



## Implications of the New Public Management in Education: Comparative Analysis between Brazil and Angola<sup>1</sup>

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**Abstract:** This article seeks to analyze the setup of the New Public Management in the educational field in Angola and Brazil between 1988 and 2017. The study that grounds this paper was carried out through bibliographic and archival research. Aiming to understand the phenomenon researched beyond a unilateral perspective, we decided to ground this analysis on the comparative paradigm. We understood that the guidelines and prescriptions of the economic field, and the political changes are environments to be taken into account in the current educational reforms in Brazil and Angola, since those environments impact straightforwardly the public spheres management patterns. Abstracting from this reality dimension in the context of both Lusophone countries enables us to identify the closeness and distances between them, as well as uncover the convergences and divergences of the political, social, and economical context, which reality claims more research.

**Keywords:** New Public Management; Comparative Studies; Educational Management; Educational Policy

### **Implicaciones de la Nueva Gestión Pública para la educación: Análisis comparativo entre Brasil y Angola**

**Resumen:** Se propone de este artículo analizar la configuración de la Nueva Gestión Pública en el campo educativo en Angola y Brasil en el período de 1988 a 2017. La investigación que fundamenta el presente texto tiene abordaje cualitativo y fue realizada a partir de levantamiento bibliográfico y documental. Buscando comprender el fenómeno investigado más allá de una mirada unilateral, optamos por la referencia del estudio comparado como el orientador de la conducción del presente estudio. Comprendemos que las orientaciones y prescripciones del campo económico y los cambios en el ámbito político son contextos que deben ser considerados en las reformas educativas en curso en Brasil y Angola, ya que éstas inciden directamente en los modelos de gestión de las esferas públicas. Abstractar la dimensión de esta realidad en el contexto de estos dos países lusófonos permite identificar las aproximaciones y distanciamientos entre ambos países y, también, descortinar las confluencias y divergencias del contexto político, social y económico, cuya realidad carece de investigaciones.

**Palabras-clave:** Nueva Gestión Pública; Estudios Comparados; Gestión Educativa; Política Educativa

### **Implicações da Nova Gestão Pública para a educação: Análise comparativa entre Brasil e Angola**

**Resumo:** É proposta deste artigo analisar a configuração da Nova Gestão Pública no campo educacional em Angola e Brasil no período de 1988 a 2017. A pesquisa que fundamenta este texto tem abordagem qualitativa e foi realizada a partir de levantamento bibliográfico e documental. Para compreensão do fenômeno investigado, a partir de um olhar multifocal, optamos pela referência do estudo comparado como o norteador do presente estudo. Comprendemos que as orientações e prescrições do campo econômico e as mudanças no âmbito político são contextos que devem ser considerados nas reformas educacionais em curso no Brasil e em Angola, uma vez que essas incidem diretamente nos modelos de gestão das esferas públicas. Abstractar a dimensão do contexto desses dois países lusófonos permite identificar as aproximações e distanciamientos entre ambos os países e, também, descortinar as confluências e divergências do contexto político, social e econômico, cuja realidade carece de investigações.

**Palavras-chave:** Nova Gestão Pública; Estudos Comparados; Gestão Educacional; Política Educacional

## Introduction

The forms assumed by public management throughout history are determined by the conception of the State that underlies them, which characterizes them as environments of dispute, since the redefinition of the role of the State has constituted itself as an alternative for overcoming the crises inherent to the capital. Thus, the strengthening of state action as a provider of public services in the social and economic fields in the 1940s directly affected the bureaucratic form assumed by public management in that historical moment, whose precepts focus on efficiency, to be obtained through a rational model based on impersonality, authority, hierarchy, among other elements that gave the public sector a rigid fence.

The resumption of liberal foundations in the 1970s was accompanied by the prerogative of reordering this form of management, “repositioning the market as the best and most efficient regulator of relationships established in society and a model of efficiency in the provision of services to the population” (Scaff, 2017, p. 147). In this perspective, the conception of Management State (Newman & Clarke, 2012) has been used as an expression of the modernization of public administration, whereby the State ceases to be considered as provider of public services, and acts as regulator of the activities carried out by the market. Reforms oriented to this conception of State have been denominated as managerialists, and its foundations are found in post-bureaucratic theories, whose organizational type is characterized by flexible organizations, producing consensus through the institutionalization of dialogue, with emphasis on mutual trust (Vasconcelos, 2004).

In this new model, people would work radically differently, recognizing the collective and organic nature of work, adjusting and continually redefining their jobs, tasks, and objectives in light of the unstable environment in which they stand. In these organizations, personal commitment beyond the formal assignments of positions is valued, the creation of an organizational culture centered on collective performance is encouraged. Moreover, structures of communication, control and network authority are adopted. Authority is seen as the result not only of the formal properties of the job but of the personal skills of employees and their ability to achieve results in the face of uncertainty and continual change. (Vasconcelos, 2004, p. 201)

In opposition to the considered old, bureaucratic, expensive and inefficient public administration, the “New Public Management” (NGP) is pointed as reference of governability of the State. This is a set of principles of private management that are indicated for the optimization of services within the public sector (Verger & Normand, 2015), which incorporates values and market strategies in order to optimize their action, with flexibility, efficiency and low cost.

NGP is a constellation of managerial theories, arrangements and tools, regulations and standards for public sector reform produced by transnational networks of experts, policy makers, international organizations, think tanks, foundations, and advisory groups. Their discourses and instruments circulate globally, but they are reformulated and translated into national and local contexts in such a way that the policies developed can have very different approaches. (Verger & Normand, 2015, pp. 614-615)

These principles, because they are not configured as a monolithic model, can be applied in a combined or independent way and in different configurations, since the flexibility diffused by the managerial model allows the combination of strategies in differentiated levels and trajectories,

depending on the political context, economic and social, whose established forces correlations, as well as the political orientation of governments, influence the definition of more or less radical model of business management.

It is necessary, therefore, to pay attention to the particularities of national histories, since the penetration of managerial ideology varies from one national context to another, as Verger and Normand (2015) report. According to the authors, in adopting NGP, “[...] some countries place more emphasis on the market and privatization, while others are more concerned with decentralization and accountability” (Verger & Normand, 2015, p. 661). So that its implementation can translate into political choices and educational interventions with very different projects (Verger & Normand, 2015, p. 661).

Given these susceptibilities, this study analyzes the configuration of the New Public Management in the educational field, seeking to identify some implications in Angola and Brazil from 1988 to 2017. The choice of these countries is justified by their approximations regarding Portuguese colonization and belonging to the Community of Portuguese Speaking Countries (CPLEP), as well as the distances, mainly referring to the political-administrative organization. Brazil is a federative country and Angola is a unitary country, both with very particular historical-political processes, marked by more than 100 years of difference in relation to its independence, as well as the centralization of policies in Angola as opposed to the decentralization adopted in Brazil.

The research that bases the present text has a qualitative approach and was carried out from a bibliographical and documentary survey. In order to understand the phenomenon investigated in addition to a unilateral view, we opted for the comparison of the comparative study, which allows the researcher to identify similarities and differences regarding two or more phenomena from different realities (Schneider & Schmitt, 1998). The comparative study takes place in two moments: the analogue, referring to the identification of similarities between the phenomena, and the contrastive, resulting from the analysis of the differences between the investigated cases. It should be emphasized, according to Krawczyk (2013, p. 204), that comparative studies “[...] ‘compare’ not by the procedure itself, but because, as an analytical and interpretive resource, the comparison makes it possible for this type of analysis to adequately explore its fields of work and the achievement of objectives which is proposed [...]” (Krawczyk, 2013, p. 204).

