

EDUCAÇÃO INFANTIL NO BRASIL E A RELEVÂNCIA DO SETOR PRIVADO NOS INDICATIVOS DO BANCO MUNDIAL

Márcia COSSETIN¹

Dhyovana GUERRA²

Ireni Marilene Zago FIGUEIREDO³

Resumo

O objetivo desse artigo é apreender os indicativos do Banco Mundial relativos à participação do setor privado na oferta da Educação Infantil no Brasil, particularmente para as crianças de 0 a 3 anos de idade. Trata-se de uma pesquisa documental e bibliográfica, de abordagem qualitativa. O principal documento de análise é o do Banco Mundial intitulado “Educação Infantil: programas para a geração mais importante do Brasil”, de 2011. Concluímos que as parcerias público-privadas, uma das formas de privatização, visam ao atendimento da demanda por vagas na Educação Infantil, particularmente para as crianças de 0 a 3 anos de idade. Esse processo tem se consolidado a partir de convênios com as Organizações Sociais, dentre elas, as Instituições Filantrópicas, as ONGs e os Institutos, com repasse de recursos públicos pelo Estado.

Palavras-chave: Banco Mundial. Política educacional brasileira. Privatização da educação.

¹ PhD in Education from the State University of Maringá - UEM (2017), Master's degree in Education (2012), Specialist in the History of Brazilian Education (2008), and Bachelor's degree in Pedagogy (2005) from the State University of the West of Paraná - UNIOESTE. Adjunct Professor at the Latin American Institute of Art, Culture, and History - ILAACH at the Federal University of Latin American Integration – UNILA. ORCID: <https://orcid.org/0000-0002-5005-7756>. E-mail: marcia.cossetin@unila.edu.br.

² Doctoral student in Education at the State University of the West of Paraná - UNIOESTE, Cascavel Campus. Holds a Bachelor's degree in Pedagogy (2018) and a Master's degree in Education (2020) from the same institution. Specialist in Educational Law (2020) from the State University of the West of Paraná – UNIOESTE. ORCID: <https://orcid.org/0000-0002-1026-606X>. E-mail: dhyovanaguerra@hotmail.com.
E-mail:

³ Graduated in Pedagogy and specialized in Foundations of Education from the State University of Western Paraná (UNIOESTE) - Cascavel Campus, PR. Master's and Doctorate in Education from the State University of Campinas (UNICAMP), SP. Faculty member of the Pedagogy Program and the Master's and Doctorate in Education at UNIOESTE - Cascavel Campus, PR. ORCID: <https://orcid.org/0000-0001-8875-7099>. E-mail: irenifigueiredo@hotmail.com.

EARLY CHILDHOOD EDUCATION IN BRAZIL AND THE RELEVANCE OF THE PRIVATE SECTOR IN THE WORLD BANK INDICATIVES

Márcia COSSETIN
Dhyovana GUERRA
Ireni Marilene Zago FIGUEIREDO

Abstract

The aim of this article is to apprehend World Bank's indicators on the participation of the private sector in provision of Early Childhood Education in Brazil, particularly for children from 0 to 3 years old. This is a documentary and bibliographic research, with a qualitative approach. The main analysis document is that of the World Bank entitled "Early Childhood Education: Programs for the Most Important Generation of Brazil", 2011. We conclude that public-private partnerships, one of the forms of privatization, aim to meet the demand for vacancies in Early Childhood Education, particularly for children from 0 to 3 years old. This process has been consolidated through agreements with social organizations, including philanthropic institutions, NGOs and Institutes, with the transfer of public resources throughout the State.

Keywords: World bank. Brazilian education policy. Privatization of education.

EDUCACIÓN INFANTIL EN BRASIL Y LA PERTINENCIA DEL SECTOR PRIVADO EM LOS INDICATIVOS DEL BANCO MUNDIAL

Márcia COSSETIN
Dhyovana GUERRA
Ireni Marilene Zago FIGUEIREDO

Resumen

El objetivo de este artículo es aprehender indicadores del Banco Mundial relacionados a la participación del sector privado en la provisión de Educación Infantil en Brasil, particularmente para niños de 0 hasta 3 años de edad. Se trata de una investigación documental y bibliográfica, de abordaje cualitativo. El principal documento de análisis es lo del Banco Mundial titulado "Educação Infantil: programas para a geração mais importante do Brasil", 2011. Concluimos que las asociaciones público-privadas, una de las maneras de privatización, objetivan al atendimento de la demanda de vacantes en la Educación Infantil, en particular para niños de 0 a 3 años. Tal proceso se ha consolidado mediante acuerdos con Organizaciones Sociales, incluidas las Instituciones Filantrópicas, ONGs y los Institutos, con la transferencia de recursos públicos por parte del Estado.

Palabras clave: Banco mundial. Política educativa brasileña. Privatización de la educación.

Introduction

Contemporarily, the debate surrounding public educational policies is a significant issue for understanding national education, especially when addressing the indicators of privatization in the provision of public education through public-private partnerships. Adrião (2018) states that privatization is used to designate processes of 'commodification, public-private partnership, commoditization,' as this term more accurately encompasses what is occurring in the field of education and

[...] has subordinated, both directly and indirectly, compulsory education to the interests of corporations or organizations associated with them. [...] It is believed that the use of expressions such as public-private partnership, although adopted in other works, serves more to obscure the processes under analysis than to clarify them. This is evident from the fact that it does not represent a collaborative relationship between sectors that would operate horizontally, as the term 'partnership' may initially suggest (ADRIÃO, 2018, p. 9).

The privatization of Brazilian education has been marking its intentions regarding the organization of educational policies. In this process, the World Bank (WB), as a supranational entity, is one of the organizations that disseminates indicators of privatization, as systematized, for example, in the document "Early Childhood Education: Programs for the Most Important Generation in Brazil," published in 2011⁴.

O documento, organizado por David K. Evans e Katrina Kosec, estudiosos e pesquisadores de políticas de desenvolvimento da primeira infância do BM, foi traduzido e editado pela Fundação Maria Cecília Souto Vidigal (FMCSV), em 2011, sendo amplamente divulgado no Brasil como um instrumento a ser considerado por gestores da área da educação pública, anunciando apresentar alternativas eficazes para atender à demanda de vagas na Educação Infantil.

The document, organized by David K. Evans and Katrina Kosec, scholars and researchers in early childhood development policies from the World Bank, was translated and edited by the Maria Cecília Souto Vidigal Foundation (FMCSV) in 2011, and it has been widely disseminated in Brazil as a tool for public education managers, announcing effective alternatives to meet the demand for places in Early Childhood Education.

In this sense, the objective of this article is to understand the indicators from the World Bank regarding the participation of the private sector in providing Early Childhood Education in Brazil,

⁴ There are other documents from the World Bank related to Early Childhood Education, such as "How to Invest in Early Childhood: A Guide for Policy Discussion and Preparing Early Childhood Development Projects" (2010) and "Scaling Up Early Childhood Development: Investing in Early Childhood for High Returns" (2014). However, in this text, we focus on the document "Early Childhood Education: Programs for the Most Important Generation in Brazil." (2011).

particularly for children aged 0 to 3 years, as outlined in the document “Early Childhood Education: Programs for the Most Important Generation in Brazil,” published in 2011. This document was selected to address the issue of the privatization of public education, particularly concerning the care of children in the 0 to 3 age range who are not integrated into formal education and are served through agreements with Social Organizations, including philanthropic institutions, NGOs, and institutes, with the transfer of public resources from the state.

