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PUBLIC-PRIVATE "PARTNERSHIPS": SOME REFLECTIONS ON TEACHINGS THAT MOVES IN THE MUNICIPAL **EDUCATION NETWORK OF CARUARU -**PF

ABSTRACT

We problematize how teachers are affected in the ways of being a teacher according to "partnerships" between the public and private networks. We deal with partnerships from Adrião and Pinheiro (2012), Adrião (2018), Peroni (2021) and inventiveness with Dias (2011, 2014). Partnerships seek to establish a minimized teaching and emerge as a device of power over the school and teaching.

Keywords: Teaching; Public-private partnerships; Inventiveness.

"PARCERIAS" PÚBLICO-PRIVADAS: **ALGUMAS REFLEXÕES SOBRE** DOCÊNCIAS QUE SE MOVEM NA REDE MUNICIPAL DE ENSINO DE CARUARU -PE

RESUMO

Problematizamos como professores são afetados nos modos de ser docente conforme "parcerias" entre as redes pública e privada. Tratamos as parcerias a partir de Adrião e Pinheiro (2012), Adrião (2018), Peroni (2021) e inventividade com Dias (2011, 2014). As parcerias buscam instituir uma docência minimizada e emergem como dispositivo de poder sobre a escola e a docência.

Palavras-chave: Docência. Parcerias público-privadas. Inventividade.

"ASOCIACIONES" PÚBLICO-PRIVADAS: ALGUNAS REFLEXIONES SOBRE LAS ENSEÑANZAS QUE SE MUEVEN EN LA RED MUNICIPAL DE EDUCACIÓN DE **CARUARU - PE**

RESUMEN

Problematizamos cómo los docentes son afectados en los modos de ser docente a partir de las "asociaciones" entre las redes públicas y privadas. Tratamos las asociaciones de Adrião y Pinheiro (2012), Adrião (2018), Peroni (2021) y la inventiva con Dias (2011, 2014). Las alianzas buscan establecer una enseñanza minimizada y emerger como un dispositivo de poder sobre la escuela y la enseñanza.

Palabras clave: Enseñanza; Asociaciones público-privadas; Inventiva.

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1 INTRODUCTION

This article seeks to problematize the exercise of teaching that happens in the public networks of municipal education in the backwoods (*agreste*) of Pernambuco. Our incursion into some educational networks in this region has been due to our research exercises¹, whose main interest is focused on the processes of professionalization of teaching. From our presence in schools, we turn our attention to the existence of several programs and/or projects proposed and conducted by the private sector in public education networks. In this context, characterized by a significant role of the private sector in municipal education policies, we were able to observe how teachers and school management are affected in their exercise by the "partnerships" that take place between these sectors and the education departments.

In recent decades², the "partnerships between public and private", due to their significant presence in most Brazilian counties, have been a mark in the configuration of education policies in Brazil, mobilizing the attention of studies and researches such as those of Hypólito (2020), Adrião and Domiciano (2018), Adrião and Pinheiro (2012), Adrião (2018), Peroni (2021), among others, whose centrality is to understand the diversity of effects produced in the directions of public education, Especially when we consider the interests and disputes that are at stake in public-private relations, especially with regard to the concern with the values and objectives that guide the projects and programs that result from these "partnerships". It's important to point out that when unfolding in the school context, the policies in question go well beyond curricular prescriptions, whose movements have been guided mainly to and by the National Common Curriculum Base (*Base Nacional Curricular Comum* - BNCC), also affecting teacher training, school management and the creation of meanings of school and education, hence why it has deserved the attention of research in the area.

