The Public-Private Relationship in the Offer of Early Childhood Education in Porto Alegre

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ABSTRACT – The Public-Private Relationship in the Offer of Early Childhood Education in Porto Alegre. The current paper presents a research about the partnership between the public sector and civil society institutions for the provision of early childhood programs in the city of Porto Alegre/Rio Grande do Sul state, during the years of 2017 and 2019. The theoretical and methodological approach was based on the materialization of the State, in a process of correlation between the forces that are historically built for individuals that require public policies. Due to this research, we have confirmed the growth of the private sector in the offer and execution of the city policies for early childhood education, with implication for the democratization of access and child support. Thus, the right to early childhood education is not entirely tangible, reinforcing the disparities in a class society.  
Keywords: State. Public/Private Partnership. Child Education.

The Public-Private Relationship in the Offer of Early Childhood Education...

Introduction

The present paper aims to instigate the debate about the provision of partner child education, which was legally transformed into partnership in 2017, as one of the means to materialize the privatization of the public assets, a historical reality, but very intensified in this particular period of capitalism. We will open the discussion through a specific example, a situation that has occurred in the city of Porto Alegre, in order to make the debate concrete and provide theoretical and analytical elements on the subject.

The theoretical conception considered here dialogues with authors such as Montaño (2002), Wood (2003), Vieira (2004) and Peroni (2018), and analyzes the reconfiguration of the State and social policies, as a materialization of social rights.

The history of community early childhood education in Porto Alegre is studied based on the movement of reality present in the constructions of social subjects and communities, in the organization and provision of unmet demands. The partnership between the State and the community’s social movement is full of contradictions, and the researches that support this paper have the challenge of analyzing these contradictions.

The text is anchored on researches about the materialization of the privatization of the public scope in basic education, with implications for the democratization of education. We start from the theoretical assumption built throughout this research that the relationship between the public and the private in education is not just about ownership, but also about disputed societal projects, since both in the State and in civil society there are social forces that, for the important role of education in this process, advocate for projects with interests linked to the market and/or neoconservatism, with profound implications for the construction of a democratic society. Here we understand Democracy as the “[...] materialization of rights through social policies that are collectively constructed in the self-criticism of social practice” (Peroni, 2013b).

According to Rikowski (2017), there are two basic forms of privatization: the first one is the classic or direct privatization that involves the sale of public assets directly to some combination of companies, groups of investors or individual investors; the second one does not involve ownership but control, “companies that take control over education” (p. 400), as opposed to its direct privatization. In this sense and based on the research we conducted on the subject (Peroni; Adrião, 2007; Adrião; Peroni, 2011; Peroni, 2013b; 2015; 2018), we have discovered that the privatization processes of public assets can occur either via execution or the direction of policies. In the first case, the private sector acts directly in the provision of education, and in the second one the private sector directs the public policies or schools, but the schools remain public property. Thus, the public-private relationship is conceived not only in terms of ownership, but also in disputed societal projects from
a class-oriented perspective. In this paper, we present privatization via execution, which occurs when the government transfers its responsibilities as an executor of rights to civil society institutions, whether for profit or not, to provide early childhood education.

The boundaries between public and private have changed in the current context of capitalism’s crisis, and its strategies to overcome it, neoliberalism, globalization, productive restructuring, third way, and neoconservatism, redefine the role of the State, especially with regard to social policies. Neoliberalism asserts that the public power has spent too much on social policies, creating a crisis. Thus, the State should no longer be the executor of universal social policies, transferring the enforcement and direction to the private sector. The conception of rights is lost, which is replaced by services, through focused and no longer universal actions (Abdala; Puello-Socarrás, 2019). This is the case of the partnership for the provision of Early Childhood Education in Porto Alegre discussed in this text.

This paper contains, in addition to the introduction, three sections and final considerations. In the Introduction, the theoretical-methodological framework and the concepts that supported this research are presented. In the first section, we address the partnership of Early Childhood Education in Porto Alegre, since its beginnings, with enrollment data, in a historical series, as well as the analyses that also dialogue with the legal and normative apparatus related to the subject. The second section covers Early Childhood Education and analyzes the National Education Plan, the Municipal Education Plan of Porto Alegre and the Fundeb Law3 (2007). The third section contains our assessment in relation to the partnerships and the role of the State. In the final considerations, we conclude with a synthesis of the analysis resulting from the research and our position.

**Partnerships between the Public and the Private Sectors in Early Childhood Education in Porto Alegre**

Community early childhood education with private-public partnerships, in Porto Alegre, is materialized in the partnership between the municipal government, through the Municipal Department of Education (SMED), and non-profit civil society organizations. It began in 1990, through an agreement that lasted until 2016. As of 2017, the relationship with civil society began to be regulated by the new Regulatory Framework for Partnerships.