For the qualitative approach, employing documentary and bibliographic research, we analyze the object of study based on the material production of reality, considering historical relations, that is, the apprehension of the relationships between the economic, political, ideological, and educational dimensions. Thus, we conceive public education policy based on the contextualization of its production in a specific historical time and space.

The organization of the text is as follows: in the first subsection, we address educational policies within the context of the capitalist state, emphasizing the demand for Early Childhood Education in Brazil in contemporary times; in the second subsection, we analyze the indicators from the World Bank document (2011) regarding the privatization of Early Childhood Education in Brazil, particularly for the care of children aged 0 to 3 years. Finally, in the concluding remarks, we reiterate some pertinent reflections on the process of privatization of Early Childhood Education in Brazil.

The Context of Capitalist State Reforms and the Demand for Early Childhood Education in Brazil

The analysis of public policies, including educational public policies for Early Childhood Education, is intertwined with the broader social context under the aegis of capitalism. Thus, it is essential to understand that the correlation of forces for the construction or reconstruction of public policies is supported not only by the desire for their expansion for the majority of the population but also by the dismantling and/or appropriation by the social class that holds economic, political, cultural, and social power.

The configuration of public educational policies during the process of restructuring global capitalism in the late 1960s and early 1970s a period marked by a movement to strip away social rights gained after World War II occurred in the context of a capitalism dominated by finance. However, according to Chesnais (2001), workers were reduced to fragmented atoms, losing the space they had gained through their own struggles or through the objective effects of "Fordist" productive

organization and the abandonment of Keynesian policies⁵. Furthermore, the environment was conducive to the advancement of capital because workers were encouraged, if not compelled by parties and unions, to adapt to the new phase characterized as globalization⁶.

Neoliberalism, presented as a supposed solution, was heralded as “[...] an antidote to threats to the capitalist social order and as a solution to the ills of capitalism that had long been hidden under the wings of public policy” (HARVEY, 2013, p. 29). Neoliberalism is, therefore, a theory of political and economic practices that, based on the premise of the well-being of the population, exalted individual freedoms and entrepreneurial capacities within a solid framework regarding property rights (HARVEY, 2013).

Harvey (2013) explains that supporters of the neoliberal proposal currently occupy positions of considerable influence in the field of education, as well as in the media, corporate boards, financial institutions, and key institutions in charge of the state. Furthermore, they hold high-level positions in international institutions such as the World Bank (WB), the International Monetary Fund (IMF), the World Trade Organization (WTO), and the United States Agency for International Development (USAID). Thus, public education policy, particularly for basic education, has come to be defined in accordance with the neoliberal economic development project proposed to Latin American countries.

The reforms implemented in Brazil starting in 1990 evidenced, in part, a certain subordination of education to the development project, economic changes, and international competition, as advocated by international organizations. In this context, the Master Plan for State Reform (1995) constituted one of the pillars for carrying out the reform of the state and, consequently, of education, through the reconfiguration of the relationships between the state and civil society, consolidating the process of privatization through public-private partnerships.

According to Evangelista and Shiroma (2007), the state reform would respond to the failure, inefficiency, precariousness, and negligence, that is, the supposed incapacity of the state to govern. In the 1990s, the formulation of economic and political-ideological arguments for the implementation of state and education reforms was based on the alleged crisis of state efficiency. Therefore, the reform would signify the pursuit of increasing regulatory capacity in order to address its inability to govern due to the lack of public control over the state apparatus (ZANARDINI, 2007).

⁵ The Keynesian theoretical guidelines, which underpinned state action in the post-war period, represent an economic theory that consolidated in some countries during the 20th century. This theory opens up possibilities and privileges the adoption of policies that ensure employment, social security, educational assistance, housing, and access to healthcare, which gave rise to what is known as the Welfare State.

⁶ The globalization referred to by Chesnais (2001) is called "globalization" by the ideological current that advocates it. However, several critical theorists oppose the use of the term globalization.

The state, by supporting private initiatives in the provision of social services, has facilitated the involvement of businesses in the delivery of education, especially early childhood education for children aged 0 to 3 years, through the operation of foundations, non-governmental organizations (NGOs), and institutes, which gained strength and space starting in the 1990s. In this sense, according to the State Reform Master Plan (1995), with the model of Managerial Public Administration, the state would be the regulator rather than necessarily the executor of public policies.

One of the basic components of the state reform includes processes of privatization, publicization, and outsourcing. In Latin America, privatization is part of decisions related to enforcing broader policies, in which state actions have been guided by the perspective of public-private partnerships. Thus, the state fragments the provision of universal public policies into targeted actions (FRIGOTTO, 2011).

The neoliberal reforms implemented in Brazil since 1990 aim to redirect Brazilian policy, inducing profound social changes in various sectors, particularly in social policies (NOMA, 2017). Coraggio (1996) states that in the specific case of the World Bank, the aim is to instrumentalize economic policy rather than to compensate for or continue social policies. However, this objective does not exclude its interference regarding the alleviation/administration of poverty through social policies that meet basic needs.

The Federal Constitution of 1988 established principles of democratic management and interests related to private education. Subsequently, practical changes occurred regarding flexibility, decentralization, and competitiveness. The advocacy for partnerships between the public and private sectors, associated with arguments indicating efficiency and effectiveness in promoting the right to education, ultimately indicates the gradual disconnection of the state from its responsibilities, particularly for the age group of 0 to 3 years, which, under the normative framework, falls outside the compulsory enrollment limits, although it is a right for all and a duty of the state.

In this context, the market emerges as a new partner in the formulation and implementation of policies, which has led to an articulation between the state and representatives from the private sector and NGOs. Consequently, the provision of education by the state has been linked to the discourse of shared responsibility (KRAWCZYK, 2005). In Brazil, we observe that

[...] the concept of a quasi-market in education has been primarily introduced through direct interaction between business leaders and governments, as seen in the "Todos pela Educação" movement, or through partnerships at all levels, from national to local, such as with the Ayrton Senna Institute or the Unibanco Institute [...] numerous private entities, which use the market as a quality benchmark and enjoy public sympathy, presenting themselves as philanthropic, non-profit institutions that genuinely care about education (PERONI, 2012, p. 26).

These actions are justified because, in the neoliberal conception, capitalism is not in crisis; rather, it is the state that is. The response, based on the necessary adjustments to confront the alleged crisis of the state, primarily reorganizes social rights and the means to access them. Thus, it meets two general and complementary demands of neoliberalism, which mean

[...] privatizing state-owned enterprises and public services on one hand; and on the other, 'deregulating, ' or rather, creating new regulations—a new legal framework that diminishes public authorities' interference in private ventures. The state should transfer productive activities it had inappropriately engaged in to the private sector and leave regulatory activities, which it had unsuccessfully attempted to establish, to the discipline of the market (MORAES, 2001, p. 18).

Thus, what Moraes (2001) refers to as the three mottos of public policies in the era of adjustments are constructed: focus, decentralize, and privatize. In this way,

[...] this can be done, essentially, through two routes. The first is to transfer the ownership of state entities (including those providing social policies, such as health, education, housing, social assistance, etc.) to the private sector. The second route is to transfer the operation and/or management of services to the private sector (which brings to light the old distinction, from the theory of public finance, between the provision and production of public services) (MORAES, 2001, p. 77).

This transfer includes the delegation of powers to the private sector or to the third sector⁷ or alternatively, retaining them within the public state sphere while subjecting state entities to market controls or simulating markets (MORAES, 2001). The formal agreements are made between the public authorities and private sector entities, meaning that the intervention the private sector has in public administration is organized through the transfer of partial or total responsibilities that were previously assigned to the public authority in their entirety.