In this direction, by taking upon themselves the orientation of the practices of teachers and the management of the school, and by organizing and establishing routines in the daily school life, the projects and programs enable the emergence of other ways of being, being and becoming a teacher, to the extent that their exercise, in these contexts,

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¹"The professionality and professionalism of elementary school teachers: The case of public school teachers in the backwoods of the state of Pernambuco (*A profissionalidade e o profissionalismo de docentes do ensino fundamental: o caso de professores da rede pública da região agreste do estado de Pernambuco* 2012-2014)" - *Edital Ciências Humanas* - MCTI/CNPq. "Adherence to teaching: A study of the practices of elementary school teachers (*A adesão à docência: um estudo das práticas de professoras do ensino fundamental* 2016-2021)" - *Edital Universal* - MCTI/CNPq.

²On the configurations of educational policies of a neoliberal nature, see Silva and Santos (2022).

began to focus on the achievement of goals and objectives, thus being able to configure other teachings. We also noticed the existence of certain tensions between teacherschool-programs and projects, usually provoked by the submission of the teaching exercise to proposals and demands posed by the "partnerships". Such demands involve, above all, the ways of doing of the professorship, expressed in the planning of the activities with the students, and the relationship with the times involved in the plots of teaching-learning-evaluating and educating, since the programs often not only define, but also guide what to do, how to do, why to do and at what times it should be done. In this way, they end up advancing on the ways of doing, as well as on the shared knowledge and knowledge, surrounding the possibilities of inventiveness by exerting pressure on the exercise of teaching that is reduced to its technical dimension.

From this scenario, we think it's important to problematize teaching, which unfolds from it, considering some issues pointed out by the debate on the presence of neoliberal policies in the field of education, especially to seek to understand the effects of privatization movements, anchored in the "partnerships" between public and private. Therefore, we seek to think more carefully and carefully about, for example: how and in what sense has teaching been affected? Are there other teaching projects in dispute forged by partnership relationships? What? How have they been configured both in the proposed political actions and in the school contexts? What meanings have been produced about being and becoming a teacher and a teacher? And what meanings emerge about the school in school contexts marked by public-private "partnerships"?

In order to problematize such issues, and to approach teaching and its exercise in the context of the programs and projects proposed to the municipal public network by the private sector, we made the movement to return to the data built throughout the research in which we had greater attention to the process of teacher professionalization, especially in the development of professionalism. These data were constructed and analyzed from the methodological and analytical resources put forward by ethnography. The work of observation in the schools, the moments of conversations and the interviews carried out enabled our problematization and obtaining of data about the partnerships and the teaching exercise. In addition to the secondary data produced in previous research³, we also conducted a survey of publicized information about the programs and projects existing in the school network that were available on the official website of the city hall/Municipal Education Secretariat (*Secretaria de Educação Municipal*). From these

³Same note 1.

Debates em Educação | Maceió | Vol. 15 | Nº. 37 | Ano 2023 | DOI: <u>10.28998/2175-6600.2023v15n37pe15096</u>

movements, we seek to problematize how teachers of the municipal school network of Caruaru - PE are affected, in their exercise and ways of being a teacher, from the "partnerships", through projects and programs between the public network and private institutions.

To think about the possibilities of reconfigurations that emerge in teaching, from the movements that try to normalize the presence of the private sector in public schools, we understand that the privatization of education is not a homogeneous process, on the contrary, it occurs through various ways, forms, strands and actions in education (BOMENY; PRONKO, 2002), having as an important characteristic the transfer of State actions to business sectors, leading to a minimization of the presence of public power and greater participation of private initiative in public education that, according to Adrião (2018, p. 9), are "measures that have subordinated, directly and indirectly, compulsory education to the interests of corporations or organizations associated with them". It's important to emphasize how fundamental the privatization movements of public schools are for the affirmation of social, cultural and economic principles and values of a neoliberal nature, which, articulated with globalization movements, end up configuring projects of society that subordinate existences to the economy.

It's from the flexibility of government policies that the projects of society defended by neoliberalism are instituted. In this sense, "groups of entrepreneurs have presented to the public sector their positions, established pacts, carried out realignments and created strategies in order to influence discussions, planning, implementation and decision of the course of policies with governments" (MARTINS, 2016, p. 12). That is why the presence of the business sector as a "partner" of the public sector has been growing in the Ministry of Education (MEC) and in the state and municipal education secretariats.