Until 2016, the agreement was established through the Participatory Budgeting (PB), that is, a decision forum with people’s participation in preparatory meetings, regional and thematic assemblies, and municipal assembly, where investment priorities for the municipality used to be defined.

On July 31, 2014, Federal Law No. 13,019 (Brasil, 2014b) was enacted, which is a new Regulatory Framework that established general rules
for partnerships between the public administration and civil society. The agreements, since then, have been restricted “between federal entities or legal entities associated to them” (Brasil, 2014b, np) and private institutions that work to complement the Brazilian Health System (SUS). The Regulatory Framework for municipalities took effect from January 2017. In the municipality of Porto Alegre, Decree No. 19,775, of June 27, 2017, established rules for the application of Federal Law No. 13.019. With these resolutions, the partnerships between the Public Administration and private non-profit entities were then signed as per the Collaboration Agreement or the Development Agreement, and no longer as per the Partnership Agreement.

In Porto Alegre, the process of transferring responsibility for providing early childhood education to the private sector, as a public policy, is evident in the figures presented in the tables below. Tables 1 and 2 show the expansion of the offer of vacancies through the partner institutions from 1997 to 2012. And, in 2012, there was a significant increase in the number of partner enrollments to the detriment of those offered in public institutions. By 2012, according to data obtained from the SMED Newsletter, from the Educational Research and Information Sector (PIE), there were 209 establishments with agreements.

### Table 1 – Enrollment in Early Childhood Education in Porto Alegre (1993 to 2002)

<table>
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</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Municipalities</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>5,852</td>
<td>5,558</td>
<td>4,987</td>
<td>4,849</td>
<td>5,065</td>
<td>5,304</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Community Daycare</td>
<td>2,000</td>
<td>3,186</td>
<td>4,113</td>
<td>5,125</td>
<td>5,865</td>
<td>6,521</td>
<td>7,156</td>
<td>7,675</td>
<td>8,117</td>
<td>8,350</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>2,000</td>
<td>3,186</td>
<td>4,113</td>
<td>5,125</td>
<td>11,717</td>
<td>12,079</td>
<td>12,143</td>
<td>12,524</td>
<td>13,182</td>
<td>13,654</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: MEC/INEP – School Census 2004 to 2012. EPED/ASSEPLA/SMED 2000/2010. SMED Newsletter. Notes: (1) (2) With the implementation of the Education Cycles, the second year of Kindergarten in Elementary Schools were incorporated in the 1st year of the 1st Cycle of Elementary Education.

### Table 2 – Enrollment in Early Childhood Education in Porto Alegre (2003 to 2012)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
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<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Municipalities</td>
<td>5,415</td>
<td>5,558</td>
<td>5,699</td>
<td>5,399</td>
<td>5,262</td>
<td>5,080</td>
<td>5,254</td>
<td>5,525</td>
<td>5,557</td>
<td>5,801</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Community Daycare</td>
<td>8,399</td>
<td>8,915</td>
<td>9,277</td>
<td>8,961</td>
<td>9,255</td>
<td>11,162</td>
<td>12,884</td>
<td>13,302</td>
<td>13,574</td>
<td>15,066</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>13,814</td>
<td>14,473</td>
<td>14,976</td>
<td>14,360</td>
<td>14,517</td>
<td>16,242</td>
<td>18,138</td>
<td>18,827</td>
<td>19,131</td>
<td>20,897</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In the Municipal System, in 2012, the number of enrollments in early childhood education was 5,801, and the community daycare centers with partnership agreements offered 15,096, that is, 160% more enrollments. However, despite the growth of the public system, enrollments offered by partnership agreements were significantly more numerous.

Considering that the Collaboration Agreement was signed in Porto Alegre in 2017, it is essential to provide data for the year 2016, when the institutions still operated under the Partnership Agreement. In 2017, the Municipal Department of Education signed a Collaboration Agreement with 226 institutions. Charts 1 and 2, below, depict this reality.

**Chart 1 – Early Childhood Education Enrollments in Porto Alegre (2016 to 2017)**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>2016**</th>
<th>2017**</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Level</td>
<td>Public Pre-school</td>
<td>Partner Pre-school</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Enrollment</td>
<td>2,482</td>
<td>6,474</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total enrollment by Network</td>
<td>6,354</td>
<td>12,028</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total enrollments</td>
<td>18,382</td>
<td>20,193</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Prepared by the authors based on the Interministerial Ordinances: *n. 06, of July 21, 2016, and **n. 08, of November 29, 2017.