For education, these changes indicate the end of public education in terms of expanding universality, accessibility, and the responsibility of the State. Thus, according to Ball (2014), there emerges a set of new, unfocused relationships and 'interests' within the realm of public policy and education. Intertwined with this new set of relationships and interests, the understanding of what constitutes public education is reorganized and idealized: it retains a public character but allows for direct intervention by the private sector, even in its provision, thereby configuring its privatization.

⁷ According to Gohn (2013), NGOs are the face of the "... most visible aspect of the Third Sector, but they are just one front of the collective actions that comprise it" (GOHN, 2013, p. 244). The author proposes a distinction between two types of NGOs, whose essential characteristics are: the first were involved in the struggle for rights during the Military Dictatorship and in the post-Dictatorship period; the second seek investments in social policies in the fragility left by the State.

Early Childhood Education in Brazil⁸ – which includes daycare-center for children aged 0 to 3 years and preschool for children aged 4 and 5 years - was only recognized as the first stage of Basic Education, albeit non-mandatory, with the enactment of the Law of Guidelines and Bases of National Education (LDB), Law No. 9,394/1996. This change was the result of efforts to acknowledge the importance of Early Childhood Education in promoting child development.

Furthermore, although it was announced as the first stage of Basic Education, it was only with the Constitutional Amendment No. 59/2009 that the Federal Constitution of 1988 was amended to declare Basic Education mandatory and free in public institutions for children aged 4 to 17, as reaffirmed by Law No. 12,796/2013. The enactment of Law No. 12,796/2013 established the obligation for enrollment in preschool starting at the age of 4, while simultaneously restricting the mandatory nature of enrollment in daycare-center for children aged 0 to 3 (COSSETIN, 2017; GUERRA, 2020).

It is essential to acknowledge that the mandatory enrollment represented a significant advancement, especially for a population that previously lacked access to public education. The analysis of the goals set forth in the National Education Plan (PNE) (2014-2034), Law 13.005⁹ regarding children's access to Early Childhood Education was presented through an overview in the Report of the 3rd Monitoring Cycle of the Goals of the National Education Plan (PNE) - 2020, conducted by the National Institute for Educational Studies and Research Anísio Teixeira (INEP).

The challenge of access is evident for children aged 0 to 3 years. The National Education Plan (PNE) (2014-2024) aims to increase the percentage of children attending daycare-center to at least 50% by 2024, but this goal remains far from being achieved. In 2018, the percentage of children attending daycare-center reached 35.7%, representing approximately 3.8 million children. This means that to meet the target, an additional approximately 1.5 million children would need to be included, considering the existing population in the 2018 cohort, which was about 10.5 million children, according to projections from the INEP (2020).

Daycare-center, not being a mandatory enrollment stage, has been deprioritized in terms of meeting demand by municipalities. The establishment of partnerships with philanthropic institutions, foundations, and the purchase of spots in private institutions often referred to in many municipalities

⁸ Historically, in Brazil, early childhood care institutions have not been spaces intended for access to intentional and organized knowledge. When it comes to the working class, these institutions have functioned as places to "deposit" children while their parents worked. For more information on policies and the history of Early Childhood Education, see works by Kuhlmann (1999), Rosemberg (2002), and Cossetin (2017).

⁹ Article 5: The implementation of the National Education Plan (PNE) and the fulfillment of its goals will be subject to continuous monitoring and periodic evaluations. "Every two years, throughout the duration of this PNE, the National Institute for Educational Studies and Research Anísio Teixeira (INEP) will publish studies to assess the progress in achieving the goals [...]" (BRASIL, 2014, s/p).

as daycare-center vouchers constitutes one of the forms of privatization of this stage of Early Childhood Education. The analysis of goal 1, as outlined in the report of the 3rd Monitoring Cycle of the National Education Plan (PNE) – 2020, indicated that the universalization of preschool could be achieved between 2020 and 2024 if the trend observed over the last 13 years continues. However, the same analysis suggests that by 2024, Brazil will not exceed a coverage rate of 45% for daycare-center services, falling short of the established target.

It is possible to observe in newspaper articles the various terms that express the process of privatization in Early Childhood Education, such as the purchase of slots, scholarship contracts, public-private partnerships, and daycare-center vouchers. Here are some examples: the municipality of Londrina, in the state of Paraná, established the purchase of slots in private institutions for both preschool and daycare-center through contracts nº 0249/2016; 0250/2016; 0252/2016¹⁰; the Government of Brasília, Federal District, in 2016, contracted around two thousand five hundred scholarships to serve preschool children, as part of a local executive law project (Projeto Lei nº 1.177, de 2016)¹¹; the city hall of Florianópolis introduced a regulatory project - Complementary Law 16,935/2016 - for public-private partnerships in municipal administration, legally opening the possibility to establish contracts with private companies in various areas, including Early Childhood Education¹²; In the municipality of Rio de Janeiro, Decree No. 42,754, dated January 1, 2017, was issued, setting a deadline for the Municipal Secretariat of Education, Sports, and Leisure and the competent body of the Mayor's Office to present an Implementation Plan for public-private partnerships in Early Childhood Education¹³.

The aforementioned news articles ultimately aim to build a consensus that public-private partnerships represent a supposed commitment to meeting the demand for Early Childhood Education.

¹⁰ Official Journal of the Municipality of Londrina. Year XIX, No. 3070, daily publication, August 26, 2016. Available at: http://www2.londrina.pr.gov.br/jornaloficial/images/stories/jornalOficial/jornal_3070_assinado.pdf. Accessed on: June 21, 2020.

¹¹ ARAÚJO, Saulo. LDO prevê investimento no Distrito Federal de R\$ 1,85 bilhão em 2017, Agência Brasília, 30 de junho de 2016. Available at: <https://www.agenciabrasilia.df.gov.br/2016/06/30/ldo-preve-investimento-no-distrito-federal-de-r-185-bilhao-em-2017/>. Accessed on: June 21, 2020.

¹² DE AVILA, Mariana. Entenda o projeto sobre parcerias público-privadas em Florianópolis. G1/SC, 21 de janeiro de 2017. Disponível em: <http://g1.globo.com/sc/santa-catarina/noticia/2017/01/entenda-o-projeto-sobre-parcerias-publico-privadas-em-florianopolis.html>. Acesso em: 21 jun. 2020.

¹³ Legislação Municipal do Rio de Janeiro – RJ. 1 de janeiro de 2017. Available at: <https://leismunicipais.com.br/a1/rj/r/rio-de-janeiro/decreto/2017/4276/42754/decreto-n-42754-2017-estipula-prazo-para-a-secretaria-municipal-de-educacao-esportes-e-lazer-e-orgao-competente-do-gabinete-do-prefeito-apresentarem-plano-de-implantacao-de-parceria-publico-privada-para-educacao-infantil-na-forma-que-menciona>. Accessed on: June 21, 2020.

In the report of the 3rd Cycle of Monitoring the Goals of the National Education Plan (PNE) - 2020 (INEP, 2020), a comparison of the growth in access to daycare-center between children from the poorest 25% and the richest 25% was identified, showing an increase of 10.4% and 17.4%, respectively. It is important to highlight that the objective of strategy 1.2¹⁴ of the PNE (2014-2024) is to reduce the access gap to daycare-center between the richest and the poorest to less than 10% by the end of its term.

Despite the relative growth in access to Early Childhood Education, inequality has also increased, highlighting the challenges in providing educational services to the poorest, particularly for children up to 3 years old, who are not within the limits of mandatory enrollment. This occurs due to the lack of available spaces in public institutions, thus emphasizing the need for effective educational policies to address this segment of the population, especially for the 0 to 3-year-old age group, without neglecting the other stages and modalities of education.