Adrião (2018) problematizes these partnerships, questioning the use of the term itself, which, according to her, does not correspond to relations established between the public and private sectors since "partnership" involves symmetry, which does not reflect those that are carried out in the field of public education. For the author, this misplaced denomination masks movements and modes of privatization of public education. The reflections of Adrião (2018) point out that the presence of the private sector - in the form of "partnerships", is a movement towards the privatization of public education, since its existence is placed in the defense of an education focused on the interests of the market. We emphasize that in this same direction follow other authors, taken here as support to think about the privatization movements, such as: Hypólito (2020), Adrião and Domiciano (2018), Adrião and Pinheiro (2012), Adrião (2018), Peroni (2021), among others.

In addition to the issue highlighted above about the role of the public power that is inverted in the relationship with the private sector when it submits to it, we think it's important to reaffirm, as already done from the considerations of Adrião (2018), that the term "partnership" indicates horizontality of the relations between the parties involved. In the case of those established between private actors and municipal education departments, there is a contractual relationship, with political and economic interests, marked only by the "provision of a service" that was thought and defined, usually without participation and dialogue with the interested parties - teachers, pedagogical coordinators and school managers, qualified to debate by their experiences with the school and the municipal network. On the contrary, the decision-making processes that involve and define the partnerships, in the municipal network of Caruaru, usually happen without consulting or listening to the professors.

In this movement of the private sector in the direction of the public school - it's important to highlight that the way these partnerships are carried out indicate that they articulate narratives about the quality of teaching and public school - a quality that is only possible by a managerial and private order. Thus, private actors stand as an outlet for what they call and disseminate socially about the inefficiency and ineffectiveness of public schools and their teachers. Another aspect to be observed refers to the absence of teachers in the negotiations and decision-making processes that involve the adherence of the education networks to the programs and projects. Its absence may indicate that private actors disregard the knowledge of this group, perhaps because they intend to affirm the emphasis on a predominantly technical expertise, which prioritizes the methods of teaching, distancing themselves not only from the inventiveness present in teaching, but also putting into play the creation of other meanings of school and education.

It's in this sense that the private initiative, through the "partnerships" anchored in discourses that try to disqualify the education offered in the education networks, by putting in check the curriculum, the management of the school and the training of its teachers, moves trying to open gaps to assume the continuing education of teachers and managers, or to give direction to the curricular proposal of the networks. This is done through pedagogical and curricular programs and projects that unfold in proposals for teacher training (teaching and school management), didactic materials, handouts and booklets that do not leave room both for curricula and for the exercise of inventive and diverse teaching.

Thus, the partnerships are setting the tone of education policies in the counties, configuring a policy marked by managerialism in public education, feeding the belief that the management of education and school can follow the business model in order to

achieve "good" results, because it's in this logic "that the criteria, processes and indicators of efficient and successful management are found" (COMERLATTO; CAETANO, 2013, p. 248). Such efficiency has as an important measurement parameter the Basic Education Development Index (IDEB) which, via results, works as an important parameter for the efficiency and success of educational management, as well as substantiates the justifications for the establishment of "partnerships" between public and private, since they are supported by the unsatisfactory results of the IDEB. In view of the results, the private initiative proposes to the municipal secretariats the pedagogical programs and projects that aim to leverage the education indexes measured by the IDEB. This is a way for the private sector to both influence and be present in education and teacher training policies, instituting an educational agenda that is attentive to meeting the interests of the sector.

To better situate the context that involves public-private "partnerships" in the municipal school system of Caruaru, we contextualize the network and point out the projects and programs that are or were present in the municipal education policy and are articulated and conducted by private actors.

