

**Second generation of privatization of education in São Paulo:
the systemic articulation of business actors** ^{1 2 3 4}

*Segunda geração de privatização da educação paulista: a
articulação sistêmica dos atores empresariais*

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⁴ Funding: The article is the result of research funded by Fapesp, proc.2019/11681-5 and Fapesp, proc.2019/12230-7

Abstract

This article analyzes the 2nd generation of public education privatization in São Paulo. Such categorization stems from a study of the processes that institutionalized the incidence of the private business sector in education since 1995. The period corresponds to the effectiveness of Resolution SEE no. 24, of April 5, 2005, during the Alckmin administration, which incorporated the recently created Associação Parceiros da Educação, a network of entrepreneurs, and instituted the Empresa Educadora program. The documentary research and the analysis of the educational offer conditions in 21 school units in the state of São Paulo indicated that the objective of promoting the improvement of the educational offer conditions was not verified. Corporate action in educational policy in an articulated way, however, was implemented.

Keywords: privatization of education, public school education, Sao Paulo

Resumo

O objetivo deste artigo é analisar o que se designa aqui como segunda geração da privatização da educação pública paulista. Tal categorização decorre de estudo sobre processos que institucionalizam a incidência do setor privado empresarial na educação a partir de 1995. Analisou-se o período em que esteve em vigência a Resolução SEE nº 24, de 5 de abril de 2005, no governo Geraldo Alckmin, que incorporou a recém-criada Associação Parceiros da Educação a uma rede de empresários, e instituiu o programa Empresa Educadora. A pesquisa documental e a análise das condições de oferta em 21 unidades escolares no estado de São Paulo indicaram que o programa não alterou a qualidade da oferta educativa, todavia, foi implementada a presença articulada do setor empresarial na definição da política educacional.

Palavras-chave: privatização do ensino, educação escolar pública, São Paulo

Introduction

This article aims to analyze what is designated here as the second generation of privatization of public education in São Paulo, implemented under the administration of the Brazilian Social Democracy Party (PSDB). The analysis of the processes that institutionalize initiatives of the business sector for education in the state from the perspective of “generations” is related to the advancement in the forms of incidence of private actors: from fragmented actions to systemic interventions in educational policy.

The private actors highlighted are those recognized by the literature as *philanthrocapitalists* (Adrião, 2018; Bishop & Green, 2008). Recently, Nicoletta Denticò, author of *Ricchi e buoni? Le trame oscure del filantropocapitalismo*⁵, noted that philanthrocapitalism is an operational model of entrepreneurship that intertwines humanitarian action with business action, in order to “lubricate the gears of companies, mostly multinational industries, to favor their progressive penetration and influence in the places of political decision, at the international level” (Denticò, 2020).

In the context of the research that analyzed educational policies in São Paulo under the administration of PSDB in recent decades⁶ and the research “Análise do mapeamento das estratégias de privatização da educação básica no Brasil: atores, programas e consequências para a educação pública”⁷, the study of privatization processes allowed us to understand the progress of these same private business actors in a dynamic that begins when the government produces regulations with a view to accepting business proposals still in a fragmented way, which we call *first generation* (Adrião *et al.*, 2020), based on the Resolution of the State Secretariat of Education, Resolution SEE 234/1995. A decade later, the government reformulated the legislation and incorporated as a partner an association formed by entrepreneurs, the *Associação Parceiros Da Educação* (Education Partners Association), a network of entrepreneurs who articulated around the experiences of supporting São Paulo schools in previously atomized actions. The Resolution introduces a *second generation* of privatization in São Paulo education, which is the object of this article.

As in a previous study (Adrião *et al.*, 2020), we are based on the following assumptions: the induction of privatization of São Paulo's public education is constitutive of the educational policy implemented by the PSDB's administration, with Resolution no. 234-1995 as its original milestone⁸ (Adrião *et al.*, 2020); the processes of privatization of Education result from the performance of business-based actors and inaugurate in São Paulo education practices called “risky philanthropy” (Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development, 2014) or

⁵ The work, still without translation, was published in 2020 by Editora EMI, Italy.

⁶ The research, coordinated by Marcia Jacomini and Sérgio Stoco and supported by Fapesp, addressed different aspects of São Paulo's educational policy.

⁷ The research, coordinated by Theresa Adrião and supported by Fapesp, has as empirical field the 26 Brazilian state education networks, in addition to the Federal District. The study, of interinstitutional nature, takes place within the scope of the Group of Study and Research in Educational Policies (Greppe).

⁸ Resolution no. 234, of October 2, 1995, establishes the Escola em Parceria program (Adrião *et al.*, 2020).

philanthrocapitalism (Bishop & Green, 2008); finally, the articulation between this segment of entrepreneurship and different governments has presented different degrees over the past two decades. This article, with these assumptions, analyzes the period of institution of two programs involving segments of the private sector: the programs *Escola da Família*⁹ (Family School) and *Empresa Educadora* (Company that Educates), the latter focusing on operationalizing the *second generation* privatization of education in São Paulo.¹⁰

Resolution SEE no. 24, of April 5, 2005, introduced by the Geraldo Alckmin administration, reformulates the *Escola em Parceria* (School in Partnership) program by the creation of the Empresa Educadora program, the coordination of which was delegated to the Associação Parceiros da Educação, although under the supervision of the Education Development Foundation (FDE), an autarchy of the State Secretariat of Education. It is understood that this transfer from a government program to private actors establishes the *second generation* of privatization in São Paulo basic education and inaugurates the systematic and articulated incidence of these actors in the definition and operationalization of educational policies in the state.

The information systematized here were obtained from primary and secondary sources and include: consultation and study of the standard that establishes and regulates the Empresa Educadora program; characterization of private actors, using research on official pages of the state government and private institutions; consultation of national school censuses and databases of the State Secretariat of Education of São Paulo.

We sought to characterize the actors regularly articulated around the Associação Parceiros da Educação. For this purpose, we consulted an article published by the Secretariat of Education that informed the set of companies that joined the Empresa Educadora program in 2007. This indication, collated with information collected by Perinasso (2011) and Adrião (2015), was taken as a reference to identify the business actors that most organically integrated the Associação Parceiros da Educação between 2007, the first year with localized information, and 2013.

⁹ Gabriel Chalita, responsible for the Education agenda from April 2002 to April 2006, instituted “Escola da Família” among the priority programs, with the opening of school buildings on weekends for activities involving the community living around the school (Santos, 2019), which had the partnership of Unesco.