According to Manzon (2015, p. 128), historically, comparative studies in the educational field have been geographic in nature, aiming to understand phenomena of the area in different places. On the other hand, units of comparative analysis, in addition to space, can contemplate systems, times, classes, ethnicities, cultures, values and politics. For the author, the use of the methodology of the comparative study should also be attentive to the purposes of the comparison, which can be both interpretive and analytical-causal. Interpretive research “seeks to understand educational phenomena, while analytic causals seek to elucidate causation and causal complexity and to identify those configurations of causal conditions that produce more similar or more different outcomes.”

In this sense, we chose as dimensions of comparison to be analyzed: the historical landmarks related to NGP expressed in the legislations from the 1980s and their approaches present in the current educational legislation of the two countries. These areas allow us to understand the characteristics of this management movement by contextualizing the historical and legal differences and similarities between countries and confronting the literature of the area from the interpretations of the studies delimited as constitutive of this analysis (Ragin, 1987).

The collection of documents was carried out together with the official websites of the federal governments of each country. The documentary sources to be analyzed were: Constitutions and Educational Legislation (Laws of Directives and Bases, Organic Laws and / or equivalent legislation) in force in Brazil and Angola, as well as the documents concerning the state administrative reforms

carried out in the countries investigated. The delimitation of the documents and the dimensions of comparability were defined, the data were problematized from the identification of similarities and differences between the geographical, historical and political comparison units of the two countries; the comparison of the dimensions delimited for the phenomenon of interest; and, based on the findings, the final considerations were formulated.

The comparison demands the interpretation of the data, as well as the questioning and analysis of the bases that sustain the phenomena that are being confronted. From this perspective, we seek to explore the relationship between the national and international context in order to identify differences and similarities between Angola and Brazil, with a view to understanding the limits and perspectives of the New Public Management in education in both Lusophone countries investigated.

We understand that the orientations and prescriptions of the economic field, as well as the changes in the political sphere, are contexts that must be considered in the educational reforms underway in Brazil and Angola, since these directly affect the management models of the public spheres. Abstracting the dimension of this reality in the context of these two Portuguese-speaking countries allows us to identify the approximations and distances between the two countries, and also to uncover the confluences and divergences of the political, social and economic context, whose reality needs investigation.

### **New Public Management: History, Concepts and Perspectives in Education**

The New Public Management (NGP) has been postulated as an alternative to the bureaucratic administration of the state, since the economic crisis of the 1970s. For Mészáros (2002, p. 795), crises, of varying intensity and duration, of the system of capital, constituting an engine that drives its progress, so that the development of capital without crises is not possible. The specificity of this, however, lies in the aspects that configure it as structural, that is, that reaches its fundamental structure, making the system vulnerable and manifested among other aspects: a) by its universal character, which affects the totality of the social complex in all relations with its parts, calling into question the existence of the global complex; b) by its permanent character, since it is developed in a continuous scale of time and c) by its global reach, since it reaches all the countries of the world. Unlike cyclical crises, a structural crisis cannot be solved with reforms and punctual adjustments within the capital system itself, in order to intensify its internal contradictions, ranging from the social, economic and political spheres of societies, to rivalries, tensions, contradictions between the advanced capitalist countries; and culminating in the difficulties of maintaining the neocolonial system of domination in poor and developing countries.

The capacity for restructuring in the face of crises has been a striking feature of the functioning of the capitalist system since its origin, as Newman and Clarke (2012) point out, although the effort to create new agreements destabilizes “... mainly because of its capacity to constantly generate new contradictions and antagonisms among social formations” (Newman & Clarke, 2012, p. 377). This was the case in the 1940s, as a result of the post-war period, when political and social reorganization pointed to the incorporation of Fordist principles in the regime of capital accumulation and Keynesian precepts in the management of the political and social system.

The Keynesian guidelines proposed the intervention of the State in economic and social planning, enabling full employment and equitable distribution of income generated in society, whether through integrated health services, education, housing, welfare, among others, or social services sectorial, fragmented and emergency, as was the case in Latin America. (Vieira, 2004, pp.

107, 205). Mészáros (2002, p. 95, 731) stated that the Keynesian solution, far from being antiliberal, aimed at dealing with the capitalist crisis in order to safeguard the system by the subsidiary and complementary increase of the state's involvement in the productive process. It stressed that the measures implemented in this sense were assimilated and integrated into the capitalist system, resulting in productive advantages for capital during its expansion process, but were rejected by the advanced capitalist countries when their costs became considered unmanageable due to the growth of expenses and the fiscal stagnation of nation-states, especially with the emergence of the oil crisis in the 1970s.

In the view that will become dominant at the time, the problems faced by capitalism are perceived as manifestation of the excessive state interventionism in economic life and in societal relations in a broad sense. A renewed liberalism, with strong support in neoclassical economic theory, displaces the post-war Keynesian consensus, arguing that the state had become too large and inefficient or inefficient public administration. (Carneiro & Menicucci, 2013, p. 137)

The solution to such a crisis was sought through economic, social, political and cultural reordering, based on the assumptions of the new right (Newman & Clarke, 2012, p. 354), characterized by "... a series of new experiences in the domains of industrial organization and social and political life" (Harvey, 2003, p. 140), whose main characteristics are changes in the regime of accumulation and in the system of political and social regulation.

The change in the regime of accumulation was achieved by replacing the Fordist model with that of "flexible accumulation" (Harvey, 2003), which, in the opposite direction, relies on the flexibility of processes, markets, and consumption patterns. This regime "is characterized by the emergence of entirely new production sectors, new ways of providing financial services, new markets and, above all, highly intensified rates of commercial, technological and organizational innovation" (Harvey, 2003).

Flexibilization leads to significant changes in the world of work and in the daily lives of individuals, such as: increased employment in the service sector, most of them on a temporary basis; transfer of industrial complexes to previously undeveloped regions, where labor is cheaper; greater control over work, due to the high technological increase, which enables agility to communication and transportation, generating immediate diffusion of information and decisions; weakening of the workforce and unions due to increased structural unemployment, destruction and skill rebuilding, and modest gains in real wages, and growth in the informal economy, ranging from the hot dog stand on the corner of every block, to the organized subcontracting scheme, forming small businesses.

Focusing on the reduction of the costs of public spending, an intense process of cultural formation is set in motion, based on a "distinct set of ideologies and practices that were one of the pillars of the new political agreement that we have emerged" (Newman & Clarke, 2012, p. 355). In this context, the principles of New Public Management are put as an alternative to the "old public administration" developed by the welfare state, considered inefficient and unproductive in the face of the changes that permeated society in the late 20th century.

In 1944, Friedrich Hayek, a pioneer in spreading neoliberal thinking, wrote in *The Path to Servitude*, "The state must limit itself to setting norms applicable to general situations, leaving individuals free in everything that depends on the circumstances of time and place, because only individuals can fully understand the circumstances surrounding each case and adapt their actions to them." (Hayek, 1990, p. 88). The restriction of the field of action of the State is one of the other principles that guide the New Public Management, when it returns to the liberal proposition of the

18th century, which advocated a global market free of problems arising from national particularisms and state protectionism. As pointed out by Carneiro and Menicucci (2013, p. 156), the NGP "... would be a new gloss for an old theme rather than a new paradigm."

Sano and Abrúcio (2008) point out that the main foundations of NGP are: the state administered by the perspective of private initiative; professionalization of management in public institutions; objectively measurable performance evaluation indicators; emphasis on control and results; reduction of bureaucratic characteristics; focus on efficiency; introduction of competitive and production; flexibility; restriction of the State's role to regulatory; effectiveness in the use of resources; constant search for efficiency; decentralization in the formulation and implementation of public policies and extension of autonomy to the executing units.