The city of Caruaru, considered the capital of the backwoods (*agreste*), is one of the most populous cities in the interior of the state and is considered one of the most important in the region. For having commercial, medical-hospital, educational (basic and higher education), cultural and tourist center⁴, attracts to the city large number of people from surrounding cities, who live, study and work in Caruaru. This movement made the city an economic, political and social reference for the counties of the region, which like Caruaru has in the manufacture of clothing, marketed in the well-known Sulanca Fair (*Feira da Sulanca*), its main economic activity.

The municipal public school system offers early childhood education, early years and final years of elementary school, and is one of the first in the region to offer full-time basic education. The modalities of education are distributed in schools that cover the urban and rural territory.

In our research on the education network, we identified the presence of some partnerships with private institutions⁵, as the *Fundação Lemann* and the *Instituto*

Debates em Educação | Maceió | Vol. 15 | Nº. 37 | Ano 2023 | DOI: 10.28998/2175-6600.2023v15n37pe15096

⁴Information in: Wikipedia (2022) and Instituto Brasileiro de Geografia e Estatística - IBGE (2022).

⁵In addition to the "partnerships" mentioned in the text, we present some programs and their respective institutions with which the municipal education network had or still has partnerships. They are: Partnership for Literacy in Collaboration (*Parceria pela Alfabetização em Regime de Colaboração* - PARC) - developed in a joint initiative of the Instituto Natura, Fundação Lemann and Associação Bem. Brazilian Network for Creative Learning (*Rede Brasileira de Aprendizagem Criativa* - RBAC); Right Time Program (*Programa Tempo Certo* - IQE). The programs and institutions listed were found on the website of the county of Caruaru/*Secretaria de Educação Municipal* (Municipal Education Secretariat).

Qualidade no Ensino (IQE)⁶. Among these "partnerships" we highlight the one established with IQE⁷ to problematize its effects on teaching and its exercise. In this article, we deal with the partnership of the IQE with the education network because it's longer than with the *Fundação Lemann*, although both have frequent performance in the education of the county, focusing their work both on curricular issues and on the training and exercise of teachers - teachers and school management.

The "partnership" with IQE was signed by the county in 2009, initially developing in the network the Qualiescola I, version of the program aimed at elementary school early years. Recently, it adopted Qualiescola II, aimed at the final years of elementary school, using as justification the need to raise IDEB grades in this segment of basic education. According to the general coordinator of IQE in Pernambuco, the actions of the program in Caruaru are:

continuing education of teachers and managers; periodic evaluations; school reinforcement and pedagogical duty, contribute to the county to achieve a better result in the IDEB, even exceeding the goals stipulated by the MEC (FREITAS, 2022, s/n).

We observed that the programs are generally crossed by the discourse of the quality of teaching, intending to qualify what is not so good (the public school). Among the actions that they believe as capable of bringing quality to public education are the evaluations that emerge more as a control device of the school and the teachers, than as an inventive space in which the practices of the teachers can be questioned/thought.

As an offshoot of the pilot project Quality in School, the programs *Qualiescola*, *Proformador*, *Gestão Escolas*, *Alfabetização*, *Reinventando a Educação* and *Projetos Especiais* emerged - each proposal focused on the specificities of the educational field, aiming to contemplate the "needs of the education networks". By partnering with IQE, the education networks acquire the "complete package" with didactic and pedagogical

⁶Information available at: <u>https://caruaru.pe.gov.br/secretaria-de-educacao-cumpre-agenda-externa-e-participa-de-formacoes-ministradas-pelo-iqe-e-fundacao-lemann/</u>. Access in: July 17th 2022.