¹⁰ In 2012, with the creation of the Educação Compromisso São Paulo government program, expression of corporate administration within the scope of SEE-SP, the initial milestone of *third generation* privatization starts, as described by the authors.

Studies conducted by Lourenço (2014), Guimarães (2004), Martins (2019), and Perinasso (2011) also were important sources in the data collection on private actors and on the Empresa Educadora program.

The consequences of privatization for education in the selected educational units, in turn, were analyzed from: information contained in the set of microdata of the School Censuses of the Anísio Teixeira National Research Institute (Inep); and information available in the database of the Evaluation System of the state of São Paulo (Saresp). In both cases, information were selected for 21 school units that remained in the program for at least five years. The five-year period was considered a selection criterion because it extrapolated a government administration, indicating constancy in the actions proposed by the “partners,” a condition that, in theory, would lead to satisfactory results regarding the objectives declared by the program: improvement in the conditions of supply of school units and student performance.

The schools were selected from a list of units that integrated the Empresa Educadora program between 2005 and 2010, provided by FDE. Once the school units were selected, information were collected about the conditions of educational offer in each school, based on the studies by Carreira and Pinto (2007) and Dourado and Ferreira (2009), which establish relationships between inputs and quality of education. Information related to the general conditions of teaching offer, physical facilities, and availability of equipment were considered. Finally, student performance was analyzed from the information on the official website of Saresp¹¹.

The study is organized in this article in the following four items: the first presents the regulations and the Empresa Educadora program; then the business performance is analyzed by the Associação Parceiros da Educação; the third item addresses the information obtained on student performance and educational offer conditions in the 21 units selected for the five-year period. Finally, the results and considerations that can be reached with the study are presented.

¹¹ The limitation of the index to evaluate the quality of the educational proposal in a school is recognized. Despite this, the results measured by Saresp were adopted as data, since the program refers to it.

Resolution SEE 24/2005 and the Empresa Educadora Program

Resolution SEE 24/2005 was published during Alckmin's first term as elected governor, in 2002¹².

The legal document amended the Resolution SE no. 234/1995, which, in the first PSDB administration, institutionally introduced business activities along with school units (Adrião *et al.*, 2020). Most of the articles were preserved, but there were significant changes that defined more clearly the responsibilities and role of the private actor and the participation of the FDE, an autarchic agency linked to the Secretariat of Education. Chart I summarizes information from the two Resolutions organized into: justifications for the standard; objectives; bodies responsible in the school unit for the agreements with the private actor; FDE; and distribution of responsibilities between the government and private actors.

Chart 1

Comparison between Resolution SEE no. 234/1995 and Resolution SEE no. 24/2005, considering justifications, objective, APM, School Board, FDE, SEE responsibilities, and private sector responsibilities

	Resolution no. 234/1995	Resolution no. 24/2005
Justifications	Responsibility of the state in mobilizing partners to improve the quality of education; need for decentralization of actions; importance of participation of society in the recovery of the quality of education.	Kept in summary format
Objective	Improvement of the quality of education in São Paulo.	Kept
Parent Teacher Association (APM)	The association is the intra-school agency through which the school can carry out joint actions with the community, signing as a partner actor Protocol of Intentions (art. 1), signing	Kept The standard, however, points actors with which the APM may establish partnership: representative entities of civil society, industry, trade, and others (art. 1)
School Board	Collegiate body that is responsible for approving the partnership.	Kept

¹² Geraldo Alckmin took over as governor of the state in 2001, when Mario Covas, the then governor, died. In the following election, he was elected governor for the period from 2003 to 2006. In 2011, Alckmin was again elected, remaining at the head of the executive branch for two consecutive terms, until 2018, reaching almost 14 years in the government of the state of São Paulo.

FDE	Not mentioned.	Determines the obligation of the school unit to communicate to the FDE when the “partnership” includes “conservation and maintenance actions of the school building” (art. 2)
SEE Responsibilities	Promote articulations between SEE agencies; monitor actions; evaluate results (art. 3).	Kept, with addition of emphasis on stimulating the “management autonomy” of the units in establishing partnerships with private actors (art. 3)
Private actor responsibilities	Preparation of projects; application of financial and human resources to carry out projects; participation in project management (art. 4).	Regarding the elaboration of projects and application of resources, the content of the previous standard is maintained. However, the private actor has a new responsibility: “to designate a coordinator who has experience in the pedagogical area for the management of the partnership” (art. 4).

Source: Chart prepared by the authors based on the Resolutions SE 234/1995 and 24/2005

Chart 1 allows us to conclude that Resolution SE no. 234/2005 advances in the regulation of the incidence of the private sector in the state education system, normalizing more precisely its responsibilities and expanding them by the coordination role in the management of the “partnership”¹³. The explicitness of responsibilities, as well as the association with FDE, are not minor details, as they indicate greater articulation between the public power and the private sector.

The then Secretary of Education, Gabriel Chalita, promoted, after the publication of Resolution SE no. 234/2005, a meeting with entrepreneurs to announce the Empresa Educadora program, in which Jayme Garfinkel, executive vice president of Porto Seguro (Bandarra, 2005) was one of the highlights.

An article published by the newspaper *Valor Econômico* in 2006, under the title “Pioneiro propõe incentivo fiscal” (Pioneer proposes tax incentive) (Adachi, 2006, p. A16), highlighted the protagonism of Jayme Garfinkel, owner of the Porto Seguro company, along with three public schools in the capital of São Paulo located in the Paraisópolis Complex¹⁴. According to

¹³ The word partnership is here written in quotation marks because the authors, agreeing with Adrião (2018), understand that it is not adequate in studies on privatization, since it hides what is done through the transfer of responsibilities to private actors. Although the term has been used in previous works, the authors only use it in quotation marks and when referring to the language adopted by private actors and public managers. Therefore, the authors prefer the term privatization.

¹⁴ The Paraisópolis Complex has approximately 60 thousand inhabitants. It occupies the 2nd place among the *favelas* of the city of São Paulo in population and households (Mazieiro, Santos, 2018).

the article, the company invested R\$ 3 million (values of the time) per year in these supports and in the cost of a preschool education project for children in the community, called Crescer Sempre.