The NGP, in this context, is referenced by the promotion of efficiency and effectiveness in the public sphere. It is a new standard of public administration directed to a management model aimed at the results and modernization of state institutions. The theoretical and ideological bases of this new perspective of the public administration are expressed, according to Costa (2010), in the understanding that:

[...] the State, the government and the public administration are guided by the primacy of the values of free enterprise and the market in the production, circulation and distribution of wealth, with all the practical, theoretical and ideological consequences of this option. Once again, the assumption of economic rationality defines the expectations of behavior of all public and private agents, individual and collective. From this perspective, the state's intervention space is reduced, concentrating on relatory functions (pp. 153-154).

The NGP principles sustained the public sector reform program developed under the Margaret Thatcher government in the UK (1979), giving visibility to the public sector in the United Kingdom with comprehensive features aimed at the following objectives: "improve the functioning of government, increase efficiency, reduce costs and eliminate employment and corruption" (Jenkins, 1998, p. 201). Simultaneously with the British government, Ronald Reagan adopted the principles of "entrepreneurial government" in the United States of America, starting in 1980, implementing measures such as: public-private partnerships; encouraging competition between cities; besides the restructuring of the education, health and social security systems, having as one of its basic foundations the Strategic Planning.

The rise of more conservative groups to power in the most diverse countries of the world strengthened the radicalization of such reforms, which had a significant reference in Margaret Thatcher's Management in the United Kingdom (1979) and Ronald Reagan in the USA (1980). Analyzing the reforms implemented since then, Ferlie et al. (1999) identified four models, sometimes contradictory, but also combinable with each other:

- Impulse to efficiency: a striking feature of the Thatcher government, which is the attempt to make the public sector more like private enterprise, guided by rudimentary notions of efficiency;
- Downsizing and decentralization: it aims at replacing the Fordist production model, with large and vertically organized institutions, in a more flexible and leaner way;
- The quest for excellence: the application to public services of the School of Human Relations theory, which emphasizes the importance of "organizational culture;" introduction of new principles such as enterprise management, learning organizations and self-reliant cities (Scaff, 2007); and

- Guidance for the public service: it represents the fusion of ideas of Management of the public and private sectors, aiming at the restructuring of the first ones in a way more compatible with the principles of quality of the second.

The guidelines for a “Management State” or “Entrepreneurial Government” have expanded to the most diverse countries of all continents, reaching Latin America and Africa mainly through International Agencies such as the World Bank and the IMF. These agencies acted as disseminators of the recommendations emanating from the Washington Consensus (1989), aimed at encouraging private initiative, free flow of capital, economic opening and reducing the size of the state, with the market as an efficiency paradigm. Private sector business ethos is taken as a benchmark for the public sector, within the framework of the New Public Management (NGP) principles.

These principles are based on a set of guidelines, which, far from constituting a uniform and universal prescription, involve a series of dynamic and inconclusive strategies that allow adaptation to different national and local realities. In the field of Administration, it is possible to find the fundamentals that guide NGP in Classical Theory, with the main exponents Frederick Taylor (1856-1915) and Henri Fayol (1841-1925), most recently taken up by Peter Drucker (1909-2005), whose theoretical perspective has been called neoclassical.

Although based mainly on the Classical Management Theory, NGP absorbs content from other administrative theories, including Human Relations Theory, from which it assimilates concepts such as democratic openness, informal organization, dynamic groups, communications and leadership. In the Theory of Bureaucracy NGP sought the emphasis on formal principles and rules of organization, from the concept of hierarchical organization to the aspects of authority and responsibility.

From the Mathematical Theory, brought the value of the measurement of results, and the Behaviorist School, the human motivation. Concepts of Structural Theory and Systems Theory are also identified in the works of authors considered neoclassical. Chiavenato (2000) presents as common aspects of these works, the following:

- Reaffirmation of the classic postulates of management, retaking the classical theory in a resized and restructured form, according to the needs of the current society;
- Emphasis on administrative practice, seeking tangible, concrete results and emphasizing the instrumental nature of the Administration;
- Emphasis on the general principles of management, such as planning, organization, direction and control of work, as the basis of administrative action in all instances;
- Eclecticism, characterized by the absorption of content from other administrative theories, in addition to classical theory; and
- Emphasis on objectives and results, stating that every organization exists to achieve objectives and produce quantifiable results.

In order for NGP objectives to be achieved, two key aspects are emphasized: efficiency, understood as the set of means by which things are done, so that resources are applied in the most rational way possible, and effectiveness, which refers to the achievement of objectives through available resources.

The vertical hierarchy is another aspect highlighted by neoclassical thinkers, who believe that authority should focus on the highest levels of the organization. This authority, however, is delegated to lower levels, aiming to increase accountability and consequent accountability of



subordinates, among them local managers, who, despite limited autonomy, are treated as the leaders responsible for formatting corporate culture (Newman & Clarke, 2012, p. 358).

The strengthening of this culture imposes the liberation of the organizations of governmental control, with a view to promoting competition, which implies the non-dispersal of state power, considered by Newman and Clarke (2012, p. 363) as fundamental for the emergence of a new form of State, called by the authors of Managerial State, by which these organizations are subject to organizational missions, commercial strategies and performance norms, that link their success to the capacity to secure financing and attract clients (Newman & Clarke, 2012, p. 363). In this model, the authors identify “the proliferation of agencies and organizations [...] coordinated by a combination of logics: commodified relations and contractualized connections; managerial authority; and an expanded performance appraisal apparatus” (Newman & Clarke, 2012, p. 365).

These principles have been consolidated in the educational reforms undertaken in the most diverse countries of the world, by which the decentralization of tasks at school level is called School Based Management (SBM) or Autonomous School Management (GAE). In this regard, Verger and Norman (2015) warn: NGP education solutions are not necessarily adopted because they "work" (in fact, there are still many empirical questions still open), but because there is a general perception that they are policies that could solve a major part of the most pressing problems of education. contemporary educational systems. (Verger & Norman, 2015, p. 612)

The research on the concepts underlying these proposals refers directly to the guidelines of the international agencies, through documents such as *What Is School-Based Management?* published by the World Bank in 2008 (The World Bank, 2008) and *School-Based Management*, published by Unesco in 1999, in Paris, and in 2002, in Brazil (Abu-Dohou, 2002).

The decentralization of activities at school level can be attributed to two simultaneous processes that, due to different biases, postulate the expansion of school autonomy through collective participation in decision-making processes, namely the mobilization promoted by the educators' movements in defense of democratic management and educational reforms undertaken to improve school efficiency and effectiveness, inspired by the model of effective schools. From this relative consensus, “governments, of the most varied possible tendencies, decided to take the reins of the movement in order to offer the schools a greater power of decision in the political domains and national guidelines” (Abu-Dohou, 2002, p. 21).

Thus, in the early 1990s Autonomous School Management (GAE) became the core of the restructuring of public education in several countries, taking on the most varied denominations, such as Local School Management in Wales; Schools of the Future, Australia; Decision Making in School, in Canada; Schools of Tomorrow, New Zealand, and Charter Schools in the United States (Abu-Dohou, 2002, p. 21). This phenomenon has expanded in Latin American countries, such as Argentina, Brazil, Chile, Colombia, Mexico and Venezuela, as well as by African countries such as Angola, through the “Schools reimbursed.”

Given the flexible and multifaceted nature of decentralization processes in the field of education, Abu-Dohou (2002, p. 29) basically defines three types of transfer of assignments, with different types of power to be transferred, ranging from a more tenuous level such as deconcentration, through delegation and decentralization, to more radical formats such as privatization.