⁷To better understand the performance of the IQE in Caruaru, it's important to situate the context of origin of the IQE in Brazil. With the proposal to improve teaching in public schools, collaborating with the quality of national education, IQE emerged in 1994, in São Paulo, as a non-profit civil association of educational and social assistance character, maintained with the support of private companies and partnerships with governments. According to IQE's official website, the partnership that began in the state of São Paulo was expanded to other states with the Quality in School Project (*Projeto Qualidade na Escola -* PQE), strengthening partnerships between private companies and governments. The project implemented a reorganization of the São Paulo education system and other partner education networks. In Pernambuco, the partnership with IQE, via PQE, began in 1999 in some schools in the capital, Recife, and later extended to other regions of the state. More information about IQE at: https://www.iqe.org.br/instituto/instituto.php. Access in: July 17th 2022.

materials produced by the institute and notebooks and/or apostilles with instructions for training the technicians who will "train" the teachers of the education networks.

The institute, through Qualiescola, in the first semester of 2022, "trained" groups of professionals appointed by SEDUC to carry out continuing education in Caruaru and accompany the schools with visits. These aim to monitor the teaching work in order to ensure quality and efficiency in teaching and learning, as proposed by IQE. We call attention to the training of teachers of Qualiescola that intends: to train professionals appointed by SEDUC to conduct continuing education. With this proposal, the Qualiescola is a repetition, but not the one that repeats to cause ruptures, erasures, splits, but the one that when repeating gives continuity, reproduces and maintains. We think that this maintenance, continuity, reproduction in continuing education is due to the insistence on the ways of conceiving and proposing training - usually without participation and listening to teachers, without recognition of their ways of doing, their knowledge and knowledge, which in movement are articulated, enabling questions about being and becoming a teacher. The repetition of the continuing education, despite its limitations.

2 PUBLIC-PRIVATE RELATIONS: MOVEMENTS OF INSISTENCE AND RESISTANCE TOWARDS OTHER WAYS OF BEING AND BECOMING A TEACHER

We return here to the understanding of privatization to think about how teaching has been affected by the "partnerships" between public and private. We understand these privatist movements as the minimization of the presence of public power in education, from partnerships established with private sectors, which result in a relationship of subordination from the first to the second (ADRIÃO, 2018). According to the author, in education, this relationship can happen in three dimensions: in the educational offer when there is, for example, public funding in private institutions; in the dimension of the management of public education - when there is the subordination to the private sector of the processes related to the definition of the means and ends of education; and in the dimension of the curriculum, in which:

the private sector determines for schools, networks or public systems the curricular designs, either through advisories, the provision of educational technologies and other curricular inputs, or even through the Private Education Systems (SPE). It's about the privatization of the pedagogical processes *stricto sensu*, involving the relations between teacher, student and knowledge (ADRIÃO, 2018, p. 12).

The dimension of the privatization of the curriculum and its consequences on teacher education could be observed in the municipal school network of Caruaru from the Qualiescola program. This is characterized on the official website of the IQE and in the program document itself as a set of articulated actions of intervention in school practice, in which they are highlighted:

- Continuing education of in-service teachers, through face-to-face workshops, conducted by IQE or technicians of the Department of Education trained by the Institute, and study of support materials.
- Advising school managers, who participate in periodic workshops focused on improving school management.
- Learning assessment of all students, conducted every six months, to monitor the evolution of learning and guide school planning.
- School reinforcement or learning support, formation of groups of students who will receive materials appropriate to different characteristics and learning rhythms.
- **Construction of participatory management**, through the formation of Advisory Councils, in which representatives of the school, parents and the community meet, expanding the capacity of interaction of the school with its surroundings. (IQE, 2022, p. 1).

We observe, from this document, that the program crosses the school in the dimension of the curriculum and, mainly, of the pedagogical processes, as stated by Adrião (2018), since they produce effects in the relations between teachers, students and knowledge. It's worth mentioning that the teaching exercise seems to be affected to the extent that the actions proposed by Qualiescola tend to dominate the school territory and the teachers, with prescriptions of how, and what should be done, without considering the school as a place of suspension and attention, as they discuss Masschelein e Simons (2014). From the perspective of these authors, the school, the place of thought, enables ruptures, because it's not the continuity of the family or the social world. On the contrary, the school can put these experiences in parentheses, suspending time and being the place of leisure, that is, place of thought, of study, because the time mobilized by the school is the free time without the markings of a chronological time that, all filled, does not leave the time that study and thought need to happen. From these considerations about the school, we think that this sense goes against the sense of school that is organized from a managerial/business perspective, in which order, routines and time conceived as productive/productivist end up overlapping with it as a place for thought and study.