The information available on the Ashoka Changemakers website¹⁵ systematizes the path of the group in the educational field:

Porto Seguro Seguradora started this project in 1991 with the Educação em Parceria program, whose objective is to contribute to the improvement of the quality of education in the State Public Schools of Paraisópolis. It initiated contact with the State School Professora Etelvina de Góes Marcucci, where the initiative was so successful that, in 1997, it allowed the expansion of this program to another school in the community, the State School Professor Homero dos Santos Fortes. Based on this experience and social analyses carried out in the community, the educators involved identified a large number of children who reached the first grade of the then primary school without attending early childhood education, a service that Paraisópolis lacked at the time. From this need, in 1998 the Associação Crescer Sempre Escola de Educação Infantil was created, a direct service and non-profit segment. In the respective years of 2003 and 2009, the Educação em Parceria program began to serve the State Schools Maria Zilda Gamba Natel and Governador Miguel Arraes. In 2008, in turn, the Programa Escola, in partnership with the school Pueri Domus, established the High School in addition to Early Childhood Education, which currently serves 90 full-time students. The Educação em Parceria program, initiative of Porto Seguro in Paraisópolis, inspired the Empresa Educadora program of the State Secretariat of Education of São Paulo, as well as a group of entrepreneurs, who founded the Associação Parceiros da Educação (Porfirio, 2014).

The mobilization of entrepreneurs, as recorded in the note, is mentioned by the FDE as one of the objectives of the Empresa Educadora program. The program, according to the Foundation, among other aspects, aims to: “trigger mobilization processes in the business world, aimed at investments in state public schools, thus promoting the social responsibility of the participating company” (Matheus, SICSP/FDE, 2020).

The program, according to the autarchy, allows action on several fronts, from the maintenance of the school building to the implementation of pedagogical projects, involving

¹⁵ Ashoka is a non-governmental organization founded in 1980 in the United States of America, aiming to support social entrepreneurs around the world. [Ashoka Changemakers](http://www.ashoka.org/pt-br/program/sobre-o-changemakers) is a program that aims to accelerate the impact of social entrepreneurs, promoting their articulation in networks. Retrieved from: <https://www.ashoka.org/pt-br/program/sobre-o-changemakers>

the training of professionals and students. Such possibilities are provided for in Resolution no. 234/2005, which has as Annex a term of Intent to be signed between the Parent Teacher Association of each school and the company or NGO responsible for the project. Also according to the FDE, all financial resources mobilized come from the private sector, without interference from the State (Matheus, SICSP/FDE, 2020).

Associação Parceiros da Educação: articulation in a network of São Paulo entrepreneurs

In view of the characterization that the performance of the business sector with public education in São Paulo gains organic and systemic conditions with the creation of the Associação Parceiros da Educação, the actors prioritized in this study refer to the associated companies and organizations that made up the “partners” in its origin. The protagonism of Parceiros da Educação in the definition of educational policies and programs has already been reported in previous research (Adrião, 2015; Adrião & Garcia, 2014; Guimarães, 2004), here complemented by information collected on the institutional websites of each member company of the association, by consulting shareholder reports and articles published in the press available on the web and located by searches on Google associating the company name with the expression “educação paulista” or “educação SP.” The documentary survey also involved searches on the website of the State Secretariat of Education by the descriptors: partners and company.

Created as an Association in January 2004 and, as of 2015, qualified as Civil Society Organization of Public Interest (Oscip)¹⁶, Parceiros da Educação has its origin in the leading performance of a group of entrepreneurs from São Paulo with public schools, a process analyzed in Adrião (2006). The inspiration stems from the performance of Porto Seguro Seguradora and Natura in public schools in the capital of São Paulo, and “articulates a group of

¹⁶ Civil Society Organization of Public Interest is a non-profit legal entity that has been constituted and has been in regular operation for at least 3 (three) years, provided that the respective social objectives and statutory standards meet the requirements established by Law no. 9,790, of March 23, 1999. Retrieved from: http://www.planalto.gov.br/ccivil_03/LEIS/L9790.htm. For a critical consideration, see “O marco regulatório do Terceiro Setor: a oferta da educação infantil no Município de Porto Alegre” (Pires & Montano, 2019).

entrepreneurs who start to adopt a ‘model’ of partnership between school and companies to be replicated by other companies¹⁷.

The Bylaw of Parceiros, in its Article 4, provides for its field of action: social work, culture, sports, and leisure, in addition to the support to volunteering, the development of research, and the establishment of partnerships with public education for the costing, by the Association, of support, improvements, and advice to public and private sectors aimed at improving educational management. The Bylaws is signed by its then President, Jair Ribeiro, partner of the controlling group of Banco Indusval & Partners and managing partner of Sertrading S.A. In summary, the Association acts on the one hand as a philanthropist, by stimulating donations and voluntary work of the companies that compose it, and, on the other, it presents itself as a consultancy company, providing advice to the public and private spheres.

According to its website, it would have two focuses:

Promoting partnership of companies, entrepreneurs, and civil society organizations with public schools, aimed at improving the academic performance of students; and supporting the government in the adoption of consistent public policies that promote the quality of public education. By programs formulated and monitored by a team of experts, all partnerships aim to enhance government investments in the area of education, making education networks and schools more efficient with the central objective of improving students' academic achievement¹⁸.

In 2005, this Association proposes and releases, with the State Secretariat of Education of São Paulo, the Empresa Educadora program (Porfírio, 2014), making a leap in quality concerning the atomized actions of the sector in the first generation of privatization of education. The change in quality is expressed both in the way in which the companies started to articulate themselves, now in the form of a private law Association inaugurating a nationally perceived action strategy with the release in 2006 of the NGO *Todos pela Educação* (All for Education), and in the systemic incidence with the SEE perceived in the incorporation of its proposal by the government as a policy and in the assumption of its coordination with schools, as seen in the previous item.

¹⁷ Retrieved from: <https://gife.org.br/associacao-parceiros-da-educacao-e-nova-associada-gife>

¹⁸ Retrieved from: <https://prosas.com.br/empreendedores/1468-associacao-parceiros-da-educacao>

There were difficulties in identifying the companies and groups that were part of the Association due to the absence of information available for public access and for periods prior to 2007. Despite the limitations, it was considered relevant for the apprehension of the incidence of Associação Parceiros da Educação that its composition could be perceived at least in two distinct moments. Although the records relating to the composition of the Association in its foundation are no longer available on its website and do not integrate its Bylaw, an article published by the Secretariat of Education informed the group of companies that joined the program in 2007.