Deconcentration means the shift of the workload from the political center to the local agents, with some autonomy for the planning and implementation of programs and projects and /

or adaptation of governmental guidelines. The delegation consists of the transfer of management responsibilities to organizations that operate outside traditional bureaucratic structures, under the indirect control of the central power. Decentralization is manifested by the creation or financial and legal consolidation of government services, implying autonomous and independent local bodies with a legal status that separates or distinguishes them from central power. Privatization, on the other hand, consists of the total transfer of power to private companies (Abu-Dohou, 2002, p. 30).

As a general rule, the processes of decentralization in the educational sphere had as their motto productivity and economic growth, since the nature of this restructuring was determined by factors arising from market demands (Ibid, p. 25), and based on the paradigm of efficiency, as Verger and Normand (2015) point out. According to the authors, in those places where NGP was applied

... has drastically changed the way in which governance of educational institutions is conceived, since principles such as school autonomy, accountability, results-based management or freedom of school choice have deeply penetrated the way if they regulate, provide and finance educational services (Verger & Normand, 2015, p. 600).

The NGP models applied to education are also characterized by flexibility, ranging from the more tenuous strategies, such as the transfer of some resources for school management to the most radical ones, such as the award and punishment of the school manager for the educational results, arriving to the complete privatization of the educational apparatus. The most tenuous strategies are located in the field of “endogenous” privatization, considered as the one that involves the “importation of private sector ideas, methods and practices to make the public sector increasingly commercial” (Scaff, 2017, p. 148), the most extreme cases are the “opening of public education services to the private sector through agreements based on economic benefit and use of the private sector in the design, management or delivery of different aspects of education public” (Scaff, 2017, p. 148), and is termed “exogenous” privatization.

### **The New Public Management in the Brazilian Educational Policy**

In Brazil, the emergence of an educational market is signaled by the Federal Constitution of 1988. As pointed out by Oliveira (2009), although the business sector in education goes back to the period of the military dictatorship, the legislation prohibited educational institutions from making a profit, which resulted in disguised processes of private education, until the promulgation of the Magna Carta established in its Article 209 “Teaching is free to private initiative.”

At the same time as it opens the way for the privatization of education in Brazil, the Federal Constitution of 1988 guarantees fundamental achievements in the field of social rights, creating mechanisms that allow greater social control of public policies, in a context marked by historical contradictions that permeated great part of the countries of Latin America inserted in a redemocratization movement. Called “New Democracies” (Weffort, 1992), this movement was inaugurated in 1974 by the Carnation Revolution, held in Portugal, at which time a “great historical wave began, passing through Southern Europe in the 1970s, and America Latin America in the 1980s” (Weffort, 1992, p. 5), whose greatest difference in relation to other democratic forms lies in the participation of the adult population (p. 25) in the pursuit of public policies.

The 1988 Constitution expresses this dynamic by incorporating, in several of its articles, the guarantee of participatory spaces such as deliberative councils, as explicit Rocha (2008). In the field of education, the Federal Constitution of 1988, article 206, establishes democratic management as a principle of public education, a fundamental achievement of the educators’ movement, whose

agenda was strictly articulated with the project of building society's own democratization. The participation of the community in local decisions expresses the “democratizing, participatory project” (Dagnino, 2004, p. 95), which was manifested in the struggle undertaken by civil society sectors against the military regime, among the which social movements stand out. The realization of such a project, however, faces the barriers posed by another worldwide movement, as Cury (2013) warns: “The Constitution of the Republic of 1988 was promulgated at a time when the intense winds coming from England, the United States, Australia and Chile were blowing in the opposite direction to the social rights so clearly proclaimed” (p. 205).

Such a movement is based on the precepts of the New Public Management, which incorporate the principles defended by the popular movements, reconfiguring their sense of form to restrain the State's action in guaranteeing social policies and making society responsible for confronting social problems. In the reconfiguration of the Brazilian State, the international agencies that, under the guidelines defined in the Washington Consensus, initiated, as from the 1990s, a generation of loans conditioned to the implementation of structural adjustment reforms (Scaff, 2007, p. 334). For the author, if on the one hand there is an external pressure for the implementation of these reforms, on the other hand international aid was also a political option of a government that agreed with the subordination to the rules of international capital to obtain the desired economic development.

In the field of education, democratic management is a tangible example of the re-configuration of post-1988 policies, which have been delegated to education systems through the National Education and Guidelines Law - LDB 9.394 / 1996, allowing coexistence of the most various forms of systems management and school units, some more advanced in the field of democratic management of education, with the institutionalization of elections of directors, elections of collegiate and / or school councils, and collective construction of the political pedagogical project of the school (Fernandes, Scaff, & Oliveira, 2013, p. 331), and others that maintain the patrimonial practices that historically characterize the Brazilian educational administration.

In this scenario, the concept of participation is redefined, changing from a conception of active social subjects and political agents to solidarity participation, voluntary work and individual and corporate social responsibility, based on a privatist and individualistic perspective. Such “semantic slips” (Dagnino, 2004, p. 97) reflect clashes between antagonistic social forces, linked to economic and political groups oriented by flexibility and adaptability, and another that envisions possibilities for social change in the sense of democratization of power relations, as analyzed by Scaff, Aranda and Barcelos (2018).

The consolidation of the privatized and individualistic perspective of education took place in mid-1995, through the restructuring of the Brazilian State developed by the government of President Fernando Henrique Cardoso (1995-2002), which unleashed in Brazil a broad process of privatization of public services, deindustrialization and reform of public administration, the latter guided by the “Master Plan for the Reform of the State Apparatus” (1995), which was created by the Ministry of Administration and State Reform (MARE), created by the aforementioned government with the objective of modernizing Brazilian public administration.

The State Plan for the Reform of the State Apparatus (PDRAE) presents a redefinition of the role of the Brazilian State, which “ceases to be directly responsible for economic and social development through the production of goods and services (Brazil, 1995, p. 12).

[...] it is intended to strengthen governance of the state's capacity for government through the programmed transition from a kind of bureaucratic, rigid and inefficient public administration directed towards itself and internal control to a managerial

public administration, flexible and efficient, focused on the service of citizenship.  
(Brazil, 1995, p. 12)

The basic principles of this new form of Managerial Administration are: decentralization, whereby the functions of execution of social services and infrastructure are passed on to states and municipalities, keeping the processes of elaboration and evaluation of policies centralized in the federal executive power; the participation of the “client” in the management and control of public services; privatization, via shifting the production of public goods and services to the profitable private sector, or by shifting these services to the non-profit private sector; publicisation, understood as the transfer of social and scientific services, previously provided by the State, to the non-state public sector; and outsourcing, through which ancillary or support services are transferred to the private sector (Fernandes, Scaff & Oliveira, 2013, p. 329).

The administrative reform of the Brazilian State was implemented during the two administrations of FHC (1995-1998 and 1999-2002), based on the principles of New Public Management, which establish new forms of relationship between State, market and civil society, through which cooperative networks through public-private partnerships and the decentralization and focus of public policies, especially social ones. Such measures will directly impact the Brazilian public school, whose democratic and autonomous management, claimed by the educators' movements in the 1980s, in the context of a semantic slide that permeates the reforms, is now understood as autonomy of financial management, by which the units are required to establish themselves as legal entities in order to receive financial resources for their maintenance (Fernandes et al., 2013, p. 331).

The School Development Plan (PDE)<sup>2</sup> and the Direct Money in School Program (PDDE) constitute examples of federal government programs oriented towards such principles, but, as the authors analyze, “[...] more important than the financial resources was the implementation, within the framework of the management of systems and schools, the managerial rationality” (Fernandes et al., 2013, p. 332).