**Chart 2 – Early Childhood Education Enrollments in Porto Alegre (2018 to 2019)**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>2018**</th>
<th>2019**</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Level</td>
<td>Public Pre-school</td>
<td>Partner Pre-school</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Enrollment</td>
<td>2,223</td>
<td>7,073</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total enrollment by Network</td>
<td>7,991</td>
<td>14,674</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total enrollments</td>
<td>22,665</td>
<td>23,539</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Prepared by the authors based on the Interministerial Ordinances: *n. 06 of Wednesday, December 26, 2018 and **n. 07, of Friday, December 28, 2018.

The provision of early childhood education in the municipality of Porto Alegre is regulated by the Municipal Council of Education (CME), and for these institutions to be part of public funding for education, they must be accredited and authorized by the CME. However, item IV, § 2, of article 8 of Law No. 11.494, June 20, 2007 (Brasil, 2007), which creates the Fund for the Maintenance and Development of Basic Education and the Valorization of Education Professionals (Fundeb), states that, for these institutions to have their enrollment counted in the respective
fund, they must “mandatorily and cumulatively [...] IV - meet the minimum quality standards defined by the educational system regulatory body, and their pedagogical projects must also have been approved” (Brasil, 2007). The same Law enshrines, in §§ 1 and 3 of the aforementioned article, that,

 [...] for the purpose of distributing the resources provided for in item II of the caput of art. 60 of the ADCT, in relation to non-profit community, confessional or philanthropic institutions in partnership with the government, the calculation of effective enrollments: I - in early childhood education offered in daycare centers for children up to 3 (three) years old; [and] § 3 The calculation of enrollment in non-profit, community, confessional or philanthropic preschools, in partnership with the government and for children aged 4 (four) to 5 (five) years old, will be accepted until December 31, 2016, subject to the conditions provided for in items I to V of § 2, made effective according to the most updated school census conducted by the Brazilian Institute of Educational Studies and Research Anísio Teixeira – INEP (Brasil, 2007).

The National Council of Education, when regulating early childhood education in Brazil, does so through its guidelines, which must be observed by all institutions that offer early childhood education. In this sense, it is worth highlighting the CNE/CEB Report No. 20, of November 11, 2009 (Brasil, 2009), still in force, which reviews the national guidelines for early childhood education and emphasizes the pedagogical issues of this stage of basic education. Within the broad content provided in this document, the sociopolitical function of this stage of education stands out, which is based on the curriculum and pedagogical proposal of the institutions that care for and educate young children. Emphasis must also be made to the educational responsibility of this work, whose purpose is to create situations in which children can develop and acquire basic knowledge that takes into account, “The paradigm of the integral development of the child to be necessarily shared with the family [...]” (Brasil, 2009).

The same document makes an important consideration on the right of families and children to early childhood education, a right that “[...] is part of the project of a democratic society [...]”, established by the Brazilian Constitution of 1988 (Brasil, 1988), and the alarming inequality in the access and quality of education offered to children, resulting “[...] in violations of their constitutional rights”, as they are characterized as spaces that, “[...] instead of promoting equity, they cause and reinforce socioeconomic, ethnic-racial and regional inequalities” (Brasil, 2009).

Susin (2009) states that inequalities in the quality of early childhood education are also embodied by the naturalization of what is possible, represented by inadequate conditions in the provision of this stage of basic education in community spaces on the outskirts of the city, un-
derlying the insufficiency of places. The dominant discourse in 2009, which still remains, is the impossibility for governments to take on this public policy. This situation of lack of resources and the pressing need for care and education for children lead low-income families to accept spaces, even if inadequate, for their children, and does not encourage the community to demand better quality from the public authorities.

Other highlights presented by Susin (2009) concern the process of precariousness of professionals' salaries, both due to the devaluation of teachers' payment and to the differentiated amount paid to workers in the same institution. Furthermore, democratic management in the researched spaces is perceived as fragile, which point to the absence of community participation, which legitimizes an authoritarian style of management. Decisions, therefore, are centered on the institution, and community participation is restricted to festive moments or meetings, where the parents behave only as spectators, reinforcing the authority of the director, who is increasingly autonomous in deciding on issues that will directly affect the lives of dozens of children and families. All of these practices impact the pedagogical and democratic process, which are essential for achieving quality education, while having implications for the democratization of education.