In the dimension of the curriculum, still according to Masschelein and Simons (2014), when knowledge is placed within the curriculum, it becomes a school subject, separate from daily and immediate application. That is, knowledge does not serve only because it has a practical utility. We can know only to feel admiration, or curiosity, or pleasure, when we read a text or solve a mathematical problem. From this perspective, we

question to what extent the adoption of apostilled "curricular arrangements" can forge a non-utilitarian relationship with study and knowledge, since the linking of the private sector with the public involves market interests, in the sense that its relationship with the curriculum assumes the discourse of a useful knowledge and that defends above all the formation of a citizen - proactive, entrepreneur and able to solve problems.

The way Qualiescola is structured draws our attention to what Peroni (2021, p. 27) calls the process of "direction and execution at the same time", since the program, articulated to the IQE, executes its proposal through the training and evaluation of the monitoring of the program in the education network. For us, it's worth thinking about the performance of Qualiescola also from the concept of technologies of power - "methods that allow the minute control of the operations of the body, which ensure the constant subjection of its forces and impose on them a relationship of docility-utility" (FOUCAULT, 2021, p. 21). We identified these technologies of power, for example, in the way Qualiescola directs teacher training and exercise, as well as in the way it establishes methods for teaching and learning - acting in the pedagogical processes in the relationship between teachers-students and knowledge, in addition to assuming actions of control and supervision of the program - on-site visits, evaluation of students and definition and conduct of continuing education. In this direction, we think that the proposal of the program can be articulated to the domination and subjectivation of teaching and its exercise, through power devices, such as the proposal of training for the execution of the program in the network and the system of apostilles - didactic sequences of the program "Qualiescola", which can favor the control of the students learning and the teaching exercise.

Our attention is drawn to the attempt to control the teaching and learning processes by its approximation with a perspective of educational organization inspired by the business model, considered by neoliberalist entrepreneurs to be the differential that public education needs. Hence why they present themselves with a discourse of quality and solutions to educational problems. On the IQE website, for example, the institute appears to "improve the efficiency of teaching in public schools". According to the statement, the IQE emerges as a probable solution to the challenges of public education, as being able to promote improvement in the quality of public education. It's worth mentioning that we question what is meant by quality, or rather, what is the logic of quality defended by institutions belonging to the business world? It seems to us that this "quality" is not focused on social equity, for example, but approaches a training perspective that seeks to meet the demands of the market.

In this context, the bureaucratization, control and supervision of teaching work, disguised in the discourse of improvement and quality of education, present in the objectives of Qualiescola, are factors that seem to indicate a privatization of public education in a subjective and ideological dimension, transcending the economic dimension, commonly treated by researchers in the field of education policy and financing. This dimension, which we call here the subjective and ideological privatization of public education, refers to what is called government management, understood as: "a new art of governance exercised thoroughly, at the level of individual detail, and at the same time, over the social whole" (VEIGA-NETO, 2016, p. 65), an art articulated to what is called biopower, "a power that applies to the lives of individuals" (VEIGA-NETO, 2016, p. 65), enables rulers to regulate, control and subjugate the population through various techniques.