Chart 2

*Business organization members of Parceiros da Educação in 2007 and 2013**

Base Year 2007	Base Year 2013
AME Campos de Jordão	AB Brasil
BASF	Alelo
BBI - Bradesco Investimentos	Alfredo de Goeve Sertrading
Centers	AME Campos de Jordão
CPM Braxis	Associação G12
Credit Suisse/ Marcelo Saad	Auriluce Falleiros
Fundação Lemann	Banco Indusval & Partners/ Voiter
GP Investimentos	BASF
Grupo Ourinvest	BM Sua Casa
Grupo Pão de Açúcar / Axialent	BTG Pactual
Grupo YPY/ABC	Cielo
GWI Asset Management	Dicico Home Center da Construção
Iguatemi Empresa de Shopping	Eduardo Capozzi Rayton; Emerson Junqueira
Instituto Rukha	Even Construtora e Incorporadora
Instituto Votorantim	Fundação Lemann
M13 Tecnologia	Gama Sucos e Alimentos
Machado, Meyer, Sendacz e Opice Advogados	Grupo ABC;
Macron Indústria Gráfica	Grupo Odilon Santos
Mangels	Grupo Pão de Açúcar
Matos Filho Veiga Filho Marrey Jr e Quiroga Advogados	Grupo TV1
Mineradora Santa Elina	Halexistar Indústria Farmacêutica
Pater Empreendimentos	I PDG
Porto Seguro Seguradora	Iguatemi Empresa de Shopping Centers
Rio Bravo Securitizadora	Instituto Credit Suisse Hedging-Griffo
Roberto Sallouti (UBS) / BTG Brasil pactual	Instituto Estre
Sagatiba / Marcos Moraes	Instituto Rukha
Sertrading	Instituto Vivo
Suvinil	Itaú BBA
Suzano Papel e Celulose	Machado, Meyer, Sendacz e Opice Advogados
Tarpon Investimentos	Mattos Filho, Veiga Filho, Marrey Jr. e Quiroga Advogados
Tecnisa	Merryl Lynch
Tozzini Freire Advogados	Mineradora Santa Elina
TV1-	Moinho Paulista
Visteon Sistemas Automotivos	Moise Politi
	Ourinvest;

	Porto Seguro Seguradora Rio Bravo Investimento Sertrading Suzano Papel e Celulose Tarpon Investimentos Tecnisa Tozzini Freire Advogados Votorantim Cimentos
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Source: prepared by the authors based on Adrião (2015) and Perinasso (2011) and on data from <http://www.educacao.sp.gov.br/>

Note: * Excluding two individuals choosing to keep the company to which they were linked.

It is important to highlight that the “partners” of the Association are relatively stable, so that, according to the inventoried data, between 2007 and 2013, of the 33 “founding” companies/entities, 21 remained in the Association, which are the group characterized in this item: AME Campos de Jordão; BASF; Grupo TV1; Credit Suisse/Instituto; Fundação Lemann; Grupo ABC; Grupo Pão de Açúcar; Iguatemi Empresa de Shopping Centers; Instituto Rukha; Machado, Meyer, Sendacz e Opice Advogados; Mattos Filho, Veiga Filho, Marrey Jr. e Quiroga Advogados; Mineradora Santa Elina; Ourinvest; Porto Seguro Seguradora; Rio Bravo Investimento; Sertrading; Suzano Papel e Celulose; Tarpon Investimentos; Tecnisa; Tozzini Freire e Advogados; Votorantim Cimentos.

Chart 3 characterizes the private actors who remained in the Association in the selected years from 2007 to 2013, according to their social name, sector of activity, business group to which they are linked (when applicable), and whether it has a profitable purpose. The chart also provides information on the closure of activities and indicates the primary sources consulted.

Chart 3

Member companies of Parceiros da Educação between 2007 and 2013 according to nature, link to business group, purpose of profit, record of closure of activities, and primary sources consulted

Name business actor	Nature of the organization *	Main sector of activity	Business group to which it is linked	For profit	End / when	Primary sources ¹⁹
AME Campos de Jordão	Association	Culture and defense of social rights	Not applicable	No	No	https://www.facebook.com/amecamposdojordao/
BASF	Company	Chemistry	BASF Group work	Yes	No	https://www.basf.com/br/pt.html
Grupo TV1	Company	Technology	Grupo TV1	Yes	No	https://www.grupotv1.com.br/#home
Instituto Credit Suisse / Instituto Credit Suisse Hedging-Griffo	Private Association	Social/Financial Investment Manager	Credit Suisse no Brasil e da Verde Asset Management	Yes	No	https://www.cshg.com.br/site/publico/sobre/ihg.seam
Fundação Lemann	Association	Defense of social rights	Grupo Lemann	No	No	https://fundacaolemann.org.br/somos#somos-team
GP Investimentos	Company	Finance	GP Investimentos	Yes	No	http://www.gp-investimentos.com/?lang=pt-br
GRUPO ABC	Company	Communication	Publicis Omnicom Group	Yes	Yes Sold in 2015	https://propmark.com.br/agencias/grupo-abc-e-vendido-para-o-americano-omnicom/
Grupo Pão de Açúcar	Company	Varejo alimentos	Grupo Pão de Açúcar	Yes	No	https://www.gpabr.com/pt/conheca-o-gpa/quem-somos/sobre-o-grupo/
Iguatemi Empresa de Shopping Centers	Company	Real Estate	Grupo Jereissati	Yes	No	https://iguatemi.com.br/institucional/empresa-0
Instituto Rukha	OSCIP	Social work services without accommodation	Not applicable	No	Yes 2011	https://iis.org.br/praticas-exemplares/instituto-rukha/
Machado, Meyer, Sendacz e Opice Advogados	Company	Legal services	Not applicable	Yes	No	https://www.machadomeyer.com.br/pt/quem-somos/no-que-acreditamos
Matos Filho Veiga Filho Marrey Jr e Quiroga Advogados	Company	Legal services	Not applicable	Yes	No	
Mineradora Santa Elina	Company	Mining	No Information	Yes	No	https://www.emis.com/php/company-profile/BR/Mineracao_Santa_Elina_Ind_e_com_SA_pt_1151485.html
Ourinvest	Company	Finance	Grupo Ourinvest	Yes	No	https://www.ourinvest.com.br/institucional.html

¹⁹ Information collected between July and August 2020.

Porto Seguro Seguradora	Company	Insurance	Porto Seguro Seguros	Yes	No	https://www.portoseguro.com.br/
Rio Bravo Investimento	Company	Finance	Fosun	Yes	No	https://riobravo.com.br/sobre-nos
Sertrading	Company	Imports	Not applicable	Yes	No	https://www.sertrading.com/pt/
Suzano Papel e Celulose	Company	Paper and Cellulose	Suzano S/A	Yes	No	https://www.suzano.com.br/a-suzano/historia/
Tarpon Investimentos	Company	Finance	Tarpon Gestora de Recursos SA	Yes	No	http://tarponcapital.com.br/
Tecnisa	Company	Construction	Not applicable	Yes	No	https://www.tecnisa.com.br/
Tozzini Freire e Advogados	Company	Advocacy	Not applicable	Yes	No	https://tozzinifreire.com.br/
Votorantim Cimentos	Company	Construction services	Votorantim S.A	Yes	No	https://www.votorantimcimentos.com.br/institucional/quem-somos/

Source: prepared by the authors based on (Adrião, Garcia, Drabach, 2020) and consulting the companies' websites and the National Register Of Legal Entities.