Early Childhood Education in the National Plan and in the Municipal Education Plan

The National Education Plan (PNE - Plano Nacional de Educação), Federal Law No. 13005, of June 25, 2014 (Brazil, 2014a), establishes, for the entire national territory, the guidelines, and goals for education in the subsequent ten years, that is, until 2024, and the other federation entities must prepare their own plans in line with their determinations. It is noteworthy that, in goal 1, the PNE establishes “Universalize by 2016 preschool education for children from 4 (four) to 5 (five) years of age and expand the provision of early childhood education in daycare centers in order to assist at least 50% (fifty percent) of children up to 3 (three) years old by the end of the term of this PNE” (PNE 2014-2024).

Based on the national plan (PNE), the municipality of Porto Alegre prepared the Municipal Education Plan (Plano de Educação Municipal - PME) approved by Law No. 11,858, of June 25, 2015. In the PME goals and strategies, with regard to early childhood education, it is stated that: Goal 1 - Meet 100% (one hundred percent) of enrollment in preschool by 2016, and gradually expand enrollment in daycare to achieve the percentage of 50% (fifty percent) by 2024.

Some of the strategies established to achieve these goals do not refer only to the percentages, but to the ways in which these percentages will be achieved. According to Strategy 1.1, it will be necessary to "define actions to meet 100% (one hundred percent) of enrollments in the age group from 4 (four) to 6 (six) years old", where the enrollments should be “created and maintained preferably by the municipal and
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partner network, full time, and in the conception of full-time education in accordance with the current legislation [...]”. Strategy 1.3 establishes: “[...] expand the state public network, prioritizing early childhood education within its physical and personnel structure and, when necessary, to adequate this infrastructure”. Strategy 1.7 proposes that the expansion of preschool not lose sight of the quality of care “[...] and the specificities of quality school for children, expanding the state public network [...]”, as well as in strategy 1.10 “[...] ensure access to and attendance in early childhood education in the municipal system, full time and in a full-time conception of education, for all children from 0 (zero) to 6 (six) years old, considering the cutoff date (date in which children turn 6 years old - in Brazil the cutoff date is March 31st), as established in the National Curriculum Guidelines for Early Childhood Education [...]” (Porto Alegre, 2015, n.p.).

If we consider the numbers reported in Interministerial Ordinance No. 10, of December 28, 2017 (Brasil, 2017), regarding enrollment in early childhood education in Porto Alegre, for the purposes of Fundeb (Fund for the Maintenance and Development of Basic Education and the Valorization of Professionals in Education), the municipality did not meet goal 1 and the strategies of this goal contained in the PME/2015, as we can see that, according to the study conducted by Susin (2009) mentioned above, the partnership process presents problems with regard to quality. Furthermore, the growth in enrollments in partner early childhood education, according to Chart 3, is numerically much higher than the public enrollments in 2018.

**Chart 3 – Child Education Enrollments - FUNDEB/2018**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Public Institutions</th>
<th>Civil Society Institutions</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Full-time Daycare</td>
<td>Part-time Daycare</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Full-time</td>
<td>2,187</td>
<td>36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>2,223</td>
<td>5,578</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total public offering</td>
<td>7,801</td>
<td>Total civil society offering</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


According to the Annual Monitoring Report of the Municipal Education Plan/2018, for the year 2017, the table with the percentage of the population aged 4 to 5 years old who attend school/daycare shows the percentage of 73.24%, while the percentage of the population aged 0 to 3 years attending school/daycare is 31.40% (Porto Alegre, 2018, p. 8). Percentages that allow us to assume goal 1 of the State and Municipal Education Plans was not met.

It is necessary to consider that studies carried out by the National Campaign for the Right to Education have already defined the initial Student Quality Cost (CAQi), as a reference, predicting advancement to
a higher level, the Quality Student Cost (CAQ), which, in terms of values is well above that proposed by Fundeb. These references proposed by the Campaign are substantiated in Goal 20 and Strategies 20.6 and 20.8 of the National Education Plan 2014/2024.

20.6) within 2 (two) years of the PNE in force, the initial Student-Quality Cost - CAQi will be implemented, referenced in the series of minimum standards established in the educational legislation and whose financing will be calculated based on the respective inputs indispensable to the process of teaching-learning, and will be progressively adjusted until the full implementation of the Cost Student Quality - CAQ;

20.8) the CAQ will be defined within 3 (three) years and will be continuously adjusted based on a methodology formulated by the Ministry of Education - MEC and followed up by the National Education Forum - FNE, by the National Education Council - CNE, and by the Education Committees of the House of Representatives and of the Education, Culture and Sports Committees of the Brazilian Senate (PNE 2014).