In this direction, Foucault (1987) proposes reflections on the power that we consider important to think about the relations that involve the privatization of public education, by problematizing how the mechanisms used to control individuals are changed, from physical force to a subjective dimension, through the rules of coexistence that are incorporated into social life and create/provoke docile bodies, through governmentality - "limited" autonomy/freedom. It's in this sense that the Qualiescola program seeks to control the teaching exercise from, for example, the formations and the apostilles intended for students. The reflections based on Foucault's ideas also allow us to identify relations of privatization of public education beyond the economic dimension. We observed that these relations involve instituting the neoliberal and hegemonic ideology of investors who act both in the financing of education, and creating docile bodies to guarantee their interests hidden in a movement of governmentality. This movement can be identified, for example, in the operation structure of the Qualiescola program:

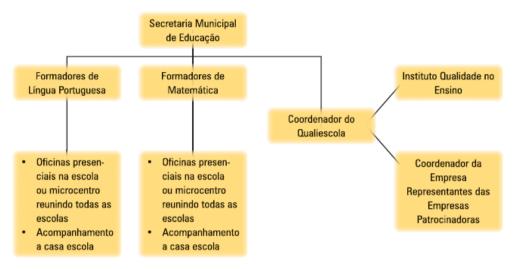


Figure 1: Structure of operation of the Qualiescola Program

In the structure presented we did not identify "partnership" that proposes to think about teaching considering its inventive power or that considers the existence of its expertise, on the contrary, the way the actions are organized implies that the professorship only reproduces content systematized by the program, something that, analyzed under the inspiration of the concept of governmentality, allows us to say that teachers face movements that minimize their autonomy/freedom, considering that the material made available consists of didactic sequences with activities already elaborated, distributed in the bimonthly plans to be operationalized by the teachers of the school network.

The devices used by Qualiescola and other similar programs have certainly caused tensions that affect the ways of being and being teachers (LINS; CAMPOS, 2020), since they are reserved the place of mastering competencies and skills (DIAS, 2011), within a perspective of neoliberal society and education. In this, the skill is understood as a sequence of movements in which the target is to achieve goals and objectives for the solution of problems, justifying training proposals that emphasize the reproduction of techniques without opening space to problematize them.

To problematize teaching minimized to the use of techniques, we seek to escape the notion of continuing education, as it's usually offered by the education network or by the projects and programs present in the network - formations with time, space, objectives, contents and materials previously defined and organized, and commonly without the necessary listening of the professorship. We seek to pay attention to the formation that happens when teachers meet to think, problematize, question, say about how projects and programs, especially, challenge them, as well as challenge the school. This is a teacher

Source: IQE (2022a).

training that takes place through the encounter with others, with whom they share the feeling of belonging, experiencing and experiencing the school shared among students, management team, families and with their own peers.

This is not a formation "formatted" with time, content, pre-defined materials. It's the opposite of the one officially offered by the school network. We refer to inventive training, as defended by Dias (2011, 2014) and Kastrup (2012), here understood as an experience, as something that affects us in such a way that it can change our ways of acting, not in the sense of getting ready to solve problems, but inventing them, and can, in this movement, become other teachers by reaffirming the exercise of teaching with autonomy and invention.

Present in the school, we could observe that the teachers, despite the educational policy of the network being guided by the partnership with private institutions, create movements that seem to us, at first glance, unimportant, because they are a minority before the occupation of the school by the projects and programs, but we consider that they are powerful, because they carry possibilities to face the attempts to establish ways of being, to become and be a teacher, imbued with managerialist principles and values. As Ball points out (2005, p. 548), "classroom practice is increasingly 'remodeled' to respond to new external demands. Teachers are 'thought out' and characterized in new ways; more and more are 'thought off' as technicians in pedagogy". Contrary to this teaching project, teachers inventively create other paths, mobilizing experiences, knowledge, knowledge, values, affections and memories that inhabit their expertise. Thus, the class is lived, for example, as a space-time to develop an attentive listening to the issues and challenges posed by children and their learning. Listening, situated in the search of teachers to provoke, mobilize the taste for study and learning.