The data collection, although exploratory, allows us to underline five important aspects regarding this group formed by 21 business actors: (i) among the members of “Parceiros,” none worked in the private education sector; (ii) the segment with the greatest presence is the financial market (six), in addition to an insurance company that indirectly approaches this segment; (iii) the second business sector with the greatest presence is law firms (2); (iv) only three are non-profit; and (v) 11 (52.3%) are associated with transnational business groups.

The distinctions between the three organizations named Institute or Foundation are also emphasized, since they represent philanthrocapitalism in Brazil. The first, Lemann Foundation, has assumed a prominent role in defining educational policy at the national level, including the financing of campaigns of federal deputies Tábata Amaral (SP), Daniel José (SP), Felipe Rigoni (ES), Tiago Mitraud (MG), and Daniel José (SP) (Montesanti, 2019). The deputies have in common the fact that they took courses at American universities with the support of the Foundation. This is the social arm of the “Lemann Group,”

whose founder, Jorge Paulo Lemann, is also one of the main investors of the Eleva Educação Group, an education holding company, created in 2013, which operates both in the direct offer of private education, through its own schools, and in the development of a private education system adopted by about 80 schools. In turn, part of the investment required to create this holding company came from Gera, a venture investment company of the same group, focused on educational ventures (Adrião & Domiciano, 2018, p.5).

Instituto Credit Suisse Hedging-Griffo, the main social investment of Credit Suisse, presents itself as a Social Investment Manager, whose differential is in the application of its expertise arising from the performance in the financial market to select social investments that present results for the social “portfolios” of philanthropists. The website of the Institute informs that one of its “objectives is to transform the culture of philanthropy in Brazil so that it goes from being punctual and amateur to becoming continuous, professional, and impactful.”

The third non-profit association, Instituto Rukha, closed its activities in 2011, while AME Campos de Jordão develops activities focused on the host city.

A second group of philanthrocapitalists is directly integrated by companies linked to the financial sector: BTG Pactual, GP Investimentos, Ourinvest, Rio Bravo Investimento, and Tarpon Investimentos. Indirectly, it is considered that Porto Seguros Seguradora has a close relationship with this sector.

Schools served by the Empresa Educadora program from 2006 to 2010: conditions of educational provision and student performance according to Saesp

According to information obtained from FDE by the Citizen Service, the Empresa Educadora program served, from 2006 to 2010, a total of 181 schools, distributed in each year according to Table 1.

Table 1

Number of schools benefited by the Empresa Educadora program from 2006 to 2010

Year	Number of schools served
2006	37
2007	15
2008	25
2009	51
2010	53
Total	181

According to the text of the project informed by FDE, the initiative:

... opens perspectives for public school service, in issues ranging from the conservation and maintenance of school buildings to investment in pedagogical projects for the cultural enrichment of students and educators, and in actions that provide favorable conditions for the operation of spaces such as laboratories, libraries, courts, and others that can increasingly provide the school community with modern resources (Matheus, SICSP/FDE, 2020)

The analytical category **conditions of educational offer** was adopted as a synthesis effort on a set of inputs that present the possible impacts of the Empresa Educadora program.

The construction of this category took into account information regarding the selected school units according to the length of stay in the project. Thus, of the 37 schools that joined in 2006, 23 remained until 2010. However, during the process of refining the information, two units with ambiguities in the data were discarded, leaving 21 school units for analysis.

Information on the offer conditions have been obtained from the microdata of the National Educational Censuses and the State Censuses for the years 2007 to 2010²⁰. Information were also requested from the State Secretariat of Education and Education Development Foundation, using the Access to Information Law.

Based on Carreira and Pinto (2007) and Dourado and Oliveira (2009), the conditions of educational offer were formed by data relating to the infrastructure, classified for the purposes of this analysis as follows:

1. **General conditions:** refer to the guarantee of general facilities adequate to the offer of education, such as: existence of drinking water; sewage system, electricity, and garbage collection.
2. **School facilities:** school environment with adequate conditions to carry out teaching activities, such as: teachers' room, reading room/library, science laboratory, computer laboratory, and space for recreational and sports activities such as sports court.

²⁰ Microdata processing was performed using SPSS software.

3. **Equipment:** TV, copier, printer; computers available for student use and internet access for online research.
4. **Student performance:** the results of the Saresp/Idesp evaluations are considered.

To get a glimpse of the 21 schools involved in the program, chart 4 presents information on: number of enrollments; stages of education; names of companies, institutes, foundations, and NGOs; and organization that coordinated the Empresa Educadora program in each of the educational units.

Chart 4

Schools benefited by the Empresa Educadora program from 2006 to 2010, regarding the number of enrollments, stages of education, partner companies, and project coordination

State school - 2006-2010 ²¹	Enrol. 2007	Enrol. 2010	Stages of education	Private actor	Coordination	Changes of partner company and/or coordination
Alcides da Costa - Vidigal	724	689	ES – Early Years	Sertrading S/A	Associação Pró-Saber	Since 2009 Parceiros da Educação AND company Sertrading S/A e Santa Elina
Professora Marina Cintra	1,468	1,414	ES – Early Years and Middle school ²²	Ouro Investe	Associação Pró-Saber	Since 2008 Parceiros da Educação
Professora Nair Hiroko Konno Hashimoto	1,045	948	ES – Early Years	Tarpon Investimentos	Parceiros da Educação	No change
Paulo Eiró	652	600	ES – Early Years	Marcelo Adorno Empresa M13I Technology	Associação Pró-Saber	Since 2008 Parceiros da Educação
Professor Pedro Voss	316	305	ES – Early Years	Marcelo e Heloisa Saad	Parceiros da Educação	No change
Professor Homero dos Santos Fortes	1,352	1,310	ES – Early Years	Porto Seguro	Associação Crescer Sempre	No change
Professora Etelvina de Góes Marcucci	2,336	2,270	ES – Middle school and High School	Porto Seguro Seguros	Associação Crescer Sempre	No change

²¹ All schools listed in Chart 4 joined the program in 2006. Highlighted in bold are the schools that remained until 2010; the others have records that they remained in the program until 2009.

²² In 2007, the school offered only the early years of Elementary School.