It is also noteworthy that these same references were present in a document of the Brazilian Council of Education, Report CNE/CEB No. 8, of May 5, 2010 (Brazil, 2010), which “Establishes rules for the application of item IX of article 4 of the Law No. 9,394, of December 20, 1996, Law of Directives and Bases for National Education (LDB), which deals with the minimum standards regarding teaching quality for public Basic Education” (Brasil, 2010). The report was not ratified and, in 2019, the Basic Education Chamber re-examined the matter, taking a stand against the definition of a financial value and pricing for the initial Quality Student Cost (CAQi) set forth in the aforementioned Report. This decision, added to the content of Constitutional Amendment (EC) No. 95, of December 15, 2016 (Brasil, 2016), which creates a limit for public expenditure, including education, health and social assistance, for 20 years, is worrisome, as it postpones the horizon that had been glimpsed for the qualification of education in Brazil to very far away.

We emphasize that Fundeb, a policy for funding basic education in effect until 2020, requires new regulations for the funding of education, which occurred with Law No. 14,113, of December 25, 2020.

The specificity of early childhood education, both with regard to the reduced teacher/student ratio, as well as the physical space – which needs to be at the same time challenging, welcoming, stimulating and safe - and the pedagogical material – which needs to be diversified, adequate and in sufficient numbers, among other things – requires a cost/student/year much higher than that defined by Fundeb. According to Evaldo Vieira (2004, p. 19) “[...] it is essential to substantiate, proclaim and protect social rights”. The question that arises is: does transferring the management of early childhood education to civil society mean ensuring rights?
According to data from the Court of Auditors of the State of Rio Grande do Sul, released in 2018, in a document called *Radiography of Early Childhood Education* (Chart 4), which is based on the 2010 educational census, the deficit in enrollments for education in Porto Alegre, to meet Goal 1 of the PNE 2014/2024, requires the creation of 13,221 vacancies in early childhood education, with 6,757 enrollments for children aged 0-3 years and 6,464 enrollments for children aged 4-5.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Children’s age</th>
<th>Attendance rate</th>
<th>Need for new PNE (National Education Plan) vacancies</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>0 to 3 years old</td>
<td>24,977</td>
<td>6,757</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 to 5 years old</td>
<td>24,997</td>
<td>6,464</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0 to 5 years old</td>
<td>49,974</td>
<td>13,221</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Prepared by the authors based on data from the Rio Grande do Sul Court of Auditors Report, 2018 (uses data from the 2010 IBGE Demographic Census and the 2017 INEP School Census).

The need to exceed this limit, represented by the restricted access of children to early childhood education in Porto Alegre, signals the search for alternatives to ensure the rights of children and families in quality public spaces, which are unlikely to be initiated by associations of residents, considering the position of directors and representative entities of community daycare centers. The naturalization of civil society’s involvement in the provision of public policies depoliticizes social conflicts, as well as neutralizes the contradictions that allow to advance the fight for the State’s role in the right to education.

**Chart 4 – Early Childhood Education in RS/Municipality of Porto Alegre/2018**

**Partnerships as a Materialization of Redefinitions in the Role of the State**

In the municipality of Porto Alegre, community institutions, as well as private ones, have a partner relationship with the government and, according to the figures presented in Chart 2 above, this is characterized as the municipality’s preferential policy in the provision of early childhood education. Even though, the city is not able to achieve the goals set out in the 2015/2024 PME.

According to a text by the Municipal Secretary of Education of Porto Alegre, Adriano Naves de Brito (2018) “Public Management of the Municipal Ecosystem of Education: the Case of Porto Alegre”, education as a human right has a double meaning, “the liability”, the right of those who must receive it, and “the asset” of those who must offer it, and “It does not matter the institutional nature of the school, whether state public, non-state public or private” (Brito, 2018, p. 113).

By affirming the mandatory provision of education by the State, the Secretary emphasizes that “when the legal framework is respected”,...
everyone has the right to this offer. In addition, the Secretary defines the Educational System as “a diverse and rich educational ecosystem [...]” in which:

There are public institutions, but not state ones, in public real estate, and with community management; community institutions funded exclusively with public resources; philanthropic institutions that receive public benefits for public and private provision of education; public-state institutions with access to private resources for its management; institutions whose students count to the public entity for funding purposes, but whose management is conducted by civil society, and so on, in a mixture that is virtuous provided that the activities of the population of any of these ecosystems are coordinated from the perspective of public interest and, therefore, by the State that represents it (Brito, 2018, p. 114).

