

For this reason, the association between participatory management and democracy needs to be problematized. This approach can be understood as a way of re-signifying participation, insofar as the autonomy of school subjects remains limited, especially when the project "supposedly combats the centralism of programs and methods in pedagogical matters" (Laval, 2004, p. 264). Although the model attributes centrality to the involvement of different school subjects in the planning, execution, and monitoring of institutional actions, such participation occurs predominantly within frameworks previously defined by goals, indicators, strategies, and expected results. Silva and Alves (2012) demonstrate that, in contexts guided

by this rationality, participatory practices frequently operate in consonance with processes of the centralization of strategic decisions and the strengthening of control mechanisms. As they state, the managerial logic strengthens the centralization of power and technical authority as a basis for decision-making and school organization (Silva; Alves, 2012). This diagnosis helps to understand why the participation promoted by participatory management differs substantively from democratic management. While the former presupposes the expansion of collective autonomy and the deliberative capacity of school subjects regarding the aims of educational action, participatory management tends to mobilize participation as a strategy for engagement, co-responsibility, and adherence to previously established objectives.

Literature analyzing the relationship between privatization and educational management has shown that the incorporation of managerial tools is not an isolated phenomenon, but rather one of the main strategies through which private actors influence the organization of public schools. It is within this broader context that the TGE/ICE experience is situated. In this direction, Caetano (2016) expresses concern regarding the insertion of managerial elements into the school environment, highlighting the risk of compromising the school's identity as a space for human development, as well as the possibility of a loss of pedagogical autonomy for teachers in the classroom. In this context, even though the State maintains formal responsibility for access to education, it is clear that both management as well as the school curriculum are increasingly influenced by institutions guided by a market logic. These institutions, in turn, justify their actions based on the argument that they contribute to improvements in the quality of public education (Peroni; Oliveira, 2019, p. 40). As a result of this process, schools tend to incorporate references and practices that are typical of the business sector, seeking greater efficiency and effectiveness. In this sense, Caetano (2016, p. 135) states that managerial management "is a key component of most versions of privatization, threatening to alter both the forms and the content of work in schools, directly affecting school culture and the relationship established among teachers, students, and the community."

Within the scope of what is proposed by ICE, one can see that the adoption of a managerial approach, anchored in performativity and participatory managerialism, is one of its structuring pillars. However, this configuration points to significant limitations to the effectiveness of democratic management. Although the managerialism adopted by ICE does not, at first, appear explicitly authoritarian, participation operates more as a mechanism to legitimize the proposed model than as an effective expansion of autonomy, while reinforcing practices geared towards efficiency, the achievement of results, and competitiveness.

The presence of ICE in the public state network of Rio Grande do Sul

In Rio Grande do Sul, the expansion of EMTI initially occurred within the context of the High School reform and the incentive policy established from 2017 onwards, which was formally materialized through Decree No. 53,913, of February 7, 2018, which instituted the EMTI Education Program. This program sought to "plan, develop, and execute a set of innovative actions related to the curriculum and school management, through the implementation of public policies for full-time high school education in the State" (Rio Grande do Sul, 2018). In this initial stage, the expansion was directly linked to the New High School curriculum and adherence to the Program to Promote the Implementation of Full-Time Schools, beginning with the selection of 12 schools for the implementation of the policy.

Subsequently, the expansion of full-time education in the state became linked to a new national agenda, associated with the Full-Time School Program, established by Law No. 14,640/2023. It is in this context that Ordinance No. 556/2025 is inserted, which establishes the Full-Time Comprehensive Education Policy of the State Education Network of Rio Grande do Sul, configuring itself as the main mechanism for inducing the expansion and adherence of the state network to the national policy.

Throughout this process, we also observed a significant increase in the number of participating schools, going from the initial 12 units in 2018 to more than 400 full-time high schools in the state in 2026. It is in this context that, in 2023, the State established a relationship with ICE, incorporating the School of Choice model into the state network.

Our study found that in Rio Grande do Sul, as occurred in other states, the institute also began to play a key role in the state public network. In 2024, the creation of the "Guide to Full-Time High School Education in Rio Grande do Sul" made this process explicit. Although the document presented the State as the central agent of the policy, its analysis revealed the structuring presence of concepts, methodologies, and instruments originating from the model developed by ICE. This movement indicates that it is not merely an auxiliary adoption, but also a more profound reconfiguration of the ways to organize school management and curriculum at the state level.

It is in this context that we identified the presence of an endogenous privatization process. The concept was formulated by Stephen Ball, inspired by previous discussions by Levin, and subsequently appropriated and developed by several Brazilian researchers. Among them, Peroni (2018, p. 216) defines endogenous privatization as a process that "involves the importation of ideas, techniques, and practices from the private sector in

order to make the public sector more market-oriented and more like companies.” In the case of Rio Grande do Sul, this is expressed in the centrality attributed to managerial logic, visible, for example, in the adoption of the aforementioned TGE, which “appears in strategic and operational instruments, such as the Action Plan, Action Programs, Agendas, and PDCA” (Seduc/RS, 2024, p. 52). These instruments not only organize management, but they also guide pedagogical practices based on parameters of efficiency, control, and results.

Furthermore, we observed that the pedagogical model presented in the guide itself is anchored in references produced by ICE, which highlights the increased influence of private actors, not only in management, but also in defining the content and purposes of education. In this sense, privatization directly impacts the right to education, redefining its contours based on logics that prioritize performativity and standardization to the detriment of diversity and collective construction.