The government of Luis Inácio Lula da Silva (2003 to 2010) maintained the management orientation in the conduct of public policies, although it strengthened a perspective of societal public management, which prioritizes the expansion of the relationship between State and society through the institutionalization of channels of dialogical participation (Paes de Paula, 2005). This model is associated with the aims of the democratization of social relations through the protagonism of social actors in the decision-making about public policies and the consolidation of spaces of participation that privilege the dialogical and relational dimension between State and society. This new configuration of public management advocates that the State be more open to citizens' needs and prioritize the public interest.

In this concept, management is understood as a political-deliberative action, in which the individual participates deciding his destiny as a citizen, voter, worker or consumer; its self-determination is given by the logic of democracy and not by the logic of the market. Thus, a conception of democracy emerges that transcends instrumentality and tries to integrate the sociopolitical dimension of public management. (Klering, Porsse & Guardagnin, 2010, pp. 9-10)

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<sup>2</sup> The School Development Plan, created by the Brazilian Government with World Bank funding from 1998 to 2010, aimed to modernize school management.

The bases of the Lula Government's societal model were defined through initiatives to institutionalize participation spaces such as management councils, conferences and forums. However, the effectiveness of this public administration perspective was limited by the consultative nature of the participatory channels of civil society, rare possibilities for deliberation.

In addition to the restricted nature of social participation, the management perspective of the Lula Government is evident in the educational field through the Education Development Plan (PDE)<sup>3</sup>, which incorporates the guidelines of the Movement for Education, led by the Brazilian business community. The creation of the Basic Education Development Index (IDEB), which establishes quantitative criteria for the measurement of the quality of Brazilian schools, is another example of a policy based on the managerial perspective, since it reinforces the results of large-scale evaluations guided by the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD). Also, in this same direction, increase public funding for private institutions through programs such as the University for All Program (Prouni), which funds scholarships for students from private institutions higher education.

The government of Dilma Rousseff (2011 - 2014) maintained the institutional arrangements for civil society participation in an advisory capacity, but the bases of societal management did not have the same resonance with social actors as in the Lula government. In addition, public management presented an increasingly facilitating and less regulatory connotation of the process of productive restructuring as a way of favoring the interests of capital (Harvey, 2005).

In the educational context, the creation of the National Program for Access to Technical Education and Employment (Pronatec) reflects this narrowing of the relationship between State and Market in public management, since the program has as its dominant strategy the public-private partnership (Oliveira, 2015). This policy, while allowing the excluded population access to technical education, allows the allocation of public resources for the financing of technical training by the private sector, thus serving business interests.

Matias-Pereira (2016) draws attention to the fact that public management in Brazil has assumed specific characteristics in historical moments, but there is no lack of coexistence of elements characteristic of other administrations, as we can observe in the governments FHC, Lula and Rousseff. Not surprisingly, this finding is associated with the changes in the world financial market that occurred mainly since the 1990s, allowing the liberation and deregulation of financial flows and the breaking of trade frontiers.

According to Paulani (2008, p.90), the end of the twentieth century materialized the "international circuit of financial valorization," by which Brazil began to print in its governmental agenda mechanisms for opening up to the global flow of capital. It was in this context of fiscal adjustments of the country that the managerial public management was inserted. Although the governments Lula and Dilma had some bases of the societal public management, they maintained characteristics of the managerial management of the FHC government, because:

With regard to social policies, they have deepened the privatization of public services through Public-Private Partnerships (PPPs), transferring state responsibility to the private sector. On the other hand, they adopted compensatory measures to attend to the population that was in "risk situation". Thus, social policies become synonymous with a focused social policy aimed at the poorest, through the adoption of income supplementation programs, such as the Bolsa Família Program. (Chaves & Amaral, 2016, pp. 52-53)

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<sup>3</sup> Program created by the Lula Government in 2007.

The crisis of the financial system of capital in 2008, as a result of the bursting of the housing bubble in the United States, affected the entire world economy. Capital's ability to adapt to crises is again tested during this period, prompting states to step in as “the saviors of bankrupt financial institutions and have tried to appease scared and panicked markets” (Newman & Clarke, 2012, p. 374). Although this crisis has challenged faith in the authority of economists, managers, and leaders, the market ethos was quickly restored, further reinforcing hatred of the public and triggering an austerity policy (Newman & Clarke, 2012) with the rise of segments increasingly conservative and arbitrary powers. The consequences of this movement have been evident in Latin America in recent years, especially since 2013, when the region has suffered from economic and political crises.

In the international scenario, the rise in interest rates in the United States, after six frozen years, the consequent appreciation of the dollar and the devaluation of the regional currencies, the fall in the price of commodities and the retrenchment in the advance of the powerful Chinese economy, represented the end of a stage of growth of the emerging economies, in which several Latin American countries were inserted. These events, coupled with the crisis in the price of oil, contributed significantly to the economic recession and the polarized political dispute in Venezuela and the political and economic crises of Argentina and Brazil (Jesus, 2014).

In this context, the peripheral capitalist countries began to suffer strong market pressures to implement fiscal adjustment, which aimed at cutting social rights, considered as expenses that “would have to be eliminated to reduce state action in this sphere” (Chaves & Amaral, 2016, p. 53). With the political, economic and social uncertainties that hit most Latin American countries, the progressive governments, which had hitherto enjoyed widespread popularity, have come to live with political and institutional instability. The movements experienced in Argentina, Brazil and Venezuela illustrate this context.

In Argentina, after 12 years in power, the Kicherinismo lost, in 2015, the presidential elections for Mauricio Macri, candidate that represents the coalition of parties of center-right. In Venezuela, the government of Nicolás Maduro, that represents the continuation of the chavismo, lost, for the first time in 16 years, the legislative elections, not having a simple majority in the congress.

In Brazil, President Dilma Rousseff, who was re-elected in 2014, faced a number of difficulties in ensuring governability in the first year of the second term. This led to a political-institutional crisis, aggravated by the country's declining economy due to projected fiscal adjustments. The uncertainties of this situation intensified in 2016, with the worsening of the economic crisis, the isolation of the executive power, corruption scandals involving countless members of the government and the drastic fall in popularity of President Dilma Rousseff, who became the driving force for the opening of the process of impediment of the then president, here denominated as legislative-mediatic legislative blow. This process, “troubled and fraught with doubts about its legality and legitimacy” (Ferreti & Silva, 2017, p. 386), resulted in the legal-mediatic parliamentary coup in August of that year, allowing the rise of the then Vice-President, Michel Temer, sworn in as President of the Federative Republic of Brazil.

Michel Temer's leadership of the presidency is directly tied to the class distributional conflict (Boito Jr., 2016), whereby the social policies maintained by the Dilma Government are considered as a threat to the country's full economic development. The result of this coup was a strong redefinition of Brazilian public management, based on the neoliberal management prescriptions, which was consolidated by the implementation of fiscal adjustment packages in order to guarantee rentier capital the payment of interest on public debt, the opening of privatization of governmental organizations to attend to international capital and the implementation of unpopular guidelines, such

as projects aimed at changes in social security, in the public sector and changes in health and education regulations.

In addition to the option for public management, the Temer government has as its characteristic the adoption of normative legal instruments that limit the dialogue with civil society and social control. In a little more than a year of management, the president has repeatedly resorted to the use of provisional measures, a legal prerogative that should be regulated in an exceptional and urgent manner and has been constituted as a solemn act of the President of the Republic. Provisional Measure, which has immediate force of law, needs to be approved by the National Congress, this evaluation must take place within a maximum of 120 days and, by limiting a deadline for the debate, restricts the time and spaces of democratic discussions and violates the legitimacy of the legislative power as an institution of social control (Ricci & Tomio, 2012).