Also, according to the Municipal Secretary of Education, in an article published in Folha de São Paulo newspaper, on July 13, 2020, “Right now it is not the time for a new Fundeb”, the proposal for a new fund for basic education “It should not be voted this year”. And he lists reasons to support his assertion. “The first, and most obvious, is the pandemic” and the resulting confusing scenario, in which the fund regulation law would be voted (Brito, 2020, n. p.). The second would be the necessary tax and administrative reform and the unpredictable impacts on human and tax resources post-pandemic, and the third reason would be “[...] of a more conceptual nature” and refers to how pertinent the constitutionalization of the redistribution of resources is “to state public entities that are part of a much more plural system of education provision” (Brito, 2020, n. p).

For the Secretary, “[...] the original defect of the proposal under discussion is that the current law prohibits the use of resources from the fund for regular elementary and high school students who do go to state public schools”. And, for these reasons, he proposes the extension of the current law “for another four years, [...] without the limitations on the use of its resources to fund non-state public basic education students” (Brito, 2020, n. p. p.).

The debate about the responsibility for meeting the right to education, diluted between the state public and the non-state public institutions, that is, between the state and the civil society, can be analyzed as part of the second-generation reforms of neoliberalism proposed by the Washington Consensus, which focuses on state reform and its implications, with emphasis on the role of Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs) and the role of entrepreneurship. “The so-called second-generation reforms, which drive their interests around political and institutional reforms in the state dominated by the subject of state reform and its implications” (Puello-Socarrás, 2008, p. 103).

For the author, neoliberalism was strengthened with the 2008 crisis: “The eye for an eye neoliberalism, which is far from coming to an
end, is reedited”. This restructuring is based on the business state: “The business government would limit its role to public regulation, preventing the direct provision of social services, maintaining optimal levels of competence and preventing monopoly situations and interferences in the market at the most” (Puello-Socarrás, 2008, p. 113).

Puello-Socarrás (2008, p.108) presents the non-state public as the trend of second-generation reforms:

This promotes a domain that separates ‘the public’ from ‘the state’ into a kind of ‘public-private space’, as it has been called a ‘non-state public space’ which is open and fundamentally commercial (as the same ontological status of the market: a domain that is not exclusively private but strictly public-private, that is, a public locus where the goods can be exchanged for later privatization).

The author warns of the consequences of the changes:

This non-state public form of institutional intervention, by assumption, has great implications. But surely the most architectonic is its pretension of deepening the univocity of the mercantile logic in the terrain of the state apparatus and in the political relations that structure the totality of the ‘social’ scope today (Puello-Socarrás, 2008, p. 108).

In this process, the author points out some social consequences such as the focus on individualism, since the entrepreneur is always the individual, the blurring of capital labor relations, labor flexibility, including those that happen via solidarity economy and work cooperatives.

It has been called the attention to the suspicious ‘re-invocation’ and the public protagonism that have gained different forms of Volunteering work and NGO activities and Solidarity Economy, known as the ‘third sector’, in which different socio-economic actions have been recoded, but that are aimed for disassembling the state field and all it means, above all, in the matter of constitutional provisions and social security, specifically in view of prevailing labor regulations that pose obstacles and ‘burdens’ for the current capitalist accumulation of neoliberalism, favoring Capital (Puello-Socarrás, 2008, p. 97).

The partnership policy materializes this proposal and has been gaining a place in society, changing the pattern of state intervention in the provision of early childhood education, whose discussions come to legitimize the State’s departure from this policy, with justifications based on economic challenges.

It is also observed that the printed policy for the agreement/partnership complies with the provisions of multilateral organizations in their political guidelines for education, in line with the corollary of the International Conference on Education for All held in 1990. These
guidelines, which are still in force, are accompanied by drastic innovations for public education, as can be seen in the World Bank Report (2011), Early Child Education: Making Programs Work for Brazil’s Most Important Generation, which conducts a study on quality of education in Brazil and presents actions for the country to comply with the universalization of preschool. This report provides an analysis of the provision of early childhood education, not based on the right to education, as enshrined in the Brazilian Constitution of October 5, 1988 (Brasil, 1988), but as a solution to social problems, and uses the economic growth as a parameter considering this offer as an investment. The document encourages the public-private partnership as an effective way to provide the service, positively exemplifying the sourcing of early childhood education through the partnership, as pointed out in “Chapter 1: Child Education: Priority for the coming years [...]” in the “[...] steps for Early Childhood Development in Brazil”:

Many other countries were able to effectively incorporate private sector support to deliver services for Early Child Development on a large scale. This may include direct supply, as in Brazil through daycare centers and preschools contracted (agreements) by the government. It can also include partnerships to increase public funding – which may be essential given the massive expansion required in Brazil (World Bank, 2011, p. 14).