Professora Guiomar Rocha Rinaldi	1,487	806	ES – Middle school and High School	Instituto Unibanco	Parceiros da Educação	No change
Professora Iria Barbieri Vita.	844	797	ES – Middle school and High School	Projeto Empresa & Escola - de mãos dadas pela Educação	FDE Escola em Parceria	No change
Maria Zilda Gamba Natel	1,855	1,874	ES – Middle school and High School	Porto Seguro Seguros	Associação Crescer Sempre	No change
Parque Residencial Almerinda Chaves	1,516	1,088	ES – Middle school and High School	Cia de Saneamento de Jundiaí	Parceiros da Educação	No change
Professor Lourival Gomes Machado	1,462	1,131	ES – Middle school and High School	Instituto Unibanco	Parceiros da Educação	No change
Professor Vicente Rao	2,021	1,916	ES – Middle school and High School	Fundação Lemann	Parceiros da Educação	No change
João XXIII	1,023	1,414	ES – Early Years and Middle School High School ²³	Instituto Unibanco	Parceiros da Educação	No change
Presidente Café Filho	1,698	2,134	ES – Early Years and Middle School High School ²⁴	Instituto Rukha	Parceiros da Educação	No change
Luis Gonzaga Travassos da Rosa	792	817	ES – Early Years and Middle School High School	Sertrading S/A	Associação Pró-Saber	Since 2008 Parceiros da Educação AND company Jair Ribeiro – Braxis
Professora Maria Hilda Ornelas de Oliveira	1,040	879	ES – Early Years and Middle School High School	Visteon Sistemas Automotivos	Parceiros da Educação	No change
Doutor Francisco Brasiliense Fusco	1,295	1,366	ES – Early Years and Middle School High School	Grupo YPY	Associação Pró-Saber	Since 2009 Parceiros da Educação AND company GRUPO ABC
Presidente Roosevelt	1,487	1,459	ES – Early Years and Middle School High School	Ana Mª Diniz - AMD Participações	Associação Pró-Saber	Since 2009 Parceiros da Educação

²³ In 2007, the school offered only Middle School and High School

²⁴ In 2007, the school offered only Middle School and High School.

Professor Theodoro Corrêa Cintra	1,794	1,864	High School	AME Campos	Parceiros da Educação	No change
Vilma Aparecida Anselmo Silveira	592	682	ES – Middle School	Mangels Indústria e Comércio Ltda	Associação Pró-Saber	Since 2007 Parceiros da Educação

It is noticed the predominance of participation in the program of schools that offered the final years of Middle School and High School, since only six units with exclusive offer of the early years of Elementary School integrated the initial group, and most of the units, 14 (66%), offer High School.

Chart 4 also shows that in 2006, in seven schools, the project was coordinated by Associação Pró-Saber; Associação Crescer Sempre worked in three schools; FDE - Escola em Parceria, in turn, coordinated only one school. The largest presence was that of the Parceiros da Educação group, which concentrated its activities in 10 units. The last column of the table shows the changes in the coordination of the project in some units throughout the period and reaffirms the protagonism of Parceiros da Educação, which further expanded its performance, adding under its coordination the seven schools that were previously coordinated by Associação Pró-Saber, totaling 17 of the 21 schools selected for analysis.

Regarding the general infrastructure conditions, in 2007 all schools had filtered water, public electricity network, and periodic garbage collection. Only one school was not served by the public sewer system, a number that increased to four in 2010. The other schools maintained, in 2010, the same conditions presented in 2007, as shown in Chart 5.

Chart 5

Infrastructure conditions of schools, general conditions, facilities, and equipment in 2007 and 2010

Category	Conditions	2007	2010
General conditions	Filtered water	100%	100%
	Public electricity network	100%	100%
	Public sewage system	95.5%	81.9%
	Periodic garbage collection	100%	100%
Facilities	Computer Lab	100%	91%
	Science Lab	22.8%	27%
	Sports Court	100%	95.5%
	Reading room/Library²⁵	95.5%	95.5%
	Teachers room	100%	100%
Equipment	TV	100%	100%
	Printer	100%	95.5%
	Internet	100%	100%
	Copy machine	59%	54.5%

Source: prepared by the authors from the microdata of the school census for the years 2007 and 2010

Regarding the facilities, in 2007 all schools that participated in the Empresa Educadora program had a computer laboratory and a sports court. Only one unit had no reading room or library. The greatest shortage of schools was the Science Laboratory: in 2007, only five schools had this structure, and this number increased to six in 2010. There was therefore no significant improvement in this aspect. The same can be said about reading rooms and computer labs. The latter even ceased to exist in two schools in 2010.

Regarding the equipment necessary for the development of education, all schools had television, internet, and printer in 2007 and in only 12 schools there was a copier, and this number decreased to 11 in 2010, when one school no longer had a printer.

Concerning the number of computers available for students to use in schools, Chart 6 shows an improvement especially for those with up to 10 computers: in 2007, there were nine schools in this condition, decreasing to five in 2010. The improvement, however, was restricted to these cases, since in the period most schools (16 out of 21) had up to 20 computers for student use, and only five schools had more than 20 computers for this purpose. In view of the

²⁵ None of the schools had a library, only a reading room.

high number of enrollments met by these schools, the lack of most of them in this regard is evident.

Chart 6

Computers available for student use in schools in 2007 and 2010

Number of computers per school for student use	2007	2010
0-10	9 schools	5 schools
11-20	7 schools	11 schools
21-30	3 schools	3 schools
31-50	2 schools	2 schools

Regarding the conditions of educational provision, it is noted that the participation of schools in the Empresa Educadora program did not result in significant improvement, since the general conditions remained the same for most of the units in the selected period, except for the worsening in the supply of public water and sewage. Concerning the facilities, there were also no relevant changes in terms of quality expansion, on the contrary, there was a reduction in computer laboratories in 8% of the schools and a small expansion in what was the largest deficit of the units: the science laboratories. The latter, in 2007, were available in only 22% of schools, and in 2010, they were present in 27% of them. Finally, the number of student computers represented the only major improvement for schools with fewer computers.