In the next section, we will analyze the indicators of the privatization process found in the World Bank document *“Early Childhood Education: Programs for Brazil's Most Important Generation”*, published in 2011, using the state's and education reforms that have been underway since the 1990s as a reference.

World Bank Indicators for Early Childhood Education in Brazil: Privatization Through Public-Private Partnerships for Formal Education

In Brazil, the process of state reform has been consolidating privatization within the realm of education through public-private partnerships, reconfiguring the relationships between the state and civil society. In this process, which results from the composition of the non-state public sector¹⁵ or third sector and the precepts of the third way, "what remains under the state sphere adopts a market logic, which is considered more efficient and productive" (PERONI *et al.*, 2009, p. 764-765).

With the participation of the third sector, the traditional sectors of the state and the market are excluded, and it also differentiates itself from traditional philanthropic and religious segments, although these may still be part of it. Thus, the third sector takes shape "on the border between the

¹⁴ '1.2 - Ensure that, by the end of this PNE's term, the difference between the attendance rates in early childhood education for children up to 3 (three) years old from the highest per capita family income quintile and those from the lowest per capita family income quintile is less than 10% (ten percent) (BRASIL, 2014, s/p)

¹⁵ The non-state public can be understood as "[...] a portion of public resources that the State allocates to the private sector, whether for-profit or not, managed by the private sector, with or without State oversight" (PAIVA, 2016, p. 63).

state sphere and the private sphere, a condition that allows it to survive in and from the intersection of both, hence the designation, in the Brazilian case, of non-state public” (ADRIÃO; PERONI, 2005, p. 9).

According to the definition in the State Reform Master Plan (1995),

[...] the State would cease to be directly responsible for economic and social development through the production of goods and services, becoming stronger in its role as a promoter and regulator of development. This would entail transferring to the private sector activities that could be controlled by the market (COSSETIN, 2017, p. 111).

It is reiterated, therefore, that one of the basic components of State reform is focused on the privatization of non-state public sectors, meaning that,

[...] the idea is constructed that it is necessary for the implementation of social policies to be transferred to the responsibility of society, mainly through privatizations and to the third way via the non-state public sector, what has been referred to as the third sector (COSSETIN, 2017, p. 63).

In Early Childhood Education, the privatization process primarily occurs through public-private partnerships, supposedly aiming to resolve the lack of available spots, as indicated in the World Bank document “Early Childhood Education: Programs for the Most Important Generation in Brazil.

The World Bank document (2011), organized by David K. Evans and Katrina Kosec, World Bank consultants, was translated into Portuguese by the Fundação Maria Cecília Souto Vidigal (FMCSV)¹⁶. The FMCSV has established itself as a key player in defining and implementing policies, programs, and projects targeting "early childhood." Therefore, the translation of the World Bank document into Portuguese reflects the FMCSV's aspirations to influence public education.

In the introduction to the document, FMCSV's director/president, Eduardo de C. Queiroz, asserts that the study holds particular significance not only because it presents important data and information but also because it has "[...] the courage to take a stand on findings relevant to Early Childhood Education and indicate what actions, in the analysts' view, would be most appropriate for

¹⁶ FMCSV, established in 1965, initially focused on actions related to hematology. However, since 2007, the foundation has shifted its efforts towards promoting discussions, projects, and educational practices specifically targeting early childhood. In the state of São Paulo, FMCSV has played a leading role in shaping child care policies. To highlight the foundation's growing prominence on a national level, it is worth noting that in 2015, FMCSV was awarded the Darcy Ribeiro Prize by the Brazilian House of Representatives' Education Committee. This award, created to recognize individuals or entities whose work or actions have made a significant impact on the defense and promotion of Brazilian education, is granted based on criteria such as originality, the scale, or the exemplary nature of the educational initiatives undertaken. FMCSV was recognized for its work in the field of early childhood education in Brazil.

Brazil to meet the established goal of universalizing preschool by 2016" (EVANS; KOSEC, 2011, p. 4).

In order to establish the relationship between what the World Bank document advocates and what has been implemented in Brazil through early childhood education policies, particularly through foundations like FMCSV, the analyzed document presents key indicators for reflecting on potential partnerships that can be established to secure resources "[...] to expand early childhood development services, improve their quality, and innovate to reach the most disadvantaged populations" (Evans; Kosec, 2011, p. 9). This excerpt highlights three essential elements: despite the document's title referencing "Early Childhood Education," it emphasizes that the focus extends beyond formal education to "early childhood development services"; it proposes ways to "improve the quality and innovate" in delivering these services; and it aims to "reach the most disadvantaged populations". From these three elements, we can discern the following:

1) The construction of a discourse that promotes actions focused on early childhood development is not specifically tied to Early Childhood Education. As such, given that this is an educational stage serving children aged 0 to 3 years, traditional educational institutions like daycare-centers may be considered unnecessary, with services potentially provided through alternative means; 2) When proposing improvements and innovations in early childhood services, the document opens the door to creating new forms of care and, importantly, the integration of private sector partners. This aligns with the possibilities for public-private partnerships for early childhood care, as we have presented earlier. 3) By emphasizing the most disadvantaged, the document reinforces a targeted approach, meaning that those who should be served by the State are only those who can demonstrate extreme economic need.

Rosemberg (2002) highlights the reasons for the use of the term "early childhood development" (ECD) in documents produced by the World Bank. According to the author, the expression can either signify an expanded focus that includes health, nutrition, and education, or it may indicate a preference for "non-formal" models of childcare, a perspective that is evident in the document being analyzed here. Thus, the term "early childhood development" in the World Bank document is polysemous, and it tends to obscure the intentions behind the various privatization alternatives and different educational proposals¹⁷.

¹⁷ In a study conducted on research encompassing the privatization of education in Brazil, Adrião (2018) identified three main dimensions in which privatization can occur: in the provision, management, and curriculum.

The discourse on the necessity and viability of partnership proposals and forms of privatization presents data indicating that more than one-third of daycare-center slots in Brazil are provided by the private sector:

[...] 29% fully private and 14% contracted (or hired by the government). Similarly, at the preschool level, one quarter of the provision comes from the private sector: 19% fully private and 5% contracted. The number of centers contracted by the government is growing rapidly, with hundreds of early childhood institutions being contracted each year. The increase in supply indicates a significant capacity of the private sector to complement the public sector's efforts in providing early childhood services (EVANS; KOSEC, 2011, p. 9).

The data on quality suggest that contracted institutions tend to have better infrastructure compared to public institutions, and no significant differences are perceived in other aspects between entirely private or fully public early childhood education centers. In this way, "The expansion of these relationships, with continuous quality monitoring, can help the government meet the immediate demands of Early Childhood Education" (Evans & Kosec, 2011, p. 9).

The document suggests that although Fundeb resources are equal for public and contracted spaces, municipalities would have autonomy "[...] to compensate contracted spaces at higher or lower levels, providing the freedom to create incentives for private provision to reach hard-to-reach populations [...]" (Evans & Kosec, 2011, p. 9). It is noted, therefore, that in forming partnerships with contracted sectors, additional resources beyond those allocated to the public sector, sourced from the Fund for the Maintenance and Development of Basic Education and for the Appreciation of Education Professionals (Fundeb), could be employed. These statements highlight the necessity for the State to remain involved as a financier of the private sector.