It should be emphasized that the government resorted to agreements for early childhood education in the context of transition from daycare centers, social assistance, to education, due to the lack of a specific fund for early childhood education, which encouraged partnerships between the public and private sectors for offer, with the naturalization of what was possible (Peroni, 2013a). After two decades, the situation of exceptionality no longer persists and what arises at the moment is the need to offer free, secular and quality public education for all children from zero to six years of age - an offer that must occur within the quality parameters that respect the child and their rights.

We understand that the problems faced by the partnership agreement policy, which today gives rise to the partnership of early childhood education, are consequences of the assumption that the State should no longer be the direct executor of social policies, thus transferring its responsibilities to civil society. As mentioned at the beginning of this paper, this conception is based on the diagnosis that the State is to blame for the current crisis of a decrease in the rate of profits on the capital, as it provokes a fiscal crisis by meeting social demands. For social policies, the strategy is the public-private partnership, both to rationalize resources and because it is advocated that this will promote the democratization of the public space through the strengthening of the non-state public sector, which is privately owned, as in community daycare centers.

With this conception of democracy, society is called upon to carry out tasks, which until then were the responsibility of the state, in the
name of feelings such as philanthropy or mutual help. We understand that, in this scenario, the content of democracy is emptied, as there is a separation between the economic and the political scope, in addition to missing out on the idea of social rights materialized in public policies. The emptying of the content of democracy and the separation between the economic and the political are evident. The discussion of social policies as the materialization of social rights was lost (Peroni, 2013c).

One of the great struggles in the democratization period in Brazil was the expansion of the right to education, but, like other social policies, the realization of the right to education, when materialized in policies, was largely modified with the redefinitions of the role of the State. Ellen Wood (2003, p. 193) highlights that the concept of democracy in a society under the hegemony of capitalism cannot be seen in the abstract, because, after all: "It is capitalism that makes possible a form of democracy in which formal equality of political rights has a minimal effect on inequalities or relations of domination and exploitation in other spheres."

We understand that the democratic process takes place as part of the correlation of political forces. Class interests permeate civil society and the State, therefore, it is urgent to contextualize the debate, where the State withdraws from social policies and transfers them to society, which results in loss of rights. The partnership agreement policy materializes this by removing from the public power their responsibility to offer services to young children, delegating to society to care for their needs. The reconfiguration of the State, which is increasingly lean towards social investments and generous towards capital, portrays its submission to the economic game, which justifies and drives political decisions towards more profitable investments, with the State representing the interests of capital.

Capital increasingly turns to the State to exercise the control functions necessary to guarantee expansion and accumulation, the driving forces of the capitalist economy, contradicting the neoliberal theory of the minimal State. What we are witnessing is a State that maximizes the capital and minimizes social policies (Peroni, 2003). Exercising the demands placed on it, and in order not to burden the capital beyond the limit allowed, the State meets social demands with focused and low-cost policies. It is from this reality that the State's minimization of social policies is questioned.

The State guarantees for capital expansion, to the detriment of the right to work and social rights, increase the difficulty in acquiring new rights, as well as in qualifying those already achieved. This scenario is present in capitalist societies and deepens in periods of crisis, given the crisis that began in September 2008. With the political scope isolated from its material base, the resources allocated to financial capital, to the detriment of social policies, become inexorable and reinforce the culture of possible rights and possible quality, in the case of social policies (Peroni, 2016; Ribeiro, 2002).
According to Susin (2005), public early childhood education in Brazil, throughout its history, has been guided by a specific policy aimed at low-income families, whose quality initially (1970s) is dictated by international organizations and adopted by the Brazilian State through non-formal and low-cost actions. This caused the early childhood education to have, since its inception, a history of lack of investment, as well as improvised and inadequate spaces. Therefore, we have observed the practice of assistance actions that do not ensure any rights to young children, as they do not have institutional educational content. And the citizens of good will end up taking on the care for these children, in the person of volunteer educators or poorly paid educators, a reality that is still present in this environment today.

In the post-dictatorship period, among the great struggles for democratization of society, was the expansion of the right to education and the State's duty to enforce it. In the case of early childhood education, moving it from assistance to education was a great advance, as the result of social struggles, as well as its incorporation into Basic Education along with elementary and secondary education. The struggle for democracy was invariably combined with the struggle for social rights materialized in public policies. Today, the State opts for a partnership to meet public policies, a strategy that does not guarantee rights and weakens the demands of the population in the most fragile points: small children, the elderly and the disabled.

If, on the one hand, after many struggles, we guarantee the right to education as part of social rights, for the democratization of society, and the democratic management of education, on the other hand, the world was already experiencing a crisis of capitalism and its overcoming strategies – neoliberalism, globalization, productive restructuring and the Third Way – which redefine the role of the State and reduce its role as an executor of social policies. We live, therefore, in the tension between having conquered rights, including in legislation, and the difficulty in implementing them.