In this sense, they offered, thought, produced various activities and materials without letting themselves be limited by the apostille mode, manuals and activities, prescriptions of programs and projects. With regard to planning, this escaped beyond meeting the demands posed by the programs. We realized that the planning for the teachers who were with us throughout the research, is not just a product or the materialization of a document about tasks that were fulfilled. It was for some teachers an individual and also collective space-time to think about what is important to teach and why, how to teach and how to touch children so that they can develop a taste for learning. This space-time was created despite the ready-made plans sent by the programs. Even happening in the gaps, without the ideal conditions, still the time was forged by the teachers to think about the challenges that involve the exercise of teaching.

As already highlighted, the Qualiescola program affects the pedagogical processes, the relationships between teachers, students and knowledge. Therefore, they seek in the formations or with the didactic materials to "offer" to the teachers other forms of classes, because "The practice of the classroom is increasingly 'remodeled' to respond to the new external demands [...]" (BALL, 2005, p. 548). Thus, classes seem to be thought of by projects and programs as if it were possible for them to happen as they were "programmed". However, we observed teachers going in the opposite direction - letting themselves be guided by the flow of events, such as the creation of space-time so that children could express what they knew, but also what they did not know. Although minority movements, we think that they are important movements of tension and resistance among teachers who think of school, teaching and education in disagreement with education projects anchored in neoliberal values and principles, especially education as a market and commodity.

In public-private "partnerships", a mode of privatization of public education, school, education and teaching are put at risk, as Masschelein and Simons (2014, p. 7) affirm, because they are thought of from the perspective of neoliberalism. The school, the teaching, the curriculum and, through them, the younger generation are tamed in order to meet the interests of neoliberalism at stake. In the context of Qualiescola, we observed that the teaching work seems to be affected to the extent that the actions proposed by the program approach the movement of domination that Masschelein and Simons (2014) problematize, and of governance by biopower, as discussed by Veiga-Neto (2016, p. 65): "a power that applies to the lives of individuals", in which the rulers regulate, they control and subjugate the population through various techniques. The attempt to govern the teaching exercise that we identified in the proposals of Qualiescola points to a teaching centered on the instrumentalization of the professorship, on the development of skills and competencies for the practice of reproduction of content that prepares for the labor market.

3 SOME CONSIDERATIONS, ALWAYS PROVISIONAL

In this article, although we have taken the Qualiescola program, offered by IQE to the municipal school network of Caruaru, to think about the "partnerships" between public and private and their effects on teaching, we observed that in the same school there is more than one program at the same time. This occupation by the programs indicates the intensity of these partnerships in the public education networks and shows how much it affects teaching, since it can end up constituting an element that crosses the inventive possibilities in the exercise of teaching. The demands and controls of the teaching activities by the programs occur when they articulate the constant presence in the school of the technicians/trainers representing the IQE, with indication of didactic and pedagogical material to be used by the teachers, in the external evaluations and the mastery of the formations assumed by the institute, among other actions. Hence why the "partnership" with the private sector can be understood as a device of power used over school and teaching.

In the debates about teaching and its exercise, the importance of looking carefully at the programs and projects is reaffirmed, because these seem to dispute and seek to institute another way of being and becoming a teacher: perhaps a teaching minimized by the knowledge reduced to the exercise of instrumental technique, focused on learning with little attention to problematize teaching, for this is reduced and standardized by handouts and primers.

The "partnerships" devalue the time of the encounter with peers, of the agglomeration, since the decrease in exchanges can leave the ground free so that another teaching can be established without major resistance movements. Resistance, for us, that becomes possible through the movements of inventiveness. As an example of this movement, we have the reduction or even the absence of a space-time for planning, an important activity in the exercise of teaching so that teachers can think together and establish exchanges about challenges of teaching, teaching, curriculum and school. The control over this time makes it possible to forge a teaching that acts alone, in a solitary and not collective exercise. Finally, we saw as a possibility of escape from education as a commodity an inventive teaching that combats the disputes around the production of other teaching.

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