Beyond the arrangement of contracted institutions, which is suggested to be further explored with greater allocation of resources beyond Fundeb, it is also emphasized that "Many companies have a philanthropic arm that can contribute to early childhood development, and several corporations across Brazil are doing exactly that" (Evans & Kosec, 2011, p. 9). Thus, Brazil could also benefit, as pointed out, from the expansion of public-private partnerships, which would offset budgetary impacts, increasing coverage and improving the quality of education.

According to the analyzed document, studies have shown that contracted daycare-centers and preschools have better infrastructure compared to public schools. In this way, "If public-private partnerships can provide higher-quality care and education at an equal or lower cost, then municipalities could consider expanding the use of this model" (Evans & Kosec, 2011, p. 55). Therefore, the encouragement of partnerships as a solution to unmet demands is clearly evident, or,

as we emphasize, these privatization processes are promoted as a solution to the problem of vacancies in early childhood education institutions.

The document also points out that Brazil has made significant progress in child care, particularly in expanding available spaces, improving infrastructure, teacher training, and reducing the number of children per class, among other factors. However, it notes that a large number of children are still not enrolled in preschool, and most have not attended daycare-center. Among these, the poorest children are the ones who would benefit the most from early childhood education and the additional income their parents could earn, but only one in nine of these children have secured a spot in a daycare-center center. Furthermore, it highlights studies that reveal the poor quality of daycare-center centers and preschools across Brazil when compared to countries with a similar level of development.

Based on this reasoning, the document recommends that interventions in early childhood development would be essential to increasing Brazil's overall productivity, as well as to providing equal opportunities for the entire population. Daycare-centers and preschools would offer opportunities for cognitive and non-cognitive stimulation and child development. The document suggests that Brazil needs to work toward improving the quality of early childhood education, potentially by "[...] encouraging municipalities to provide resources for improving centers based on observational measures of quality, as well as incentives for good centers" (EVANS; KOSEC, 2011, p. 34). This recommendation aligns with the neoliberal argument that the private sector is more efficient than the public sector in delivering services.

The document presents an example concerning the city of Rio de Janeiro, where, in order to provide daycare-center slots for the poorer half of the population, an expansion of 90% in the number of institutions would be necessary. However, among the existing demand for daycare-center slots, the document states that there are children who are not poor, whose families could afford to pay for daycare-center. Thus, if public daycare-center slots were directed only to the poorest families, Rio de Janeiro would only need to expand by 69%. In this way, the supposed solution for the shortage of public daycare-center slots would be payment by those who cannot prove poverty, highlighting the possibility of charging fees and indicating a focus on targeted, rather than universal, public policies.

Additionally, it also refers to "alternative methods of providing early childhood education," relating to the exploration of "[...] alternative mechanisms to provide early childhood education, especially for younger children. These mechanisms differ from standard centers and can be used to reach children who are not efficiently or effectively reached by usual methods" (EVANS; KOSEC, 2011, p. 52-53). Therefore, two examples of alternatives would be the "Primeira Infância Melhor

Educação infantil no Brasil e a relevância do setor privado nos indicadores do Banco Mundial (PIM)" program, from the state of Rio Grande do Sul, which focuses on children from birth, and the "Asas da Florestania Infantil," or "Asinhas" program, from the state of Acre, which focuses on preschool-aged children.

The first program presented as an alternative to formal early childhood education, the PIM, is characterized by offering in-home care for children and provides two modes of service: individual care for pregnant women and children from birth up to two years and 11 months old, and group care for pregnant women and children between three and six years of age.

In this type of program, during individual care, an agent would periodically visit the home and carry out cognitive stimulation activities, as well as monitor the child's health and development. For group care, participants would gather in a community center, church hall, or other spaces to engage in games and activities designed to stimulate the children or prepare pregnant women for motherhood. According to the document, an evaluation comparing children before and after participating in the PIM program showed improvements in cognitive, social, and motor development.

The *Asas da Florestania Infantil* program, from the State Secretariat of Education in Acre, provided early childhood stimulation in homes and was created to reach children in remote areas. The program used home visit strategies conducted by educational agents (high school students or newly graduated teachers) to support children's social, psychomotor, and cognitive development. They would choose a house within a community where all the children would gather.

From these indicators, as proposed by Rosemberg (2002), it is clear that early childhood education policies in Brazil, as in other capitalist and underdeveloped countries, have been shaped by the influence of so-called "non-formal" models, which rely on low public investment. This becomes evident when family care and other forms of childcare are presented. Despite reflecting a historical regression by identifying assistentialist aspects in the history of early childhood education in Brazil, these models are presented as examples that can inspire solutions for addressing the problem of access to early childhood education, particularly in regard to day-care center.

We understand that the indications to promote early childhood development reveal the fragility of Early Childhood Education policy. Ultimately, the proposal is focused on offering a low-cost service, sporadically developed by individuals without educational training, who would supposedly carry out work described as educational. Thus, we observe the cheapening of early childhood education provision, which includes the pressing need for investment in the training of professionals who work in this stage of Basic Education.

From this interpretive perspective, it is evident that the coordination of the aforementioned programs would invariably be handled by institutes, foundations, and NGOs linked to the third sector,

assuming that this service provision would be cheaper for the State. These intentions clearly show that priorities are tied to meeting the demands of efficiently placing children in nurseries, even if the institutions are not public, and the access is not universal:

Even though there are alternatives for promoting cognitive stimulation in Early Childhood Education centers, Brazil can further explore the possibilities by setting minimum standards and allowing municipalities to explore these alternatives. Finally, given the significant costs associated with expanding access to Early Childhood Education, municipalities must establish clear priorities and make appropriate choices between quality and quantity to efficiently meet targets. At the nursery level — which does not need to be universalized — municipalities may recognize that improving the quality of activities and the structure of daycare programs serving the most disadvantaged children yields greater benefits than simply expanding the number of public daycare spaces available (EVANS; KOSEC, 2011, p. 60).

Since daycare is not a compulsory enrollment segment in Brazil, a dilemma between quantity and quality arises, as if addressing one aspect would exclude the other. The option recommended by the document prioritizes the quality of provision, even if it restricts access. As stated: "Given the returns in Early Childhood Development with the increase in quality, it is very likely that these improvements will outweigh the benefits of providing lower-quality daycare to all children seeking a spot" (Evans; Kosec, 2011, pp. 47-59). From this perspective, meeting the entire repressed demand at the expense of daycare quality may be considered a poor investment.

However, when we address the need to expand daycare and preschool spaces, we are indeed talking about quantity. In seeking quantitative expansion, we understand that quality must accompany it. These aspects are not mutually exclusive but complementary. In this context, it is essential to note that increasing quantity will not inherently generate poor quality. The primary factor associated with poor quality is the insufficient investment in schools, daycares, and preschools necessary for their proper functioning. And for education to move toward quality, schools must first exist.

Finally, the World Bank document highlights innovative areas with potential to improve early childhood development in Brazil that should be explored: intersectoral collaboration, better utilization of private sector resources as a way to promote expansion, quality, and innovation in early childhood education, and ensuring opportunities for children in municipalities with less political willingness to offer these services.

Intersectorality would require effective coordination at both national and local levels, which implies a centralization of decisions in a neoliberal fashion, going beyond the scope of health and education departments. The document recommends establishing intersectoral coordination agencies and encouraging the integration of services.

As an example of this argument from the World Bank document, we highlight the "Programa Criança Feliz" (Happy Child Program) launched in 2016 by the Michel Temer government. Notably, it is not coordinated by the Ministry of Education or even the Ministry of Health — despite proposing actions involving these ministries — but is under the control of the Ministry of Social and Agrarian Development. At the municipal level, there is still no clarity regarding which agencies will coordinate the program; however, there is a strong likelihood that this will be a field of action for the third sector, meaning intersectoral coordination agencies. Thus, the program follows the recommendations provided by the World Bank consultants.