Evaldo Vieira (2004) initiates this discussion when he analyzes that, in our country, social policies have gone through three political phases in the last century: "[...] the first period of political control (which corresponds to the dictatorship of Getúlio Vargas and nationalist populism); the second period of control policy (from the military dictatorship in 1964 to the end of the constituent period in 1988)" and the third period, called by the author "social policy without social rights", began in 1988 and is in full force. Social policy, which, on the one hand, had never received so much support from a constitution in Brazil, as occurred in the 1988 Charter, on the other, saw these rights practiced in a precarious way and not always regulated (when they required regulation). The current situation, however, reveals that the few rights guaranteed in the 1988 Charter are being eliminated or metamorphosed in order to guarantee the suppression of the State's responsibilities. We agree with Vieira that, at this moment "[...] considered natural and independent, the laws of economics unfortunately convey the impression
that societies are extinguished, with only the markets and the groups linked to them being able to survive [...] “ (Vieira, 1998, p. 68).

**Final Considerations**

As stated in this paper, in a class society, the concentration of wealth contributes to the intensification of inequalities, with no objective conditions for promoting equal rights, nor even equal conditions of access to the goods produced by work. The quality of public policies is also marked by this reality, and more favorable economic conditions set the quality of the services offered, which is no different in early childhood education as analyzed here.

Early childhood education in Brazil is part of this social context, which since its inception has lived with a history of lack of investment, inappropriate spaces and the practice of assistance actions that do not ensure the right to young children.

The provision of early childhood education, with quality assured as a right for every young child, will be given through free public education. Otherwise, only those who can afford it will have access to this right, as it already happens in Brazil, turning education into a commodity.

The social movements, at the national level, at the time of the Constituent Assembly, fought for early childhood education as a right for children from zero to six years of age, which was materialized in Art. 208, item IV, of the Federal Constitution of 1988 (Brasil, 1988). With the calculation of enrollments in community daycare centers in Fundeb (2007), the idea of philanthropy in the provision of early childhood education, mainly in daycare, became naturalized again. In Porto Alegre, community early childhood education was the alternative that the municipal government used in 1993, when the local social movement demanded education for young children. The response to these claims, which should be transitory at the time, became the municipality’s early childhood education policy, as evidenced by enrollment data. In 2019, we have a community network with 15,564 enrollments, and an infinitely smaller public network, with 7,975 enrollments.

The right to education, which is provided for in the Brazilian Constitution, is associated with a quality standard for all. Therefore, the right to access and quality cannot be read separately. The need to exceed the limits represented by the restricted access of children to early childhood education in public schools, in Porto Alegre, signals the search for alternatives to guarantee the rights of children and families to quality social policies.

The hazy understanding of what is public or private, based on the concept of state public and non-state public, which in the 1990s guided, and continues to justify the State’s distancing from the assurance of social rights, cannot serve as a pretext for the continuity and expansion of the partnership policy. All the limits shown in the advance of the provi-
sion of public early childhood education are part of a reality of diminishing the role of the State as a guarantor of quality education. This is an urgent debate, which must take place in the context of a State that transfers part of its social policies to civil society. We emphasize that educational policy is a constitutive part of the redefinitions of the role of the State and materializes the correlation of forces that occur in society.

It is in this context of educational policy definition that the importance of quality education is placed, starting with early childhood education. And attention is drawn to the strengthening of all mechanisms for participation in the quest to overcome the exclusionary practices in this class society.

Although Porto Alegre has expanded the vacancies in the provision of early childhood education, this has occurred, as shown in this text, via a partnership between the public and the private sectors, with the accountability of civil society, which ends up taking responsibility, with broad distinctions, for the provision of services according to the social situation of each community. So, we have, as stated by to Susin (2009), different qualities in the offer according to the social situation of each community. Therefore, what we call the naturalization of “what is possible” occurs, with the minimization of rights and strong implications for the democratization of education.

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Notes


3 The period analyzed was based on Law No. 11,494, of June 20, 2007, revoked by Law No. 14.113, of December 25, 2021.

4 Civil society movements in favor of political and social rights aimed at childhood education in the 1980s, such as: Movement for the Brazilian Constitution, Women’s Movement, National Forum in Defense of Public Education; Forum in Defense of Children and Adolescents by Grupo Ação Vida and the Council of Women; The Fight for Nursery Movement (1979), from São Paulo and the second São Paulo Women’s Congress, in the 1980s, among others.

5 Capitalism crisis is understood here as a decrease in the profit rate.
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The Public-Private Relationship in the Offer of Early Childhood Education...


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