The management of the Temer government has given rise to a set of educational, economic, cultural, and labor market strengthening policies that “seemingly tends to regard Third Way Neoliberalism as too soft for its claims” (Ferreti & Silva, 2017, p. 400). This is a managerial management grounded in a conservative and arbitrary aspect of neoliberalism, which has pushed the government to adopt unpopular guidelines as an alternative to “combat” the economic crisis (Ferreti & Silva, 2017, p. 400).

An intense process of change in the organizational rationality of secondary education is taking place in Brazil, which profoundly affects the logic of system management and public school work, again justified by the poor quality of education, low income indicators and high indicators of school failing, rise on the spaces of commodification of education and regional segmentation, creating new selection mechanisms and deepening exclusion and social inequality via education. (Krawczyk & Ferretti, 2017, pp. 41-42)

An illustration of this moment is found in Provisional Measure (MP) n° 746/2016, which deals with the Reform of secondary education, approved as Law n. 13,415 / 2017. The approved text, clearly focused on the interests of the financial market (Ferreti & Silva, 2017, p. 386), regulates that 60% of high school education will be composed of compulsory content defined by the National Curricular Common Base (BNCC). Another 40% can be defined by the school from five formative itineraries (languages and their technologies, mathematics and its technologies, nature sciences and its technologies, applied human and social sciences, and technical and professional training). In the same direction, the reform establishes the possibility of assigning the exercise of teaching to people with “notorious knowledge” in some technical-professional specialty and the permission of the financing of private institutions with public resources to offer part of the training.

Recognition of “notorious knowledge” as a condition for teaching is another step of the government towards the precariousness of teaching work, sharpened by the Labor Reform approved by means of Law N°. 13. 467, of July 13, 2017, which among numerous changes aimed at the flexibilization of labor relations and employment, allows the hiring of these professionals per hour class. Immediately after the entry into force of said Law, in December 2017, a private Brazilian university dismissed 1,200 professionals, in order to reimburse them in a precarious manner, with payment per hour taught. In the field of basic education, this trend can be illustrated by the bill of a city councilor from the city of Ribeirão Preto, in the interior of São Paulo, who presented in July 2017, a project to hire single classes of teachers through a mobile application, with the objective of filling the absences of teachers from the municipal network (Carta Capital, 2017). The project was called “Uber of Education.”

These reforms provoke a significant setback in relation to the democratic achievements of the last two decades, weakening the democratic relations between government and society, but also instigating the regrouping of social organizations in defense of a popular education project, leading to the recomposition of forces social movements that acted at the forefront of democratic achievements in the 1980s and 1990s, with the creation, also in 2017, of the National Popular Education Forum (FNPE), made up of thirty-three entities that resist and agenda of educational policy in the current Brazilian context of realignment of forces between Market and State.

### **The New Public Management in Angolan Educational Policy**

Concerning the African Continent, the 1970s and 1980s witnessed crises resulting from armed conflict and / or economic performance. This reality eroded the ability of states to respond to social policies and the enjoyment of other rights and freedoms, strengthening the conception of inefficiency of the State in providing social policies. It is in this scenario that the New Public Management (NGP) emerges as the paradigm to lend effectiveness to State action. At the heart of this paradigm is the redefinition of the relationship between the State and public institutions, with emphasis on the suppression of the State's management, decentralization and the promotion of its autonomy, as Martin (2014) points out.

In the case of Angola, this process began in 1988 with the approval of the “legislative package of Economic and Financial Sanitation (SEF)” (Valadares et al., 2013, p. 137), which began a trajectory of “deintervention in the economy, through a vast process of privatization and reprivatization” ( Valadares et al., 2013, p. 137).

In 1989, the country's accession to the democratization movements of the state through the political transition to multipartyism, the suppression of the planned economy model and, fundamentally, the end of the armed conflict that had plagued the country since 1975, contributed to the reaffirmation of need for administrative reform of the Angolan state, for which the government sought support in loans from the International Monetary Fund (IMF).

Soares (2004) considers the support of international organizations as well as bilateral cooperation, especially with Portugal and Brazil, as essential factors for the implementation of the reforms and modernization of the State in Portuguese-speaking African countries (PALOPs), such as Cape Verde, Guinea- Bissau, Mozambique, São Tomé and Príncipe and Angola. The author highlights the Latin American Center for Administration for Development (CLAD) as an important collaborator in the diffusion of the debate on State reform, and in supporting the signing of cooperation agreements between member countries, including Angola and Brazil.

The consolidation of the administrative reform project of the Angolan State took place through Law 17/1990, which deals with the principles to be observed by the public administration in order to provide better services to citizens. This law was succeeded by a set of decrees aimed at the modernization of public management in Angola. It is in this perspective that the amendment of the 1991 Constitutional Law was effective, mainly aimed at creating the constitutional premises for the implementation of multiparty democracy, and the guarantees of citizens' fundamental rights and freedoms, as well as the constitutional consecration of the principles of the market economy. These amendments are consolidated with the approval of the Constitutional Law of 1992 which, among other aspects:

- Introduces new articles on fundamental rights and duties, with a view to affirming the recognition and guarantees of fundamental rights and freedoms, based on the main international human rights treaties to which Angola had already acceded;



- Defines Angola as a democratic State of law, anchored in a model of organization based on the separation of functions and interdependencies of the organs of sovereignty and in a semipresidentialist political system, which reserves to the President of the Republic an active role.
- It introduces substantial changes regarding the administration of justice and judicial organization, defining the essential contours of the constitutional status of judicial magistrates and prosecutors.

In this perspective, these reforms emphasize the consolidation of a more democratic and citizen Angolan State and re-signify the political and cultural tendencies resulting from the “colonial (until 1975) and revolutionary (1975-1991) periods” (Valadares et al., 2013, p. 135).

Neto and Jamba (2006) compile among the main administrative reforms of the democratic period, besides the reform of the public administration (1990), decentralization and modernization of administration and reduction of bureaucracy (1996) and institutional strengthening of public administration (2002) reforms initiated by programs supported by bilateral and multilateral donors such as the Administrative Reform Program (PREA) of 1996, the Administrative Reform Program (PREA) of 1999, and the Institutional Strengthening Program for Public Administration (REFOPA).

The PREA, as reported by the Government of Angola (2017), focuses on the policies of reform and modernization of the administration, adjusted to the political and economic reality of the time and marked essentially by the transition to the market economy. This program is based on the following objectives: a) improved state governance by increasing the efficiency and effectiveness of State services in order to improve citizen service; b) support for the enlargement and strengthening of citizenship, through the strengthening of mechanisms that favor the participation of civil society, both in the formulation and evaluation of public policies, making possible the social control of them.

Valadares et al (2012, p. 10) point out that the characterization of the Angolan public administration can be demarcated in the following historical milestones: colonial period (up to 1975), revolutionary period (1975 to 1991) and democratic period (from 1991). If a periodic demarcation of the different stages of the Angolan Public Management was carried out, framing it within the same historical milestones, the following association would have been made: “colonial administration; concentrated and centralized administration; and administration with a superficial deconcentration and still centralized.”

In the context of education, the decade of 1990 is marked by the end of the monopoly of the offer of education by the State, when declaring the formal exercise of education by private entities in both basic and university education. The privatization of education in the 1990s boiled down to the licensing of private operators for the provision of education, so that public funds were directly earmarked for public schools, with private schools financing the resources derived from the services they provided. However, “the State may co-finance profitable privately-owned entities under a partnership regime, provided they are of public interest or strategic interest,” as established in Article 98.4 of Law 17/16 (Angola, 2016). It is in this statement that the Public Private Partnerships in Education are framed.