Regarding the indication of partnerships and privatization trends among innovative areas to be explored by Brazil, it is noted that they could offer significant resources to expand early childhood development services, as well as improve their quality and introduce innovations to reach the most disadvantaged populations.

Municipalities should engage the private sector in order to adopt new practices that enhance the quality of services and to explore the possibility of contracting private sector providers to reach the most disadvantaged populations through innovative mechanisms (EVANS; KOSEC, 2011, p. 74).

The Ministry of Education (MEC) is advised by the document to identify and highlight examples of best practices in public-private partnerships and to disseminate these experiences so they can be leveraged and expanded to other contexts and situations.

Thus, the critique is not solely about the informal nature of these programs or the potential financial savings they may achieve. Rather, the emphasis is on the fact that these programs are often incomplete, temporary solutions that extend over time, frequently resulting in ineffective and unstable services (Rosemberg, 2002). These programs have a clear target group: the poor, who, in contrast, require stable, long-term policies committed to universal access.

The proposed structure is aligned with and supports the implementation of public-private partnerships, aiming to consolidate the trend of privatization in education through targeted social policies. Furthermore, the issue we aim to emphasize is not the inherent impossibility of creating programs that foster childhood development outside traditional school settings, such as daycare centers. We understand that such programs can be viable when they are genuinely designed with children's welfare in mind, rather than merely focusing on reducing costs, which seems not to be the primary concern in the documents and examples discussed.

In this regressive and precarious approach, specific training is not prioritized, and sporadic visits are made to guide parents on their children's educational care. An example of this is João Dória's

campaign proposal during his candidacy for the São Paulo mayor's office in 2016, representing the PSDB, which suggested the installation of daycare centers in São Paulo's subway stations¹⁸. Afterward, no further information was provided regarding the daycare centers in the subways. However, after being elected mayor, João Dória presented, on March 28, 2017, the proposal for societal co-participation in education, particularly in Early Childhood Education, backed by key figures from the banking sector, such as Banco Bradesco, Itaú, and Santander¹⁹. These proposals highlight the intent to reduce spending on social policies through "partnerships" with the private sector.

This recommendation aligns with what Arelaro (2008) highlights when observing that the costs of direct public daycare centers are indeed higher than those of private, philanthropic, and community institutions. Considering that the work in the former will require “professional teachers, maintenance of the establishments, and the implementation of pedagogical projects, it can be assumed that the pursuit of maintaining and expanding partnerships with the private sector will be consolidated” (ARELARO, 2008, p. 61) and recommended, as observed in the document produced by the World Bank.

In line with what is stated in the World Bank's document, the discourse of Ricardo Paes de Barros²⁰, chief economist at the Ayrton Senna Institute, a partner of FMCSV, during an interview with Revista Época in August 2015 titled “The Education Crisis is More Severe than the Poverty Crisis,” criticizes the National Education Plan (PNE) for being insufficiently ambitious and criticizes the government's bias against the private sector. He asserts that “Daycare center is not the solution for all children. Parents, with State support and medical care, can foster fantastic child development at home” and cites as an example the same program from Rio Grande do Sul, previously mentioned in the World Bank's document, the Primeira Infância Melhor (PIM): “We need a program in which health agents monitor child development and guide families” (OSHIMA; EVELIN, 2015, s/p).

¹⁸ This proposal by João Dória is not new. Rosemberg (2002) noted that when Jânio Quadros ran against FHC for the São Paulo mayoral race in 1985, he presented the idea of “[...] building daycares within metro stations [...]”; the then Secretary of Education for the state of São Paulo, Pinotti, suggested that the role of daycare educators could be performed by interns from Febem (São Paulo's juvenile detention center); there is also the instance of laypersons enlisted in the Frente de Trabalho program being directed to work in daycares (and not preschools), as happened in the municipality of Mauá. Furthermore, the former governor of the Federal District, Antônio Gois, proposed the latest novelty: a ‘preschool basket’ accompanied by a ‘preschool salary’ (ROSEMBERG, 2002, p. 56).

¹⁹ Notícia disponível no site do jornal Folha de São Paulo: <http://www1.folha.uol.com.br/cotidiano/2017/03/1870324-doria-reune-presidentes-de-bancos-e-pede-apoio-para-construcao-de-creches.shtml>. Acesso em: 29 mar. 2019.

²⁰ He is the Chief Economist at the Ayrton Senna Institute and a professor at Insper (a non-profit higher education and research institution). He worked at the Institute for Applied Economic Research (IPEA) for 30 years and served as Deputy Secretary for Strategic Actions at the Secretariat of Strategic Affairs of the Presidency of the Republic from 2011 to 2015.

We infer that Ricardo Paes de Barros and the World Bank document deliberately downplay the fact that the educational work carried out in nurseries and preschools aims at the development of the child through teaching. As a result, they also downplay the understanding that, to carry out this work, there are specific bodies of knowledge that need to be acquired and mobilized to provide adequate educational care to children. This also involves the need for educational materials, proper physical infrastructure, suitable school buildings, among other things.

For this reason, it is not enough to rely solely on medical knowledge, everyday experiences, or health care. Knowledge relevant to education, specific to those who are dedicated to the formative processes of such activities—the teachers—are essential. Therefore, beyond good intentions and availability (which many parents lack due to their professional commitments), promoting child development through teaching requires knowledge derived from specialized training focused on the role of the teacher²¹.

For the working class, there is an urgent need for universal access to nurseries that are available to those who desire and need them, offering free services and including not only care, which is necessary and relevant, but also an educational component, intentionally organized to promote the child's development.

Ricardo Paes de Barros emphasizes selective access to nurseries, focusing on a targeted approach. In his view, nurseries would serve as "a response for the young children of poor working mothers" (OSHIMA; EVELIN, 2015, n/p). However, education is a subjective public right, meaning that access to nursery schools is the right of every child, regardless of the family's social condition. In this regard, it is important to highlight the provisions of the 1988 Federal Constitution, specifically Article 205, which establishes education as a right for all and a duty of the State. Additionally, the Law of Guidelines and Bases of National Education (LDB), Law No. 9.394/1996, in Article 4, Section X, guarantees a place in the nearest public early childhood education institution for every child from the day they turn four. This right is further reaffirmed in the Statute of the Child and Adolescent (ECA), Law No. 8.069 of 1990, and the Legal Framework for Early Childhood, Law No. 13.257 of 2016, which designates early childhood education as one of the priority areas for childhood development.

²¹ The Law of Guidelines and Bases of National Education (LDB) No. 9.394/96, in its Article 62, stipulates that: "Teacher training for basic education will take place at the higher education level, in a full licensure course, with the minimum required training for teaching in early childhood education and the first five years of elementary education being that offered at the high school level, in the normal mode." In this sense, early childhood education, whether at the nursery or preschool level, requires professionals with a teaching degree, at least from a Normal course, to be qualified to teach at this stage of basic education.

The argument that childcare spots are reserved for working parents or caregivers reflects struggles that have been fought and legally won in Brazil, but continue to fuel debates that push for the focalization rather than universalization of social policies, including education. This is mirrored in the discourse presented in the World Bank document.

The propositions by Ricardo Paes de Barros (Oshima; Evelin, 2015), also reflected in the World Bank document, suggest a form of aid aimed at those in absolute poverty, particularly when their situation becomes problematic for the state, such as when they break the law to meet their neglected basic needs. However, this form of assistance to the poor diverges from the concept of universal coverage. It is not meant for everyone, even when discussing access to educational services in nurseries and daycare centers.