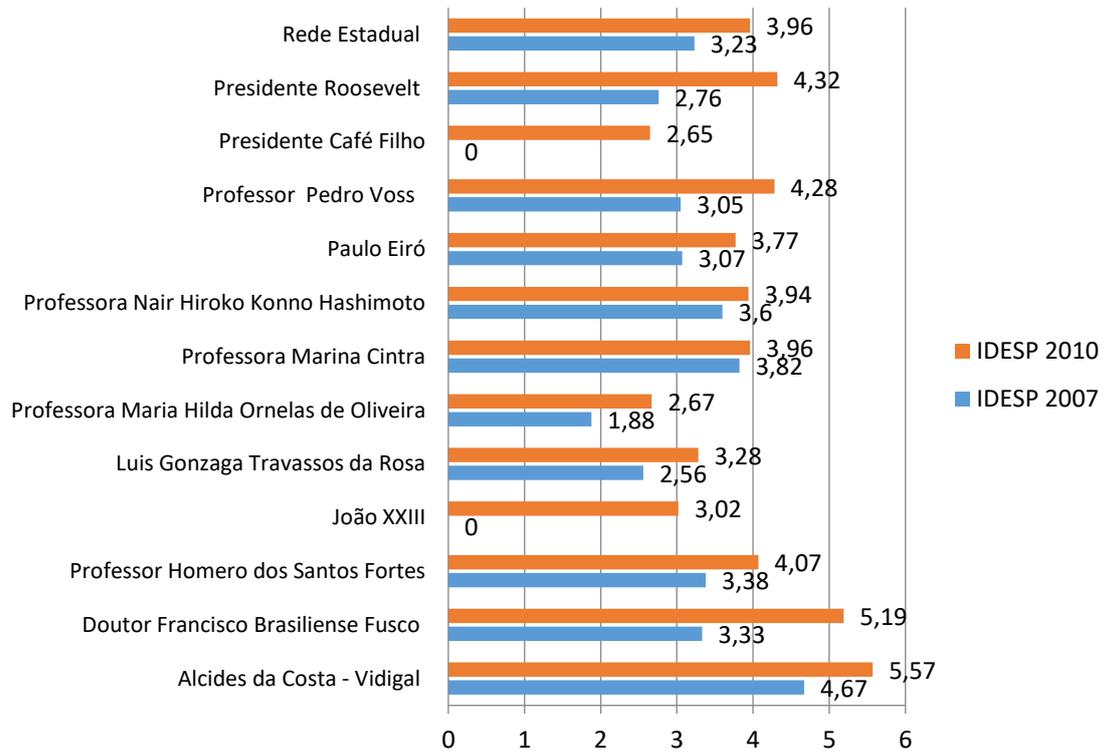
The performance of students enrolled in the 4th/5th grade of state schools showed improvement between 2007 and 2010, and the same occurred with the schools selected for this analysis, in Idesp²⁶, as shown in Graph 1. Nevertheless, among the 12 schools with offer for 4th and 5th grades, seven did not reach the state average in 2010. Two of them were, even in 2010, below the 2007 state average.

²⁶ The Education Development Index of the State of São Paulo (Idesp) is a quality indicator of the initial (1st to 5th grade) and final (6th to 9th grade) grades of Elementary School and High School. Idesp considers two complementary criteria: the performance of students in the Saresp exams and the school flow. The school flow is measured by the average approval rate at each stage of education, being the initial grades and final grades of Elementary School and High School, collected by the School Census. Retrieved from: <http://idesp.edunet.sp.gov.br/2019/>

Graph 1

Idesp of 4th/5th grade elementary school students in 2007 and 2010 in schools participating in the Empresa Educadora program

IDESP 4º/5ºANO ENSINO FUNDAMENTAL



Source: prepared by the authors from information from Idesp²⁷

In 2007, the Idesp of the state network for the initial years was 3.23, and, in 2010, it increased to 3.96. Despite the improvement observed in practically all schools in the period, those that in 2007 already had the Idesp below the state average remained below the average in 2010, except for two schools that showed a significant improvement.

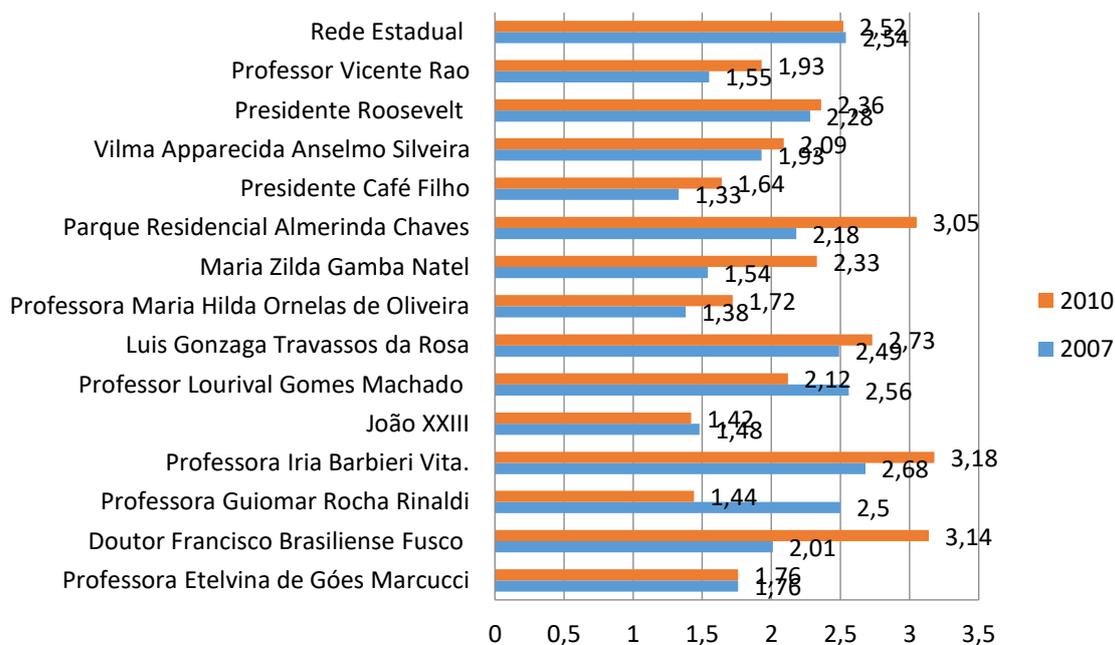
Students enrolled in the final years of Elementary School had no improvement in the Idesp results for the selected period. There were even schools in which the Idesp was lower in 2010, as shown in Graph 2.