A look at Decree No. 43/02, which deals with the Statute of Private Non-Higher Education, we find Article 4 entitled “Support,” which stated: “The State may grant investment incentives under the terms and conditions that may be regulated, aiming at improving the quality of education and equal opportunity for access” (Angola, 2002). This opportunity for access via possible support

usually focuses on the bribe, by allowing “students may be entitled to exemption or reduction of tuition<sup>4</sup>, according to the support received by the educational institution ...” (Angola, 2002).

To mitigate the impact of economic reality, the Angolan state subsidizes citizens' access to compulsory schooling in a public-private partnership. Partnerships can happen in schools built by the state and given to private management, a recent experience; or enterprises entirely financed by private developers, especially in what concerns infrastructure, in regions of poor coverage of the school network. These schools, called “Reimbursed Schools,” receive financial support from the State to pay teacher<sup>5</sup> salaries, and in some cases, these loans cover the purchase of equipment, furniture and didactic material.

There are also protocols with schools belonging to religious denominations that imply payment of teachers' salaries and certain administrative costs. In secondary education, the emphasis is on the financing of private schools dedicated to professional technical education. In Higher Education, students from private institutions, like students from public institutions, compete for scholarships made available by the Government.

In the reality of the educational system, as well as of the school, the management processes are based on the centralizing culture, a culture that conditioned the appropriation of the processes of formal school education as a collective issue, as well as the permanent search for adequate means to carry out education (Paxe, 2014, p. 51), in order to overcome this culture, as well as to adapt the reality of schools to the principles of the Constitution that “every citizen has the right to participate in political life and in the direction of public affairs, directly or through and to be informed about the acts of the State and the management of public affairs ...” (Angola 2010, p. 22).

The Basic Law on Education (Angola, 2016) defines democracy as one of the principles that inform the education and teaching system. Article 10 states that “all individuals directly involved in the teaching and learning process, as an agent of education or of a partner, have the right to participate in the organization and management of the structures, modalities and institutions concerned with education” (Angola, 2016). The action of these stakeholders in management and education “focuses on the process of identifying training needs, financing and administration and management, as well as supporting the design and implementation of specific development plans and projects, aiming at the diversification of training offer and the improvement of the quality of teaching” (Angola, 2006). In its article 7, this Law guides institutions to develop models and practices of democratic management through the adoption of participatory structures and processes for different actors of the institution and communities. The belief in this process is the widening of the possibilities to effect education in the desired quality.

In spite of this legal statement for the adoption of democratic management practices based on the greater participation of the different actors in collegiate spaces for decision making, the reality in Angola has been essentially “an administration with a superficial devolution and also with centralization” (Valadares et al., 2013). To illustrate this reality, Silva (2016), when analyzing governance in Higher Education Institutions (IES), notes that collegiate bodies have been gradually replaced by processes and dynamics that foster individual leadership and control and recentralization practices, own managers and, in certain cases, by the superior guidelines of mandatory compliance in obedience to the hierarchy and its rationalities.

[...] arenas of producing policies and affirming a counter power in the face of the tendency of the guardianship to guide and control, by means of reference standards imposed, the action of HEI, so that, in practice, they end up functioning as extensions of the central administration .... [denoting] the fact that the acts of

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<sup>4</sup> Rate paid for the school year.

management of HEI managers always lack, or prior authorization, or subsequent homologation. (Silva, 2016, p. 220)

Although academic production on public administration is scarce and educational management in Angola is very scarce, the data obtained show that, since its constitution as a Republic, the country has begun reforms in the State, which are informed by the political and economic movements resulting from the global agendas and also from the cooperative relations that the State adopts. In the case of New Public Management, it results from these cooperation pacts and, in addition to re-signifying the mechanisms and ideologies of state management, introduce concepts that focus on the practices of public goods management and services, as well as on the expansion of public affairs to influence and private management.

Education, as a public service, is thus also influenced by the demands of these new concepts of management in the sphere of the State, manifested both by the end of the monopoly of education by the state, and by the gradual access to public financing by the private business of the field of education in the full extent of the Angolan educational system. In management practices, an indefinite process is experienced and marked by excessive centralization, sometimes alternating with a slight deconcentration.

### **New Public Management in Angola and Brazil: Approximations and Distancing**

Angola and Brazil share a common history of Portuguese colonization, but more than a hundred years apart in relation to their independence. In Brazil independence was proclaimed in 1822, while the Angolan decolonization took place only in 1975, when a long period of civil war began between the liberation movements, which lasted until 2002, with a brief period of peace agreements concluded in 1991<sup>5</sup>. Brazil, since its independence in 1822, lives under the dominance of an authoritarian culture, “interspersed with spasms of democracy” (Mendonça, 2001, p. 84), which can be evidenced by the number of democratically elected presidents who have concluded its terms in the 32 years that have elapsed since the country's democratic reopening in 1985: Fernando Henrique Cardoso and Luís Inácio Lula da Silva.

There is a fundamental difference in the organization of power between Brazil and Angola, since the latter was the scene of almost 30 years of civil war, while the first has its political organization determined substantially by the coups d'état, which (Barbé, 2000), whether through military force, as occurred in 1964, or through control of the technologies of power, among them the communication networks, as occurred in 2016. Another dissonant aspect among the analyzed countries refers to the political system adopted, which in Brazil is cooperative federalism, instituted by the Federal Constitution of 1988 from the definition of common competences between the Union, the States, the Federal District and the Municipalities. According to Arretche (2002), the difference between Federative and Unitary States lies in the modes of distribution of political-administrative authority, that is, the degree of centralization and decentralization of state organization.

Those that are organized by federated entities are divided vertically, so that different levels of government have authority over the same population and territory. In these states, the central government and local governments are independent of each other

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<sup>5</sup> For this reason it can be considered that Angola lived two moments of independence, one in relation to Portuguese colonization in the 1970s and another in relation to the armed civil conflict in the 1990s.

and sovereign in their respective jurisdictions, since each local government, whose jurisdiction may vary, as defined in the Constitution is protected by the principle of sovereignty, which means that these are autonomous political actors with the capacity to implement (at least some of) their own policies. In unitary states, only the central government has its own political authority, derived from direct popular vote. The unity of the national state is guaranteed by the concentration of political, fiscal and military authority in the central government, while the political authority of local governments is derived from a delegation of authority from the central political authority. In theory, therefore, the autonomy of local governments is more limited in the unitary states than in the federative states. (Arretche, 2002, p. 28)

This distinction in the forms of State between the two countries brings unfolding in the elaboration of the legal system, as well as in the collection of taxes and distribution of budget. In the Unitary States, district departments do not have the autonomy to define laws or have a proper form of organization of public services. Legislation, in this case, is regulated by the central government, which has the task of ensuring the means for its full implementation. Therefore, legal responsibility is centralized. In the federations, whose administrative and political organization is decentralized, there is a division of powers between the federal government and the governments of other federated entities (Arretche, 2002).

Although Angola and Brazil present different forms of administrative organization, Valadares et al. (2012) point out that throughout history, public management in both countries has been heavily influenced by the context of colonization by Portugal, which was characterized by an emphasis on centralization of mainly dominated by the predominance of central power, personalism, political authoritarianism, patrimonialism and clientelism.