The incorporation of the School of Choice model in state education networks was not limited to the adoption of a new curricular design for EMTI; it also involved concrete changes in the organization of school management, curriculum, and pedagogical routines. Recent studies that analyzed the implementation of the model in different states identified the introduction of specific planning, monitoring, and evaluation instruments, such as Action Plans, individual Action Programs, permanent monitoring cycles, goal setting, and systematic monitoring of performance indicators. In the case of Maranhão, for example, Souza's research (2021) demonstrated that TGE began to guide a significant part of the institutional organization of schools, incorporating procedures inspired by business management models and expanding the centrality of results and performativity in conducting school work.

In Rio Grande do Sul, studies developed by our research group have shown similar changes. In addition to the adoption of curricular frameworks produced outside the state network, the incorporation of new forms of school management organization and student participation was observed, especially through the mechanisms provided for by the School of Choice model. Studies on student leadership clubs and the initial implementation of the policy identified shifts in the understanding of youth participation, progressively associated with socio-emotional skills, entrepreneurship, and self-accountability, to the detriment of practices more linked to collective deliberation and the political participation of students. At the same time, managers and teachers reported concerns related to the reduction of pedagogical autonomy, the standardization of school practices, and the growing influence of external frameworks on the organization of

public schools, elements that demonstrate substantial changes in relation to the traditional forms of management and curricular construction present in the state network before the adoption of the model (Silveira, 2022; Quoos; Silveira; Souza, 2024).

Thus, the case of Rio Grande do Sul indicates that the implementation of EMTI is not limited to extending school hours; it is also linked to a broader process of reconfiguring educational policy, in which the State begins to reproduce models conceived by private agents. We observe that the involvement of the School of Choice model in defining policy guidelines shows that this relationship goes beyond technical support, assuming a structuring character with direct implications for the organization of schools, for the actions of school subjects, and for the realization of the right to education in its public and democratic dimension. This action reveals a process of standardization of school practices that disregards local particularities.

Conclusions

Regarding the public-private relationships established within the scope of EMTI, the study showed that the actions of private organizations go beyond merely advisory or technical support functions, impacting central dimensions of educational policy. The analysis of the case of ICE demonstrates that its participation involves not only the dissemination of a specific curricular proposal, but also the circulation of pedagogical frameworks, management tools, and monitoring mechanisms that guide the implementation of the policy in different public education networks. In this sense, the presence of these organizations contributes to reconfiguring the processes of formulation and implementation of educational policies, expanding the influence of private actors on the definition of priorities, strategies, and management models of public education.

The results also indicate that the incorporation of the School of Choice model represents not only an organizational or curricular change, but it also introduces new forms of regulation of school life. The adoption of such instruments as goals, indicators, continuous monitoring, Action Programs, Action Plans, and permanent evaluation cycles demonstrates the incorporation of a managerial rationality that begins to guide the management of EMTIs. Although such mechanisms are frequently justified by the discourse of efficiency, innovation, and improvement of educational quality, their implementation produces tensions regarding pedagogical autonomy, democratic management, and the ability of schools to collectively build their educational projects.

From this perspective, we can understand the performance of ICE as an expression of contemporary processes of privatization of public education. It is, above all, a form of privatization that does not imply the direct transfer of educational provision to private agents, but rather the increasing incorporation, by public education systems, of curricular frameworks, management technologies, evaluation mechanisms, and forms of regulation produced outside the state sphere, marked by managerial logic. In this light, the analysis approaches discussions on endogenous privatization by highlighting the introduction of logics, instruments, and rationalities originating from the private sector within the public school. The spread of the School of Choice model and the TGE exemplifies this movement by promoting the incorporation of management mechanisms based on results, continuous monitoring, accountability, and performativity, which begin to influence the organization of educational policy and daily school life.

The present study's analysis allows us to understand that such privatization processes are not an isolated phenomenon or restricted to the case under investigation. On the contrary, they are part of a broader context of strengthening corporate influence networks in Brazilian educational policies, specifically after the reform of secondary education. In this scenario, more than a replacement of the State, what is observed is a redefinition of the forms of educational governance, marked by the increased participation of private actors in processes historically conducted by public education systems.

From the perspective of the right to education, the effects of this process go beyond issues related to access or school retention. As Saforcada (2021) argues, the realization of this right also involves guaranteeing democratic conditions to define the meanings of education, the participation of school subjects in decision-making processes, and the construction of pedagogical projects committed to the needs of territories and communities. In this sense, the growing influence of private organizations on management models, curricular frameworks, and school monitoring instruments tends to impact the pedagogical autonomy of teachers, the democratic management of educational institutions, the plurality of pedagogical concepts, and the effective participation of the school community. Thus, even though the provision of education remains under the formal responsibility of the State, the increasing transfer of references, management technologies, and curricular guidelines to private organizations strains the core dimensions of the right to education, especially those related to institutional autonomy, democratic management, and the collective construction of educational projects.

Finally, this study's findings indicate a need to further the debate on the limits, implications, and effects of public-private relations in Brazilian public education. More than discussing the presence or absence of private actors in educational policies, it is a matter of problematizing which concepts of education, school management, and human formation come to guide these policies, as well as their impacts on guaranteeing the right to education. In this regard, our study reaffirms the importance of educational policies built democratically, transparent in their decision-making processes, and committed to the autonomy of schools, the appreciation of education professionals, and the effective participation of school communities in defining the direction of public education.

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