²⁷ Information about the Idesp of the schools can be found at the link: http://idesp.edunet.sp.gov.br/boletim_escola.asp?ano=2010#

Graph 2

Idesp of 8th/9th grade elementary school students in 2007 and 2010 in schools participating in the Empresa Educadora program

IDESP 8º/9ºANO ENSINO FUNDAMENTAL



Source: prepared by the authors from information from Idesp²⁸

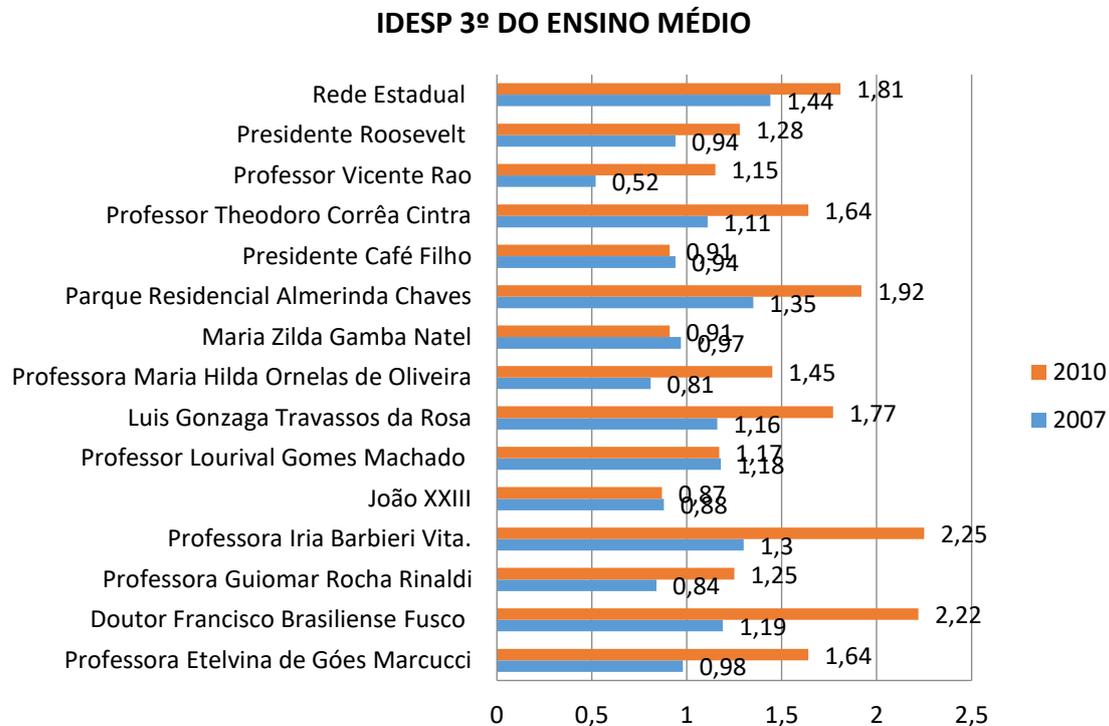
Graph 2 also indicates, for most of the 14 schools selected, the maintenance of Idesp, or when there was improvement, it was below the network average. Only three units presented indices higher than the state average in 2010. In 2007, only two units of the program had an Idesp higher than the state average.

Graph 3 presents information on Idesp for the third year of High School of the schools participating in the Empresa Educadora program. One can see that in 2007 all schools had an Idesp below the state average, which was 1.44. In 2010, only three schools exceeded this average, which rose to 1.81. The other schools, although registering an improvement in the performance measured by Idesp, failed to reach the state average Idesp.

²⁸ Information about the Idesp of the schools can be found at the link: http://idesp.edunet.sp.gov.br/boletim_escola.asp?ano=2010#

Graph 3

Idesp of third-year high school students in 2007 and 2010 in schools participating in the Empresa Educadora program



In summary, if we take the information related to the performance indicator adopted by the São Paulo government, it was not possible to identify significant impacts of the Empresa Educadora program in the other aspect on which it proposed to act: student performance in the Saresp/Idesp external tests.

One can observe, concerning Idesp, an improvement in the general state average in all segments of basic education, but this improvement was not observed in all the schools analyzed here, despite the existence of the Empresa Educadora program.

Final considerations

A first element to highlight in this second generation of privatization concerns the composition of the Associação Parceiros da Educação and its role in aligning groups and companies to influence public education in São Paulo, inaugurating in São Paulo in 2004 what the international literature would recognize as new philanthropy (Verger & Robertson, 2012) or

philanthrocapitalism (Bishop & Green, 2008). Still on the composition of the Association, the prominence of companies associated with the financial sector is notable, with emphasis on a new market “niche”: the management of a social investment portfolio proposed by the Instituto Credit Suisse Hedging-Griffo, the main social investment arm of Credit Suisse, and offered to the “new philanthropists” as a mechanism to increase the efficiency of their donations and, as far as possible, also bring financial returns to the “donors.”

Another aspect to highlight, to be confirmed in future research, is the inauguration in Brazil of a type of business articulation, organic and with the specific objective of focusing on educational policy, in these terms, anticipating what would be instituted at the national level by the NGO Todos pela Educação (Martins, 2019). It was not about recommendations for public education based on business interests, as promoted by the Grupo de Líderes Empresariais (Lide), organized by the former governor of São Paulo João Doria, elected in 2018; it is about the objective presence of companies in the proposition and operationalization of a project designed and proposed by this segment of civil society in the condition of a program for public education that replaces state action regarding education offer, curriculum, and school management. The actions, when analyzing the 21 units under study, focus with greater emphasis on the final years of elementary school and on high school, which may represent the focus of greatest interest of the business community.

Education offer, curriculum, and school management are considered by this study three fundamental dimensions of the privatization of basic education (Adrião, 2018), since they cover the set of responsibilities and fields of educational action traditionally assumed by the state in public education. The regulations that support the Empresa Educadora program provide that all dimensions of school education, therefore, can be transferred to some extent to companies directly or through their institutes and foundations, even if under various aspects effective results are not created.

Despite having as one of its objectives to promote the improvement of the infrastructure conditions of schools, especially regarding the guarantee of adequate facilities and the presence of environments and equipment that enable the provision of education, the data to which we had access through the microdata of the School Census did not reveal significant changes in these aspects.

Adherence to the Empresa Educadora program also had no significant impact on the educational results of students in Idesp. Some schools served by the project continued to have their indices below the state average. Others, however, showed improvement in results – which seems to be more a reflection of the growth of Idesp observed in the state network in all segments of basic education in the period than the result of the performance of the Empresa Educadora program on schools.

One cannot deny, however, that despite not verifying relevant effects concerning the announced objectives, the program was effective in expanding the corporate incidence in a more articulated way on São Paulo Education, representing progress compared to the previous period in the forms of privatization. It is reiterated that this movement does not occur without contradictions, and demands continuity in the studies.

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Submission data:

Submitted to evaluation in February 4, 2022; reviewed in February 4, 2022; accepted for publication in March 29, 2022.

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