The political-administrative forms of organization of the countries bring repercussions for the systematization of educational policies. The adoption of the unitary model, as in the case of Angola, results in the centralization of the educational system, recently marked by timid deconcentration measures. In Brazil, the educational system is decentralized, and reinforced by the 1988 Federal Constitution, which, by conferring on the municipalities the status of federative entities, gives them legitimate State power, with political, administrative and financial autonomy, including with regard to the provision of early childhood education and basic education, with the technical and financial cooperation of the Union and State. For this reason, it can be considered that Angola lived two moments of independence, one in relation to the Portuguese colonization in the 1970s, and another in relation to the armed civil conflict in the 1990s.

In common, both countries have a history of democratic advances throughout the 20th and early 21st century, Brazil with the end of the military dictatorship in the 1980s, and Angola with the peace agreements and end of the one-party state in the early 1990s. These movements, which characterized the gradual progress of the universalization of the democratic model, were fundamentally important in the process of redefining the role of the state in both countries, which recorded 1988 as an important milestone, the enactment of the Federal Constitution in Brazil and the approval of the Economic and Financial Sanitation Program (SEF) in Angola.

Even though Angola did not have a democratic reopening at that moment, as in Brazil, the “northern winds” from England and the United States (Cury, 2013, p. 205) were already felt in both countries. Thus, while in Angola the SEF was approved, with strong privatization indications, in Brazil this movement was delayed by the strengthening of popular participation after the military dictatorship, which restrained the incorporation of market management principles by the Federal

Constitution of 1988, although it left its trademarks, as in Art. 209, which establishes the freedom to offer education through private initiative (Brazil, 1988).

The end of the state's monopoly on the offer of education came to Angola shortly afterwards, in the 1990s, and from then on the strategies for State reform in both countries were expanded, under the strong influence of the international agencies whose projects were welcomed by both the Angolan government and the Brazilian government, which triggered extensive privatization processes for services provided to citizens, including education.

Although in Brazil this movement began in the 1990s, the assumption to the government by the popular democratic orientation groups (2003-2016) gave the public management a combination of managerialism and societal participation, which made possible advances in the field of public education while maintaining market precepts.

Thus, the strengthening of social participation in the democratic management of Brazilian education, guaranteed as a principle in the Federal Constitution and reinforced in LDBN 9394/1996, faces the daily contradiction of responding to the managerial mechanisms of educational and school management, established by the federal government, PDE and PDDE, which give educational management the rationality of management, and IDEB, whose emphasis attributed to educational outcomes focuses on the accountability of school actors for success and failure in school. In Angola, the defense of the democratic management of education is recent and also faces obstacles stemming from the centralizing culture that characterizes the unitary system of the country, as well as the limited autonomy conferred on educational units.

Regarding the mechanisms of privatization of education, it is observed that in Brazil this movement has a more urgent beginning in higher education (Scaff, 2017), through programs such as PROUNI, which provides scholarship funding for students of private higher education institutions. In vocational education, Pronatec also allows the narrowing between the State and the market, through public financing for private institutions that offer this type of education. Already in Angola, educational privatization reaches both higher education and basic education, through co-financing of the Angolan State with lucrative institutions with the aim of improving opportunities for access, equality and quality of education in the country.

The most current forms of educational privatization in Angola were approved by the Basic Education Act in 2016, the year in which the dismantling of all educational legislation built since the 1988 Federal Constitution began in Brazil, due to the legal-mediated in August of that year. The reforms undertaken since then by the Brazilian government have promoted, with great speed, the strengthening of mechanisms for the privatization of education, from the discussion on the collection of tuition fees in higher education, through the possibility of financing for private high school institutions technical aspects and directly affecting the precariousness of labor contracts of temporary teachers, who, through the approval of the labor reform, have been called "teacher Uber."

The changes in the perspectives of educational policies in Brazil and Angola are due to the logic of educational privatization reinforced by the assumptions defended by NGP. This movement, according to Bauer (2008, p. 565) has been called quasi-market. This is a very specific way of "combining state regulation and market logic in the provision and management of public services, there being no contraposition between the two logics (public and private)." In this sense, Sousa and Oliveira (2003) point out that:

[...] while capital and market logic penetrate areas where their presence has been limited so far, education is becoming a rapidly expanding market on a global scale. This has led to a change in the overall objectives of educational policies in both central and developing countries, particularly in Brazil. The entire educational

process in the market sphere is included, and the typical procedures and values of competitive capitalism are generalized in the management of educational systems and institutions (p. 3).

These transformations alter the discourses concerning the role of education and, consequently, the purposes of educational public policies. If on the one hand, in historical progressive contexts, derived from class movements in favor of democratic instances, the educational agenda is linked to the discourse of citizenship and equality, pillars of educational law; on the other hand, the intensification of class disputes, the obstacles to participation and social control of the population, added to the state control by market strategies, as is the case of NGP, the discourse focused on the justification of educational policies is to cover the defense of (Bauer, 2008, p. 568) “as obtaining good results in the management of the system and in the academic results of the students.”

The current situation indicates the year 2016 as an important milestone for Angola and Brazil, especially regarding the legal advancement of educational privatization processes, regulated in Angola by the Basic Education Law, and in Brazil for the reforms undertaken by the government by Michel Temer. Such jurisprudence advances from an endogenous privatization model to exogenous privatization, wishing to strengthen the educational market at all levels of Angolan and Brazilian education.

### Final Considerations

The research developed shows that the reforms in the state apparatus, undertaken in the last three decades of the 20th century in the most diverse countries of the world, reached Angola and Brazil in very historical moments and were sharpened by the successive world economic crises that revived the liberal principles more conservative in the direction of State action. These developments occurred especially in relation to public policies of social class, providing fertile ground for the promotion and implementation of principles of private management in the state spheres, as well as for the commodification of social rights, with drastic consequences for the social policies, especially those in the field of education.

The first initiatives in this direction, in both countries, date back to the end of the 1980s, but it is from 1990 onwards that the main reforms in the field of public management and educational management, under the aegis of cooperation with international agencies, the main disseminators of the guidelines established in the Washington Consensus, which are revisited in a revisionist way in every crisis manifested by capital.

Regardless of the historical, political, social and economic contexts in which Brazil and Angola are inserted, both have adopted structural reforms in the State that are undergoing the reconfiguration of public management in order to reach levels of efficiency and effectiveness defined by the market. This process sets new agendas for educational policies, which are based on the logic of privatizing the supply of education through public financing, greater regulatory centralization of the state at the service of the market, and the impoverishment of democratic spaces of participation.

Although Angola has not yet advanced substantially in the consolidation of participatory spaces in public management, these are already well structured in Brazil, through mechanisms established in the Federal Constitution of 1988, so that the progress of conservative reforms based on the New Public Management principles resistance in the organized social movements, that dispute the agenda of the Brazilian educational policy.

This dynamic underwent a radical change with the consolidation of the juridical-mediatic parliamentary coup against the Brazilian government in 2016, by which a series of highly conservative counter-reforms began, which directly affect the social organizations of the educational segment, since the government, ignoring the collective actors in the contest for the policy, elects as subject interlocutors linked to the educational market, who now occupy strategic positions in the federal executive, centralizing the decisions regarding the Brazilian educational policy.

The logic of educational privatization under way in public education in Brazil and Angola expresses the application, in the management of educational systems, of the principles of NGP and, consequently, of the values of private initiative, which have direct implications for a project of society that is not committed to the fight against inequality, but rather presupposes acceptance of the non-transformation of social asymmetries. The prescription put by this new order of management based on market precepts contributes to the dissemination of selectivity and exclusion, characteristics so present in the socio-historical context of both countries investigated, and makes education a privilege and not a right.

In this pendular movement of advances and retreats between Brazil and Angola, it is concluded that the regression in relation to the Brazilian conquests in the popular democratic field lead the country to an ever closer approximation with the centralization that marks the educational policies in Angola, subjecting both countries to the goals of the international market in education.

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