Additionally, Ricardo Paes de Barros presents the idea of testing the charter school model in Brazil, characterized as private schools funded by the government and free for the public. He highlights that this arrangement has already been implemented in Colombia, while Sweden is reportedly "getting rid of all public schools. The country pays for the private sector to provide education. For the family, it's free — and all that matters is quality" (Oshima; Evelin, 2015). This discourse clearly seeks to promote the privatization of social policies, particularly education, while simultaneously discrediting public schools by suggesting that the state is "getting rid of" public schools, which carries a pejorative connotation about the public education system. Thus, it is evident that the economist is following the same logic outlined in the 2011 World Bank document, which highlights the tension between quantitative and qualitative expansion in providing early childhood education for daycare centers, presenting quality and quantity as conflicting and opposing objectives.

The quality of education is a complex concept that, in the educational field, is historically constructed and takes on different meanings in various times and contexts, reflecting the social forces in dispute. It encompasses multiple factors and cannot solely focus on the variety and minimum quantities of essential inputs for teaching and learning processes. Quality education involves material and human resources that are integrated within the relationships occurring in schools and classrooms, including teaching and learning processes, as well as curriculum development (Dourado et al., 2007).

It is important to clarify that the argument is not about making daycare compulsory. However, we understand that in a society governed by capitalism, where many families do not have the opportunity to stay with their children due to their need to survive, the social right to daycare must be guaranteed. This should take place in educational spaces where systematically organized activities promote learning and development by fostering children's cultural engagement and growth.

Thus, we understand that, based on the analyzed document and the statements of Ricardo Paes de Barros (Oshima & Evelin, 2015), considering the role of institutes, foundations, and NGOs, there is a consolidation in defining Brazilian educational policies, especially those targeting Early Childhood Education. These developments also reflect the reconfiguration of the State's role as a regulator, overseer, and financier through public-private partnerships, which justify the privatization process. This privatization is veiled by the argument that addressing the demand for childcare, particularly for children aged 0 to 3, aligns with the commitment made by the *Todos Pela Educação* Movement.

Final considerations

In the context of the social organization in which contemporary educational policies are embedded, specifically those directed toward Early Childhood Education, our objective in this article was to understand the World Bank's indicators regarding the participation of the private sector in providing Early Childhood Education in Brazil, particularly for children aged 0 to 3 years.

We conclude that the World Bank's guidelines, aligned with the capitalist social organization in its neoliberal phase, aim to achieve two objectives: to promote public-private partnerships in the provision of Early Childhood Education and to create alternative forms of care for those who do not secure spots in formal education settings. This even includes the notion that this educational stage, especially for children aged 0 to 3 years, can be replaced by other non-formal forms of care.

From the information presented, we grasp that the subordination of the daycare segment, in terms of providing spots in public institutions, is further intensified by the mandatory provision of preschool. As municipalities were compelled to open more spots for this age group, many localities have deprioritized daycare, a segment considered non-mandatory. This means that, evidently, when public and free spots are available, they are quickly occupied.

Justifications for not providing Early Childhood Education for the daycare segment often rely on the very argument that should serve as motivation for expanding access: the high demand in the country, as evidenced by the studies conducted by INEP. In this sense, there is a tendency to suggest the elimination of the daycare stage—under its current configuration, which we aim to improve—and its replacement with alternative, lower-cost, and more precarious forms of care. These alternatives inevitably serve and will continue to serve the children of the working class, effectively targeting the poor with educational precariousness during early childhood.

If there is demand, this is sufficient reason to establish specific policies aimed at expanding qualitative access to Early Childhood Education. It is essential to invest in systematic and intentional educational work by teachers with specialized training, grounded in rigorous research, studies, and serious theoretical frameworks, all of which are committed to fostering learning for the child's full development.

Thus, we observe that the statements produced reinforce the so-called third sector, aligning with the principles of the non-state public sector proposed by the neoliberal ideology that intensified in Brazil from the 1990s onward. These statements also point toward the dismantling of Early Childhood Education as it has been demanded and pursued by educators.

Moreover, we emphasize that the policy of privatization through "partnerships" aligns with calls for fiscal adjustment and reduction of state spending, which directly impact public education, particularly Early Childhood Education. Business-driven solutions are presented as supposedly "more reliable" and "efficient," leading to conservative strategies that strip away social rights.

Another justification for the precariousness of Early Childhood Education, specifically in the daycare segment, relates to the assertion found in the document and in the speeches of scholars affiliated with foundations, such as Ricardo Paes de Barros. They argue that Early Childhood Education in this segment has not been implemented with quality, which supports the notion that the lack of quality negates the need for quantitative expansion or justifies its provision through privatization, such as partnerships that would purportedly offer better quality.

On the other hand, one of the central elements for improving the quality of education offered is the necessity to address demands quantitatively in order to pursue quality. In other words, only by meeting the demand and opening more slots can we work on qualitative expansion. In this regard, the two aspects are interconnected. Furthermore, we understand that resources and investments are essential, as well as educational policies that are consistent and expand funding for educational policies aimed at daycare centers, rather than focusing on and allocating resources to the third sector and reducing the daycare segment in order to achieve qualitative changes.

Therefore, it is essential to confront these discourses, positions, and political implementations, viewing public education as a space of struggle where advances with counter-hegemonic perspectives can be observed, as well as setbacks aimed at maintaining hegemony and non-linearity. It is within the reproduction of social life that opportunities for counter-hegemony arise, challenging the dominant structures within civil society, which is composed of two antagonistic social classes with divergent and irreconcilable interests.

Through this understanding, we highlight the necessity and viability for children in Early Childhood Education, as well as in later stages, to experience a genuinely educational approach. For this, mere arrangements that are labeled as educational, precarious, cheapened, and privatizing stemming from the privatization through such public-private partnerships are insufficient. Therefore, mobilizations of resources, both material and financial, proposed by universalizing educational policies are essential to ensure that the educational work also meets the needs of those in daycare centers.

In conclusion, what we need is to create mechanisms of resistance and advocacy to compel public authorities to provide opportunities for children to access Early Childhood Education, reaffirming the social right of every child to learn and develop in daycare centers. This learning and development, particularly for the children of the working class, cannot happen anywhere other than in schools, which are, by excellence, the places for the appropriation of knowledge carried out with intentionality and planning. This will only be achieved with teachers who are trained for this purpose.

References

ADRIÃO, T. Dimensões e formas da privatização da Educação no Brasil: caracterização a partir de mapeamento de produções nacionais e internacionais. **Currículo sem Fronteiras**, v. 18, p. 8-28. 2018

ARELARO, L. A não transparência nas relações público-privadas: o caso das creches conveniadas. In: ADRIÃO T.; PERONI, V. (Org.), **Público e Privado na Educação**: novos elementos para o debate. Xamã, 2008, p. 53-66.

BALL, S. J. **Educação global S. A.:** novas redes políticas e o imaginário neoliberal. (J. Bridon, Trad.) Editora UEPG. 2014.

BRASIL. **Constituição da República Federativa do Brasil de 1988**. Assembleia Nacional Constituinte. 1988. http://www.planalto.gov.br/ccivil_03/constituicao/constituicao.htm.

BRASIL. **Lei nº 9.394/1996**. Estabelece as diretrizes e bases da educação nacional. Presidência da República. 1996. http://www.planalto.gov.br/ccivil_03/leis/19394.htm

BRASIL. **Emenda Constitucional nº 59/2009**. Acrescenta § 3º ao art. 76 do Ato das Disposições Constitucionais Transitórias para reduzir, anualmente, a partir do exercício de 2009, o percentual da Desvinculação das Receitas da União incidente sobre os recursos destinados à manutenção e desenvolvimento do ensino de que trata o art. 212 da Constituição Federal, dá nova redação aos incisos I e VII do art. 208, de forma a prever a obrigatoriedade do ensino de quatro a dezessete anos e ampliar a abrangência dos programas suplementares para todas as etapas da educação básica, e dá nova redação ao § 4º do art. 211 e ao § 3º do art. 212 e ao caput do art. 214, com a inserção neste

dispositivo de inciso VI. Presidência da República. 2009.

http://www.planalto.gov.br/ccivil_03/constituicao/emendas/emc/emc59.htm.

BRASIL. **Lei nº 12.796/2013**. Altera a Lei nº 9.394, de 20 de dezembro de 1996, que estabelece as diretrizes e bases da educação nacional, para dispor sobre a formação dos profissionais da educação e dar outras providências. Presidência da República. 2013.

http://www.planalto.gov.br/ccivil_03/_ato2011-2014/2013/lei/l12796.htm

BRASIL. **Lei nº 13.005/2014**. Aprova o Plano Nacional de Educação e dá outras providências.

Presidência da República. 2014. http://www.planalto.gov.br/ccivil_03/_ato2011-2014/2014/lei/l13005.htm

BRASIL. **Lei nº 13.257/2016**. Dispõe sobre as políticas públicas para a primeira infância e altera a Lei nº 8.069, de 13 de julho de 1990 (Estatuto da Criança e do Adolescente), o Decreto-Lei nº 3.689, de 3 de outubro de 1941 (Código de Processo Penal), a Consolidação das Leis do Trabalho (CLT), aprovada pelo Decreto-Lei nº 5.452, de 1º de maio de 1943, a Lei nº 11.770, de 9 de setembro de 2008, e a Lei nº 12.662, de 5 de junho de 2012. Presidência da República. 2016.

http://www.planalto.gov.br/ccivil_03/_Ato2015-2018/2016/Lei/L13257.htm

BRASIL. **Lei nº 13.306/2016**. Altera a Lei nº 8.069, de 13 de julho de 1990 - Estatuto da Criança e do Adolescente, a fim de fixar em cinco anos a idade máxima para o atendimento na educação infantil. Presidência da República. 2016. http://www.planalto.gov.br/ccivil_03/_Ato2015-2018/2016/Lei/L13306.htm

CHESNAIS, F. **Mundialização: o capital financeiro no comando**. Blog Marxismo21. (R. Braga Trad.). 2001.

CORAGGIO, J. L. Propostas do Banco Mundial para a educação: sentido oculto ou problemas de concepção? In: WARDE, M. J. et al. **O Banco Mundial e as políticas educacionais**. Cortez. 1996.

COSSETIN, M. **As políticas educacionais no Brasil e o Movimento Todos pela Educação: parcerias público-privadas e as intencionalidades para a educação infantil**. 2017. 337 f. Tese (Doutorado em Educação). Universidade Estadual de Maringá – UEM, Maringá, 2017.

DOURADO, L. F.; OLIVEIRA, J. F. de.; SANTOS, C. de A. **A qualidade da educação: conceito e definições**. Instituto Nacional de Estudos e Pesquisas Educacionais Anísio Teixeira. 2007.

EVANGELISTA, O.; SHIROMA, E. O. Professor: protagonista e obstáculo da reforma. **Educação e Pesquisa**, v. 33, p. 531-541. 2007.

EVANS, D. K.; KOSEC, K. Educação Infantil: **Programas para a Geração Mais Importante do Brasil**. São Paulo: Editor: Ex-Libris Comunicação Integrada, Tradução para o português: Fundação Maria Cecília Souto Vidigal. 2011.

FRIGOTTO, G. Os circuitos da história e o balanço da educação no Brasil na primeira década do século XXI. **Revista Brasileira de Educação**, v. 16, n. 46, p. 235-254. 2011.

FONSECA, M. O Banco Mundial como referência para a justiça social no terceiro mundo: evidências do caso brasileiro. **Revista da Faculdade de Educação**, v. 24, p. 37-69. 1998.

GOHN, M. da G. Sociedade Civil no Brasil: movimentos sociais e ONGs. **Meta: Avaliação**, v. 5, n. 14, p. 238-253. 2013.

GUERRA, D. **Contenção e liberação na política educacional brasileira**: tendências predominantes na política de Educação Infantil e do Ensino Fundamental (2006 – 2016). 2020. 152 f. Dissertação (Mestrado em Educação). Universidade Estadual do Oeste do Paraná – UNIOESTE, Cascavel, 2020.

HARVEY, D. **O neoliberalismo**: história e implicações. Edições Loyola. 2013.

INEP. Instituto Nacional de Estudos e Pesquisas Educacionais Anísio Teixeira. **Relatório do 3º Ciclo de Monitoramento das Metas do PNE: Biênio 2014-2016**. 2020.
http://www.educacao.pr.gov.br/sites/default/arquivos_restritos/files/documento/2020-08/pme_relatorio_3_ciclo_monitoramento_metas_pne_2020.pdf

KRAWCZYK, N. R. Políticas de regulação e mercantilização da educação: socialização para uma nova cidadania? **Educação & Sociedade**, v. 26, n. 92, p. 799-819. 2005.

MORAES, R. C. **Neoliberalismo** - de onde vem, para onde vai?. Editora Senac. 2001.

NOMA, A. K. O neoliberalismo: doutrina, movimento e conjunto de políticas. In: NOMA, A. K.; TOLEDO, C. A. A. (Org.). **Políticas públicas e educação na contemporaneidade**. Eduem. 2017. p. 94-124.

OSHIMA, F. Y.; EVELIN. (2015). A crise da educação é mais grave do que a da pobreza – Ricardo Paes de Barros. Revista Época. <http://epoca.globo.com/ideias/noticia/2015/08/ricardo-paes-de-barros-crise-da-educacao-e-mais-grave-do-que-da-pobreza.html>

PERONI, V. M. V. A gestão democrática da educação em tempos de parceria entre o público e o privado. **Pro-Posições**, v. 23, n. 2, p. 19-31. 2012.

ROBERTSON, S.; VERGER, A. A origem das parcerias público-privada na governança global da educação. **Educação & Sociedade**, v. 33, n. 121, p. 1133-1156. 2012.

ROSEMBERG, F. Organizações multilaterais, estado e políticas de educação infantil. **Cadernos de Pesquisa**, n. 115, p. 25-63. 2002.

SOARES, M. C. S. A importância dos bancos multilaterais na conjuntura atual. **Anais**. do Seminário “Banco Mundial e BID no Brasil: perspectivas de ação para a sociedade civil”. Brasília, DF. 1998.

THORSTENSEN, V. A OMC - Organização Mundial do Comércio e as negociações sobre comércio, meio ambiente e padrões sociais. **Revista Brasileira de Política Internacional**, v. 41, n. 2, p. 29-58. 1998.

ZANARDINI, I. M. S. A Reforma do Estado e da educação no contexto da ideologia da Pós-Modernidade. **Revista Perspectiva**, v. 25, p. 245-270. 2007.



The licensing rights used by the journal Educação em Foco are under the Creative Commons Attribution-NonCommercial 4.0 International License/ (CC BY-NC-SA 4.0)

Recebido em: 08/02/2022

Aprovado em: 22/08/2022